

**VOLUNTARY BARBARIANS OF THE  
MALOTI-DRAKENSBERG**

The BaPhuthi Chieftdom, Cattle Raiding,  
and Colonial Rule in Nineteenth-Century  
Southern Africa

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# ABSTRACT

## **Voluntary Barbarians of the Maloti-Drakensberg: The BaPhuthi Chiefdom, Cattle Raiding, and Colonial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Southern Africa**

*Rachel King, Linacre College, University of Oxford*

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This thesis presents an archaeological, historical, and ethnohistorical study of the nineteenth-century BaPhuthi, a peripatetic, horticulturist chiefdom with a political economy premised upon cattle raiding and active in southern Africa's Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains. The BaPhuthi appear as a valuable case study for exploring how 'tribes' and cultural identities (particularly when rooted in subsistence strategies) are historically and archaeologically constructed. Firstly, the thesis explores how eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sociocultural taxonomies were crafted by colonists and colonial subjects alike, with ethnonyms acting as ciphers for political and economic behaviours and locational traits rather than emic identifications. The BaPhuthi's choice to combine traits of hierarchical chiefdoms with pronounced mobility and heterodox, 'outlaw' activities (i.e. voluntarily becoming barbarians) confounded these taxa, as the BaPhuthi failed to conform to expectations of forager, farmer, chiefly, or 'savage' behaviour, rendering them historically marginal or invisible. The thesis thus employs a range of archival evidence to reconstruct BaPhuthi lifeways and historical trajectories. The BaPhuthi emerged and thrived in the borderlands between Moshoeshe I's Basotho state, the eastern Cape Colony, and the Orange Free State: they exploited the ambiguities of colonial authority to build an extensive network of alliances premised upon cattle raiding, aided by their ability to turn the inhospitable terrain of the Maloti-Drakensberg to their advantage. This analysis illuminates the BaPhuthi as a culturally hybrid, ethnogenetic polity that attracted and discharged a disparate following as needed, while maintaining a degree of solidarity and chiefly hierarchy. The thesis details the BaPhuthi's peripatetic settlement strategy: BaPhuthi leaders established multiple dispersed political seats throughout their territories south of the Senqu River, which they would frequently activate and deactivate, enabling them to settle their heterogeneous following within their territories. The thesis then explores archaeological corollaries of BaPhuthi lifeways: historical analysis suggests that the BaPhuthi's archaeological footprint would be ephemeral (despite their polity's regional significance), and archaeological approaches to Iron Age Farming Communities (based in the historical identities described above) currently do not fully accommodate polities such as the BaPhuthi. The thesis discusses a methodology designed to address the archaeology of the BaPhuthi polity and its results. Considering how the BaPhuthi fashioned a diverse, heterodox chiefdom that manipulated the ambiguities of colonial rule encourages re-visiting prevailing conceptions of how cultural identities and economies are rooted in contingent historical circumstances; drawing on comparative cases from North and South America suggests revising longstanding views of the Maloti-Drakensberg as a marginal colonial theatre and re-positioning heterodox actors as capable of influencing the terms of colonial encounters.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout the thesis:

<i>BR</i>	<i>Basutoland Records</i>
CCP	Central Cattle Pattern
LMS	London Missionary Society
FHYI	Five Hundred Year Initiative
PEMS	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
VOC	(Dutch) Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie; (English) United East India Company
WMS	Wesleyan Missionary Society

# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*Modern History, as far as I am aware, presents no parallel of thousands of a nation exiling themselves, from the precincts even of the capital, with their families, their herds, their flocks, and their property of every description, abandoning at once the interests of the land of their nativity and that of their Forefathers, and planting themselves on a doubtful tenure in a Country possessed by Barbarians. – Sir Harry Smith, Governor and High Commissioner of the Cape Colony, 3 February 1848, BRI.162-3<sup>1</sup>.*

## 1.1. VOLUNTARY BARBARIANS OF THE MALOTI-DRAKENSBERG

In 1879, the British protectorate of Basutoland experienced its first rebellion against colonial rule and the Sotho monarchy through which this was channelled. On New Year's Day of that year, a group of people known by the ethnonym BaPhuthi ('People of the Duiker'), under the leadership of a man named Moorosi, launched an assault on

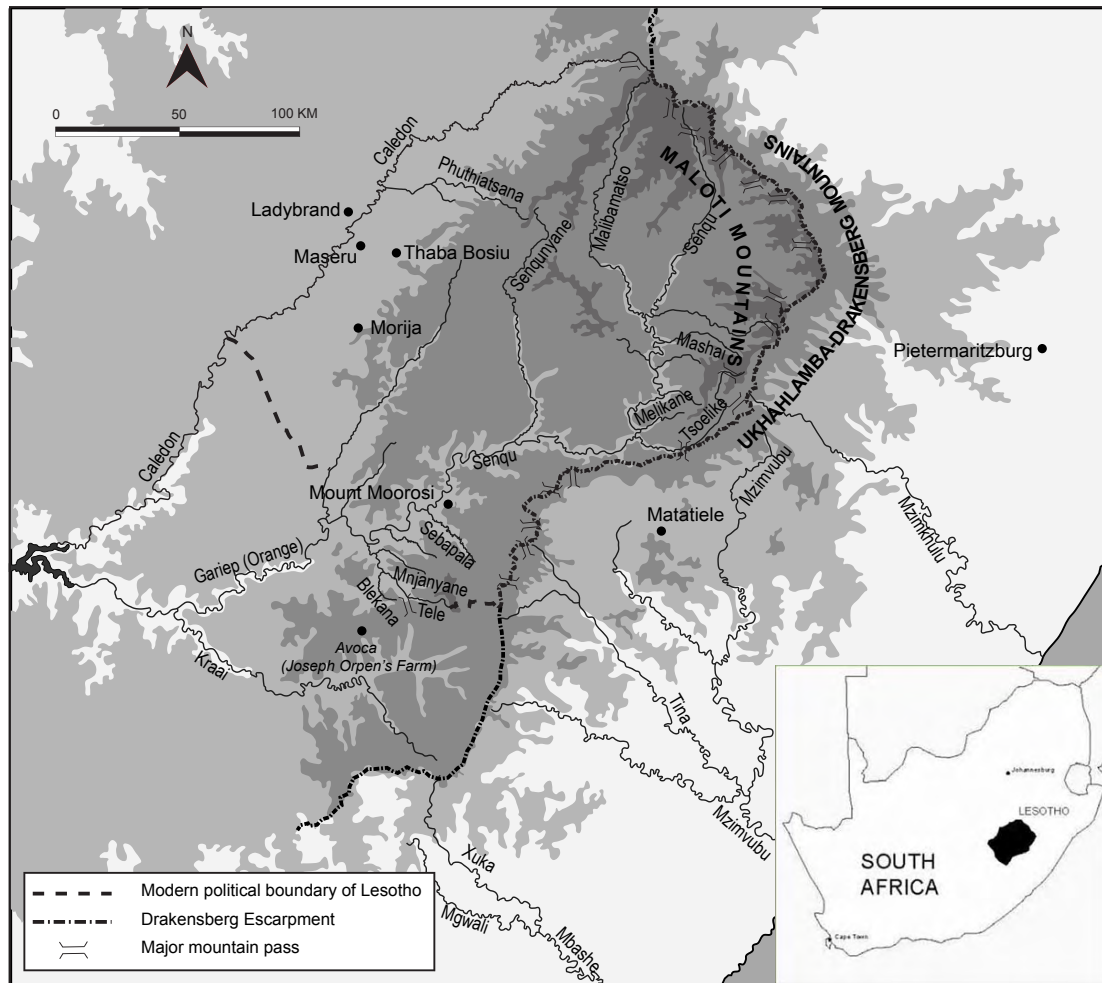
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<sup>1</sup> One of the key historical references for this thesis is the six-volume *Basutoland Records*, a collection of official documents, letters, and travellers' records that George McCall Theal compiled in 1883. Following the convention of southern African historians, references to documents from *Basutoland Records* take the form 'BRI.162', where the Roman numeral indicates the volume, followed by Arabic numerals indicating the page of the document cited. The full bibliographic information can be found on p. 391 and reflects the two-stage publication of *Basutoland Records*: the publication of Volumes I-III in 1883, and the 2002 publication of Volumes IV-VI (which were previously unpublished and housed in the Western Cape Archives [Cape Town, South Africa] until then).

the Quthing District magistracy, sending the magistrate and his family fleeing across the Tele River into the Cape Colony, and then retreated to a mountain on the banks of the Senqu (Orange) River (Figure 1.1 below). From their stronghold of Thaba Moorosi ('Mount Moorosi'), the BaPhuthi, an ethnically heterogeneous group with a substantial Bushman<sup>2</sup> component, then withstood an eight-month siege by British and Basotho forces, before the colonial army eventually took the mountain. The surviving BaPhuthi men were tried and imprisoned in Cape Town, while the women and children were sent into domestic service in South Africa. Some rebels managed to escape death, incarceration, and servitude, scattering throughout the southern Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains into the area that successive South African governments have dubbed Nomansland, the Transkei, and, now, the Eastern Cape Province. Moorosi himself was decapitated by British soldiers, his corpse sodomised with and mounted upon a spear, and his head sent to Britain as a scientific specimen and trophy; senior government officials discovered and curtailed this plan for transport before it could be carried out in full (Atmore 1970: 32).

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<sup>2</sup> A discussion of the rationale behind the ethnic terminology employed in this thesis can be found briefly later in this chapter and more fully in Appendix A.



*Figure 1.1. Map of Lesotho showing modern political boundaries and some relevant locations and landmarks.*

The BaPhuthi appear briefly on the stage of southern African historiography, as their rebellion's significance is most often related to the larger uprising and quasi-civil war that it sparked within Basutoland more broadly (the Gun War, 1880-1). Nevertheless, groups like the BaPhuthi who challenged colonialism have recently become the subjects of revisionist historical projects concerned with southern Africa's past (e.g. Esterhuysen 2006; Ross 2014; Challis in press). As with other revisionist efforts in post-colonial contexts, their emphasis has fallen on recovering the subaltern voices of colonial subjects (Guha 1988; Spivak 1998) that were stifled or marginalised within colonial discourse. In late-apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa in particular,

such post-colonial scholarship has had to bear a double burden: to address the legacies not only of settler colonialism, but of tenacious, officially-sanctioned segregation justified by readings of the past that depicted non-white peoples as minor historical players or as antagonistic to white rule (Bonner 1994; Shepherd 2003; King 2012). Thus, a central undertaking of this scholarship has been unpacking the ‘tribe’ as a building block of colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa (M. Hall 1987b), seeking both to deconstruct those entities constituted in the historical record as ‘tribes’ and to achieve an emic understanding of how Indigenous<sup>3</sup> groups fashioned their own concepts of ‘tribe’ and ‘ethnicity’ (Skalnik 1988; Vail 1989; Mamdani 1996).

Inasmuch as ‘tribe’ is now seen as a reified, offensive category and ethnicity as a fundamentally political statement (M. Hall 1984), scholars concerned with investigating southern Africa’s past must contend with these constructs; ‘un-tribing’ the past entails taking apart the notion of ‘tribe’ and exploring how it functioned historically (see papers in Hamilton and Liebhammer in press). Revisionist histories have therefore brought southern African subalterns such as Bushmen, so-called ‘Hottentots’, and numerous chiefdoms to the fore as fully-fledged actors and participants in colonial dialogues rather than as mere victims of colonial expansion. The rich *verbatim* transcripts and ethnohistorical data of the Bleek-Lloyd archive have made it possible to recover a first-person perspective for South Africa’s Bushman populations: scholarly projects have reconstructed or revealed the belief systems, lifeways, and personal histories of Bushman groups long dispersed or disappeared (Hollmann 2004; Bank 2006; Wessels 2010; McGranaghan 2012; Challis *et al.* 2013). Major narratives of colonial triumph over native despotism, such as the so-called

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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix A for disambiguation of ‘Indigenous’ and ‘indigenous’ as used in this thesis.

*mfecane* of Shaka (Cobbing 1988), have been dismantled and re-constructed to produce analyses in which African ethnic or political groups have particular histories, objectives, personalities, and agency (see papers in Hamilton 1995 and Hamilton and Liebhammer in press).

These efforts resonate with recent trends in broader post-colonial studies emphasising how the cultures and conditions of colonialism manifested in peoples' quotidian lives (Stoler and Cooper 1997: 4). Archaeology and material culture studies are directly implicated in these discussions: material things form the basis of the strategies and tactics (*sensu* de Certeau 1984: xviii-xx) that people use to negotiate their experiences of colonialism, including creating and maintaining relationships of difference and identification (Gosden 2004: 20). Studies of this sort have recognised that 'tribes' and 'nations' are materialised in different ways, from settlement layout to ceramic motifs (Collett 1987; Hall 2000; Esterhuysen 2008), and have sought to bring such peoples to the fore on their own material terms (inasmuch as this is possible). Increasingly, these discussions have concerned the edges of empire, and even the edges of those edges: studies of the socio-cultural dynamics within frontiers, borderlands, and middle grounds have drawn attention to how these can be loci of cultural hybridisation, where colonial authority is incomplete and ethnicities are highly contingent (Blundell 2004; Challis 2008; cf. White 1991, 1993; Zappia 2014; see Chapter 2.2).

This thesis is part of this reconstructive trend but attempts to extend its remit still further. Reversing the camera's gaze to view history and archaeology from the perspective of previously disenfranchised Indigenous peoples is undoubtedly a major step forward. However, as some scholars have noted, simply problematising 'tribal' categories and social taxonomies does not go far enough (Wright 2010). It is

necessary to take revisionism beyond discussing the survival, resistance, and distinctiveness of colonial subjects to consider how these subjects – as political actors in their own right – exploited, manipulated, and influenced colonial power, including the power to place people into social categories (Hämäläinen 2008: 6-7). Moreover, it is necessary to examine these cultural productions not solely on a coloniser-colonised axis, but as more enmeshed in local politics (Voss 2005), where ‘colonial power’ may not have been deployed exclusively by Europeans: the rise of major African political leaders (Shaka of the Zulu, Moshoeshe of the Basotho, Mzilikazi of the Ndebele, Sekhukhune of the Pedi, Adam Kok of the Griqua) and the ethnicities (even nation-states, *sensu* Anderson 2006 [1983]: 6) that they forged concurrent with the advance of colonial frontiers reminds us that power and the processes of navigating these frontiers encompassed myriad loci, forms, and actors.

In pursuit of these understandings, historians of empire such as Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper (1997: 7) urge us to explore such ‘windows’ as may present themselves on the inherent instability of colonial interactions, moments where one glimpses colonial subjects in the on-going process of making themselves. At such moments, one can see colonial observers likewise grappling with notions of identity and difference, attempting to articulate what made colonial subjects different from one another and from colonisers. Again, historical archaeology is well-suited to such an undertaking by virtue of its ‘promiscuous’ engagements with archival, ethnological, and material lines of evidence (Voss 2007) that give texture to narratives of past identity formation. Each of these lines of evidence of course demands dissection and contextualisation; so too do the analytical tools that they bring to the project of constructing revised histories. For instance, archaeological methodologies often operate on the expectation that certain past peoples and their materials will have

behaved in certain ways: peoples believed to be sedentary agriculturists will leave particular traces different from those of hunter-gatherers, and different again from those of nomadic pastoralists, and investigative methods are designed with these behaviours in mind (e.g. Mason 1972; Evers 1973; Arthur 2008a; Fauvelle-Aymar and Sadr 2008). However, occasionally critical readings of other lines of evidence render these heuristic categories inadequate to their task: past lifeways become apparent in historical and ethnological accounts that do not conform to these expectations. In this case, it becomes necessary to re-visit the heuristic tools available and bring these promiscuous engagements to bear upon interrogating other ways of behaving in the past, and thus upon the processes through which new identities were crafted.

This study is one such attempt, taking as its focus the social, cultural, and historical trajectories of the BaPhuthi of southern Africa's Maloti-Drakensberg region. Southern African historiography has long treated the BaPhuthi rebellion as simply the first in a series of Basutoland-based rebellions reacting to colonial policies of disarmament. However, Peter Sanders's (2011) recent revisionist work has explored Moorosi's War in more nuanced detail, taking it as a response to the imposition of colonial governance (particularly the edict that Africans could not own firearms) fuelled by the malcontent chief of a minority tribe subject to the authority of the Sotho aristocratic house, the BaKoena ba Mokoteli; as such, Moorosi's War was as much about asserting political autonomy against an African paramount as about the symbolic and pragmatic value of bearing arms. Sanders's study is a valuable contribution to understanding the political dynamics at work at a critical period in Basutoland's history, but his analysis stops short of a much larger question: how did Moorosi and his BaPhuthi craft a relatively cohesive political resistance movement from an

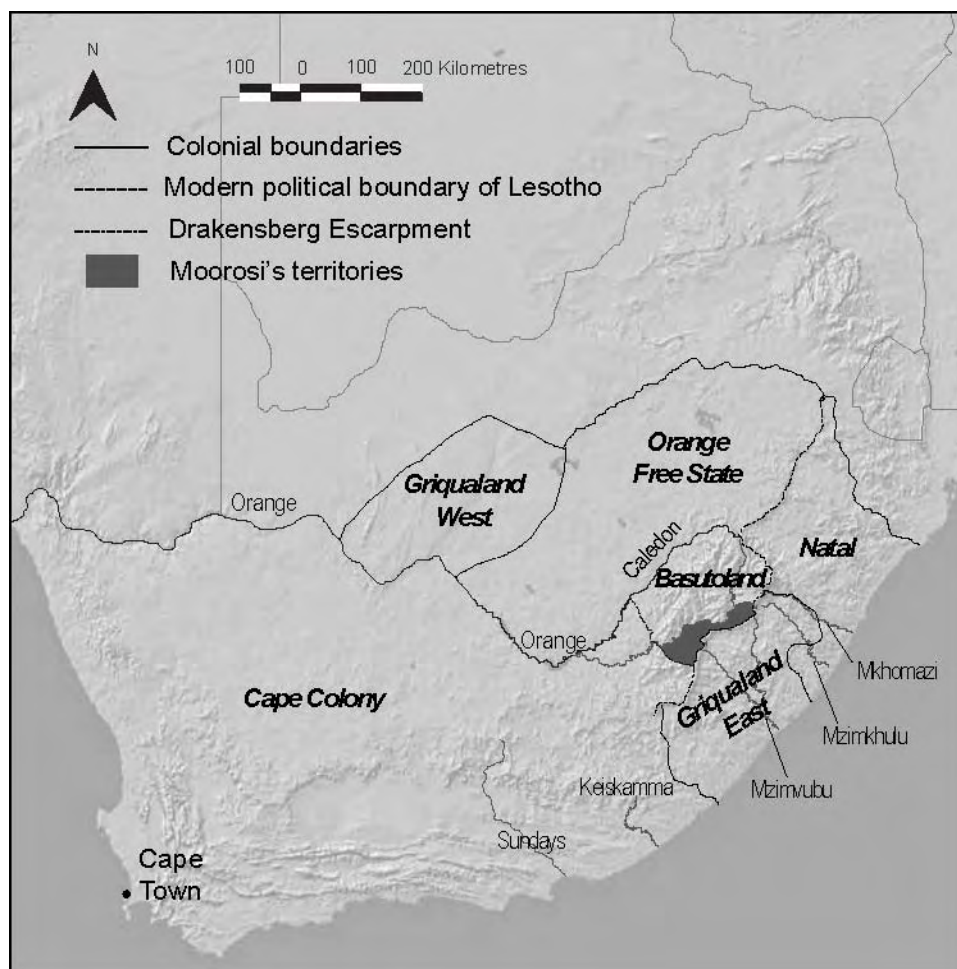
ethnically heterogeneous following, and then harness the skills and resources to withstand a British-led military assault for eight months?

I submit that Moorosi's War was only the tip of the iceberg in terms of the BaPhuthi's mobilisation of ethnic identity and colonial resistance: the trajectory that led Moorosi and his fighting forces into their ill-fated rebellion had deeper and more complex roots than British annexation and disarmament. Beyond elaborating upon the circumstances of Moorosi's War, looking to these roots explicates the emergence of the BaPhuthi as a polity that thrived upon the nineteenth-century borderlands of southern Africa. Doing so shows how the stand that Moorosi and his followers made atop their mountain fortress was the culmination of more than half a century of forging alliances, exchanging cultural ideas, and experimenting with tactics and strategies for resistance, all against the backdrop of what was for colonial and Basotho forces harsh (and often inaccessible and unknowable) terrain.

The BaPhuthi arose from a nineteenth-century social and economic milieu that saw polities forming along the contours of expanding colonial frontiers that included the Cape Colony, the successive administrations of the Orange River Sovereignty and Orange Free State, and Moshoeshoe's Basotho state. Virtually all of these frontier polities went through several comparable stages, including raiding cattle and horses to gain political capital and form alliances, and all featured heterogeneous group compositions. However, the BaPhuthi became distinct in their ability to manipulate the ambiguities of the borderlands, creating a polity with unique formulations of nomadic horticulture, a political economy based on lawless activities (at least as colonists perceived them), and peripatetic chiefly rule.

Although they were Basotho vassals, in practice the BaPhuthi retained a large measure of autonomy: in exchange for regular tributes of BaPhuthi cattle and loyalty to the Basotho King Moshoeshoe I and his Koena chieftaincy, BaPhuthi hostages held by Moshoeshoe would remain safe and the BaPhuthi were allowed to retain authority over their territories around the Senqu River. These territories encompassed all of the lands south of the Senqu and aspects of the Drakensberg Mountains, and at times areas north of the Senqu along Moshoeshoe's western flank. Throughout the nineteenth century, the BaPhuthi became notorious as cattle raiders and for their skilled liaisons with the diverse populations of the Maloti-Drakensberg region, facilitated by their language (SePhuthi), which combined Nguni and Sotho attributes and thus allowed for communication with the speakers from both of the language groups that inhabited the area (Donnelly 2009). The BaPhuthi maintained a network of allies and confederates that became an essential part of their survival, along with the acquisition of guns and horses. Rather than following the 'Great Place' pattern common among neighbours such as the Xhosa, Basotho, and Zulu (see Chapters 2.1.2 and 8.1), wherein chiefly authority was anchored in a political centre, BaPhuthi power was dispersed throughout a large area and established in several localities between the Kraai River and the Maloti-Drakensberg highlands (Figure 1.2 below). From these dispersed centres the BaPhuthi maintained a lifestyle that mixed garden agriculture with cattle raiding. Rather than invest in field agriculture, demanding sedentism and intensive maintenance, the BaPhuthi chose to cultivate gardens and to focus intensively on stock raiding as a form of political currency, allowing them to secure wealth and build tactical alliances. Their dispersed settlement strategy permitted them to maintain an intricate array of raiding routes; from these, they could profit from the fractured authority and lack of oversight prevailing at the edges of the surrounding

political territories whilst evading capture. From Moshoeshoe's perspective, the BaPhuthi were assets by virtue of their ability to make connections between Bushmen, Sotho-, and Nguni-speaking peoples, and to secure Moshoeshoe's lands in the rugged, inhospitable mountains south of the Senqu. Indeed, the BaPhuthi were largely responsible for facilitating large-scale settlement of this part of the Maloti-Drakensberg, establishing villages and population centres that still exist today.



*Figure 1.2. Map showing Moorosi's territories and political boundaries, c. 1879.*

Drawing on their extensive alliance networks while destabilising the eastern Cape frontier for colonists and chiefdoms alike, the BaPhuthi exploited and shaped the borderlands between the eastern Cape, the Orange Free State, and Moshoeshoe's Basotho state for much of the nineteenth century. This was feasible while the Cape

and Basutoland borders were open, but as frontiers encroached and borderlands became constricted, this way of life was likewise constricted, re-shaped, and adapted, until the borders closed entirely. Moorosi chose to resist these changes, which ultimately resulted in his polity's dispersal. Moorosi's rebellion was thus waged over preserving a way of life as much as over the narrower *casus belli* of continuing access to firearms.

The story of the BaPhuthi, the lands they controlled south of the Senqu, and the political, economic, and material innovations that these entailed are the subjects of this thesis. At its core is the assertion that the BaPhuthi defined their way of life by strategic political choices and innovations (Chapters 4-6), and that these are archaeologically and historically recoverable (Chapters 7 and 8): the BaPhuthi thrived during the nineteenth century because they took advantage of the cultural diversity and the grey areas of governance that constituted the eastern Cape frontier. They developed a form of peripatetic rule, where authority was dispersed across a large area and anchored in nodes that were ideally suited to both the terrain and the raid-and-run tactics they employed to provision their group. In the arid and broken southern Maloti-Drakensberg, population mobility, diverse subsistence practices, and incorporating landscape features into political and economic strategies constituted a mutually reinforcing relationship between BaPhuthi lifeways and landscape that facilitated their existence on the edges of colonial and Basotho rule (Chapter 3). Further, I suggest that in light of the historical trajectory and political organisation of the BaPhuthi polity, it becomes possible to shift our understanding of the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains during the nineteenth century from being politically and socially marginal to constituting a vast network of heterodox (often historically

referred to as ‘outlaw’) polities that shaped the terms of colonial encounters (Chapter 8).

Moreover, I suggest that the ethnonym ‘BaPhuthi’ does not, as it is often used, refer to a homogeneous clan: rather than a ‘chiefdom’ (in the traditional sense of people unified by shared lineages), the BaPhuthi were a heterogeneous band that comprised different ethnic and social backgrounds, some of whom shared a lineage but many of whom joined the group for various periods and causes as it suited their needs. The boundaries of BaPhuthi organisation were highly porous and could include a fluid mix of Bushmen, Basotho, and Nguni-speakers, who would join forces primarily for raiding ventures but who would also occasionally live together during calmer periods.

The BaPhuthi therefore stand out from many of their Bantu-speaking contemporaries, the ‘Late Farming Communities’ of recent archaeological scholarship, at least as these are often historically and archaeologically conceived. They did not employ sedentary agriculture as their primary means of subsistence, nor did they locate their political and economic centres of gravity in homesteads or aggregated settlements, two salient features of other major chieftaincies (e.g. the Basotho, Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, Pedi, see Chapters 2.1.2 and 2.1.3). However, unlike the few Bushman groups surviving in the Maloti-Drakensberg during the colonial period (e.g. the AmaTola and bands with clear leaders such as Nqabayo’s and Mdwebo’s: see Blundell 2004 and Challis 2008), the BaPhuthi did not live solely by raiding, clientelistic stock-keeping, or hunting and gathering. While remaining independent at the periphery of systems of colonial and African rule, they continued to be a significant – and far from peripheral – force in the political events of the region: expansionist colonial and African powers were

compelled to adapt their strategies for controlling the borderlands in order to contend with BaPhuthi influence therein.

Additionally, these innovations were tailored to the physical particularities of the borderlands that they inhabited: part of the BaPhuthi's strength was in using the rugged, arid, and varied terrain of the Maloti-Drakensberg to their advantage. Their mobility allowed them to exploit the dispersed resources of the mountains' less-hospitable southern reaches and to evade capture, particularly as the mountains themselves remained outside the reach of both British and Basotho authority. Indeed, the legibility of the landscape for the BaPhuthi was perhaps one of the greatest factors in allowing them to maintain their autonomy even as British colonialism arrived on their doorstep in 1871, when Basutoland was annexed to the Cape Colony.

This thesis explores several historical and archaeological lines of inquiry related to this fairly anomalous social organisation. Firstly and perhaps most fundamentally, it attempts a more nuanced discussion of Bantu-speaker 'Farming Communities' in a colonial context through one particular case study, seeking a refined understanding of identities that are frequently prescribed based upon subsistence strategies. Often in southern Africa, in the absence of direct, ethnographic evidence, groups of people are described archaeologically as hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, or farmers based on a few salient traits: broadly speaking, Bushman hunter-gatherers lack domesticates of any form, Bantu-speaking farmers employ sedentary agriculture, and Khoekhoe pastoralists are nomadic and exist primarily at the Cape and in the Karoo. The material expectations of these identities exert a recursive influence upon the archaeological process: archaeologists often seek material correlates of these lifeways and, in turn, tend to interpret finds with recourse to the same categories. There is a

long literature seeking to historicise these subsistence-based identities and locate them on a spectrum (e.g. Marks 1972; Parkington 1984; Jolly 2007; Sadr 2008; McGranaghan 2012), but a lack of historical and ethnohistorical visibility of specific Indigenous groups is too often a limiting factor in such undertakings. This thesis therefore explores a variation on these themes, or another location on this spectrum: a group of people who were neither solely Bantu-speaking nor Bushmen, who were not solely pastoralists, agriculturists, or hunter-gatherers, but who employed all these strategies voluntarily.

Secondly, I explore the variation on forms of traditional chiefly institutions that the BaPhuthi represent. As complex tribal entities become visible in the southern African historical and archaeological records, the focus tends to fall on large chiefdoms such as the Zulu and Xhosa. These groups are undoubtedly the most visible archaeologically and historically, and therefore the large amount of scholarly attention they receive is understandable. However, alongside and occasionally within these larger groupings are smaller, more shadowy ethnic and political entities that appear consistently at the peripheries of these larger polities (e.g. Hamilton and Wright 1990). These marginal groupings, like the BaPhuthi, operated by their own rules and norms, and thus provide a valuable complement to views of complex chieftaincies in southern Africa.

Following on from the previous themes, this thesis therefore provides an opportunity to examine one instance of identity formation in the Maloti-Drakensberg region. In the case of the BaPhuthi, the political structures and subsistence strategies typically attributed to Bantu-speaking peoples in the last five hundred years cannot be universal, considering the socioeconomic innovations that the BaPhuthi demonstrate

in their particular historical context. Following James Scott's (2009: x-xi) research on nomadic agriculturists in upland Southeast Asia, the choice to resort to 'pastoralism, foraging, and shifting cultivation,' (and in the BaPhuthi case stock raiding) as a means of cultural survival in the face of expanding colonisation is presented as a strategy of 'voluntarily going over to the barbarians.' While it is impossible to know if the first BaPhuthi leaders had these aims in mind, by the nineteenth century the BaPhuthi had, indeed, emerged as 'voluntary barbarians,' socially and economically adapted to living in the borderlands of authority (Basotho and British). Moreover, as the composition of the BaPhuthi polity was constantly in flux, its ability to maintain a coherent front and hold sway over such a large area bespeaks a level of solidarity or shared cultural identity that remains to be explored in detail.

This part of my discussion builds on a considerable body of work on identity formation in the Maloti-Drakensberg region. Beginning with John Wright's (1971) and Patricia Vinnicombe's (2009 [1976]) pioneering research and continuing through the last few decades (Jolly 1993, 1996b; Blundell 2004; Challis 2008; Mallen 2008), the Maloti-Drakensberg has appeared as a zone of cultural innovation and hybridisation during the colonial period. This study provides a broader archaeological view of processes that have been examined primarily through rock art and historical evidence, and focusing on agriculturist (rather than hunter-gatherer) communities, which have hitherto been neglected in archaeological studies of the Maloti-Drakensberg region. Indeed, archaeological investigations of agriculturists in the Maloti-Drakensberg region have been few and far between: on the Caledon River in South Africa's Free State Province, work by Lyn Wadley (1992) and Carolyn Thorp (2000) has examined forager-farmer interactions in the late first and early second millennia AD, and Tim Maggs (1976) and Jacobus Dreyer (1992, 1999) have

investigated the settlement and cultural history of mid- to late-second-millennium AD Sotho-speaking populations (see Maggs and Whitelaw 1991 and P. Mitchell and Whitelaw 2005 for summaries). Slightly to the north on the Highveld (eastern South Africa's high-altitude plains), Wadley (2001) and Sven Ouzman (2005) have recovered traces of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Korana raiding bands (see Chapter 2.1.3). The research presented here, in addition to archaeological mitigation associated with west-central Lesotho's Metolong Dam (King *et al.* 2014) and an abortive attempt at excavating the Basotho historical capital at Thaba Bosiu (Dreyer 1996), represent the only archaeological investigation of agriculturists undertaken in Lesotho to date. Such a significant lacuna is perhaps due to multiple factors, archaeological and political, and presents numerous methodological challenges. How can one begin to recover an archaeological perspective of transhumant agriculturists in a heavily impacted and eroded landscape? To answer this, I consider a suite of archaeological tools potentially useful for such a task both in the Maloti-Drakensberg and elsewhere in the world.

This research relies upon an interdisciplinary approach, employing archaeological, historical, and ethnohistorical lines of evidence. I also draw on modern 'oral geographies' (cf. S. Hall *et al.* 2008) of BaPhuthi territories, studies that engage landscape features and historical sites as physical set pieces for memories and narratives, bearing in mind the caveats that accompany all oral historical exercises (see Chapter 7.2). The study area lies between three significant geopolitical entities, and thus draws on historical materials originating within them: the Cape Colony, Moshoeshoe's chiefdom (annexed to the Cape as Basutoland in 1871), and the territory known as the Orange River Sovereignty from 1848-1854 and subsequently as the Orange Free State. While I acknowledge its perspective and relevance, this last

entity showed little interest in the BaPhuthi and was geographically the farthest removed from the BaPhuthi's sphere of influence. These facts, in addition to my lack of fluency with Dutch, mean that the Orange Free State and archival materials emanating from it feature minimally in this research; rather, I draw on work by historians of the nineteenth-century Orange Free State such as Norman Etherington (2001) and, more generally, Hermann Giliomee (2003).

Physically, I examine an area that includes the lands south of the Senqu River bounded by the Kraai River in the west and the Drakensberg Escarpment to the south and east (Figure 1.2 above), although these montane boundaries will often be traversed; this is an area with a limited historical record, and one which pertains primarily to the (generally raiding) activities of Bushmen. In particular, the western element of the study area (one of the focal points of BaPhuthi strength) has a very patchy archival presence and has therefore received little attention from historians; the notable exceptions are Colin Bundy's (1980, 1988) and Helen Bradford's (2000) studies of the emergence of a rural peasantry at the beginning of the twentieth century. Complicating matters still further, this territory changed hands repeatedly in the nineteenth century and the relevant records are therefore dispersed through the archives of the London Wesleyan Missionary Society (School of Oriental and African Studies, United Kingdom), the British Cape Colony (Rhodes House, United Kingdom and Western Cape Archives, South Africa), and the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (Moriya Museum and Archives, Lesotho), as well as in the personal papers of various nineteenth-century figures.

Concerning this last category, my research owes much to two individuals and their archives: David-Frédéric Ellenberger, a missionary with the Paris Evangelical

Missionary Society, and Joseph Millerd Orpen, a surveyor, magistrate, and resident of the eastern Cape Colony. Ellenberger worked and resided in Basutoland from 1861-1905 and then continued writing and researching in the Cape until his death in 1920. He ministered to congregations at Bethesda and Masitise mission stations and composed the mammoth *History of the Basutos, Ancient and Modern* (D.F. Ellenberger 1912), which remains the key ethnohistorical writing on the Basotho and their confederates. Orpen was in many ways an archetypal nineteenth-century colonial figure: a deeply principled man, he spent his life working for the governments of British South Africa and Rhodesia and the Orange Free State, serving this last as a *landdrost* (effectively a resident magistrate) and member of the Volksraad (Parliament) (P. Mitchell 2002b: 216). Orpen is perhaps best known to southern African archaeologists as the only person ever to transcribe the comments and interpretations of a Bushman concerning rock art while standing before the art itself (Orpen 1874); Orpen's conversation with Qing, his Bushman guide while on an expedition into the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains, remains one of the bedrock texts of modern rock art scholarship (McGranaghan *et al.* 2013).

Later in their lives, Orpen and D.F. Ellenberger maintained a lively correspondence, particularly as it concerned the BaPhuthi and their territories, which has only recently come to light. Often overlooked (or hitherto undiscovered), other remarkable finds from these archives include: unpublished chapters of Ellenberger's *History of the Basotho*, including several on the annexation of BaPhuthi lands; Ellenberger's diary from the period of Moorosi's War, translated from the French for the first time here; and Orpen's notes from meetings with Moorosi himself. My fortuitous encounter with these papers (some of which were buried in an Ellenberger family trunk kept in Morija) permitted many of the insights underpinning this thesis. Further discussion of

the uses, background, and qualifications of the Orpen and Ellenberger archives can be found in Appendices B and C.

Three other works that inform this thesis deserve note. Assisting in the production of Peter Mitchell's forthcoming *Horse Nations: The Worldwide Impact of the Horse on Indigenous Societies Post-1492* prompted a consideration (and re-consideration) of how the adoption of new technologies entails a suite of social and economic propositions with which societies who take up such innovations must engage. Related to this and describing a comparable (albeit larger-scale) situation to that of the BaPhuthi, Pekka Hämäläinen's (2008) *The Comanche Empire* highlighted the function of revisionist history discussed above: peoples regarded as reactionary heathens in the past can be re-cast as actors in their own right simply by demonstrating that they have a history, but this alone is insufficient; one should go beyond this and consider these peoples as producers of a colonial or borderland situation rather than simply being colonial or borderland products. Finally, James Scott's (2009) *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* emphasised that subsistence and social structure are often political choices as much as (if not more than) they are ecologically and culturally determined, or that they at least have political consequences (Chapter 2); in other words, his work reminded me that it was possible to be a voluntary barbarian. Additionally, Scott's work clarified the degree to which the landscape itself can be a historical actor, as it quite literally defines the shape that certain polities can take and the limits of state or colonial intervention (Chapter 3).

These themes will appear throughout this thesis, as will several threads running through the reconstruction of the BaPhuthi's lifeways: the rejection of field

agriculture in favour of gardens better suited to a more mobile system of cultivation; the improvisation of a peripatetic ‘settlement’ strategy; and the importance of horses in BaPhuthi lifeways. My historical analysis of the BaPhuthi’s emergence and social trajectory in the Maloti-Drakensberg (Chapters 4-6) emphasises these and other innovations, and in so doing draws out the archaeological corollaries that they present (Chapter 7). While achieving an archaeological perspective on a nomadic raiding (and thus ephemeral) chiefdom is challenging, it is nevertheless possible (Chapter 8), and constitutes a significant step forward in producing an archaeology of agriculturist peoples in the Maloti-Drakensberg (Chapter 9), one that has not previously been taken.

A final note on orthography and terminology is necessary. The historian Clifton Crais (1992: 5) has observed that ‘South African history is a terminological nightmare’; this can be extended to the archaeology of the recent past. Appendix A describes the rationale in the orthography and terminology used in this thesis. For the moment, it is necessary to observe that I adhere to Lesotho’s national orthography for Southern Sesotho adopted in 1906, and that I have employed standardised forms of historical ethnonyms except where these are part of a quotation, in which case I have retained the original spelling. It is also important to explain briefly my use of ‘Maloti-Drakensberg’ as toponym. The Maloti-Drakensberg as a region encompasses all of modern-day Lesotho and aspects of contemporary South Africa’s KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, and Free State Provinces. As such, it includes low-lying tablelands in the west and the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains themselves, which consist of the Maloti Mountains in Lesotho, the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Escarpment as the boundary between Lesotho and South Africa, and the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Mountains in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. Thus, I follow Peter Mitchell

(2009a) in referring to the Maloti-Drakensberg *region* to denote the mountains and adjoining lowlands, and the Maloti-Drakensberg *Mountains* or *highlands* to refer to the mountains themselves; Chapter 3.1 provides further information about the topography and geopolitical situation of this area.

## CHAPTER 2: THEORISING 'FARMERS' IN THE BORDERLANDS

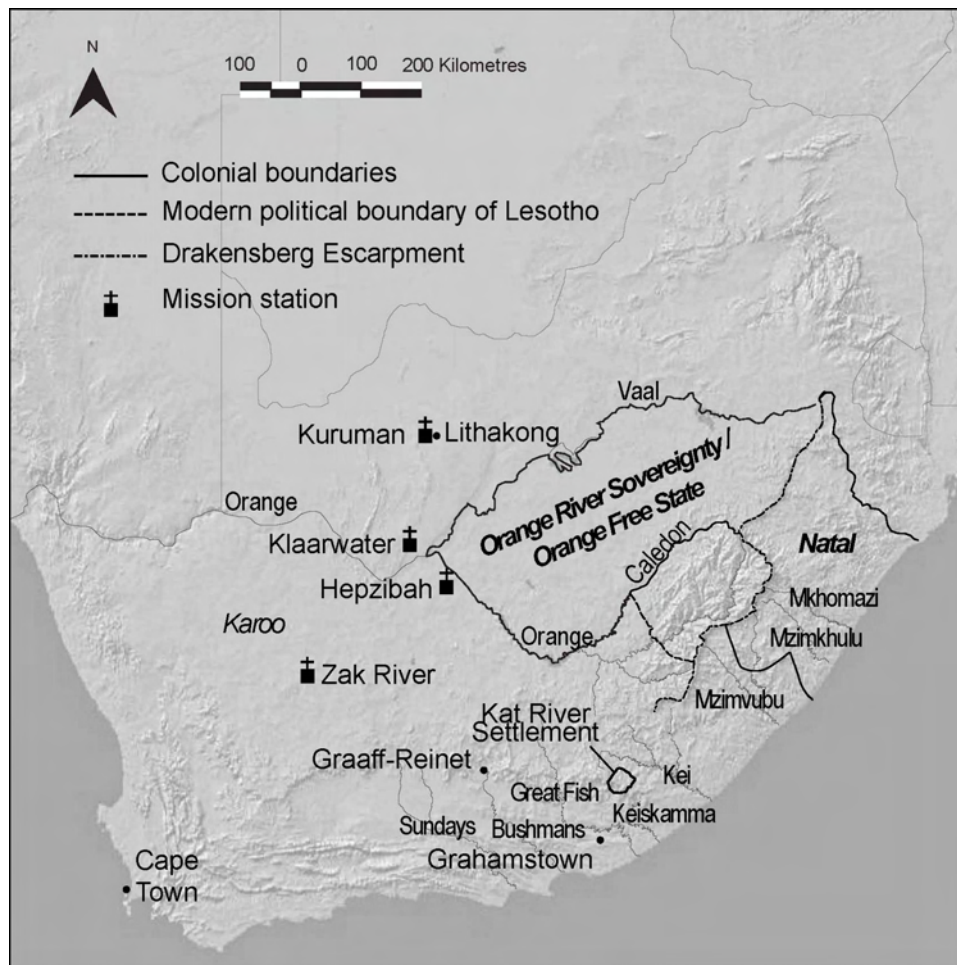
*[... "T]he barbarian," the "raw," the "primitive." On close inspection those terms, practically, mean ungoverned, not-yet-incorporated. Civilisational discourses never entertain the possibility of people voluntarily going over to the barbarians, hence such statuses are stigmatised and ethnicised. – James Scott (2009: x-xi).*

This chapter introduces the major theoretical strands running through this thesis. To understand how the BaPhuthi emerged with unique adaptations of chiefly rule and subsistence, and how these have gone largely undetected by historians and anthropologists for so long (with a few notable exceptions, Jolly 1993; Blundell 2004; Mokhanya 2008; Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]), it is necessary to explore how 'tribes' were constructed by historical actors, colonial observers, and eventually by historians. In Chapter 7.1, I return to these constructions of tribe, discussing how their incorporation into archaeological investigations of 'Iron Age agriculturists' and 'Farming Communities' has influenced southern African archaeological expectations of Bantu-speaking communities of the last 500 years.

Here, I explore how these categories were conceptualised and deployed during the colonial period, acknowledging that this is an undertaking that could easily merit its

own thesis. Utilising a selection of historiographic set pieces, I highlight how certain ethnonyms, as polysemic and context-driven, become ciphers for an assortment of social, locational, and behavioural traits. In particular, I am interested in how these ethnonyms referenced not only who people were (i.e. statements about identity), but also behaviours such as subsistence, social organisation, and settlement patterns. As a result of this ethnological complexity, these identities were and are subject to manipulation and mis-construal, particularly by modern scholars attempting to read them from the historical or ethnohistorical records. By tracing the trajectories of these ethnic categories through time and the social propositions that they entailed, it becomes possible to see how people such as the BaPhuthi, who do not fit neatly into any of the types discussed, can be either miscast or overlooked. The latter half of this chapter then turns to the southern African borderlands (physical and theoretical) to consider alternative historical and archaeological understandings of how ethnicities were manipulated in the past.

## 2.1. CONSTRUCTING TRIBES



*Figure 2.1. Map of regions and locations mentioned in Chapter 2.*

### 2.1.1. Enlightenment and early ethnographies

As Enlightenment-era Europeans began arriving upon exotic shores, these travellers, explorers, naturalists, and government representatives required a means for describing and understanding the Indigenous peoples that they encountered. Intellectual revolutions such as Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae* in 1758 (cf. Gould 2003 [1994]) and, later in the eighteenth century, Hume's and Kant's exhortations toward epistemic, objective rationalisation provided the frameworks for doing so and identified contact zones as loci of intellectual labour: 'classification' became a global project in which

‘gentleman’ and ‘naturalist’ became one and the same (Pratt 2008: 25-6). This scientific culture was inextricably intertwined with European political and economic expansionism, and the task of official classification (of nature *and* people) largely fell to early explorers who served as both scientists and as agents of imperial enterprises (e.g. Adams and McShane 1996: 17). In southern Africa, these inclinations toward exploration and observation were present from the arrival of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 (e.g. Mossop 1935), and accelerated with the rise in British interest in the Cape, particularly following the British occupation (initially between 1795 and 1803 and then again from 1806) and subsequent annexation of the colony (1814). Expeditions such as those by Sir John Barrow (1792-1793 and 1797-1798), Petrus Johannes Truter and Dr William Somerville (1801-1802), Henry Lichtenstein (1803-1806), the ill-fated Dr Andrew Cowan (1808), and William Burchell (1810-1815) were launched specifically to reconnoitre unknown territories and assess the hospitability of the land and of the peoples living on it (Crampton 2012: 756-7).

Following from these endeavours, early descriptions of southern African peoples were rooted in an intellectual milieu seeking to understand man’s progress in relation to society as a whole. Typical of these Enlightenment principles, Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s (1999 [1781]: 272) ‘stages of man’ described human progress as contingent upon contributions to social industry, which in turn strongly implicated subsistence: ‘The savage is a hunter, the barbarian a herdsman, civil man a tiller of the soil.’ In Rousseau’s formulation, ‘civil’ man reached his apogee when he embarked on such social contracts as produce a governed society; *en route* to civilisation, however, ‘gentle barbarians’ could live harmoniously and ‘softly’ with their lands, albeit independent of a more cohesive social order (Mendham 2011: 182). Hunter-

gatherers as ‘savages’ stood in contrast to ‘barbarians’ and ‘civilised’ men: hunter-gatherers were ‘ferocious’, ‘anti-social’, and ultimately ungovernable, meaning that according to Enlightenment ideals, they could not comport themselves within society (Pluciennik 2002; McGranaghan 2012: 25-27). Colonialism was recursively linked with these intellectual currents, as the need to define a class to govern colonial ‘Others’ required defining *Homo europaeus* in conjunction with the ‘Others’ themselves (Stoler and Cooper 1997: 3). Creating social taxonomies became a diplomatic and legal exercise as well as an existential one: classifying colonial subjects by certain criteria helped to determine how those subjects could be treated, treated with, and governed (Stoler and Cooper 1997: 6). Consequently, colonial observers produced what Ann Laura Stoler (2009: 39, 43) refers to as ‘epistemic objects’: social categories as active, often untidy ways of thinking about people, but which themselves structured how observers conceived the world around them.

Early ethnological categories that emerged from the reports of the VOC and other European visitors to the Cape divided southern Africans generally into Bushmen, ‘Hottentots’ (referred to henceforth by today’s accepted term ‘Khoekhoen’, sing. ‘Khoekhoe’<sup>4</sup>), Damara (pastoralists in the northern Cape and Namibia), and Bantu or ‘Kaffirs’ on the basis of ‘racial, linguistic, and cultural distinctions’ (Schapera 1930: 3; see also Appendix A). These classifications conform neatly to Rousseau’s rubric described above: for example, in his sketches and notes thereon accompanying Barrow’s expedition, Samuel Daniell (1820: entry 30) divided the tribes of southern Africa into ‘Bosjesmans’ (Bushman), ‘Hottentots’, and ‘Kaffers’ as exemplars of

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<sup>4</sup> ‘Hottentot’ took on various meanings during the colonial era and subsequent ethnographic projects, but in its early sense was generally applied to Khoe-speaking pastoralists in the Cape. The term took on pejorative tones in the twentieth century and was eventually abandoned in academic writing (P. Mitchell 2002a: 6). Alan Barnard (1992: 11) argues that the categories Hottentots, Damara, and Bushmen should all be regarded as Khoisan.

‘miserable’ savages, nomads, and agriculturists, respectively, progressing through stages of development. Daniell (1820: entry 32) further distinguished the ‘Kaffer’ from the ‘Hottentot’, noting that the former had made greater progress in civilisation by virtue of adopting agriculture and producing enough surplus to allow for ‘conveniences and luxuries’. There was also a geographic element to these ethnic classifications: Lichtenstein (1812: 243, 247) joined Barrow and other contemporaries in locating Hottentots within the western part of the Cape Colony, ‘Caffres’ east of the Colony’s then boundary at the Great Fish River, and Bushmen as roaming across the whole region. Within these categories, explorers and observers were aware of sub-groupings, often under particular leaders, *kapteins* (in the case of Khoekhoen and some Bushmen), and chiefs (in the case of Bantu-speakers), often based on self-identification as much as on colonial observation and ascription of ethnicity (e.g. Lichtenstein 1812, Vol. I: Chapters 18-19; Engelbrecht 1935; Parkington 1984; Penn 1995: 24). The term ‘tribe’, with roots in Biblical conceptions of racially unified communities descended from a common ancestor, became a useful label for such sub-categories. It bears noting that these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century explorers’ descriptions of native peoples were often more sensitive than simply collecting and collating ethnic specimens, although they were, of course, influenced by the viewers’ own cultural biases (Beinart 1998: 779-90): thus, Barrow (1806: 367-9) held industrious, impoverished Bushmen to be more deserving of assistance than ‘indolent’ Boers, while in the 1770s, Anders Sparrman (1976/7, Vol. II: 14, 223) was concerned to gather folk taxonomies and ethologies from his Khoekhoe informants and to learn how they coped with issues such as water procurement and hunting.

Burchell’s (1810-5) expeditions pushed European knowledge beyond the Cape Colony’s boundaries at the Great Fish River and far into the South African interior, as

they sought to expand the colony's commercial interests to the north and east. In contrast to the mobile lifeways of the Cape Khoekhoen, Bushmen, and, occasionally, frontier 'Caffres' (Lichtenstein 1812, Vol. I: 244), at the 'mega-towns' of Tswana-speaking agriculturists north of the Orange River these travellers were able to observe in intimate detail groups of people who appeared to be socially stratified, sedentary (however in reality somewhat mobile, Whitelaw and Hall in press) agriculturists.

Burchell's sojourn amongst the 'Bachapins' (the Tswana-speaking BaThlaping) is particularly illustrative of how conceptions of settled tribes and their behaviours emerged in the early nineteenth century. During the course of nearly a month at 'Litakun' (the town of Lithakong, located in what is today south Africa's North West Province, Figure 2.1 above), Burchell made meticulous observations about the material culture, folk histories, and customs of his hosts that might be seen as a type of proto-ethnography. Like his colleagues, Burchell identified 'Caffres proper' as those agriculturists living east of the Cape Colony, and differentiated among these groups largely on the basis of geography, leadership, and various linguistic and material markers (Burchell 1824: 530 footnote 2, 532; at this time there were also 'Caffres proper' living on the northern Cape frontier as pastoralists, e.g. Penn 2005: 212). He noted the existence of social divisions and hierarchies within the BaThlaping community and observed how these were signified by displays of wealth (metals, beads, decorated *accoutrements*, etc.) and rank (i.e. identifying clear leaders and 'chiefs') (pp. 346-8); however, authority was hierarchical and generally accepted without recourse to such performances (p. 545). Social cohesion could be marshalled by chiefs in times of need such as war, but ran deeper than individual chiefly power: Burchell likened the position of a chief to that of a father's authority over his family, in that although chiefs commanded respect, the BaThlaping nation would remain

fairly coherent regardless of its leadership (pp. 546, 548). While agriculture was of immense importance to the BaThlaping, it did not generate much surplus, and therefore the BaThlaping were eager to acquire larger flocks of sheep and to accumulate wealth in trade, possibly making them desirable trading partners for a potential ivory industry (pp. 540-1, 588). To Burchell, the BaThlaping way of life was substantially different from that of the Khoekhoen or Bushmen: the former lacked a coherent form of government (p. 548), while the latter lacked the ability to form treaties with the BaThlaping and actually prevented the BaThlaping from forming connections with the Cape (p. 536).

Burchell's description of the BaThlaping exemplifies several contemporary trends in European observations about native peoples. First, social taxonomies were drawn with reference to the subjects' geographic location, language, and behaviour, more than to specific beliefs. Particular behaviours and customs carried a large burden when it came to assigning ethnic identity: subsistence practices and visible forms of governance and social compacts were heavily implicated in whether a person or group of people were classed as Bushmen, Khoekhoen, or agriculturist chiefdoms. However, Burchell observed that it was also possible for 'Caffres proper' to revert to hunting and gathering if they lacked a chief (p. 530). Burchell's first volume (1822: 228) also contains an engraving of 'A bushman [*sic*] chief and his companion on ox-back,' which suggests that 'Bushmen' could similarly take up stock-keeping of some sort. This is echoed in points later made by Shula Marks (1972) and others (Parkington 1984; Schrire 1992; cf. Sadr 2003, 2004; Whitelaw 2009) that colonial identifications of native peoples derived largely from observed subsistence strategies and mobility: if, for example, a Khoekhoe or Bantu person lost his cattle, he may have appeared to Europeans as a Bushman. Second and related to the previous observation, Bantu-

speaking agriculturists were identified in large part through their juxtaposition with more mobile, less socially stratified peoples. Moreover, Burchell explicitly identified the BaThlaping and their confederates as the type of natives with whom the colonial government could treat, in contrast to the more intractable Bushmen, who lacked the requisite social mechanisms to forge and enforce treaties<sup>5</sup>.

As mentioned above, these identifications had an ecological and geographical component. European colonisation began at the Cape amongst fairly nomadic populations of pastoralists and hunter-gatherers, and then expanded towards the interior, where explorers began to encounter more settled communities. This led to some of the juxtapositions between agriculturists and hunter-gatherer-pastoralists described above, as well as foregrounding uncertainties about social organisation prior to the widespread African demographic transformations of the 1820s (Braun 2008: 34; see Chapters 2.1.3 and 4.2). Representations of environment were also highly significant in determining colonial involvement and investment within southern Africa: Burchell's description of the eastern Cape as resource-rich and open for settlement and trade spurred expansion from Cape Town (Crampton 2012; cf. Etherington 2004a), while later descriptions of the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains as rugged and inhospitable actively discouraged the establishment of infrastructure there (*BRV.126*), a decision the Cape would come to regret after Moorosi's War (see Chapters 3.2 and 6.4).

Third and more broadly, while Burchell and his contemporaries often used the terms 'horde' and 'nation' somewhat inconsistently, there appears to have been a difference in their conceptions of 'tribe as horde' *versus* 'tribe as nation'. In the former case, the

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<sup>5</sup> Khoekhoe *kapteins* did lead groups and exert authority over them, but in reality these institutions were often a highly unstable basis for enduring treaties or alliances (Penn 1995).

tribe was a nomadic entity lacking wealth or social stratification (cf. Lichtenstein 1812, Vol. I: 243-7). In the latter, it was imagined as an exclusive, sovereign political community (*pace* Anderson 2006 [1986]: 6) with discernible institutions for affirming social contracts, a view that drew on Germanic and Romantic notions of the *volk*, or homogeneous ‘natural nations’ united by language and vague ‘ethos’ (Jones 1997: 44). In other words, such a tribe was a type of nation that was not only intelligible to European observers, but was also potentially manageable and accessible from the perspective of governance, trade, and settlement. Of course, ‘hordes’ and ‘nations’ were not dichotomous ideals, but represented the ends of a spectrum of criteria for classifying native peoples; as will become apparent during the *longue durée* of colonial rule, colonial vacillations between treating tribes as nations or hordes were often based on the expansionist ideals and political dictates of a given moment.

### **2.1.2. Humanitarianism and the Treaty System**

By the late eighteenth century, white settlement along the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony had advanced as far as the district of Graaff-Reinet (Figure 2.1), a settlement that the VOC had established in 1786 to facilitate the Dutch struggle against local Khoekhoen and Bushmen (Elbourne 2002: 83). Following the imposition of British rule at the Cape in 1795, Barrow’s and Burchell’s reports of the lands east of the colony, coupled with a drive to secure its border against Xhosa across the Great Fish River, encouraged officials in both Cape Town and London to promote state-aided settlement schemes along the eastern frontier from 1817 (Keegan 1996: 62-3). Violent conflicts broke out there between settlers and varied consortia of Khoekhoen, Bushmen, and Bantu-speaking peoples (primarily the Xhosa and Thembu, Peires 1981). However, from the 1820s, a more liberal humanitarian British government (bolstered by lobbyists in the London Missionary Society [LMS], see House of

Commons 1837) advocated the use of treaty systems with African chiefs instead of earlier, more aggressive policies. Led largely by Lieutenant-Governor Andries Stockenström, the Cape government pursued agreements in which strong tribes were permitted to self-regulate and 'be gradually converted into peaceful neighbours' (Galbraith 1963: 133).

It thus became necessary to identify the nations and chiefs with whom to make treaties and, in turn, to identify those who posed the greatest obstacles to continued colonial expansion. These identifications drew in large part on contemporary political processes at work within and among African polities, wherein powerful leaders were coming to the fore and forging new nations. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, contests for people and land waged amongst large, stratified, visible factions such as the Tlokoa of Sekonyela and 'MaNthatisi (often called the 'Mantatees', see Chapter 2.1.3 below), the Xhosa of Gcaleka and Rharhabe, the Basotho of Moshoeshoe, and the Zulu of Shaka ka Senzangakhona and Cetshwayo ka Mpande clearly identified the major political forces at work; the complexities of the political and cultural institutions implicated in these social formations are described further below. These same peoples likewise became targets of invectives and acts of aggression by those who perceived them as threats to settlement; on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, the *Grahamstown Journal* became a particularly effective agent for sowing antipathy toward various Indigenous ethnic groups amongst settler communities and rallying support for armed action (e.g. Peires 1981: 139-45). This was particularly the case as violence between settlers and African polities on the frontier escalated into all-out wars, including the Frontier Wars between the Cape and its Xhosa neighbours (a series of nine wars from 1779-1879, Peires 1981, 1989).

Likewise, missionary societies such as the LMS and the Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) sought to establish congregations among those peoples demonstrating the greatest potential for political stability and civilisation. The LMS tended to support those chiefs who were most capable of consolidating state power, such as the Xhosa of Ngqika, as ‘bulwarks against settler expansionism’ (Keegan 1996: 133). The WMS, on the other hand, supported minor leaders and fragmented communities, such as the AmaGqunukwebe of Kama (see Chapter 5.1), against the seemingly despotic chiefs of the larger tribes, as these missionaries portrayed them in their missives and publications (Williams 1967: 45). To the Wesleyans’ way of thinking, these weaker powers were less likely to unite with one another and resist colonisation and civilisation (Keegan 1996: 134); this operating principle of WMS activity underlies some of the motivations behind the creation of the Wittebergen Native Reserve in 1850, described later in Chapter 5.

At the same time, settlers and missionaries sought to control the nomadism of the Khoekhoen and Bushmen (Elbourne 2002: 238), and experiments to ‘civilise’ these peoples proliferated on the eastern and northern Cape frontiers. Khoekhoen and captive Bushmen constituted a class of servants and readily available labour at the Cape (Newton-King 1999: 130-143). In particular, the Kat River Settlement between the Fish and Kei Rivers fostered Khoekhoe ‘civilisation’ by encouraging settlement in European-style homes, education, and learning ‘peasant’ skills such as farming (Figure 2.1 above; Crais 1992: 79; Mostert 1992: 621-4). Bushmen, especially, were targets of multiple failed attempts at conversion at LMS stations such as Zak River and Hepzibah: although missionaries perceived them as ‘miserable’ specimens of humanity and thus in need of salvation, the mechanisms of salvation (agriculture, sedentism, education, and a commitment to European styles and manners of living)

were largely incompatible with Bushman lifeways (Guenther 1999: 202-7). Itinerant Khoekhoe or 'Bastaard' (a blanket term referring to peoples of mixed European, Khoekhoe, and/or slave descent) preachers were often more successful in maintaining a missionary presence among hunter-gatherer populations (Legassick 2010 [1969]: 94-5).

Indeed, as the rise of British Protestant culture coupled industry with duty to God (Comaroff 1985: 129-30), farming and sedentism were elevated from markers of civilisation to markers of morality. At the mission stations (ministering to Khoekhoen, Bushmen, and Bantu-speakers alike), the idealised visions of rural life prevalent in the imaginations of British working and emergent middle classes (in part a reaction to rapid industrialisation) led observers to exalt those who embraced farming and settled village living (Packard 1989; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). Additionally, Victorian class consciousness permeated observations and treatments of African communities, as colonists sought to place native communities into an intelligible social hierarchy (Thorne 1999: 91-2; cf. Gosden 2004: 129-30). In some cases, this involved actively manipulating local groups to create a simulacrum of European conditions: the deliberate creation of a 'working class' of labourers (largely Khoekhoen, but also Bushmen and Bantu-speaking servants), highly valued by missionaries and the metropole, represented this form of colonial intervention. In other instances, European notions of social hierarchy were used as a shorthand to delineate perceived differences in Indigenous populations: tribal nations were portrayed as class-based societies, with chiefly lineages as the 'ruling class' (although these were in fact often highly fragmented, with a tenuous centralised authority, cf. Newton-King 1999: 144). For example, on the eastern Cape frontier, the term 'Mfengu' was an identity bestowed by British authorities to denote a lower class of refugees that emerged following the

dispersal, dispossession, or defeat of their original communities during conflicts, particularly the wars of Shaka in the 1820s (Webster 1995: 241, 272; Challis 2008: 123-5; Ross 2014: 144-7).

### **2.1.3. Tribes of raiders and rulers**

All this, of course, overlooks the highly varied nature of ‘tribes’ that pre-dates the advent of colonial rule (Landau 2010: xi), and the ability of African peoples to negotiate and challenge the categories bestowed upon them. New types of ‘tribes’ or political formations emerged out of the changing circumstances of the frontier.

In the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Orange River became both a refuge for outlaws and fugitives (*drosters*, from the Dutch *drossen*, ‘to desert’) and a cultural melting pot (Penn 2005: 166): large numbers of Dutch burghers, Bushmen, Khoekhoen, and ‘Bastaards’ destabilised Khoekhoe pastoralist societies, provoking violent conflict or evasive Khoekhoe migration (Penn 2005: 41). Many Khoekhoe groups moved beyond the Cape boundary to the Orange River, which saw the emergence of a variety of novel social organisations, from ‘Bastaard’ states to consortia of bandits.

Two such organisations, the Korana and Griqua, deserve attention here for the parallels that they draw with the BaPhuthi story presented in the following chapters. The term ‘Korana’ emerged as a catch-all category in the latter half of the eighteenth century for predominately Khoekhoe bands (speaking !Ora or !Gora, an eastern Khoekhoe dialect, Lloyd 1879) that comprised an amalgamation of displaced or fragmented Khoekhoe peoples, ‘Bastaards’, and escaped slaves, a category whose ranks swelled as these varied groups moved towards the Orange River. The extent of the disruption to more traditional forms of Khoekhoe pastoralist existence became

particularly evident around the confluence of the Orange and Vaal Rivers: there, Korana newcomers subdued the Einiqua Khoekhoen, an eastern branch of Khoekhoe that had occupied the area from at least the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries practising a more riverine-oriented form of pastoralism (Barnard 1992: Chapter 9; Penn 1995). The Einiqua Khoekhoen became absorbed into the new Korana order, entering the oral traditions of the Great ('Right Hand') Korana (i.e. those groups that established themselves as powerful bands under specific *kapteins* and located at specific kraals) as the Little (variously, 'Left Hand', Links, or Lynx) Korana (Engelbrecht 1936: 25). The Links Korana re-appear in Chapter 4.2: 121 as having allied themselves with the ascendant leader Moletsane of the BaTaung.

By the early nineteenth century, the Korana had acquired horses and guns from farmers in the interior and established themselves as formidable raiders along the Orange River, although they did serve a valuable role as purveyors of oxen used for both draught and riding by Sotho-Tswana peoples north of the Orange (Legassick 2010 [1969]: 111-2). Korana raiders targeted other residents of the Orange River frontier, including Sotho-Tswana peoples, European farmers, and other rival groups of Korana. During the period of widespread interethnic violence in the 1820s dubbed 'the *Lifaqane*' (Sesotho, 'time of troubles', see Parsons 1995), Korana peoples found themselves caught between battling African polities to the north and east, the expanding *trekboer* and Cape frontier to the south, and the ever more powerful Griqua states (see below) to the west. Consequently, the Korana intensified their raiding activities on the eastern and southern Highveld, and attached themselves to various Bantu-speaking or Griqua groups or to strong Korana leaders, rather than coalescing within shared lineage groups as they had done hitherto (Legassick 2010 [1969]: 176; see Ouzman 2005 for the rock art of Korana peoples in the modern Free State and

North West Provinces). The results included new social structures and systems of identification based on power, lucre, and protection rather than kinship, which became even more pronounced in the Griqua and Oorlam states of the Middle Orange River.

Terminologically, 'Oorlam' and 'Griqua' are particularly confusing and often conflated in both colonial and modern academic research; the current consensus among historians and anthropologists is that 'Oorlam' is the broader of the two categories, referring to societies with a nucleus of 'Bastaards' but also featuring a motley collection of fugitives and Korana. Oorlam groups largely spoke Low Dutch and, as a result of their removal north of the Cape boundary and acquisition of guns and horses, by the early nineteenth century had achieved a measure of independence and security premised upon military capabilities (Penn 2005: 167). Eighteenth-century early Oorlam social formations resembled gangs more than anything else: families and individuals with the means and wherewithal to accumulate large amounts of land, wealth (either in cattle or money), and munitions could consolidate large followings, raid rival groups, and protect themselves from the raids of Dutch burghers or the incursions of Cape militia. The most significant such families included the Barends, the Afrikaaners (both of mixed Khoekhoe, slave, and European descent), and the Koks, the latter of which became the founding lineage of the Griquas.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Griquas had become one of the most influential of the Oorlam groups. The Griqua progenitor Adam Kok I, along with his sons, built up an extensive following on the Orange River and, with several other Oorlam groups, established themselves as vital middlemen in the trade between the Cape and the northern interior. By virtue of their European ancestry, the Griquas were able to acquire guns, horses, ammunition, beads, and other goods from the Cape and

livestock and grain from the interior, and facilitate the exchange of these items with trading clients (Legassick 2010 [1969]: 111-7; see also Ross 1976). Much the same as their Korana relatives, Griqua (and other 'Bastaard' groups) were primarily pastoralists, with hunting and trade supplementing an economy based on maintaining herds of sheep and cattle in the arid Karoo. Consequently, the LMS missionary William Anderson's early nineteenth-century campaign to convince the Griqua to take up agriculture was hard-fought, but ultimately resulted in the cultivation of fields around the town (and eventual mission station) of Klaarwater, and Griqua occupation of the rectilinear, stone-walled houses that Anderson convinced them to build (Legassick 2010 [1969]: 85-6). As a result of their relationships with missionaries and eventual conversion to Christianity, Griqua and other Oorlam groups were able to gain greater access to the Cape markets, in addition to being credited with being more 'civilised' through their exposure to Christianising influences.

By the 1820s and due to the patronage of the LMS, Klaarwater had become the core of Griqua/'Bastaard'/Oorlam activity in the Karoo and had grown to include several thousand inhabitants, including absorbing a substantial number of Korana, Bushmen, and slaves from the Cape. In an effort to subsume these ethnic differences by emphasising (or over-emphasising) a shared cultural identity, the Rev. John Campbell suggested changing the town's name to Griquatown, which became the epicentre of the Griqua frontier state (Legassick 2010 [1969]: 95-6). Livestock and agriculture were crucial to the mission of creating a 'civilised' Griqua state: writing in opposition to the Cape Colony's attempt to cut off Griqua trade with Cape Town, the Rev. John Philip wrote that if a pastoralist people were to lose their herds, they would almost instantly revert to plunder and banditry, while agriculture remained one of the major Protestant paths to industry and, by extension, to morality and rationality (Legassick

2010 [1969]: 99). Nevertheless, the Griqua state experienced almost constant internal turmoil: rival ‘big men’ such as Adam Kok II and Andries Waterboer (representing a new order that sought to buck the traditional leadership of the Kok clan) competed for control over livestock, militia, and land, while missionaries and Griquas attempted to manipulate each other to achieve their various ends. These internecine conflicts led to the fragmentation and fission of groups under emergent leaders from the Griqua state, and the establishment of numerous semi-autonomous Oorlam entities in the Karoo and along the Orange River. These lived varyingly as traders, raiders, and stock-keepers, and as societies featuring combinations of Korana, Bushmen, freed or escaped slaves, and outlaws.

As much as ‘Bastaard’, Oorlam, and Griqua were categories with racial underpinnings and denoting racial observations, they were, as Legassick (2010 [1969]: 46) reminds us, equally (or even more often) culturally and economically defined categories. Within both Dutch and British Cape cultural hierarchies, ‘Bastards’ occupied shifting positions, initially being perceived as more European and thus higher-status than Khoekhoen and Bushmen, and later in the nineteenth century seen as a class of servants and occasionally outlaws who were less deserving of colonial protection than, say, the Kat River Khoekhoen or Bushmen (Penn 2005: 165, 231). The Griqua case also illustrates that, while subsistence practices can be implicated in social and ethnic categories, these same practices can be imposed or elected as much as inherited, and that this distinction can often be lost as ethnic categories become increasingly entrenched. Griquas and Oorlams took up agriculture only at the insistence of LMS missionaries, and in the 1830s often turned to the more civilised and industrious Sotho-Tswana groups when Griqua crops failed (e.g. Legassick 2010 [1969]: 307). Similarly, the Korana came to be seen as a horde of raiders (e.g.

Shepstone 1850), despite the fact that they emerged as such from more committed pastoralist origins within the space of one or two generations.

Turning to tribes-as-nations, the early nineteenth century saw the rise of powerful chiefdoms, polities under the authority of a single leader or lineage. African 'nation-builders' forged ethnic identities by invoking and manipulating cultural institutions such as ancestral affinities and socio-economic status (e.g. the AmaLala), age-based regiments (e.g. the Zulu), and origins stories (e.g. the BaTaung of Moletsane, see Chapter 4.2), and deployed these ethnicities to produce military and political units. Particularly on the Highveld and in the Maloti-Drakensberg, institutions such as *seboko* and *sechaba* became especially significant institutions along which political lines were drawn, and are addressed further in Chapter 4. Both Sesotho terms, *seboko* (pl. *liboko*) refers to the totem with which a particular lineage or descent group identifies (and several related *liboko* could be aggregated into what was effectively a clan), while *sechaba* refers to a political organisation encompassing numerous *liboko* that may or may not be related to one another (see Maggs 1976: 303-6). Distinguishing between the two concepts as they manifested themselves historically is challenging and demands close scrutiny of internal group dynamics. In some cases totems and descent groups formed the foundations of political movements, which would then grow to incorporate diverse groups of followers (e.g. Moletsane's BaTaung). In other cases such as Moshoeshoe's Basotho, the *sechaba* was fundamentally heterogeneous (and to a degree ethnogenetic) and an aristocratic *seboko* (in this case Moshoeshoe's BaKoena ba Mokoteli) was present but was not the dominant unifying political institution for the *sechaba*. However, both *seboko* and *sechaba* were, in a sense, political entities. As David Hammond-Tooke (1985) has observed, Southern Bantu-speaker kinship structures are inherently divisive: agnatic

kinship in particular (prevalent in southern African Bantu-speaker societies) can pit male descendants against one another for resources and power. Moreover, marriage alliances that incorporate other lineages, a practice that underpinned the build-up of many nineteenth-century southern African nations, can produce tensions between the households involved (cf. Whitelaw 2013). Thus, while political authority in a *sechaba* was largely negotiated on the basis of land or cattle grants that leaders bestowed upon subordinates or allies regardless of kin affiliation, kinship and *liboko* were still often entangled with political manoeuvres at various levels. The authority of a chief inhered, in part, in his (or, in the case of 'MaNthatisi, her) ability to manipulate the institutions of *sechaba* and *seboko* in such a way as to marshal a following.

This discussion gives a sense of the complexities of indigenous political organisation that were playing out on the southern African colonial landscape in the nineteenth century, and how these may have been apprehended by colonial observers and politicians. As noted above, designations of tribes as 'nations' with which colonial authorities could negotiate or compete for influence rested on the visibility of recognisable political institutions and hierarchies. Thus, these designations may have been apt, but largely overlooked or simplified the intricate interactions between relationships rooted in kinship and tributary obligations going on beneath the surface of a nation.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, European encounters with 'tribes' of various forms emphasised identifying which of these could be allies, converts, or enemies; these categories were, however, highly contingent. 'Nations' were those with political power manifested in large popular followings, social hierarchies (often exaggerated in the minds of colonial observers), wealth in livestock and crops, and

‘Great Places’ or political centres. ‘Bushmen’ possessed the potential for redemption, but were incorrigibly attached to their anti-social ways, unwilling to understand personal property and settled life (but see McGranaghan 2014a, 2014b). The nomadism of the Khoekhoen posed a similar problem, although they were thought to possess the potential for conversion and salvation through industry. Furthermore, as a class subordinate to the ‘ruling’ Xhosa and more civil than the marauding Mfengu, the Khoekhoen of the Kat River Settlement were seen as potential British allies against these other tribal factions (Ross 2003).

Whether colonists viewed groups as hordes or as nations depended almost entirely upon the ever-shifting needs and desires of individual colonists and the colonial government. For example, on the Highveld the BaTlokoa of 'MaNthatisi were one of many chiefly polities competing for control of lands around the Caledon River in the early nineteenth century, described further in Chapter 4.2. Marion Walsham How (1954: 67) has noted that during the violent skirmishes that took place on the Caledon, ‘[t]he terror of weaker tribes, and the confusion about the names of tribes among lonely colonists [...] apparently made people excited enough to believe almost anything,’ and thus resulted in misidentifications of which peoples were responsible for which actions (see also Coplan 2000a: 120). Consequently, the name ‘Mantatees’ that was originally applied to 'MaNthatisi’s followers was erroneously used by the LMS missionary Robert Moffat to describe the Sotho-speaking perpetrators of an attack on the mission station at Kuruman (also known as the town Lithakong, described in Chapter 2.1.1 above). ‘Mantatees’ thus became a fairly amorphous, blanket term for a ‘marauding horde’, while the BaTlokoa of 'MaNthatisi and her son Sekonyela became valued as Boer allies against Moshoeshoe’s attempts at territorial expansion onto the Highveld (e.g. Orpen 1908: 236, 255).

As these categories of natives developed, ethnic ascriptions came to embody the sets of behavioural traits described above, and to function as shorthand for such traits. By the same token, designations such as Tswana, Hottentot, or Bushman were often applied to people on the basis of stereotyped behaviour.

#### **2.1.4. Aggressive expansionism**

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Stockenström's treaties were abrogated and expansionist wars continued along the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. Cape policy towards natives shifted again under governors such as Peregrine Maitland (1844-1847), Henry Pottinger (1847), and Harry Smith (1847-1852): aggressive expansionism prevailed and governance of natives through traditional institutions continued to be the norm, with special attention paid to those peoples considered loyal or at least pliable to colonial interests. A host of native reserves were created, set aside for the use of particular 'scattered' tribes who had lost their lands during the successive Frontier Wars between the Cape Colony and the Xhosa. In these reserves, occupation was contingent upon adherence to regulations on traditional lifeways and service to the Cape (e.g. Lester 1998). Family units were allowed a limited amount of cattle and pasture and were encouraged to farm and attend church, thus developing into a 'native peasantry' (Crais 1992: 197; see Chapter 5). Members of the Rharhabe Xhosa lineage (including lesser branches like the AmaGqunukwebe) and of the Mfengu who were willing to fight with the British against powerful chiefs on the frontier were both permitted to live within such reserves. Treaties were also made with chiefs who demonstrated the potential for co-operation with colonial agendas (such as Moshoeshoe), while those who could not (such as Mapassa and his Thembu) were undermined or annihilated altogether (Mager 2013).

By the 1850s on the northern frontier of the Cape, surviving !Xam Bushmen were losing their war of attrition against the advancing settler frontier as the Karoo was being integrated into the colonial state (McGranaghan 2012: 129), leading to the conclusion that the Bushmen were a 'doomed people' (V. Ellenberger 1953; Guenther 1999: 208-9). On the colony's eastern frontier and in Natal (annexed by Britain in 1840), however, Bushmen continued to operate from the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains, raiding and keeping livestock (Jolly 2007; Challis 2008) and attempting to maintain a fairly autonomous existence (Wright 1971; P. Mitchell 2010; see Chapter 3.2). Groups of 'Bushman raiders' (or so the colonists inaccurately dubbed the African groups that stole their cattle and retreated to the mountains, see Chapter 3.2, Wright 2007, and Challis 2008) became the scourge of both Bantu-speaking and white settlers in the Drakensberg foothills, impeding settlement and draining the resources of the colony of Natal.

### **2.1.5. Tribes in the early twentieth century**

Through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tribal identities became increasingly spatially demarcated and codified. By the late 1800s, the various frontier conflicts outlined above had largely been settled (although the South African War of 1899-1902 would present conflict of a different sort) and the Cape's government turned its attention to how best to administer native communities in its territories. This imperative, as well as an intellectual climate of ethnological curiosity about native peoples, produced a number of significant oral historical and ethnographic projects. Sir Walter Stanford, for example, who had served as a magistrate in the districts of Tembuland and East Griqualand and was eventually appointed to the Cape's Native Affairs Commission (1903-1905), contacted colleagues for assistance in compiling current or remembered native testimonies about the histories of particular tribes. In

Natal, James Stuart embarked upon a quest to develop a nuanced understanding of African history and culture (in particular of the Zulu) so as to promote better government of native peoples through an enhanced understanding of their customs (Wright 1996). George McCall Theal undertook comparable work on behalf of J.W. Sauer, the Cape Secretary for Native Affairs, which grew into a life-long project of southern African history and ethnography. In part these were intellectual endeavours, but they also served the practical purpose of allowing offices responsible for native governance to implement regulations that took cognisance of native customs (Maquarrie 1958: xv-xvi; Hamilton 1998: 141-2).

At around the same time, George Stow, a geologist with an interest in Bushman history, began to compile his ethnohistory *The Native Races of South Africa* (Stow 1905) in consultation with others engaged in similar projects such as Wilhelm Bleek, Lucy Lloyd, and Charles Orpen (Skotnes 2008: 57-64). David-Frédéric Ellenberger's *History of the Basuto* and Joseph Orpen's notes indicating his interest in compiling his own history of southern African Indigenous peoples were also part of this milieu (see Appendices B and C).

Stow's *Native Races* became an authoritative source of southern African native history but, as his subtitle (*A History of the intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the hunting grounds of the Bushmen, the aborigines of the country*) demonstrates, he had an explicit agenda of proving non-Bushman peoples to be immigrant usurpers. In the process, he exaggerated the movements of the 'Hottentots' (the more mobile residents of the western subcontinent, while the 'Kaffirs' inhabited the east) and, while he rigorously challenged some oral historical sources and informants, he rejected others out of hand where they disagreed with his own views (Eldredge 1988:

200). The pendulum also swung the other way: while Stow's biases caused him to view Bantu peoples as uncivilised invaders, Orpen and D.F. Ellenberger can be (and have been, Gill 1992) accused of heaping praise upon the Basotho as the most 'civilised' Africans by virtue of their industry and social complexity. Orpen's and Ellenberger's views are discussed more fully in Appendices B and C, but here it is sufficient to note that both adhere to the standards of 'tribes as nations' *versus* 'tribes as hordes' laid out above, with the Basotho being considered the most advanced of the former. These and other contemporary (and largely amateur) ethnologists critiqued and informed one another: Orpen (1917) denounced Stow's and Theal's work as 'not reliable', and his distaste for the former went so far that he referred to Stow as 'a fat, lazy man' in letters to Ellenberger.

In this review of early southern African ethnologies, we can see that ethnonyms were used to evoke not only social affiliations but also to denote a suite of behaviours, many referring to subsistence but also to lawfulness or lawlessness. 'Farmers' became a useful cipher for describing peoples who had progressed along the path to civilisation. By contrast, 'Bushman' emerged as a label denoting itinerancy and lawlessness, resulting in the term's application as an ethnic label to people who might have come from a Bantu-speaking background but engaged in raiding activities (see below and Chapter 3.2). Many of these designations were apt, while others were more contingent, tending to overlook nuances of ethnic self-identification and the fact that subsistence can be imposed as well as negotiated. Of particular note is the shifting political significance of the category of 'tribe'. Tribes-as-nations were the necessary counterparts of the early nineteenth-century treaty system, possessing state institutions that colonial governments could recognise and address. However, whether particular tribes became treaty partners or scourges of the colony depended upon the needs and

desires of both the colonial government and the settlers themselves in a particular context. Arguably, this was as much a matter of colonial perceptions as of subjects' choices to engage in behaviours that conformed to or conflicted with colonial expectations. The following section explores this proposition in greater detail through various conceptual frameworks and illustrative case studies.

## **2.2. BORDERLANDS AND HETERODOXIES**

Borderlands – spaces intrinsically associated with cultural negotiation and dynamism – are ideal for looking at how these prevailing ethnic types and their constituent elements can be re-visited and manipulated. While historians and anthropologists often align the concepts of 'borderlands' and 'frontiers,' the two denote subtly different geographies and processes, with the latter having a particular currency in anthropological thought. Frontiers are perhaps most usefully conceived as conceptual locales or phenomena in which personal and group identities are contingent and unpredictable, as are the processes through which they form (Boccara 2003: 60; Blundell 2004: 146; cf. Kopytoff 1987). From an anthropological perspective, frontiers are places in which cultures do not simply meet, but take on dynamic qualities, intermingle, and interrelate, often producing new identities in the process. A classic example of this is Richard White's (1991) *The Middle Ground*, which examines the cultural forms that arose as Europeans and Algonquins were compelled to produce a mutually intelligible and accessible society in North America's Great Lakes region.

Borderlands have similar features to frontiers, and from an anthropological perspective they can behave in a similar manner. From historical and geographical

standpoints, however, I follow Adelman and Aron (1999) in recognising some significant differences between the two. Most fundamentally, frontiers are areas where cultural and political boundaries are not defined. These are 'borderless' places, where 'intercultural relations produced mixing and accommodation as opposed to unambiguous triumph' (Adelman and Aron 1999: 815-6); in southern Africa, the eighteenth-century northern frontier of the Cape Colony (Penn 2005) is an excellent example. Borderlands, on the other hand, are more interstitial than liminal: they are literally the 'in between' spaces that exist when borders are fluid, contested, and potentially 'inclusive' of different peoples and cultures. Borderlands close when national borders solidify and become 'exclusive' (Adelman and Aron 1999: 816) and borderland inhabitants whose cultures and lifeways had been premised upon inclusivity find themselves at a loss. This is precisely the situation in which the BaPhuthi found themselves (see Chapters 5 and 6): at various points in the nineteenth century, it is possible to observe them exploiting the uncertainty of the borderlands that they occupied between the eastern part of the Cape Colony, Moshoeshoe's Basotho state, and the Orange Free State, and, once these borderlands became borders, to see them struggle and ultimately collapse.

In southern African historiography, the 'frontier' concept has a considerable pedigree (Legassick 1980; Kopytoff 1987; Penn 2005: 10-14), while 'borderlands' are a relatively recent introduction (Landau 2010: 2-6). In both spaces, however, heterodox and orthodox ideas and practices, to borrow Laura Mitchell's (2008) formulation, exist in tension. On the colonial frontier, orthodoxy 'was an affinity with colonial authority,' and conformance with the expectations of that authority. Heterodoxy took in a range of actions from banditry to unconventional households or marriages to marginal land claims, all of which contested the expectations of authority. Viewed

thus, actions such as cattle raiding, illegal settlement, and decisions to pursue a mobile way of life as opposed to a sedentary one become significant choices for negotiating the nature of colonial borderlands and the encounters within them.

These features of borderland contexts encourage us to re-examine the traits underpinning the ethnonyms described in the first half of this chapter (i.e. subsistence-related behaviour and associated social institutions) as a set of contingent decisions rather than as culturally heritable traits (Ingold 2000: 145-7). This resonates with observations made above about ethnic identities being historically ascribed or imposed based on a restricted range of specific behaviours (such as perceived subsistence commitments), physical attributes, or material *accoutrements*: in some instances, colonial witnesses may have labelled someone as a ‘Bushman’ because he was raiding or hunting, or as a ‘farmer’ because he was tending a field, when in reality the witness was describing an economic decision or the culmination of a series of such decisions<sup>6</sup> (see Chapter 2.3 below). Moreover, the ability of, for example, farmers to take up foraging and of foragers to raid and keep livestock demonstrates that these practices are, to some degree, mutually intelligible and accessible (McGranaghan in press). Indeed, in the last few decades, the equation of different diets (and/or food activities) with different populations has rightly been called into question, and studies of the axes of sociocultural variation along which these activities occur have come to the fore (Twiss 2012). Within hunter-gatherer studies, but with potentially broader applications, anthropologists have suggested that we consider how practices of managing and extracting resources are socialised among various communities (e.g. Ingold 2000; Pluciennik 2008: 77-81), rather than assuming *a*

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<sup>6</sup> Of course, not all observers and observations should be held equal. People such as Joseph Orpen were more intimately familiar with nuances of African ethnic identities than most nineteenth-century European settlers in South Africa.

*priori* that certain resources are inaccessible to peoples because such knowledge is not culturally ingrained or inherited.

The exciting corollary of thus undermining perceptions of communities as united by the twin determinants of subsistence and heritable social institutions is that many of the barriers once thought to separate populations of farmers, foragers, and pastoralists become flexible or disappear entirely. Recognising that resource procurement (whether cultivation, foraging, animal husbandry, or theft) and community formation are as much rooted in the political contingencies (and, often, deliberate choices) as they are in cultural traditions encourages us to explore situations where sociocultural identities may form around shared interests and practices (cf. Stahl *et al.* 2008).

A classic example of this is Eric Hobsbawm's (2000 [1969]: 16, 81-2) seminal study of 'social bandits', individuals or outlaw collectives (often comprising diverse cultural backgrounds) that gain a measure of regional power within unstable hegemonies by opposing dominant authorities, frequently with the support of malcontent peasant communities. More than simple criminals but less ideologically inspired than revolutionaries, these social bandits exemplify how heterodox behaviours such as raiding and nomadism can derive from economic motives, but carry social currency that allow their perpetrators to gain power, honour, popular followings, and, most importantly, an accepted social position within their community. Hobsbawm's concept of 'social bandits' articulates well with Laura Mitchell's heterodox/orthodox dynamic. Her perspective rejects conceptions of colonial engagements cast primarily in terms of settler-meets-native or coloniser-meets-subject, focusing instead on how colonising and colonised peoples respond to and engage with the expectations imposed upon them by the metropole (L. Mitchell 2008: 16). Hobsbawm's 'social

bandits' are the sort of heterodox phenomena one would expect within this framework, and are particularly valuable reminders that borderland heterodoxies can transgress the ethnonyms imposed by colonisers. However, Hobsbawm's Marxist historical framework casts banditry as a reactionary protest against the introduction of capitalist economies, and in so doing overlooks the pre-industrial or pre-colonial social history of its practitioners. Thus, one *could* view heterodox peoples such as the BaPhuthi as 'social bandits' reacting to the constraints imposed upon them by colonialism, which is the essence of Anthony Atmore's (1970) and Sanders's (2011) arguments. However, it is perhaps more useful to investigate whether those behaviours viewed by colonial observers as heterodox were more entrenched in BaPhuthi culture prior to colonisation, and whether colonialism was in fact the dominant factor behind features of the BaPhuthi such as cattle raiding, mobility, and the formation of culturally heterogeneous bands.

### **2.3. HYBRIDITY AND ETHNOGENESIS**

Focusing on the histories of these heterodoxies brings polities such as the BaPhuthi and similarly hybridised cultures to the fore. By 'hybrid', I mean cultural forms that are 'reflexively – self-consciously – mixed, that is, syntheses of cultural forms or fragments of diverse origins' (Erikson 2007: 172). In Thomas Erikson's (2007) formulation of hybridity, the focus falls on the actions and constructions that shape a community; as such, hybridity directs attention away from identifying the individual groups that a society comprises and toward a vision of hybrid societies as representing 'nationalism writ small'.

This approach has significant heuristic potential for examining polities such as the BaPhuthi and similar raiding groups in the eastern part of the Cape Colony and Basutoland. While these were demonstrably syncretised cultures (e.g. Jolly 1993; Challis 2008), formed from amalgamations of ancestral BaPhuthi, Basotho, Bushmen, and other, Nguni-speaking societies (as Chapters 4-6 will demonstrate), the general lack of material and ethnographic investigations of many of these constituent cultures precludes an identification of the nodes at which syncretisation occurred; in other words, as much as recent scholarship has demanded a focus on cultural ‘routes’ rather than ‘roots’ (Stahl 2010), investigations exploring cultural change demand the establishment of a baseline for comparison, and here it is lacking. Conceiving the BaPhuthi as hybrid, a premise supported through detailed historical investigation, acknowledges their social complexity as well as the murkiness of the BaPhuthi’s constituent cultural elements. Furthermore, this understanding of the BaPhuthi permits an exploration of the polity as a cultural production in and of a particular set of historical circumstances.

While an emic, ‘insider’ view (Smith 2010) of how this hybridisation emerged is not possible here (unlike in other contemporary, neighbouring raiding groups, see below), archival evidence does demonstrate that the BaPhuthi united out of mutual political and economic self-interest, and thus that their culture and material culture can be taken as part of a process of ethnogenesis. In claiming this, I follow Barbara Voss (2008: 33-5) in taking ethnogenesis as the cultural creativity often associated with subaltern resistance to (usually colonial) domination; however, a focus on the subaltern should not be so myopic as to ignore the potential for ethnogenetic societies to institutionalise their own authority and control while seeking autonomy from others. Consequently, and as is the case with all instances of deliberate identification,

establishing relationships of similarity and difference is crucial for maintaining coherent identities (Meskell 2002: 280): to imagine and enact who 'we' are demands imagining or designating who 'they' are. These identification practices thus implicate the internal social factors and material practices at work in maintaining relationships of coherence, and can provide a window on how hybrid societies emerge and exist.

Within the last few decades, the nineteenth-century Maloti-Drakensberg has proven to be an ideal vantage point from which to observe such phenomena. Historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists have drawn attention to the fact that 'Bushman' raiding bands comprised a diverse mixture of ethnic backgrounds, united (albeit temporarily) for the purpose of launching cattle raids (Wright 1971, 2007). Rock art, in particular, has provided a great deal of insight into these processes. In the former Nomansland area of what is today South Africa's Eastern Cape Province, Geoff Blundell (2004) has described the 'Type 2' painting tradition (featuring monochrome or bichrome figures painted in profile and utilising 'blocks' of colour) as part of a process wherein members of some of these bands evoked features of aboriginal Bushman culture. Building on Blundell's work in the northern Eastern Cape, Lara Mallen (2008) has described another type of images painted in a distinctive style, showing colonial imagery, and superimposed on pre-existing traditional fine-line images. She argues that these 'Type 3' images (finger-painted human figures in European clothing) are deliberate attempts by the artists, members of mixed raiding bands, to exert their authority over that of past painters. A little to the north, and focused in large part in the south-eastern Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains, Sam Challis (2008) has offered perhaps the most highly refined description of the dynamics at work within at least one nineteenth-century raiding band, the AmaTola. While the AmaTola are historically depicted as 'Bushmen', they were in fact a coherent group

of Bushmen, Khoekhoen, and Bantu-speakers, especially Xhosa-speakers. Challis attributes paintings of baboons and horses to the AmaTola, arguing that baboons were a symbolic touchstone that facilitated the formation of a shared cosmology: baboons and their association with root medicines that confer protection during cattle raids mounted on horseback were cultural cognates common to Bushmen, Khoekhoen, and Xhosa alike, thus permitting the AmaTola to forge a creolised identity and worldview around these beliefs.

These studies all make major contributions to an understanding of how identities were formed and expressed, but it is important to bear in mind Voss's (2008: 25) observation that identities have social properties akin to icebergs: '[W]hat is enunciated on the surface of social discourse is only a small fraction of the identification, which obtains its mass and momentum from its vastly larger, submerged components.' These murkier properties can include authoritative institutions that, as Jeffrey Fleisher and Stephanie Wynne-Jones (2010) have observed in an East African Swahili context, can be more diffuse and driven by collective need or desire rather than by centralised force; I return to the potential for such institutions to emerge in Chapter 8.

Writing from the perspective of the sixteenth- and eighteenth-century frontier between Spain's South American empire and the Indigenous inhabitants of central/southern Chile and Patagonia, Guillaume Boccara (1999, 2003) further reminds us not to take ethnogenesis as a purely reactionary phenomenon or as coterminous with the colonial frontier<sup>7</sup>: while in some cases ethnogenesis may be a response or an act of resistance

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<sup>7</sup> Materials pertaining to the Mapuche case study (described both here and later in the Coda following Chapter 6) are primarily in Spanish. All translations and summaries thereof are my own.

to a changing (or colonised) social order, the potentials and social frameworks underpinning ethnogenetic phenomena may pre-date the creation of the frontier. Focusing on the emergence of Mapuche, Boccara has approached the creation of 'tribal' ethnicities in a manner similar to that attempted in the first half of this chapter, demonstrating that depictions of barbarous tribes and chiefly powers were often more a feature of colonial imaginations and needs than an indigenous reality (Boccara 2003). 'Mapuche' identity was, in fact, incredibly heterogeneous and several centuries in the making, beginning with the ancestral Reche or Araucanians in the fourteenth century. Both Reche and later Mapuche cosmologies were premised upon warfare and the need to assimilate the social and symbolic differences of those people taken captive; thus, Reche and Mapuche cultures were intrinsically inclined towards incorporating difference. Through a careful reading of historical and ethnohistorical sources, Boccara has re-constructed an emic perspective of Reche worldview and social organization to demonstrate how these changed with the advent first of agricultural intensification, then of European market tastes, and finally of Europeans themselves in the eighteenth century (Boccara 1999). Mapuche ethnogenesis was therefore not solely a consequence of these encounters: Reche culture was ethnogenetic long before the arrival of Europeans in South America, and the preconditions for Mapuche to combine Reche and European cultures and cosmologies had existed for centuries. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Mapuche identity therefore can best be seen as the synthesis of an indigenous culture naturally predisposed to syncretism with Spanish-Creole culture on the frontier.

Resolving such sociohistorical processes at work in the past demands a 'promiscuous' (Voss 2007) engagement with objects, archives, and ethnographic and oral historical accounts as mutually reinforcing strands of evidence (Wylie 1989). Each strand merits

particular dissection, attentive to how its constituent parts were formed and what may have been omitted (Trouillot 1995: 26-7), and to the consonances and dissonances that appear between the strands when they are intertwined (Stahl 2001: 36-40). Pragmatically, it is also necessary to acknowledge that some strands may be ‘thicker’ than others: in the case of the BaPhuthi the archival and ethnohistorical records are much richer than the archaeological record because, as will be seen, the BaPhuthi’s archaeological footprint was highly ephemeral. In this case, the narrative burden rests heavily on the non-archaeological strands, demanding critical analysis of these lest the past is rendered ambivalent or impartial.

However, writing from the perspective of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Alta California, Voss’s (2007) exhortation to engage with multiple types of materials serves as a reminder that ethnogenetic processes can take in a variety of material routes and ‘types’. For instance, in her extensive study of Spanish occupation of the lands around present-day San Francisco, Voss (2008: 147) emphasises that appropriation and transformation of the Alta California landscape was a significant part of the framework for an emergent *Californio* identity. Between 1771 and 1776, the Spanish military established two perpendicular cordons of *presidios* running north-south along the Pacific Ocean coast and eastward from San Diego, effectively structuring the colonial landscape along axes that traced risk, danger, contact, and profit. Colonial authorities and *Californios* alike imagined their worlds along these axes as a gradient of colonial and military presence on the coast, conflict with natives in the western Rocky Mountains, and vacant or unknown lands beyond this (Voss 2008: 150-1). Each *presidio* was a self-aware node in a colonial network (*sensu* Latour 1999) and the relations between *presidios* and along the axes of Spanish defence defined the spatial and conceptual frames of *Californio* identity: they

embodied the degrees of distance and difference that people could place between themselves and ‘others’<sup>8</sup>.

Similarly, the recursive relationship between landscape, identity, and political economy is central to James Scott’s (2009) thesis and was mentioned in the preceding chapter. Scott’s analysis emphasises that even within a colony or nation-state where geographic borders may be defined by a ruling power, landscape becomes a significant means for local people to negotiate and define their identities within that hegemonic system (cf. Scott 1998). The upland region of southeast Asia that Scott refers to as Zomia straddles nine countries and is, he argues, a geopolitical space crafted entirely by peoples seeking to avoid the strictures of their natal countries. Rather than practising large-scale agriculture or subscribing to the religious or social institutions particular to specific nations, the inhabitants of Zomia have fashioned a landscape from nomadic agricultural practices within rugged topography, which enables them to exist in mobile, ethnically fluid bands and thus keep state governments at arm’s length (Scott 2009: 2-3).

Turning from landscapes to objects, Chris Gosden’s (2004: 153) formulation of colonialism as a phenomenon in which ‘material culture moves people, both culturally and physically, leading them to expand geographically, to accept new material forms and to set up power structures around a desire for material culture’ should also be borne in mind when discussing an archaeology of ethnogenesis in the Maloti-Drakensberg. Conceiving colonial and ethnogenetic experiences along these lines encourages archaeologists to go beyond searching for points of cultural contact,

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<sup>8</sup> This resonates with Ingold’s (2011: 148) and Latour’s (1999: 15) respective theorisations of meshwork and network which, while contrasting in some respects, broadly concur in defining landscape as the relationships inhering in the paths between nodes rather than the nodes themselves (cf. Byrne 2003).

domination, and subordination (Silliman 2005) and to focus instead on the values and behaviours of objects within a colonial milieu. Invoking Nicholas Thomas's (1991) notion of entanglement, colonialism demands that people navigate choices between new materials (e.g. guns, horses, beads, manufactured wares) and old ones (e.g. traditional pottery and architecture), making decisions about self-identification that implicate the changing significance of these objects. Working in Ghana, Ann Brower Stahl (2002: 832-3, 842) has argued that taste (a preference for certain practices, styles, or objects based on past experience) is a critical factor underlying these intersections (even tensions) between accepted and novel material values. For her, taste is the embodiment of sensibilities rooted in experiences that often pre-date colonial encounters: inasmuch as colonialism was a process of incorporating colonised peoples into global markets, these same peoples' tastes enabled them to choose what new material forms to adopt, reject, modify, and re-interpret.

At the same time, an archaeology of colonialism should address the changing significance of pre-colonial styles and materials: colonialism not only manifested materially as contact between coloniser and colonised, but as cultural and social changes happening within or between colonised societies. Drawing on Stahl's discussion, Andrew Martindale (2009: 64) has proposed that an archaeological view of identity formation in a colonial context should recognise that 'historical actors were responding to both an understanding of their own historical context and a vision of the future of their communities.' Martindale offers the concept of 'tinkering' to explore how new and familiar material forms were mixed in a colonial setting: colonialism presented new opportunities for using and producing objects, and tinkering entails self-conscious, often uncertain, experimentation with these forms. To take one example, in my own work at the late nineteenth-century site of Ha Makoanyane in

western Lesotho (King *et al.* 2014), I have suggested that the site's residents were engaging in experimental behaviour of the sort Martindale describes, combining new and old styles and deploying accepted material forms in new ways. Ha Makoanyane's architecture blended the well-established regional style of extensive walling and circular huts with European-introduced rectilinear structures (King *et al.* 2014: Figure 5). Excavations produced a ceramic assemblage that, while entirely undecorated, represented three distinct manufacturing traditions wherein it was possible to identify artisans' particular 'quirks' or modifications. This technological diversity bespeaks a scenario in which a wide range of knowledge was available and expressed within a single settlement. Despite the appearance of so many innovations and tastes, however, Ha Makoanyane lacked any European-manufactured goods (metal, ceramics, glass, etc.), with the notable exception of a bead assemblage that contained styles originating in Europe and found at contemporary sites in KwaZulu-Natal (see Chapters 7.4.2 and 8). Proximity to trading posts was certainly not an obstacle to acquiring European-made goods, as there were numerous general stores established in the vicinity of Ha Makoanyane (Eldredge 1993: Table 5), suggesting a degree of intentionality behind the presence of some European-introduced materials and the absence of others. We can thus take Ha Makoanyane as an experience of colonialism that involved engaging with new materials while re-visiting established ones, a process through which individuals and communities negotiated their identities in an environment where colonial encounters were re-shaping borders, governments, markets, and societies.

This experience of colonialism as individuals or communities navigating an understanding of their historical context in tandem with present and future desires,

and acknowledging that that this experience can be materialised, is essential to an archaeological understanding of the BaPhuthi polity, as I discuss in Chapter 8.

In summary, Guillaume Boccara (2003: 71) has suggested that studies of colonial ethnicities should engage in an anthropology of the archive to disentangle what is meant by ‘tribes’ and ‘chiefdoms’, and the individuals and processes that shape them. I have attempted to do so here, both to articulate how conceptions and expectations of southern African tribes have changed through time, and also to lay the groundwork for demonstrating how the BaPhuthi both challenged and contributed to those expectations. In Chapter 7.1, I return to these historical identities and their influence in archaeological identities within the last 500 years. For the moment, it is useful to end this chapter with Gosden’s (2004: 159) (slightly paraphrased) observation that historical identities are materialised as much as they are imagined or created, and to note that, following Martindale, this process can accommodate both new materials and a re-contextualisation or re-imagination of familiar ones. In particular, and as demonstrated in Voss’s and Scott’s work above, these identities (material and imagined) have a spatial frame, as they are defined by and often within a landscape. In the following chapter, I explore the Maloti-Drakensberg region as an active constituent in processes of community formation and identification during the colonial period and, as I suggest, within the last millennium more broadly.

## CHAPTER 3: MARGINAL LANDSCAPES

*The mountains are as a rule a world apart from civilisations, which are an urban and lowland achievement. Their history is to have none, to remain almost always on the fringe of the great waves of civilisation, even the longest and most persistent, which may spread over great distances in the horizontal plane but are powerless to move vertically when faced with an obstacle of a few hundred metres. – Fernand Braudel (1995: 34).*

While Fernand Braudel wrote the above with reference to the Mediterranean, his observation holds true for many mountainous regions across the world: mountains are often at the peripheries of states, and thus constitute a littoral zone in which communities can seek refuge from or resistance to the culture and apparatuses of state authority. The Maloti-Drakensberg region is no exception; here, I discuss how the landscape of the Maloti-Drakensberg region (defined by the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains but including the adjoining lowlands, see Chapter 1: 34) shaped the actions of those who lived, farmed, hunted-and-gathered, and raided there, and who in turn inscribed that landscape with the material and immaterial expressions of their existence. At the heart of this discussion is a desire to disentangle conceptions of the Maloti-Drakensberg landscape as ‘marginal’. In an environmental sense, this term has

been used to characterise the region as inhospitable for settlement by foragers and farmers alike by comparison with regions more favourable for human occupation, such as the western and southern Cape (e.g. Stewart *et al.* 2010). In a social sense, marginality denotes an area at the periphery of governmental control. In what follows, I challenge the former idea and affirm the latter: while the Maloti-Drakensberg landscape poses obvious challenges of climate and terrain, it is nevertheless negotiable and potentially accommodating for those who choose to make use of it; moreover, the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains appear in the colonial period to have been particularly amenable to those wishing to evade rule by both British and traditional African authorities. Put another way, borderlands have spatial expressions and constitute the historical context within which peoples such as the BaPhuthi formed (cf. Denning 1980).

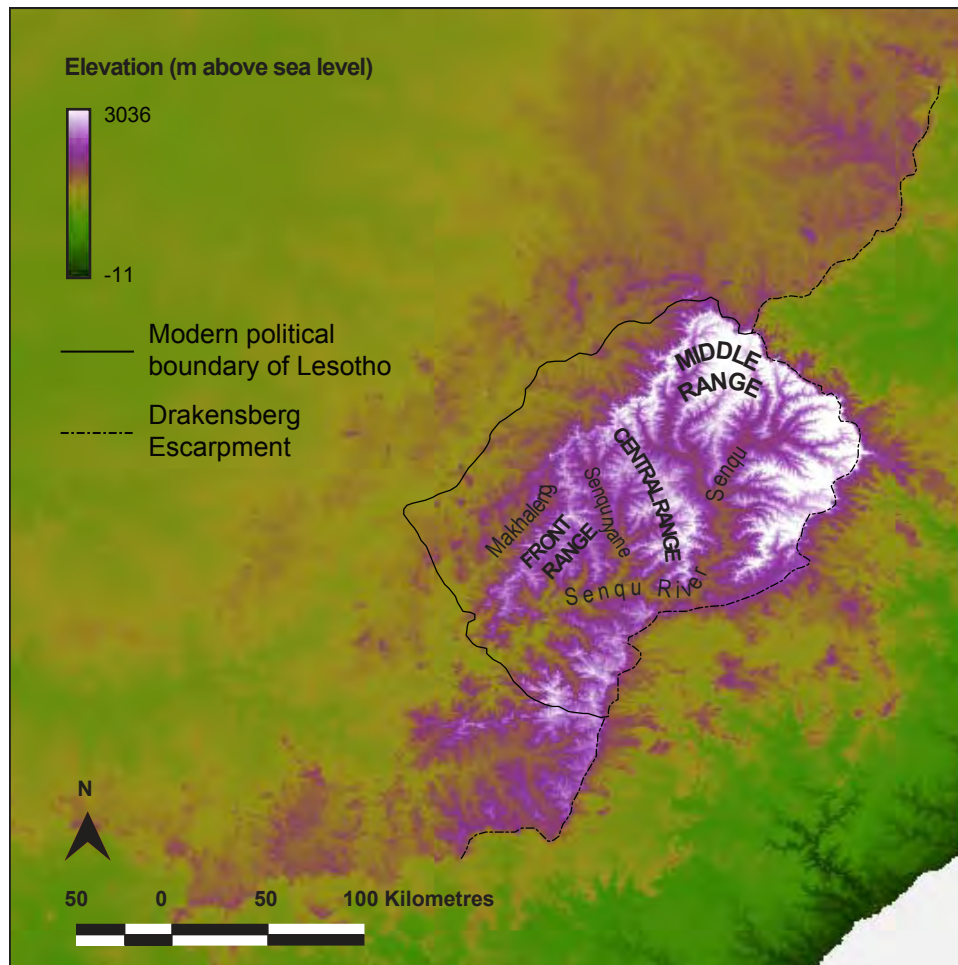
### **3.1. PHYSICAL, CLIMATOLOGICAL, AND BIOTIC FEATURES OF THE MALOTI-DRAKENSBERG**

Approaching the Maloti-Drakensberg region from the west is the sort of experience that elicits a strong response from those who see it for the first time. The Wesleyan missionary William Shepstone had this to say when he arrived at the junction of the Kraai and Senqu Rivers in 1840:

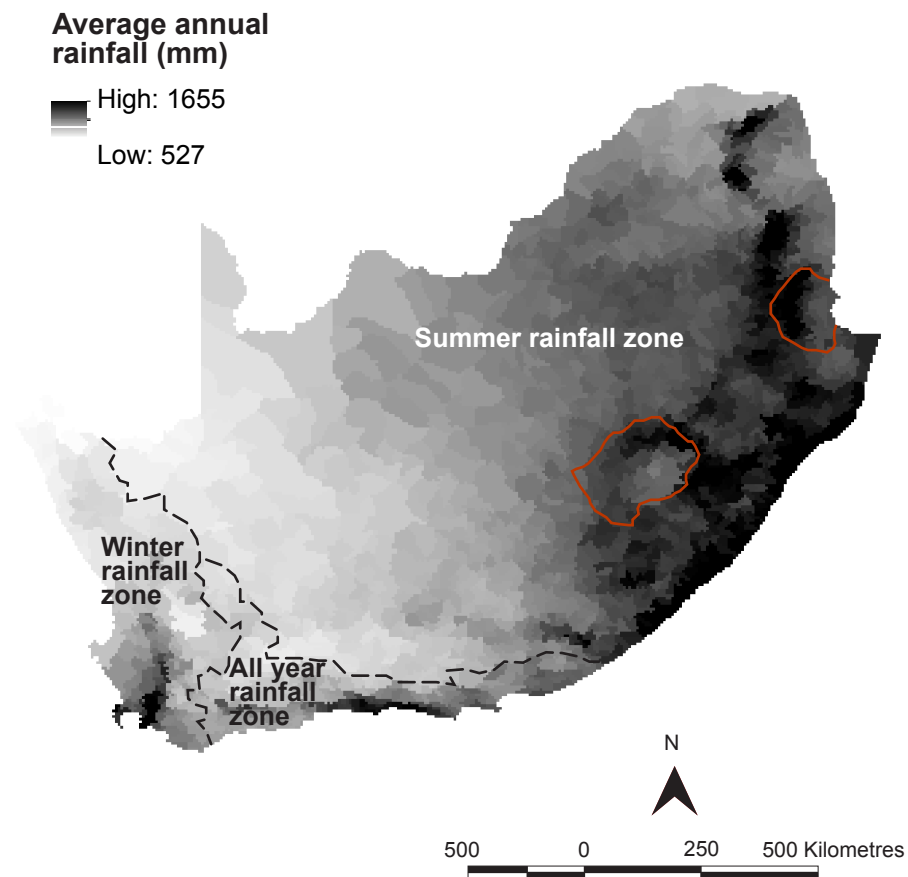
To give an adequate description of this country is very difficult, as we know of none with which to compare it. Imagine that for several hundreds of miles along the north of the Maluti [*sic*] range and from thence to the neighbourhood of Cradock are two extensive planes – the upper and the lower. The upper plane is the table tops of innumerable mountains quite insulated and whose tops vary in size [*illegible*] above field or now and then intersects with a small valley of from five to fifty square miles from

whose perpendicular sides streams of water are generally pouring from fountains which burst forth from the very summit of these almost inaccessible ramparts. [...] Yet the scene is not monotonous, the frequent occurrence of mountains with their grotesque sides, hanging rocks and nodding cliffs leave no void to a mind anxious either to contemplate or speculate.

Andrew Smith was less enthusiastic when he entered the western aspect of the southern Drakensberg Mountains and noted that, 'Though we had not been able to discover [...] qualities in the regions [...] which were calculated to explain why the possession of them had been so [...] desired [...], we had found no difficulty in comprehending why [they] had been with such difficulty acquired and maintained' (Lye 1975: 21). The Wesleyan missionary Stephen Kay (1833: 99) was still more dismal when he described the land as a 'waste howling wilderness.' In any event, the landscape is provocative.



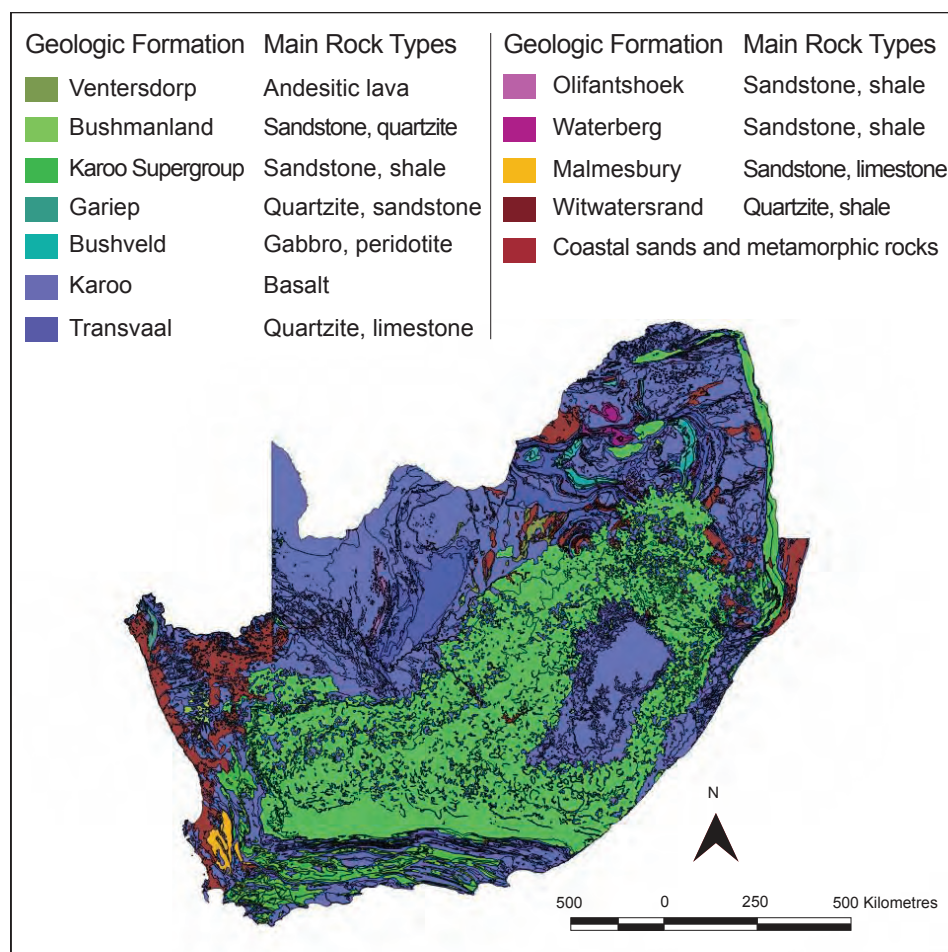
**Figure 3.1.** Digital elevation model of the Maloti-Drakensberg region showing major topographic zones. Data source: CGIAR-CSI, <http://srtm.csi.cgiar.org/>.



*Figure 3.2: Map of southern Africa showing mean annual precipitation. Data source: AGIS 2007.*

The Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains are southern Africa's highest mountains, rising 3,482 metres above sea level (a.s.l.) at their maximum and thus creating a profound rain-shadow effect to the west (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). Topographically, the region is best understood as three sections oriented north-south: in the west, a series of tablelands bordering the plains of present-day South Africa's Free State Province rise to 1,750 m a.s.l. at their maximum; moving east one encounters the Maloti Mountains in Lesotho, which consist of the foothills in the modern districts of Berea and Butha-Buthe, followed by the Front and Central Ranges (partly separated by the Makhalleng and Senqunyane Rivers), which are incised by the Senqu River east before the land rises again; and finally the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Escarpment itself. The

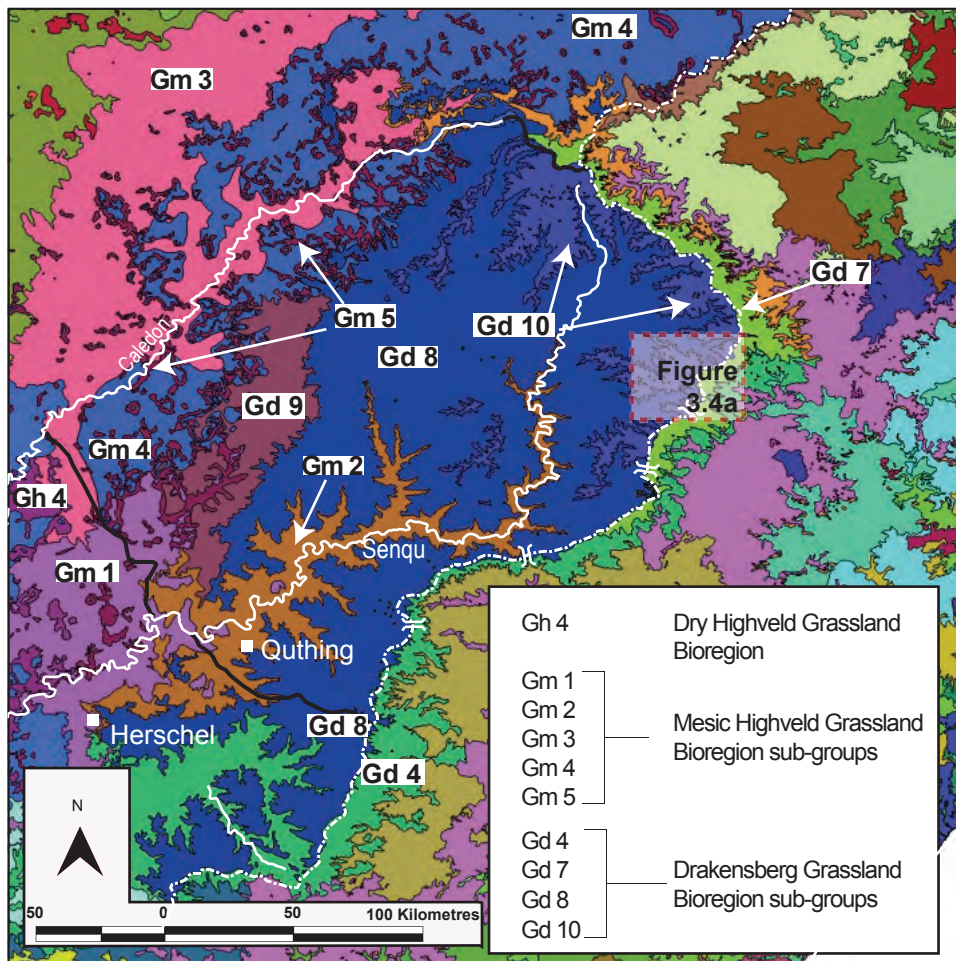
mountains are highly varied geologically (Figure 3.3), but south of the 26°S parallel rest on Karoo Supergroup formations (Vorster 2003); in Lesotho and in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province, this includes Clarens and Elliot sandstones topped by thick basalts, while due north of Lesotho along the modern KwaZulu-Natal-Free State border the basal stratum is Beaufort rocks (McCarthy and Rubidge 2005: 199-202, 209-211). That the mountains are dominated by sandstone in their western aspect and along the lower courses of the major rivers within the highlands themselves is significant for human occupation: weathering and erosional processes mean that natural shelters form frequently within the rock, creating locations ideally suited for dwelling and (as will be seen) painting rock art.



**Figure 3.3.** Simplified geologic map of the Maloti-Drakensberg region. Data source: South African Council for Geoscience, [www.geoscience.org.za](http://www.geoscience.org.za).

The Maloti-Drakensberg landscape is heavily dissected and eroded by rivers whose headwaters lie in the highlands. Apart from the mountains themselves, perhaps the most defining features of the terrain are dongas (erosion gullies) that proliferate from seasonal streams or irrigation channels and appear at an astounding rate. Recent bulk radiocarbon dates on an eroded terrace of the Phuthiatsana River in western Lesotho's Maseru District demonstrate that 2.5 m of sediment can be eroded in roughly 800 years by a seasonally flooding river (P. Mitchell and Arthur 2012: 10, Table 4.1). Indeed, landscape erosion (both natural and consequent on overgrazing) was already acknowledged during the colonial period as a major problem plaguing Basutoland (Beinart 1984), though Kate Showers (2005) argues that, while dongas were common prior to 1900, it was not until ill-advised colonial-led interventions in the name of soil conservation in the 1930s that runaway erosion began to plague Lesotho. James McCann (1999: 164-5) further identifies the emerging dominance of maize agriculture in the 1930s, contingent on the rise in Basotho migrant labour and consequent feminisation of agriculture, as a key factor in the increased erosion at that time. Whatever the cause, field agriculture and grazing remain heavily regulated today so as not to exhaust the agricultural carrying capacity of the land (cf. Ferguson 1990: 124-6). In addition to presenting a challenge to preserving livelihoods, this dynamic and highly anthropogenic landscape threatens the preservation of archaeological remains: archaeological visibility of agriculturists in the Maloti-Drakensberg region is discussed further in Chapter 7.2, but here it is important to note that without steps being taken to ensure their deliberate preservation, archaeological deposits are likely to be disturbed or destroyed by erosion, ploughing, grazing, or other forms of anthropogenic landscape transformation.

In terms of climate and vegetation (Figures 3.2 and 3.4), the majority of the Maloti-Drakensberg region falls within the Drakensberg Grassland bioregion, although the western aspect of the Drakensberg dissected by the Senqu River is transitional from the Mesic Highveld Grassland bioregion (Rutherford *et al.* 2011: 44-45, 48). The Maloti-Drakensberg region lies in southern Africa's summer rainfall zone (with most rain falling from October to April), but because of the highly varied topography of the region as a whole, microclimates abound and rainfall and temperature can both be extreme. The foothills and the Escarpment itself witness extreme fluctuations, with temperatures exceeding 30°C in summers and falling to (or below) freezing in the winter. The Mesic bioregion is more climatically varied, and is also less forgiving: temperatures rise higher here in the summer than along the Escarpment and less rain falls, while the opposite is true in the winter. Both bioregions are highly arid, losing more moisture per year to evaporation than they gain from rainfall, although the Mesic bioregion experiences this to a slightly greater degree than the highlands. However, microclimatic conditions can vary over very small vertical and horizontal distances (e.g. Roberts *et al.* 2013).



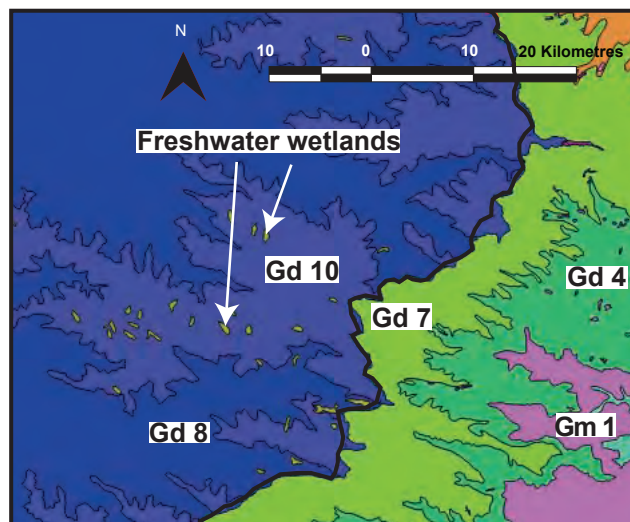
**Figure 3.4.** Major vegetation zones within the Maloti-Drakensberg region. Data source: Mucina and Rutherford 2006.

For my purposes, it is useful briefly to examine the striking environmental differences between two areas of the Maloti-Drakensberg: the lowlands around the Caledon River, where the agriculturists who established themselves from roughly the seventeenth century AD (Vogel and Fuls 1999; P. Mitchell and Whitelaw 2005: 227) were followed in the nineteenth century by Moshoeshe I's Koena monarchy, and the higher altitude aspects south of and along the Senqu River, which eventually became the territory of the BaPhuthi. The area surrounding the Caledon River (the modern boundary between the Free State and Lesotho) is by far the mildest part of the overall region in terms of climate. It is home to some of the best agricultural and grazing lands in the western Maloti-Drakensberg region and thus formed the core of

Moshoeshoe's state and the battleground upon which much of its survival was fought (Eldredge 1993: 47-8; see Chapter 4.2). Topographically, the landscape here consists of steep-sided table-like mountains (Sesotho, *lithaba*; Afrikaans, *kopjes*) interspersed among undulating terrain crossed by rivers and streams draining the Maloti foothills. However, the valley bottomlands are minimally sloping, making them ideally suited not only for field agriculture, but also for keeping the rainwater runoff associated with such practices to a minimum (Showers 2005: 11-4). Part of the Eastern Free State Clay and Sandy Grasslands, the area experiences cold winters (temperatures regularly drop below freezing), but grasses (particularly 'sweetveld' that provides year-round nutrition) such as *Eragrostis* spp., *Hyparrhenia hirta*, and *Themeda triandra* provide excellent grazing for antelope and livestock (Rutherford *et al.* 2011: 393-4).

Looking to the south, I take a transect through the southwestern Maloti-Drakensberg region following the Senqu River from around Herschel to the Lesotho highlands (see Figure 3.4). Moving east from Herschel along the Senqu and extending to about 1,500 m a.s.l., the vegetation here is *Cymbopogon-Themeda* veld, a mosaic of sweetveld and 'sourveld' (edible year-round but most palatable and nutritious in summer) grasses, well-suited to year-round grazing. Flat-topped *kopjes* are plentiful, often eroded into distinctive shapes, and the intervening flatlands are fairly broad and well-provisioned with rivers and streams. This transitions to *Themeda-Festuca* Alpine veld as one begins to gain elevation at the modern town of Quthing (roughly 1,750 m a.s.l.), when the landscape becomes dominated by steep, boulder-strewn valley slopes, and grasslands give way to trees such as acacia (*Acacia karroo*). *Kopjes* blend into stepped mountains with precipitous slopes, some of which have plateaux and peaks that are almost completely inaccessible. Rockshelters appear frequently in the sides of these plateaux and can vary in size from shallow overhangs to incised depressions 20

m wide and nearly as deep. Pockets of fertile, moist soil exist at the bottom of river valleys, although crop cultivation exhausts these much faster than the lowlands' larger field systems (Showers 2005: 13-4). These lower-lying elements of the Maloti-Drakensberg are also rich in medicinal herbs, especially aloes (e.g. *Aloe ferox*). During the nineteenth century, this region supported populations of blue and black wildebeest (*Connochaetes taurinus* and *C. gnou*, respectively), hippopotamus (*Hippopotamus amphibius*), leopard (*Panthera pardus*), and quagga (*Equus quagga*), as Puleng Morake (2010: 86) has demonstrated through analysis of historical naturalists' and travellers' accounts. However, during the course of the twentieth century, much of the wild fauna has been forced out of these altitudes due to the heavy impact of humans and livestock on the landscape. Consequently, today rock hyraxes (*Procavia capensis*), birds such as the lesser kestrel (*Falco naumanni*) and black harrier (*Circus maurus*) (Maclean 1993: 183, 168), and the occasional grey rhebuck (*Pelea capreolus*) comprise the majority of the wild animals present (Morake 2010: 87). The Senqu itself is currently home to species of yellowfish (*Labeobarbus aeneus* and *L. kimberleyensis*), mudfish (*Labeo capensis*), and introduced trout (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*), among others (Plug *et al.* 2010). This *Themeda-Festuca* bioregion exists as a corridor along the Senqu as far north as Thaba-Tseka.



**Figure 3.4a.** Section of Drakensberg Escarpment showing wetlands and mires. Data source: Mucina and Rutherford 2006.

Continuing into the higher reaches of the mountains where sandstone gives way to basalt (from around 2,000-2,200 m a.s.l.), sourveld grasses such as *Festuca* spp. and *Themeda triandra* dominate, interspersed with dwarf shrubs. Here, the bioregion is, in reality, a vast series of patches stretching across the uppermost reaches of the mountains, forming corridors of vegetation across the Escarpment where topography permits. Interspersed within this patchwork are fairly frequent (although sometimes only semi-permanent) wetlands, mires, and lakes, formed in flat or depressed stretches of the higher altitude elements of the mountains (Figure 3.4a). While they are given to frost in the winter, during the rainy season these wetlands can support a rich array of biota including edible plants (e.g. *Rorippa fluviatillis* var. *caledonica*), carnivorous plants (e.g. *Utricularia inflexa*), amphibians (e.g. the umbraculate river frog [*Rana vertebralis*] and Drakensberg stream frog [*Strongylopus hymenopus*]), fish (Maloti minnow [*Pseudobarbus quathlambae*]), and birds (e.g. wattled crane [*Grus carunculatus*], blue crane [*Anthropoides paradisesa*], Rudd's lark [*Heteromirafra ruddi*]) (Day 2013). Additionally, these upper reaches of the mountain have been less impacted by human settlement, and therefore still host an array of birdlife, including

Cape (*Gyps coprotheres*) and bearded (*Gypaetus barbatus*) vultures, orange-breasted rockjumpers (*Chaetops aurantis*), and chats (*Saxicola bifasciata*) (Barnes 1998). If one were to cross over the top of the southern Escarpment and drop into today's Eastern Cape Province, however, the situation changes rapidly. The landscape there is less incised and instead is composed of rolling hills, the climate is somewhat milder, and, while the grassland is still sourveld, soils are well-drained and suitable for farming (cf. Feely 1987; Feely and Bell-Cross 2011).

### **3.2. BARRIERS OR BRIDGES?: AN OVERVIEW OF HUMAN OCCUPATION IN THE MALOTI-DRAKENSBERG, C. 1800 BP-PRESENT**

The landscape of the Maloti-Drakensberg thus appears rugged and inhospitable, a foreboding and challenging region for farming and foraging strategies alike. It is unsurprising, therefore, that archaeological evidence suggests that agriculturists only settled in the Maloti-Drakensberg lowlands in the mid-second millennium AD (P. Mitchell and Whitelaw 2005: 232-3), and did not arrive in the highlands until the late nineteenth century as part of a deliberate extension of Basotho political power into the mountains (*Leselinyana* 1909); discussions in later chapters will demonstrate, however, that the highlands were included in the BaPhuthi sphere of influence well before this scheme. Nevertheless, the varied topography of the mountains and the numerous microclimates this creates has generated a mosaic of environments that present numerous options for habitation and movement. Within a single 10 km-long river valley, such as the Mnjanyane Valley (see Chapters 7 and 8), one can encounter moist, fertile land for ploughing along the river, dry, grassy plateaux at higher elevations but still with access to streams running from the mountains, and wind-

swept, fairly inaccessible *kopjes* and mountaintops. Moreover, numerous natural passes within the mountains and across the Escarpment itself facilitate passing through these microclimates – albeit along particular trajectories – and provide a range of environmental options for inhabitants to exploit with respect to subsistence.

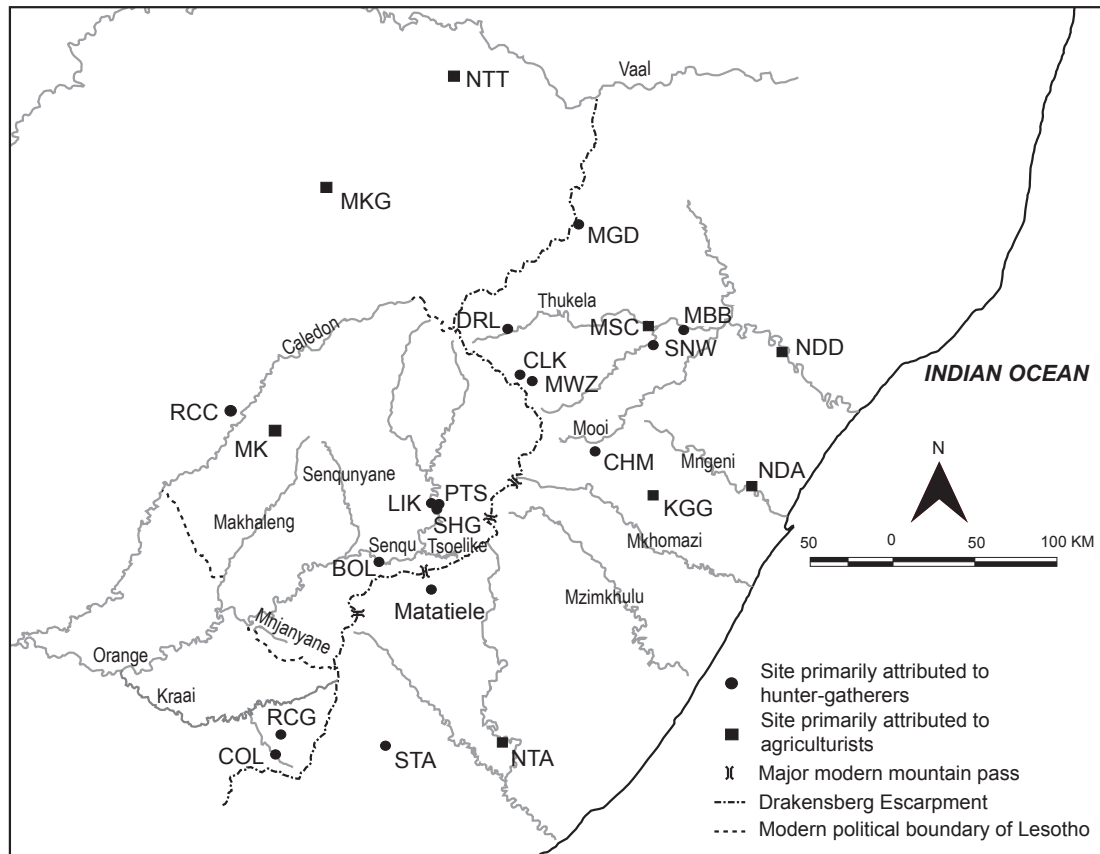
These features of the Maloti-Drakensberg region encourage exploration of the mountains not primarily as a marginal zone or barrier, but as capable of structuring human interactions with their environment and with one another in a variety of ways. As such, the landscape becomes a sphere of interaction and innovation, at least as far back as 1800 BP based on available archaeological evidence. In the mid-1990s, Peter Mitchell (1996a) argued the opposite: he suggested that it was *at* 1800 BP that hunter-gatherers began to view the Escarpment as a dividing line or barrier, as montane hunter-gatherers intensified exchange connections with those in the interior, and coastal hunter-gatherers strengthened relationships with newly arrived agriculturists on the KwaZulu-Natal coast. John Hobart (2003: 16) took this further, arguing (most convincingly although not exclusively) from the distribution of domestic livestock in the western Maloti-Drakensberg region during the early second millennium AD that hunter-gatherers adopted a form of seasonal transhumance<sup>9</sup> within the interior and the western Maloti (and without crossing the Escarpment). Absent from these discussions is the perspective of agriculturists: the longstanding perception of the landscape as unfavourable for settled agriculture (following the models employed for southern African Farming Communities, discussed further in Chapter 7.1) has largely discouraged archaeological investigation of agriculturists before large-scale

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<sup>9</sup> Hobart (2004) joined Karim Sadr (2003) in positing that evidence for livestock ahead of other agriculturist technologies represents a form of southern African Neolithic, in which hunter-gatherers were capable of acquiring and extracting resources from domesticated livestock. This debate is on-going and is laid out in papers in Volume 20 of *Southern African Humanities*.

settlement of the lowlands in the seventeenth century AD. Consequently, the evidence for forager-agriculturist interaction appears as anomalies or discontinuities within a longer Later Stone Age sequence and agriculturists are refracted through hunter-gatherer archaeology as an ultimate, external source of innovation.

However, recent review of this evidence from a hunter-gatherer perspective (P. Mitchell 2009a, 2009b) has examined the last 1800 years since agriculturist arrival in the subcontinent in more detail. Through this more nuanced view, it becomes apparent that, far from being hyper-regionalised recipients of material introductions during this period, hunter-gatherers were able to establish exchange contacts in virtually all directions and could selectively incorporate new technologies into their material repertoires. Likewise, agriculturist technology (especially domesticates) may have penetrated farther into the mountains than previously supposed, possibly as a result of movement by agriculturists themselves.



**Figure 3.5.** Map of sites mentioned in Chapter 3. Site names are abbreviated thus: BOL Bolahla, CHM Collingham, CLK Clarke's Shelter, COL Colwinton, DRL Driel, KGG KwaGandaganda, LIK Likoaeng, MBB Mbabane, MGD Mgede, MK Ha Makoanyane, MKG Makgwareng, MSC Msuluzi Confluence, MWZ Mhlwazini, NDA Nanda, NDD Ndongondwane, NTA Ntsitsana, NTT Ntsuanatsatsi, PTS Pitsaneng, RCC Rose Cottage Cave, RCG Ravenscraig, SHG Sehonghong, SNW eSinhlonhlweni, STA Strathalan A.

To begin with, peoples living forager lifestyles in the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains do not appear to have adopted innovations from agriculturists as a 'package' of technology consisting of ceramics, metals, and domesticates, but instead were more discerning. Looked at another way, agriculturists did not colonise the mountains upon arrival in the adjoining lowlands, in the sense that they did not wholly impose a new way of living upon the area's aboriginal inhabitants. Indeed, the first major agriculturist-associated technology to appear in the region (ceramics) appeared well in advance of agriculturist settlement, perhaps through a diffusion of skills ahead of population movements or even as a result of independent innovation (Sadr and

Sampson 2006). While the date of 2200 years BP assigned to pottery from Clarke's Shelter is tentative (Mazel 1984, 1999, but cf. Mazel 1992b), pottery was clearly present at Collingham Shelter between the first and fourth centuries AD (Mazel 1992a) (Figure 3.5). Ceramics from Sehonghong (P. Mitchell 1996b) in the Lesotho highlands and Colwinton (Opperman 1987) in the northern Eastern Cape Province also date to the early first millennium AD, well in advance of agriculturist settlement. These ceramics are coarse-tempered, thin-walled, and largely non-diagnostic (in terms of decoration; these ceramics await further study from a technological perspective, see Chapter 7.4.2), of a broad style that Hobart (2003) has dubbed Coarse Bushman Ware. Metals appear slightly later in montane forager deposits: the earliest known sample comes from Collingham Shelter, where copper and iron beads were recovered from a context tightly dated to the third century AD (Mazel 1992a: 30). Given the metalworking expertise necessary to produce such objects, these and later materials were almost certainly obtained from exchange contacts in metal-producing areas, likely in neighbouring KwaZulu-Natal (see Whitelaw 1991; Miller and Whitelaw 1994). However, pieces of slag and iron ore described from contexts dating to the last 500 years at eSinhlonhlweni (Mazel 1986a) suggest that metals were both produced and deposited there, hinting at closer social and spatial relationships between smiths and foragers, including the possibility that agriculturists utilised the shelter (Whitelaw 2009; cf. King *et al.* 2014: 76-7).

Once incorporated into forager material lifestyles, ceramics and metals persisted throughout the last two millennia. While there have been no technological or residue studies of ceramics from the Maloti-Drakesberg region to date (indeed, such studies are not common anywhere in southern Africa, see discussion in Chapter 7.1 and 7.4.2), the arrival of pottery undoubtedly led to major shifts in food processing,

consumption, and overall nutrition (Gifford-Gonzalez 2000). The eventual appearance of decorated ceramics, some of which are stylistically linked with motifs distributed within the South African provinces of KwaZulu-Natal (Mazel 1986a; P. Mitchell *et al.* 2008; cf. Maggs 1980, 1984; Huffman 1989; Loubser 1993), Mpumalanga, and Limpopo (Huffman 2002; Hobart 2004), suggest long-distance social relations (and perhaps population movements, see Huffman 2002, 2004) inhering in ceramic production and exchange.

These exchange relationships are also evidenced by the movement through the region of materials exotic to the Maloti-Drakensberg. Peter Mitchell (1996a) tracked Indian Ocean marine shell (mostly *Cypraea* molluscs) and ostrich eggshell from the interior through the mountains as some of the only archaeological materials with distinct provenance, and thus provable directions of movement. While, as he suggests, trans-montane exchange may have been slightly less prevalent post-1800 BP, mid- to late second millennium contexts from Sehonghong (Carter 1978) and Pitsaneng (Hobart 2004) (west of the Escarpment), and Mbabane, eSinhlonhlweni (Mazel 1986a), and Mgede (Mazel 1986b) (east of the Escarpment) produced *Cypraea* shells, and the latter three likewise yielded ostrich eggshell. Ostrich eggshell also appears at late first millennium AD agriculturist sites in KwaZulu-Natal, including Msuluzi Confluence (Maggs 1980: 138), KwaGandaganda (Whitelaw 1994, 1994/95), Nanda (Whitelaw 1993), and Ndongondwane (Maggs 1984; Loubser 1993). In the interior, late first millennium AD levels at Rose Cottage Cave (Wadley 1992) and agriculturist sites on the Free State Highveld dating to the mid-second millennium AD (Makgwareng and Ntsuanatsatsi, Maggs 1976) contain Indian Ocean shell in varying quantities. Combined with the continuous presence of agriculturist communities on the Indian

Ocean coast post-AD 400 (Whitelaw 2008), these exchange networks likely incorporated foraging and farming communities alike from the coast to the interior.

Further elaborating upon this picture is the appearance in forager contexts of glass beads. Beginning in the mid-first millennium AD, glass beads arrived in Africa via Indian Ocean trade networks and started to appear in archaeological contexts in the southern African interior (P. Mitchell 2005: Chapter 4). These can almost certainly be credited with a point of dispersal in northeastern southern Africa, where they would have arrived at the Mozambican and South African coasts at ports such as Chibuene (Sinclair *et al.* 2012) and travelled west and south through modern Mpumalanga and Limpopo Provinces. Beads from the late first and early second millennia in Maloti-Drakensberg sites therefore provide evidence for a northeasterly exchange orientation. As points of dispersal for European-delivered trade goods emerged in the Cape and at Delagoa Bay on the south-east African coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries AD, sources for beads became more diverse: without more research into historical period Maloti-Drakensberg assemblages, later beads provide evidence of interaction, but do not speak to the directionality of trade networks. Therefore, glass beads from mid-first to early-second millennia contexts at Sehonghong (Carter *et al.* 1988; P. Mitchell 1996b), Bolahla (P. Mitchell *et al.* 1994), Driel (Maggs and Ward 1980: 55-56), and Mhlwazini (Mazel 1990), concurrent with the appearance of glass beads on agriculturist sites on the KwaZulu-Natal plains, demonstrates the circulation of exotic goods ultimately from the north-east throughout the mountains and adjoining lowlands. The Maloti-Drakensberg region remained involved in these wide-ranging exchange networks throughout the second millennium AD and into the colonial period, as glass beads from Mbabane, eSinhlonhlweni (Mazel 1986a), and

Pitsaneng (Hobart 2004), and examples of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century trade beads from Ha Makoanyane (King *et al.* 2014) illustrate.

In addition to being able to maintain relationships with trading partners throughout southern Africa, the inhabitants of the Maloti-Drakensberg region were also capable of taking up forms of subsistence involving domesticates (livestock and cultigens), despite the challenges that the mountain climate may have posed. At Likoang in highland Lesotho, one *Ovis aries* bone has been directly dated to the mid-eighth to mid-ninth centuries AD and *Bos taurus* remains were recovered from the same context (P. Mitchell *et al.* 2008). Less than six kilometres downriver from Likoang at Sehonghong, *Bos taurus* remains were recovered from a context bracketed between AD 300-1000 (Plug and P. Mitchell 2008). While these remains await DNA analysis confirming that they are in fact domesticates, at the moment their presence suggests that livestock arrived in the Maloti-Drakensberg almost a millennium before settled agriculturists. Sample sizes remain small and further investigation is necessary to describe the changes in subsistence and economy that the incorporation of livestock into montane forager lifeways entailed. However, Peter Mitchell *et al.* (2008: 16) have already proposed that these finds may not be isolated anomalies, but rather an example of hunter-gatherers experimenting with and modifying subsistence strategies in association with neighbouring farming communities. This suggestion is supported by finds from broadly second millennium contexts at Pitsaneng, which yielded the largest assemblage of domestic stock yet recovered from a rockshelter site in the Maloti-Drakensberg region<sup>10</sup> (Hobart 2004), indicating something more than casual stock-keeping. Dogs are also represented in the Pitsaneng assemblage and are known

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<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately for such a potentially useful dataset, none of the faunal remains from Hobart's excavations have been directly dated or genetically analysed as yet.

archaeologically and ethnographically to have been used by both hunter-gatherers (Schapera 1930; Lee 1979; P. Mitchell 2008) and, from at least the sixth or seventh centuries AD (Plug 1996) herders (P. Mitchell 2014) and agriculturists. From the mid-second millennium AD, cultigens such as sorghum, squash, and (from the eighteenth century) maize also began to appear sparsely in the mountains (though not in conjunction with domesticated fauna, Mazel 1990, 1992a; Opperman 1999), completing the picture of Maloti-Drakensberg inhabitants incorporating and recombining subsistence technologies (though no evidence as yet demonstrates local crop cultivation).

Far from being a barrier to the movement of people and materials in the last two millennia, the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains (and the Maloti-Drakensberg region as a whole) thus emerge as a zone of interaction and innovation, in which discerning participants in inter-regional networks exchanged and adopted technologies as it suited them. While agriculturists may have arrived in the subcontinent with packages of subsistence technology, these were not taken up wholesale by the foragers already living there. Indeed, as Paul Lane (2004a) observed for East Africa, it is perhaps neither accurate nor useful to envision a moving agriculturist frontier that entailed the wholesale transplantation of economic strategies: instead, there is ample archaeological evidence for communities in this early phase of interaction improvising new identities and pathways to food production and procurement, utilising both wild and domestic resources. Considering the social propositions entailed in food production in southeastern Africa prompted Peter Mitchell (2004) to question the possible roles of hunter-gatherers in farming lifeways, including contributing knowledge of the landscape and its resources, forming part of regional exchange networks, and providing buffers against subsistence failure. Emerging

evidence from Likoaeng, Sehonghong, and Pitsaneng certainly suggests that hunter-gatherers were capable of keeping (and rearing?) livestock far in advance of farmer settlement of the Maloti-Drakensberg lowlands. This may be a situation akin to that which Sadr (2004, 2008) has described for the Cape, where hunter-gatherers are thought to have acquired the skills to maintain and extract resources from livestock, effectively becoming ‘hunters-with-sheep’ (but cf. Orton *et al.* 2013). Alternatively, where agriculturist communities became well-established, hunter-gatherers may have acted as client stock-keepers, as in the lowlands around the Caledon River Valley (Humphreys 1988; Loubser and Laurens 1994; Thorp 2000; Jolly 2007) and in the northern Cape during the eighteenth century (Penn 2005).

Another as-yet-unexplored proposition is that agriculturists themselves may have been more mobile and may have ventured into the Maloti-Drakensberg before implanting themselves there in the late second millennium AD<sup>11</sup>. For the period between AD 1300-1700, Gavin Whitelaw (2009) has argued that environmental stress from the onset of the Little Ice Age and changing social circumstances caused social and cosmological barriers between foragers and Bantu-speaking agriculturists in the KwaZulu-Natal foothills to break down: farming peoples became less settled and more mobile, and retreated into the higher altitude aspects of the landscape where they lived as hunters and, likely, raiders attacking their compatriots. On the other hand, in the mountains themselves, the effects of the Little Ice Age do not manifest themselves in archaeological assemblages: at sites occupied on either side of and/or during this period such as Mhlwazini and Mbabane, the same range of lithic raw

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<sup>11</sup> The upcoming Phase II of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project includes the Polihali Dam, the catchment of which falls squarely in an area of the Lesotho highlands that may prove especially fruitful for this line of enquiry. Depending upon the outcomes of the on-going bid for the heritage mitigation contract associated with this project, I may be able to address this proposition in my capacity as the designated Iron Age specialist on the mitigation team.

materials and wild fauna are exploited, arguing against a restriction in mobility or resource availability as a result of unfavourable environmental or social conditions (cf. Wadley 1992). In fact, Mbabane actually sees a greater exploitation of fruits, berries, and other deciduous flora, as well as of wild game, during and immediately following the onset of the Little Ice Age (Mazel 1986a). Jeanette Smith (1997: 142) has demonstrated that at least in the Caledon Valley the impact of the Little Ice Age has been overstated: temperatures and rainfall were much the same as they are today, meaning that the Maloti-Drakensberg lowlands (if not the highlands as well) favoured settlement by foragers and farmers alike<sup>12</sup>. This was certainly the case from the end of the Late Holocene Neoglacial (which spanned the period 3000-2000 cal BP): in the vicinity of Likoeng the transition from cool and wet to warmer and drier climatic conditions encouraged the expansion of C<sub>4</sub> grasses, and thus of the bovids (wild and domestic) that depend upon them for food (Parker *et al.* 2011). Of course, it is important not to overemphasise the effects of climate change on human populations within the last two millennia, given that the period actually represents a series of cooling and warming cycles (M. Hall 1976; Tyson *et al.* 2002). However, if the disruptions of the Little Ice Age were enough to destabilise cereal-based agriculture, it is not unlikely that the diverse array of microclimates in the mountains could have provided refugia for domesticates and the people who managed them. Certainly by the seventeenth century, historically known farming communities such as the AmaZizi had begun to move around and through the mountains from the eastern Drakensberg,

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<sup>12</sup> Jerardino (1995) has argued that southern Africa experienced a 1-2°C drop in temperature and a ±1-2 m fluctuation in sea level during the Late Holocene Neoglacial within the last 1,000 years. However, as her data apply to the Cape and southern Africa's winter rainfall zone, Smith's (1997) and Parker *et al.*'s (2011) studies remain the most relevant for the Maloti-Drakensberg.

likely spurred on by social factors related to the rise of aggregated chiefly polities (Whitelaw 2008: 56, see Chapter 4.1).

Given the discussion here, subsistence pathways for foraging populations appear contingent, improvisational, and variable, and further imply that agriculturists may have been similarly flexible in the Maloti-Drakensberg region (particularly within the mountains themselves), possibly before the conflicts of the historical period. While the mountainous aspects of the region are not as suited to large-scale agriculture as the tablelands around the Caledon Valley, it is nevertheless possible to deploy a suite of complementary subsistence strategies adapted to the local particularities of the climate, soils, and terrain in the highlands and south of the Senqu.

The situation was much the same when the Maloti-Drakensberg became incorporated into the colonial frontier in the nineteenth century, with mobility through the mountains becoming even more pronounced. Putting aside for the moment the situation of hunter-gatherers, careful reading of historical sources demonstrates that people living south of the Senqu in the colonial period practised a form of semi-mobile agriculturism well-suited to the diversity of their environment. Visitors to villages and homesteads noted gardens and fields growing well, despite cyclical droughts throughout the nineteenth centuries (Nash and Grab 2010), while households were well-provisioned with reeds for thatching roofs and stones for building. These resources were not necessarily reliable over a long period of time, however, and at least some of these natural goods may have been so specific to particular places and communities that when new buildings (including magistracies and technical schools) were proposed in the Qomonqomong Valley in 1880, the Rev. D.F. Ellenberger (1880a) strenuously objected on the grounds that the slightest disruption of villagers'

access to riverine resources would be disastrous for them. By this point in the occupation of Quthing District, gardens were providing a useful fail-safe against crop failure or field exhaustion and, more importantly, could easily be re-established upon relocation to another settlement as needed; this contrasts with early BaPhuthi horticulturist strategies (see Chapter 4.3.1) and developed once the boundaries of Basutoland were confirmed and the BaPhuthi confined to settlements in Quthing (see Chapter 6).

However, these strategies were only useful up to roughly 2,500-2,740 m a.s.l., and the highlands themselves did not witness any sustained agriculturist settlement until quite late in the nineteenth century. When James Murray Grant's expedition (the same as that of Joseph Orpen and Qing mentioned in Chapter 1) arrived at the Tsoelike River on 9 December 1873, Grant noted that he had entered a region almost wholly devoid of Basotho settlement. His party observed numbers of large game, including eland (*Tragelaphus oryx*), mountain reedbuck (*Redunca fulvorifula*), grey rhebok, and a 'wild cat' (probably a caracal, *Caracal caracal*) all of which had virtually disappeared from the more densely settled lowlands (P. Mitchell and Challis 2008: 427, 439). As Grant's expedition was on the trail of the fugitive Nguni leader Langalibalele and this part of the highlands was a known refuge of Bushmen (see below and Appendix C) at the time, the higher reaches of the Maloti-Drakensberg appear to have long remained better suited to more mobile or ecologically diversified existences than to agriculture.

Nevertheless, transhumant stock-keeping (whether by Basotho, BaPhuthi, Bushman client herders, or others) did necessitate travel to cattle posts often located below or across the Escarpment. Little is known about the specific routes that stock herders (as opposed to raiders, see below) took through the mountains. Following European

travellers' accounts from the mid-nineteenth century, the upper reaches of the Drakensberg were rife with dangerous Bushmen as late as 1869 (*BRV.126*) and very few livestock were taken close to their dwellings in rockshelters at higher elevations. However, animals were certainly taken across the Escarpment into Nomansland to graze in the more mild climates of the southern slopes of the Drakensberg (e.g. Orpen 1913d).

These routes across the mountains served another aspect of the Maloti-Drakensberg economy, namely stock raiding. Written from the perspective of the British colony of Natal, John Wright's (1971) *Bushman Raiders of the Drakensberg* and subsequent related works (Wright 2007; Wright and Mazel 2007) and Patricia Vinnicombe's (2009 [1976]) *People of the Eland* remain the most thorough treatments of these events and serve as a useful lens through which to view the history of raiding in and from the mountains. Here it is important to bear in mind points made in the previous chapter about ethnonyms functioning as ciphers for a type of behaviour: in this instance, 'Bushman' was a shorthand used to describe a form of (often mounted) nomadism rather than necessarily referring to a specific ethnic group. From the mid-nineteenth century, colonists and government officials reported that bands of 'Bushman' raiders operating from East Griqualand and southeastern Basutoland were using the Senqu River as a conduit to the Maloti-Drakensberg highlands, and that from there they descended into Natal following some of the numerous rivers flowing toward the Indian Ocean (Wright 1971). In the southern mountains, raiders also used rivers and tracks cutting from Nomansland to the Senqu River. Raids targeted black and white farmers alike, a situation that the Natal government sought to control with little success from the 1840s to the 1870s. While these raiding bands are now recognised as having been composed of mixed groups of Bushmen, 'Hottentots,' and

Bantu-speakers (Wright 2007; Challis 2008), the Natal authorities treated the offenders as separate from and subordinate to black farming communities. When government patrols close to the mountains proved unsuccessful in deterring raids or recovering stock, the Natal government began settling Bantu-speaking farming populations under the mountains at strategic passes to form a line of defence against Bushman bands. These included groups of AmaZizi, AmaNgwane, and Hlubi under the aforementioned Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu, who were perhaps once on good terms with their Bushman neighbours until repeated stock thefts soured the relationships (Wright and Mazel 2007: 81-2, 92).

Wright (1971) has suggested that these Bushman raids occurred in three phases (1845-52, 1856-early 1860s, and 1868-1872), as raiders changed location and tactics in response to the colony's defences and growth, and forged alliances with farming communities around the mountains. Throughout the first phase and intensifying in the second, Bushman alliances with Nomansland farming communities such as the Mpondomise and the BaPhuthi (across the mountains) increased band size and territory covered by raiding forays. Stolen livestock that Bushmen retained from these expeditions were kept in the highlands (often in rockshelters), beyond the reach of punitive expeditions from Natal; as discussed in Chapter 6, Bushmen in the highlands were eventually given charge of BaPhuthi livestock hidden there during times of conflict.

Reprisals against Bushman raiders nevertheless occurred and the accounts of them reveal the paths, tactics, and living strategies that the raiders used. For example, in 1850 an expedition carried out by the Bushman Mdwebo and his followers against another group, the AmaTola, based around the Escarpment, took a route north from

Matatiele following rivers to their sources in the higher altitude mountains and encountering the AmaTola near the upper reaches of the Tsoelike River (Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]: 74, note 40). Mdwebo and his followers noted that the AmaTola had been keeping a considerable number of animals in kraals and were actively breeding and rearing animals from those they had stolen (P. Mitchell 2010: 154-155).

Expeditions led by Europeans and Bantu-speakers were less successful. A handful of accounts in which white farmers pursued their stock into the mountains (Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]: 75 note 37, 78) describe hectic chases that ultimately failed as the fugitives either evaded capture by blocking their pursuers' paths with boulders and escaping over the mountains, or were captured but without the livestock. In December 1868, for example, a raiding party stole 73 head of cattle from the Nguni chief Sakhayedwa, which prompted a counter-raid by Sakhayedwa and several British militiamen that took them over the Escarpment to the Senqu River. However, Bushmen with bows and arrows, guns, and the advantage of higher ground were able to repulse this attack. Near the Senqu, Sakhayedwa's group encountered mounted Bushmen and three cattle, but failed to retrieve the rest (Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]: 80). In 1869, Captain Albert Allison led a further retaliatory expedition up the Mkhomazi River into the mountains in pursuit of cattle stolen from a farmer called William Popham. Allison's group learned that the raiders had acted systematically, scattering the animals' spoor by splitting the herd into small groups and then hiding themselves until they could escape over the Escarpment (Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]: 83). After continuing into the Maloti Mountains, Allison's party caught up with the thieves in a rockshelter on the Senquyane River, where a skirmish ensued in which the Bushmen employed guns and horses, but were nevertheless forced to disperse, leaving their horses behind.

As the Basutoland, eastern Cape, and Orange Free State borders solidified from the late 1850s to 1868, Bushmen found themselves increasingly confined to the highest reaches of the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains, territory that was diminishing further due to the eastward expansion of Bantu-speaker agriculturist settlement from its initial focus along the Caledon Valley<sup>13</sup>. However, it is important to note that while one may take the position that the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains were a sanctuary for Bushmen or (from the colonial viewpoint) a nest of bandits, the above discussion demonstrates that those identified as Bushman raiders were not only able to use the landscape to their advantage when it came to stealing livestock, but also to profit from their spoils once back on their home turf. For those seeking reprisals for stock theft, their task was rendered difficult (especially for European pursuers) by the unintelligibility of the terrain, the minimal resources at the disposal of fairly *ad hoc* commando units, and the unwillingness or inability of many black farmers to aid in the chase. The mountains therefore remained outside the reach of the colony and reprisals for raiding. This is as true for Moshoeshoe's Basotho state as it is for the Cape and Natal colonies; only in the late nineteenth century did political contests for land acquisition and pressure from Basutoland's entry into the southern African agricultural market encourage settlement in the highlands, leading to the eventual decimation and dispersal of Bushman populations (Eldredge 1993; P. Mitchell 2010).

This concept of the legibility of the Maloti-Drakensberg landscape is a useful place to conclude, as it forms a key point of the argument within this chapter. James Scott

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<sup>13</sup> This eastward expansion of Sotho settlers was partly spurred by wars between Basutoland and the Orange Free State. After the British abandoned the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854, the Orange Free State government sought to expand into what had previously been recognised (by the 1843 and 1849 boundary lines) as Basotho territory. The outcomes of the 1858 and 1865 wars between Basotho and Boers resulted in the Basotho being pushed east of the Caledon River, significantly reducing the Moshoeshoe's territories. See Figures 4.5 and 6.1, Gill 1993: 90-98, 105-108 and Coplan 2000b.

(2009: 43, 166) suggests the concept of ‘friction’ as the set of physical and social parameters that a landscape places on the intrusion of the apparatuses of state: places such as mountains present numerous impediments to colonial powers and nascent agriculturist states, as the mountains and those who choose to dwell therein resist large-scale crop cultivation, road building, infrastructural development for transport and communication, and other modes of centralisation. Scott’s formulation is explicitly neo-Marxist in its coupling of state control with agricultural surplus production and therefore cannot completely capture the nuances of the frontier in southern Africa, where such surplus was the *raison d’être* of neither Moshoeshoe’s state nor of the colonial attitude towards natives in the Maloti-Drakensberg region (see Bundy 1980; Beinart 1987). However, the notion of landscape friction limiting the intrusion of large-scale political entities is useful for understanding how the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains emerged as socially and politically marginal during the nineteenth century. The landscape was an attractive proposition for bands of raiders, refugees, or others seeking to evade notice and control by African, British, or Boer authorities. Especially in the case of both the BaPhuthi and of Bushman raiding bands, one can see these marginal peoples developing lifeways suited to this landscape as it became increasingly intelligible to them. Colonial authorities were likewise painfully aware of the friction that the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains presented: in the Cape Parliamentary inquest following Moorosi’s War, James Ayliff (1879) (once Superintendent of the Wittebergen Native Reserve, see Chapter 5) testified that, ‘I think that if the country had been accessible by roads, we should have known more of [the BaPhuthi’s] doings; for traders and missionaries would have been in more constant contact with them; and, no doubt, the people would have been better themselves if roads had been made through their country’. Ayliff’s comments allude

to a feature of Scott's frictional landscapes that is particularly relevant here: the line between core and periphery was one of government and its infrastructure (Scott 2009: 29-30) rather than one implying cultural and economic isolation from the lowlands (cf. Gellner 1969: 31). Indeed, as the following chapters show, the BaPhuthi's strength derived in large part from their ability to draw selectively and symbiotically from lowland resources and political institutions and then craft a unique way of life on the periphery, thus defining the borderlands in between.

## CHAPTER 4: (UN)SETTLING BASUTOLAND

*Chieftainship dwells on a mountain. – Nehemiah Moshoeshoe,  
quoted in Peter Sanders (2011: 25).*

This chapter introduces the first phases of the BaPhuthi polity, describing the movements of the ancestral BaPhuthi into and within the Maloti-Drakensberg region, their adaptation to the circumstances in which they found themselves, and their eventual incorporation into Moshoeshoe I's state. I demonstrate that BaPhuthi arrival in and manipulation of the landscape of the Maloti-Drakensberg was a novel response to the geopolitical developments of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: BaPhuthi lifeways became increasingly entwined with the Maloti-Drakensberg's political and physical landscape such that their polity developed a particular geographic expression.

In the early nineteenth century we can begin to see the BaPhuthi emerging as a regional force, establishing the settlement strategies and alliances that would allow them to exploit the ambiguities of the borderlands in which they lived. Furthermore, examining the trajectory of the BaPhuthi polity in tandem with the rise of the Basotho state and the looming threat of the colonial frontier harkens back to points made in

Chapter 1 about colonial cultural productions being enmeshed in local politics: as will become apparent in this and the following chapters, one of the BaPhuthi's major strengths was their awareness of, and their ability to manipulate, the edges of overarching authority, African and European alike.

#### **4.1. BECOMING BAPHUTHI, C. AD 1600-1820**

D.F. Ellenberger (1912: 24-29) provides perhaps the most comprehensive genealogy and ethnohistory of the people whom he knew as BaPhuthi while residing at the Masitise Mission Station. At the time Ellenberger encountered his informants, the group of people calling themselves BaPhuthi had transformed radically from their sixteenth- or seventeenth-century ancestral origins east of the Drakensberg and possibly as far north as today's Mpumalanga Province in South Africa (Figure 4.1).

By the seventeenth century, the BaPhuthi had merged with the AmaZizi, a group of Sotho-influenced Nguni peoples living in the eastern Drakensberg around the Thukela River. Based on records obtained as part of A.T. Bryant's massive ethnohistorical investigation of Natal (Webb and Wright 1976), Zizi territories were known to have once included the grasslands along the upper Thukela River. There, Zizi settlements such as the one at Mgoduyanuka were distinguished by fairly small homesteads of less than one square kilometre and consisting of several discrete single or bi-lobial structures (Maggs 1982). Excavations have revealed an economy that relied upon stock-keeping (cattle, sheep, and goat), hunting (medium-sized bovids including grey rhebok [*Pelea capreolus*] and impala [*Aepyceros melampus*], Plug and Brown 1982), and, for those sites dating to the seventeenth century or later, maize cultivation.

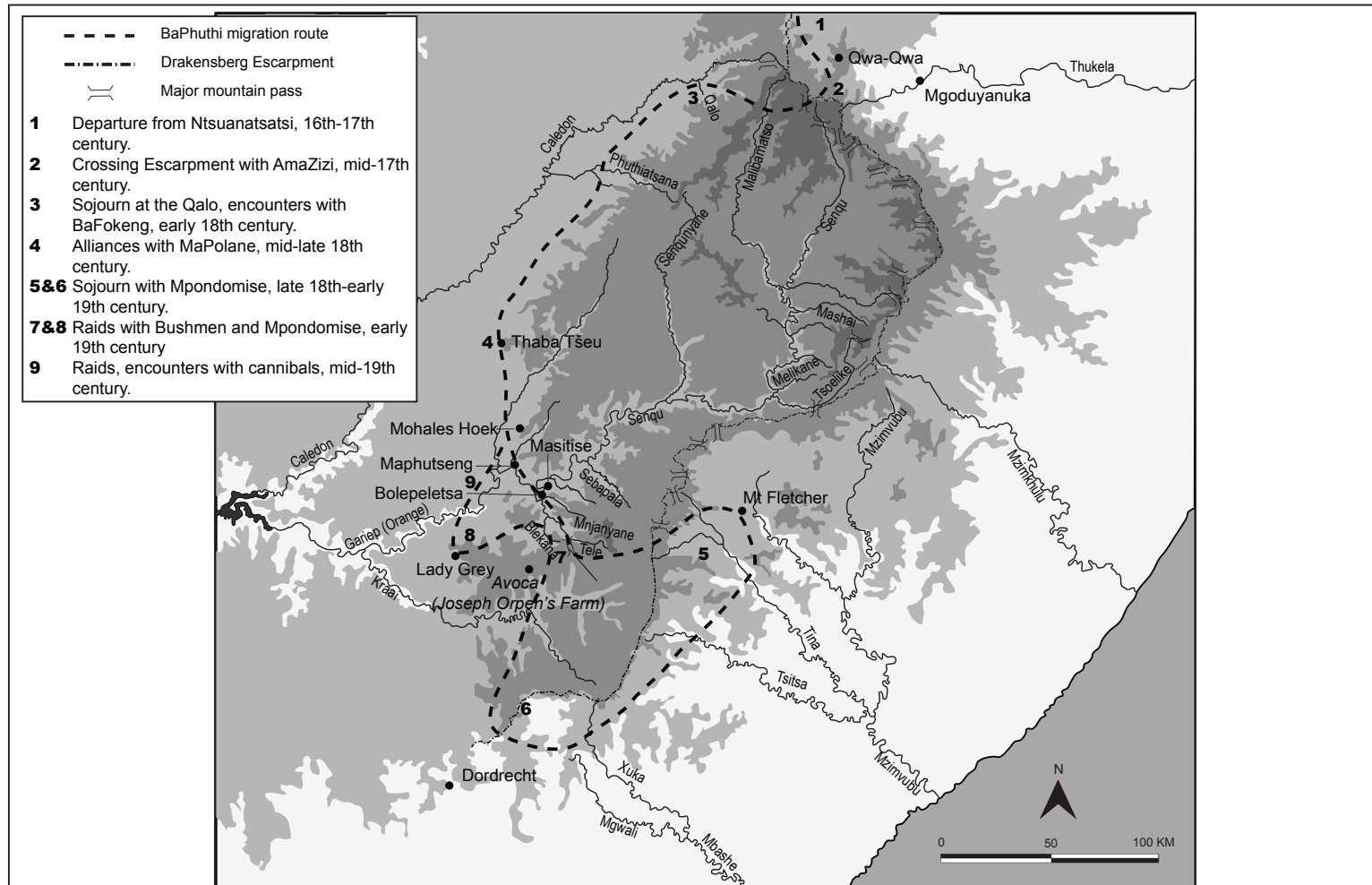


Figure 4.1. BaPhuthi migrations through southern Africa, c. seventeenth – early nineteenth centuries.

In the seventeenth century the BaPhuthi crossed the Drakensberg Escarpment into present-day Lesotho as part of a three-fold wave of Zizi migrations (Whitelaw 2009: 54). Upon so doing, the ancestral BaPhuthi became further Sotho-ised, settling for a time with the Sotho-speaking MaPhuthing on the Namahali River (close to modern-day Qwa-Qwa). According to D.F. Ellenberger, it was at this point that the ‘BaPhuthi’ emerged from acculturation with the AmaZizi and MaPhuthing, and adopted the *seboko* of the *phuthi*, or common duiker (*Sylvicapra grimmia*).

It was also likely around this time, if not earlier, that SePhuthi began to emerge as a distinct language. Today, linguists locate SePhuthi within the Tekela Nguni language subdivision, which includes Nguni languages with a heavy Sotho admixture that betrays intensive interactions between Sotho- and Nguni-speaking peoples from at least the mid-second millennium AD (Donnelly 2009: 9)<sup>14</sup>. The BaPhuthi thus arrived in the Maloti-Drakensberg able to communicate effectively with Nguni- and Sotho-speakers alike, leaving them well-placed to establish relationships (and rivalries) with many of the region’s inhabitants. This may have included Bushmen: as seen below, shortly after moving into the Maloti Front Range and lowlands the BaPhuthi managed to forge relationships with Bushmen and, by the time Joseph Orpen encountered Qing in 1873, this ‘San man in a Bantu-speaker world’ had become proficient in SePhuthi and Sesotho (although see Challis *et al.* 2013: 9-10 and McGranaghan *et al.* 2013: 140-1 for conceptual and terminological slippage attendant on translations between these languages).

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<sup>14</sup> Notably, these combined Sotho and Nguni forms arose well before the early nineteenth-century period of turmoil attributed to the Zulu ascendancy (the *mfecane*), which was long considered the primary cause of Bantu demographic disruption in south-eastern southern Africa (see papers in Hamilton 1995). The cultural and linguistic milieu from which the BaPhuthi emerged thus has roots pre-dating the manifestation of the peoples described here as distinct linguistic or cultural entities.

In roughly the early eighteenth century<sup>15</sup>, the BaPhuthi broke away from the MaPhuthing and travelled to the junction of the Caledon and Qalo Rivers, close to the headwaters of the former. D.F. Ellenberger reports that they then encountered the BaFokeng, ancestors of the southern Sotho (including Moshoeshoe's *seboko*, the Koena)<sup>16</sup>. There, the BaPhuthi settled and intermarried with the BaFokeng for a time, further facilitating their acculturation into what would eventually become the region's Sotho culture. Of course, Ellenberger's explicitly Sotho-centric (and, in particular, Koena-centric) approach neglects the potential for acculturative influences running in the opposite direction. Instead, the routes that various Sotho- and Nguni-speaking people traced through the Maloti-Drakensberg in the last 500 years undoubtedly led to cultural mixing from all sides, producing a situation much more akin to a melting pot than to the infusion of a dominant culture into subordinate ones.

This becomes evident throughout the BaPhuthi's continued movements south along what is today the western edge of Lesotho, where they encountered more pockets of BaFokeng and Nguni-speaking groups of MaPhetla and MaPolane. Throughout this period of demographic change, the BaPhuthi (like many of their contemporaries) remained settled for only a handful of years at a time. Both the BaPhuthi and their allies appear to have lived primarily by hunting and gathering, with few to no cattle or crops, and they often had to search for fertile soil and adequate grazing to support what little they did have. As described further below, D.F. Ellenberger may have overstated the abject hunter-gatherer-like status of the BaPhuthi at this time to enhance the contrast between the early stages of their social formation in Basutoland

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<sup>15</sup> This is estimated by working backwards through the genealogies provided by D.F. Ellenberger and Orpen, beginning from Moorosi's birth in 1795; see Appendices B and C.

<sup>16</sup> See Appendix A for disambiguation of the terms 'Sotho' and 'Basotho'.

and the polity they would eventually become (see the Coda following Chapter 6 for a similar view expressed by Moshoeshoe). Nevertheless, following the timeline of movement laid out in *History of the Basuto* and other accounts given by individual BaPhuthi (including Moorosi himself) supports the conclusion that the BaPhuthi and their allies were highly mobile at this point, not establishing settlements for any appreciable duration and spending little time cultivating crops. Cattle raiding emerged to fill this economic gap, as a source both of food and of social capital, although at this point Ellenberger is coy in discussing it, describing how, as a child, Moorosi proved adept at ‘lifting’ cattle (D.F. Ellenberger 1912: 28).

By the mid- to late eighteenth century, Mokuoane, Moorosi’s father and the BaPhuthi leader at the time, had built up a considerable amount of wealth in people and livestock, in large part through a strategic marriage into the family of the Polane leader Tsosane and also through solidifying relations with neighbouring peoples. While he had established a base at Thaba Tšeu, Mokuoane persisted in finding better grazing and farming land for his growing following and moved further south to the junction of the Tele and Senqu Rivers. Close relations between the BaPhuthi, their allies, and local groups of Bushmen became more pronounced during the Thaba Tšeu period: many individuals were given both Bushman and Bantu names and there are no accounts of conflict such as are recorded for later periods of BaPhuthi-Bushman interaction. It also bears noting that while living near Thaba Tšeu Mokuoane had married Tsosane’s daughter Maili, who would eventually become Moorosi’s mother. Both the marriage and continued collaborations in raiding, grazing, and farming (gardens and sorghum fields on a small scale) fostered close relations between the two groups; thus, when referencing the ‘BaPhuthi’ later in their story, the entity referred to

undoubtedly included people born of Polane lineages but incorporated into the polity under Mokuoane's and later Moorosi's command.

Mokuoane's efforts to solidify connections among regional confederates demonstrate his attempts to actualise a fundamental tenet of emergent chieftainship: strength inhered in one's ability to attract and retain allies and followers rather than the accumulation of wealth as such (Etherington 2004b; cf. Guyer and Belinga 1995; see Chapter 8.3). Cattle were the currency of these relationships: as David Coplan (1994: 32) puts it, 'the pathways leading through every structural relationship and transaction were worn smooth by the hooves of cattle,' or, as Basotho praise poems call a cow, *molimo o nko e metsi* ('the god with a wet nose'). The transactional value of cattle has been a tenet of southern African Bantu-speaker anthropology since Adam Kuper's (1980, 1982) seminal studies of cattle as bridewealth, which provide the anthropological basis for archaeological discussion of the Central Cattle Pattern discussed in Chapter 7.1. Marguerite Poland and David Hammond-Tooke (Poland *et al.* 2005) have likewise drawn attention to the overwhelming 'cattle orientation' in twentieth-century Zulu society, where cattle possess a symbolic dimension as much as an economic one. In the emergent polities discussed here, however, cattle represented added dimensions of social and economic capital, and of conflict and the management thereof (Ferguson 1990: 124). Where cattle raiding was concerned, raiding missions were a statement of the 'courage, cleverness, and leadership' of those involved, and for those in charge of them a way of proclaiming oneself as a formidable leader (Coplan 1994: 33). These principles of leadership were incorporated into the various strategies of those chiefs vying for power in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Maloti-Drakensberg, although they were deployed to different effect under different circumstances. Mokuoane and his BaPhuthi antecedents may have embarked upon

such a project well before Thaba Tšeu, but it is during this period that one can see their efforts beginning to gain traction.

At this point in his history D.F. Ellenberger turns to other peoples and events, returning to the BaPhuthi much later in his larger narrative. When the account resumes, the BaPhuthi have migrated again, this time across the Drakensberg Escarpment to take up residence in Nomansland with Bushmen and the Nguni-speaking Mpondomise. Claiming land between the Tina and Tsitsa Rivers, the Mpondomise traced their descent from a Bushman woman and often welcomed numbers of Bushman rainmakers (Jolly 1992: 89; Blundell 2004: 124). The BaPhuthi spent most of the end of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries raiding and skirmishing with other Bantu-speakers from around Mount Fletcher to Lundean's Nek and west along the Orange River in what is today the Eastern Cape Province. By the 1820s, they were occupying lands from Mpondomise territory to the Tele and Blekana Rivers and near the modern town of Dordrecht. Leadership was divided amongst Mokuoane (who was living among the Mpondomise), and Mokuoane's uncle Motemekoane (along with a handful of MaPolane) farther upland around Dordrecht; this was not a form of joint or devolved leadership but rather the segmentation of BaPhuthi *seboko* into relatively autonomous bands under certain leaders, some of whom may have shared an ancestral lineage. However, as seen below it appears that BaPhuthi segments (whether cleaved based on lineage, leadership, political difference, or other factors is not clear) were capable of reuniting for shared purposes.

From that point forward, the BaPhuthi and their allies (including Bushmen and Mpondomise) began raiding in earnest, launching numerous successful campaigns against the 'Kaffir' peoples (i.e. the Xhosa) of the Cape Colony. While some

BaPhuthi had already been given Bushman names during their sojourn around Thaba Tšeu (Moorosi's was 'Qhenga', How 1962: 14), it was in this period that they appear to have begun living with Bushmen and Mpondomise alike (D.F. Ellenberger 1912: 159-160). While Bushmen antagonised the BaPhuthi upon the latter's arrival in the region, shortly thereafter the BaPhuthi managed to gain the upper hand and in some manner establish authority over at least some of the area's Bushman inhabitants.

BaPhuthi and Bushmen raiding units began using the numerous rockshelters around present-day Lady Grey as their bases (cf. D.F. Ellenberger 1912: 160), taking advantage of the mountainous landscape to conceal their spoils and movements. Their targets included groups of Thembu and Xhosa, and rivals of the Mpondomise such as the Bhaca (Blundell 2004: 124); these same raiding targets, however, also occasionally supplied raiding partners. Successful raids formed a rite of passage for young men: for example, upon the completion of the BaPhuthi's most successful assault, Mokuoane's cousin Tseuo was circumcised<sup>17</sup>. While relations with groups such as the Mpondomise waxed and waned, Mokuoane took as his second wife a Bushman woman who was likely the sister of a well-known Bushman leader called Quu (Jolly 1993: 57-58).

While Mokuoane and his BaPhuthi may not by the 1820s have attained the authoritative status to which they would rise in the mid-nineteenth century, they had built a reputation as accomplished stock thieves that stretched throughout the southern Drakensberg and west to the borderlands of the eastern Cape. As discussed below, this section south of the Orange fell largely outside the jurisdiction of any one

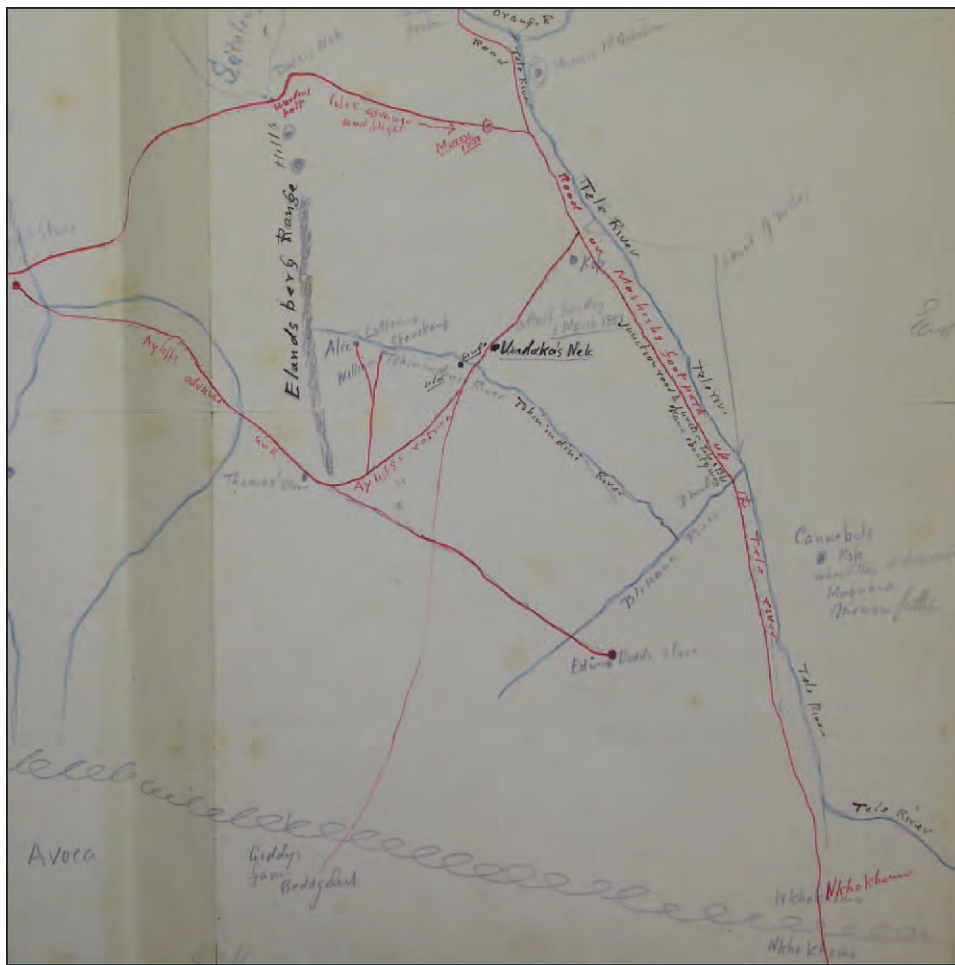
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<sup>17</sup> In many Bantu-speaking cultures, including BaPhuthi and Basotho, circumcision is performed as part of traditional initiatory rites for age-sets of young men as they reach adulthood; see Ashton (1952: 49, 56-7).

government (colonial or African) and Mokuoane's BaPhuthi, along with other raiding parties of Hlubi, Bhaca, and AmaTola (D. Brigg 1906; Orpen 1906b), were able to operate more or less independently as raiders and, occasionally, farmers. Agriculture was part of their economy but not an integral one: Mokuoane had to barter for sorghum seeds from 'friends' at Maphutseng rather than having a store of his own (D.F. Ellenberger 1912: 161), adding to the impression that cultivation was an opportunistic rather than pivotal part of the BaPhuthi's economy. These crops only had a year to grow before a crisis hit the BaPhuthi, in the form of 'cannibals' arriving from the north. These were led by a man called Motlejoa, who was originally from a branch of the Koena, but was now the leader of a group of 'twenty-six broken men like himself' (D.F. Ellenberger 1912: 161) committed to attacking people near what is today Mohale's Hoek.

A good deal of debate surrounds the veracity of these tales of 'cannibalism' from early nineteenth-century Basutoland. Some have accused D.F. Ellenberger of alarmism and hyperbole that, whether deliberately or inadvertently, contributed to an atmosphere of terror surrounding a possible mass African uprising (Etherington 2004b: 207). These allegations imply that we should take Ellenberger's accounts with the proverbial grain of salt, which in itself is not unreasonable: Ellenberger's narrative in *History of the Basuto* does betray a somewhat jingoistic bias on behalf of the Basotho as paragons of African civilisation, in contrast to the 'savages' roaming the land (recalling the discussion in Chapter 2.1 about how colonial politics underpinned the depiction of 'tribes' in contemporary literature). This comes through clearly in his account of the BaPhuthi's journey south: Ellenberger claims that the BaPhuthi were positively acculturated while living with the BaFokeng (the latter exerting a 'good influence' over the former) and it was when the BaPhuthi crossed the Senqu into the

southern Drakensberg that their wild, 'anti-social' behaviour (raiding, cohabiting with Bushmen, as per the colonial equation of 'wildness' with Bushmen described in Chapters 2.1.1. and 3.2) became more pronounced. Throughout *History of the Basuto*, the land south of the Senqu appears as the chaotic, dangerous, and relatively unknown territory of criminals and Bushmen: on the sketch maps that Ellenberger drew while writing his book, the area beyond the Senqu is virtually blank, with only the word 'Cannibals?' written over that area (Figure 4.2). This is almost certainly due to personal experiences seeping into this description rather than a lack of familiarity with the area: Ellenberger lived in Masitise for several decades, including the period of Moorosi's War, and witnessed the devastation that ensued when the south-western Maloti-Drakensberg exploded into violence as a result of this conflict (see D.F. Ellenberger 1879).

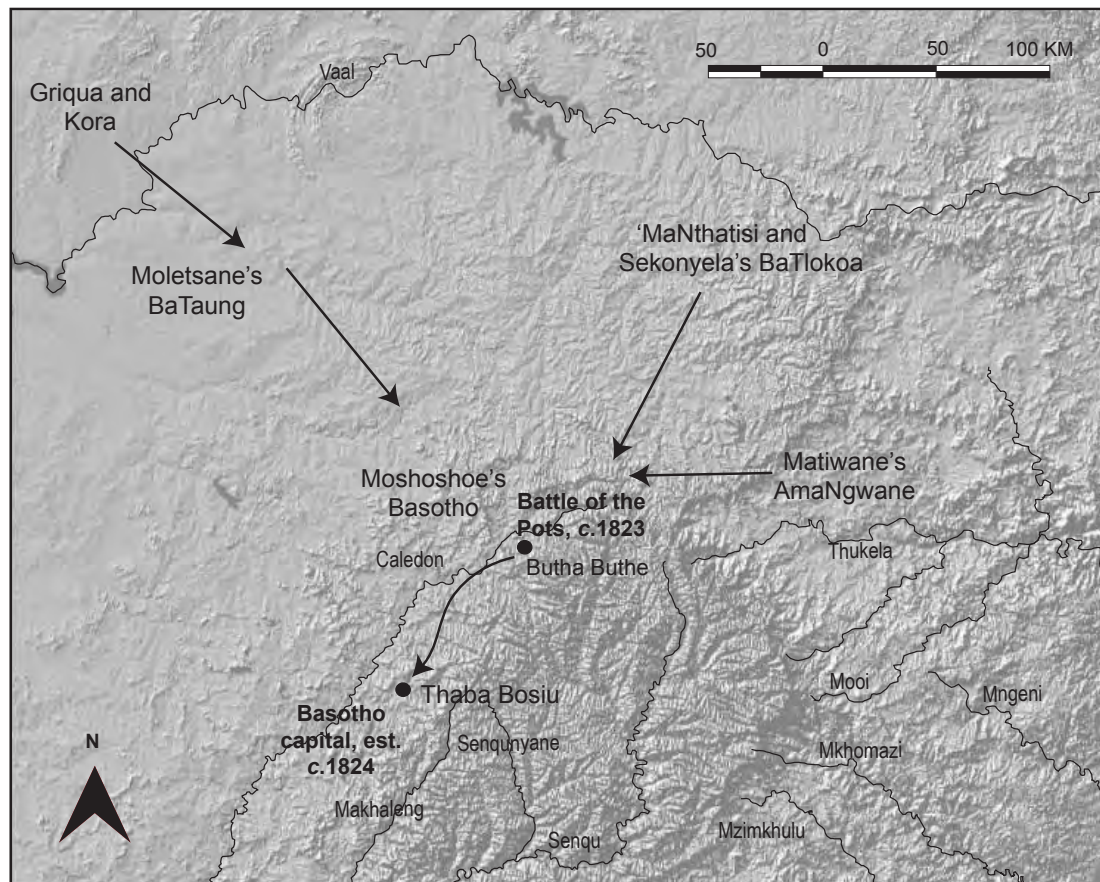


**Figure 4.2.** Sketch map of western Basutoland in the early nineteenth century, produced by D.F. Ellenberger. Morija (Lesotho). Morija Museum and Archives: D.F. Ellenberger Papers.

Further discussion regarding the qualifications and criticisms of D.F. Ellenberger's work can be found in Appendix B, but here it is sufficient to note that I do not believe it is necessary to dismiss his histories as unreliable, either in general or on the subject of cannibalism in particular. In his extensive research on cannibalism as a theme in Basotho literature and oral poetry, David Coplan (1993: 86-8) has proposed reading cannibalism in these contexts as a narrative trope evoking the gluttonous appetites of militaristic chiefs and the chaos of the 1820s. While cannibalistic metaphors often feature in performative oral and praise poetry and should therefore be carefully contextualised, the image of the cannibal as one who devours both their rivals (internal and external) and their followers is a pervasive and resonant image in

Basotho poetry (Coplan 1993: 86). The concept of 'eating up' in Basotho law will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6, but here it is important to note that it has both a figurative and a literal sense: figurative in that it evokes rapacity and irrationality, literal in that it describes an act (and at times a legal right) whereby Basotho chiefs can arrogate their followers' lands and property. Coplan (1994: 2-3) notes that within Basotho poetry, cannibalism emerged as a leitmotif for parasitism and disintegration brought on by the violence and destruction of Shaka kaSenzangakhona's military campaigns. With Shaka and his victims and/or followers drawn thus, Moshoeshoe appeared as a bringer of peace and mercy to a troubled region: oral and written narratives have Moshoeshoe treating cannibals as refugees rather than criminals, even when cannibals ate his grandfather. Coplan (1993: 88) suggests that these narratives were produced by Basotho and PEMS missionaries alike (e.g. Casalis 1861; D.F. Ellenberger 1912: 218), as the missionaries had a vested interest in portraying Moshoeshoe as civilised and Christianised, as opposed to the more uncivilised Zulu. As noted above, there seems to have been some veracity in reports of cannibalism, and whether Ellenberger was aware of the shades of meaning in the Basotho use of the cannibalism concept we do not know. However, like his informants his use of the idea conveys a sense of turmoil associated with particular people and locations, surely coloured by his own memories. Moreover, the lands south of the Senqu that would eventually become 'Moorosi's Country' emerge in contrast to the north, which was being contested and settled concurrent with the 'unsettlement' of the south (in the sense of its emergence as a 'wild', unstable region) by Mokuoane's itinerant followers and compatriots.

## 4.2. 'CATTLE RAZORS' TO CHIEFS, C. AD 1820



*Figure 4.3. Battles for the Highveld and the Caledon, c. 1822-1824, after Etherington 2001: 127.*

Farther north in the Maloti-Drakensberg lowlands, battles were being waged over the Caledon River valley and its fertile soils (Figure 4.3). While eventually the contest would come down to one between the Boers of the Orange Free State (which emerged in 1854 after the British abandoned the Orange River Sovereignty) and the Bantu confederacies of the Basotho and BaTlokoa, the early nineteenth-century Caledon Valley also formed the southernmost edge of the northern Cape frontier, meaning that peoples such as the Korana, Griqua, and *trekboere* (Dutch, sing. *trekboer*, Dutch-speaking peoples from the Cape who chose to emigrate to the interior in the early

nineteenth century, Giliomee 2003) all had a stake in the area. In addition to the region's Bushman and Korana populations, incursions from Griqua offshoots originating in the northern Cape sought to establish new settlements away from leaders in Klaarwater (see Chapter 2.1.3 and Legassick 2010 [1969]: 170-1). Driven in part by the needs of their own people and by pressures from conflicts across the Drakensberg in Natal, Bantu groups such as the Hlubi of Mpangazitha, the Ngwane of Matiwane, the Tlokoa of 'MaNthatisi, the BaTaung of Moletsane, and the Basotho of Moshoeshoe attacked, counter-attacked, and retreated from one another throughout the first half of the 1820s<sup>18</sup>.

While all the groups just mentioned were significant constituents of the Caledon and broader northern Cape frontier, it is useful to introduce in greater detail the cases of Moletsane and his BaTaung ('People of the Lion') and of Moshoeshoe and his Basotho: the former is a valuable foil for drawing out salient features of the BaPhuthi historical trajectory, while the latter was one of (if not the) defining political forces in constituting the Maloti-Drakensberg region prior to its colonisation by Europeans. Moletsane rose to prominence amidst this furore on the southern Highveld as a skilled warrior who launched a campaign to unite peoples of different *liboko* by invoking a shared mythical ancestor, Tau the Lion. While many contemporaries considered Tau part of their heritage (Comaroff and Comaroff 1986), Moletsane sought to translate stories of Tau's lost kingdom across the Sand River into action, advocating unification and a return to the Taung homeland (Etherington 2001: 136-7). From a base at Makwassie north of the Vaal, the BaTaung launched assaults against other peoples of the northern frontier, including the BaRolong and BaHurutshe, and made

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<sup>18</sup> Describing the choreography of these events is beyond the scope of the current discussion, but see papers in Hamilton (1995) and Etherington (2001: 124-33; 2004) for further details.

alliances with the Links Korana (see Chapter 2.1.3: 50) until Moletsane was able to reoccupy his lands along the Sand River. While Moshoeshe was battling for his territories (described below), Moletsane – along with his Korana allies – attempted to wrest land from the Ndebele leader Mzilikazi but failed and lost his own land and cattle instead. This defeat caused many of Moletsane’s followers to desert him (highlighting the highly contingent nature of many early nineteenth-century chiefly formations, Etherington 2001: 168) and he was reduced to begging for assistance from neighbours such as Moshoeshe.

Moletsane’s situation and other comparable cases have prompted Coplan (2000a) and Legassick (2010 [1969]: 162) to identify the northern Cape frontier as the ultimate locus of the circumstances that allowed Moshoeshe to rise to prominence: earlier (often violent) encounters between the groups of people described above, Sotho-Tswana polities, Griqua, and white settlers in Transorangia had caused many polities along this frontier to fragment prior to their arrival at the Caledon, and Moshoeshe’s skill as a chief was his ability to turn these depredations to his advantage (Coplan 2000a: 131).

In many ways, the strategies that Moshoeshe employed during the early years of the nineteenth century resemble those of Mokuoane and, indeed, many of their contemporaries. Moshoeshe built up a great deal of wealth in cattle through trading and raiding along the Caledon and on the Highveld: the missionaries Thomas Arbousset and François Daumas (1968 [1846]: 284-5) reported an expedition around 1820 in which Moshoeshe allegedly captured upwards of 2,000 cattle from various settlements on the southern Highveld at the beginning of ‘his career of plunder’. He thus earned himself the nickname of ‘the cattle razor,’ and thence the Sesotho

onomatopoeic moniker ‘Moshoeshoe,’ instead of his birth name of Leqopo (D.F. Ellenberger 1912: 106). He utilised naturally occurring hilltop table-like ‘fortresses’ (Sesotho, *qobosheane*, pl. *liqobosheane*, a variety of the *lithaba* noted in Chapter 2.1) as a means of protecting himself and his followers from assaults by Korana, Griqua, and other rival chiefdoms (Lye and Murray 1980: 48), although his first settlement on the slope of one such mountain just south of modern-day Butha-Buthe may have had as much to do with ancestral connections as with defensibility (*BRI*.83, 514-5). As I describe below, the strategic use of *liqobosheane* would eventually become a signature of Mokuoane’s and Moorosi’s political organisation and raiding strategies. Unlike the BaPhuthi and many others, however, Moshoeshoe also focused his economy on crop cultivation (primarily of sorghum and millet), which rendered some of his movements predictable and thus made him more vulnerable to attack. A further difference, and one that became a hallmark of Moshoeshoe’s governance and diplomacy, was his skill at investing the cattle that he obtained during his raids: he lent cows widely as part of what would eventually become the *mafisa* system, in which client herders would keep a portion of the herd’s increase while owing Moshoeshoe tribute in cattle or arms, and used his wealth in livestock to secure strategic marriage alliances for himself and others (Orpen 1979 [1857]<sup>19</sup>: 20).

Thus, despite suffering heavy losses at the hands of the Tlokoa during the Battle of the Pots around 1823, Moshoeshoe was able to re-group and move his people from Butha-Buthe to Thaba Bosiu (Sesotho, ‘Mountain of Night’), a steep-sided plateau located farther south in the fertile Caledon Valley. At Thaba Bosiu, Moshoeshoe withstood assaults from Matiwane’s Ngwane (c. 1827/8), Mzilikazi’s Ndebele (c.

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<sup>19</sup> See Appendix C for discussion of this work’s much-debated authorship.

1831), and all other military threats to his authority, and thus established the centre of his chiefdom there. Demonstrating his canniness as a diplomat, Moshoeshoe welcomed the ‘refugees’ fragmented by violence in the interior under his protection, including his erstwhile antagonists (e.g. Van Warmelo 1938: 24). His polity thus consisted of ‘multitudes of petty tribes, which know not whence they came’ (Arbousset and Daumas 1968 [1846]: 162), unified through tributary agreements with Moshoeshoe. For his part, Moshoeshoe embraced the diversity of his people, adopting for them the name ‘Basotho’ (see Appendix A for disambiguation of the uses of ‘Sotho’ as language *versus* ethnic group), which, while the original translation remains contested (*BRI*.24; D.F. Ellenberger 1912: 34), referred to ethnically ambiguous foreigners in the Caledon Valley, rather than to a particular lineage or *seboko*.

Bolstering his strength further, Moshoeshoe sent to the LMS at Philippolis to request that a missionary be sent to him, which prompted the Rev. John Philip to propose that the French missionaries Thomas Arbousset and Eugène Casalis attach themselves to the Sotho chief (*BRI*.1; Arbousset and Daumas 1938 [1846]: 304-305; Philip 1833: 30). Following the examples of Griqua leaders such as Adam Kok, for whom establishing relationships with missionaries was a strategy for both legitimising authority through claims to ‘civilisation’ and gaining access to colonial goods such as firearms that could be used to fend off raiding Korana (e.g. Legassick 2010 [1969]: 96-8, 223-5), Moshoeshoe invited the missionaries to settle on his western flank. After Arbousset and Casalis established the first PEMS mission station at Morija (one of the weak points on Moshoeshoe’s western frontier), the PEMS presence in Basutoland grew throughout the 1820s and 1830s, including new stations at

Beersheba under Samuel Rolland and Bethulie under Jean Pierre Pellissier (Keegan 1987; cf. Coplan 2009).

Moshoeshoe's approach to building his new chiefdom could, as Coplan (2000a: 137) has claimed, 'without irony or pretention be called a form of African nationalism,' and thus a process of building a *sechaba*. Moshoeshoe invited any alliances and technologies (including ploughs, printing presses, rifles, and eventually horses, see Chapter 4.3.3. below) that helped to advance his cause and solidify his state. He attempted to enforce a degree of unity and locate power within his own dominant lineage by installing his relatives as senior chiefs over non-Koena chiefs throughout northern Basutoland. Although encroachment by white settlers posed an ever-increasing threat to Basutoland, Moshoeshoe successfully fortified his northern and western borders through skilful placement of missionaries and military allies. While the mountains to the east offered natural protection against almost all assailants except for Bushman raiding parties, Moshoeshoe maintained good relations with Shaka and his Zulu across the Escarpment by sending gifts of cattle and prestige goods such as crane and ostrich feathers (e.g. D.F. Ellenberger 1912: 176). Moshoeshoe was also looking farther afield to the security of his southern border along the Senqu, and around this time he forged (or forced) an alliance with Mokuoane and his BaPhuthi. This southern component to Moshoeshoe's state-building is often overlooked in literature about his nation's formation, as the most heated contemporary debates surrounded Basotho, Boer, and British contests for land along the Caledon. However, as will become clearer throughout this thesis, Basutoland's southern frontier was a similarly crucial zone of negotiation both for its inhabitants and for the Koena at Thaba Bosiu.

### **4.3. BAPHUTHI AS WARDENS OF THE SOUTH, C. AD 1820-1850**

While Moshoeshoe was solidifying his borders in the north during the early 1820s, Mokuoane and his BaPhuthi were fending off attacks from alleged cannibals in the south, which had forced them to retreat west to the Kraai River. However, the sorghum that the BaPhuthi had been sowing around Lundean's Nek required Mokuoane to return there, again demonstrating the impediment that sedentary agriculture can pose in conflict situations. Mokuoane, however, turned this to his advantage as a reconnaissance mission, after which he rallied his followers and expelled the cannibals of Motlejoa. D.F. Ellenberger (1912: 163) suggests that Motlejoa then wrought his vengeance by reporting to Moshoeshoe that the BaPhuthi were amassing enough wealth in cattle to pose a threat to the newly ascended ruler. Acting through his brother Mohale, Moshoeshoe coerced submission from Mokuoane and his BaPhuthi through kidnap, ransom, and forced marriage of members of Mokuoane's lineage. This was facilitated by the fact that when Mohale reached Mokuoane, the BaPhuthi had suffered a reversal of fortune, being the subjects of a counter-raid by Thembu from the eastern Cape that severely reduced the amount of livestock they had acquired during the last year.

Mokuoane's submission took the form of tributary cattle payments rather than *mafisa*: the BaPhuthi were allowed to continue occupying their territories, but were required to deliver regular livestock tributes to Thaba Bosiu in return, and to represent Moshoeshoe's interests in their territories. Despite Mokuoane's and Moorosi's subordination to the Koena monarch, they were permitted and even encouraged to

retain their existing settlements and to continue to establish themselves throughout the southern Drakensberg.

In his unpublished chapters and notes for *History of the Basotho*, D.F. Ellenberger (unsurprisingly) attributes these decisions to Moshoeshoe's aspirations to land acquisition. Winning the BaPhuthi as allies meant that

when Mokuane and Moorosi made their submission to Moshesh they added to Basutoland that large and alpine country they had conquered from the Bushmen bounded on the East by the Orange River and the Drakensberg range, South by the Wittebergen and West by the Stormberg Spruit' (D.F. Ellenberger ND: 1).

While 'conquered' is too strong a term, the influence that Mokuoane and his BaPhuthi held over these lands was such that Moshoeshoe felt a relationship with them was necessary to maintain an authoritative presence there. The BaPhuthi certainly demonstrated that they had become adept at raiding cattle from virtually all peoples: when Moshoeshoe demanded tributes of oxen to show his loyalty, Mokuoane obliged with a prize yellow ox taken from a Thembu chief. The BaPhuthi also provided Moshoeshoe with his first horse, relieved from a farm in Dordrecht (D.F. Ellenberger 1912: 195). Indeed, although disapproving of their means of earning a living, Ellenberger (1912: 190) applauded the BaPhuthi's industry, saying that they 'never ceased their cattle-lifting raids in Kaffraria, which they continued with an energy [...] worthy of a better cause.'



demonstrated, the Maloti-Drakensberg in the early nineteenth century remained beyond the reach of direct colonial (and, ultimately, Basotho) authority, and witnessed the arrival of numerous peoples from the north, east, and southeast dispersed by violence. Mokuoane's and (later) Moorosi's skills lay in forming mutually beneficial relationships with these fugitives, offering support and protection in exchange for allegiance. D.F. Ellenberger (1912: 190) gave a description of Mokuoane that is nearly identical to Hobsbawm's (2000 [1969]: 20) characterisation of social bandits outlined in Chapter 2.2:

Mokuoane, cattle-thief as he was, was also something of a philanthropist. All the region round was at that time peopled with ruined and starving refugees, broken men of various tribes, living like hunted animals, a danger to themselves and their neighbours. Leaving his son Moorosi in charge of tribal matters, Mokuoane went about the country collecting these waifs and strays, persuading them to come and join him and his son, promising them shelter, food, and peace, as well as protection against the cannibals and robbers who infested the country. In this way he collected many starving fugitives and their families, with the result that the number of his adherents increased very considerably.

Based on the relationships that the BaPhuthi would develop over the coming decades, D.F. Ellenberger (1912: 190) proposed that Moshoeshoe likely drew on the BaPhuthi's connection to other peoples of the Drakensberg 'to settle in that vast country South of the Orange River all the divers Chiefs of various tribes that appealed to [Moorosi] for assistance and protection' under the ultimate authority of the BaKoena. Here, there is a latent tension in Ellenberger's interpretation between the agency of Mokuoane and that of Moshoeshoe: while arguably the BaPhuthi were acting as Moshoeshoe's agents when they promoted settlement in the southern

Drakensberg, we shall see in Chapter 6 that by the time of Moorosi's War, allegiances south of the Senqu River were firmly in favour of the BaPhuthi.

The period following the BaPhuthi's forced submission to Moshoeshoe proved rewarding for both sides, and saw the former rise to a position of regional prominence. As much as his agreement with Moshoeshoe was coerced, Mokuoane was able to increase the size of his polity and thrive under the arrangement whereby he would 'keep the country' for Moshoeshoe, operating as a largely autonomous chief (Orpen 1876).

#### **4.3.1. BaPhuthi 'settlement' strategies**

In a genealogy and history that Joseph Orpen (1876) took from Moorosi himself, Moorosi detailed the development of BaPhuthi 'settlement' and subsistence strategies, a process that likely began prior to amalgamation within Moshoeshoe's state but that certainly accelerated afterwards. Mokuoane, and Moorosi after him, established a series of settlements, generally atop or at the base of steep-sided *liqobosheane*, which he would occupy for a time with his immediate followers (typically between stock raids) before moving on to another; he returned to each of these places repeatedly. In his absence from these preferred locales, Mokuoane would place sons or relatives there to secure them, while other BaPhuthi occupied lands from around Maphutseng in the north to Lundeane's Nek and present-day Lady Grey in the south. He would also keep reserves of grain at these strongholds, even during his absences. An account by John Austen (1879i), Moorosi's magistrate in Quthing, implies that this settlement strategy allowed the BaPhuthi to choose a stronghold that suited their purposes at specific times, such as when bracing for attacks from Orange River Sovereignty patrols.

This mobility also facilitated greater stock acquisition across a wider area than more sedentary strategies would have permitted, allowing for easy escape from raiding and punitive expeditions, and offering numerous locales for storing stolen cattle. As British Resident Henry Warden (*BRI.153*) observed in 1847, ‘The mountainous character of the country occupied by Morosi’s [*sic*] people affords every facility for secreting cattle in any number.’ Careful reading of archival sources makes it possible to identify these favoured locales of BaPhuthi leaders, which included Lefika la bo Khiba, Tulumaneng, Thabana Morena, Bolepeletsa, and Litapoleng (‘Message from Letsie, 24 February 1879’ in Griffith 1879b; *BRV.248-54*; Stevens 1906; Orpen 1913c; Webb 1958; D.F. Ellenberger ND: Ch. 29, 1912: 163, 190) (Figure 4.4). Additionally, around 1839 Moshoeshoe permitted Moorosi and his followers to return to Maphutseng, whence they originally left several years previously to travel farther south (only to find that their return was blocked by Motlejoa’s cannibals); D.F. Ellenberger’s implication seems to be that Moorosi’s presence at Maphutseng incorporated that location into the BaPhuthi’s authoritative remit. Maphutseng, Lefika la bo Khiba, and Tulumaneng were used intermittently by other parties of raiders (both BaPhuthi and otherwise) or for temporary settlement (*BR.248*; Orpen 1906b, 1911c; D.F. Ellenberger ND: Ch. 29), but occupying Bolepeletsa was the sole prerogative of Mokuoane, Moorosi, and their followers (Figure 4.4). While individual raiding bands were more mobile than the polity as a whole (including women and children), accounts by BaPhuthi, Basotho, missionaries, and colonial observers demonstrate that between the 1820s and 1850s, the polity itself did move through Tulumaneng, Maphutseng, and Bolepeletsa (Schumpf 1847a, 1847b; Orpen 1906b, 1906d) For the BaPhuthi (and recalling the discussion in Chapter 3.2), peripatetic settlement strategies and intensive raiding made large swathes of the Maloti-

Drakensberg mountains intelligible in a pragmatic, physical sense: the BaPhuthi knew the paths and resources available in various localities and seasons, as opposed to colonial and Basotho forces for whom the terrain was still largely inaccessible.

Farming took place as well, but emphasised gardens rather than cultivated fields (D.F. Ellenberger 1880a), again consistent with the mobility of the BaPhuthi 'settlement strategy'. When the PEMS established the Bethesda Mission Station in 1843 and requested that Moorosi give the newly arrived preacher one of his fields to cultivate, Moorosi instead donated space in his personal gardens, as he had no fields to give (Schrumpf 1847b: 291). Later descriptions of conflicts between Moorosi and rival chiefs demonstrate that when Moorosi's enemies sought to harm him economically, they would steal his cattle and appropriate or destroy his gardens (see Chapter 5.2).

While some 'settlement' locations were more heavily favoured than others, Mokuoane and Moorosi never established a 'Great Place' or political centre similar to Thaba Bosiu. Instead, they developed a peripatetic form of chieftaincy, moving through but repeatedly returning to a series of fairly well-known locales. This more mobile, dispersed arrangement meant that the BaPhuthi were well positioned for raiding ventures and could easily maintain their geographically disparate social relationships.

### **4.3.2. Recruiting the BaPhuthi polity**

In addition to expanding their social networks, the BaPhuthi had swelled their ranks from the varied array of peoples moving through the land south of the Senqu at this time. As with many contemporary polities, the BaPhuthi were not a homogeneous entity united by shared ancestry, but rather one composed of numerous adherents with diverse ethnic backgrounds. In comparison, Moletsane's BaTaung consisted of

peoples self-identifying as Koena, Fokeng, Tau, Korana, and occasionally Bushmen. The BaPhuthi stand out, however, because they were not only an incredibly fluid organisation, but also one that attracted a steady stream of adherents and effectively maintained and enhanced their authoritative status on the raiding frontier in spite of (or because of) this heterogeneity. Moreover, it is possible to articulate several ways of ‘being BaPhuthi’ throughout the group’s lifespan, which I set out here but continue to develop throughout Chapters 5 and 6.

While *seboko* was not the dominant factor behind social cohesion, it nevertheless featured in some forms of BaPhuthi identity. D.F. Ellenberger’s BaPhuthi informants and Moorosi himself identified the *phuthi* (duiker) as their *seboko* and claimed a common ancestor in Lage, a sixteenth-century figure (Orpen 1876). Looking to Moorosi’s descendants and how he dealt with them is perhaps more informative as to the role of kinship in forming BaPhuthi ethnic identity. Moorosi married BaPhuthi wives and had several sons by them, whom he often directed to occupy and secure parts of his territory in his stead. Like his father, he also took wives from other ethnic groups. Mapote, the son of Moorosi whom Marion Walsham How interviewed for her seminal work *Mountain Bushmen of Basutoland* (1962), explained that his mother was an Mpondomise wife of Moorosi called ‘Ma-Canan’. Moorosi was also known to have intermarried extensively with Bushmen, as had his father before him (Orpen 1876; Jolly 1996a: 60).

However, Moorosi himself may have regarded his children by BaPhuthi wives to be ‘more’ Phuthi than those by women from other groups: in the genealogy that Moorosi related to Orpen (1876), only Moorosi’s sons by his first two (BaPhuthi) wives are listed, in contrast to D.F. Ellenberger’s (1912: 344-6) more inclusive genealogy. One

can only speculate whether this was a significant omission by Moorosi or whether Orpen simply chose not to list the rest of Moorosi's children, but several points suggest the former scenario. First, Orpen was a something of a graphomaniac: his correspondence and personal papers consist of lengthy, meticulously detailed accounts, which are often reiterated two or three times in a single body of documents. It is hard to believe he would neglect to transcribe anything that Moorosi saw fit to tell him, especially in his personal notes (as opposed to a published work). Further, this interview took place three years after Orpen's expedition into the Maloti Mountains, during which he had met one of Moorosi's sons, Qacha (likely of Bushman descent), and Qing, the Bushman whose insights into local rock art led to Orpen's *Cape Monthly* article on Bushman beliefs (Orpen 1874; McGranaghan *et al.* 2013)<sup>20</sup>. Given Orpen's personal connection to Moorosi's family, if he were to have allowed his own interests to influence what he transcribed, it would likely have reflected some of this connection; as it stands, the individuals listed (Moorosi's sons Letuka, Matsoana, and Ntsape, and Moorosi's Bushman half-brother Gashuli) are those whom Orpen may have never known personally. Even more compelling is the fact that in the same genealogy, Orpen saw fit to include some of Mokuoane's Bushmen children as well as those by BaPhuthi women.

It therefore seems likely that the genealogy that Moorosi gave to Orpen reflects those individuals that Moorosi most strongly regarded as the members of his clan: children by marriages with women of BaPhuthi ancestry rather than those who were the products of alliance marriages. By the same token, Moorosi's children distinguished between 'true' Bushmen and the mixed children of Bushmen and BaPhuthi: Mapote

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<sup>20</sup> Qing was residing with his wives at Qacha's kraal and functioning as a hunter for Qacha, supporting evidence discussed in later chapters for the close relationships obtaining between BaPhuthi and Bushmen.

related to How that he and his half-Bushman brothers used to make rock paintings at one end of a rockshelter, while their 'true Bushman' compatriots painted at the other end (How 1962: 33).

Thus, in Moorosi's eyes, there appear to have been degrees of being BaPhuthi, the greatest of these deriving from both paternal and maternal BaPhuthi ancestry. This is not to say that Moorosi disregarded his children from non-Phuthi marriages: Moorosi designated Qacha, one of his children by a Bushman mother, as a sub-chief (albeit in a strategically less crucial part of his territory, at least until the 1879 rebellion, see Chapter 6.3.2.), and his children by women of other ethnic backgrounds had the right to name Moorosi as their father.

Moreover, those who were BaPhuthi by choice were arguably as significant to the functioning of the polity as those who were BaPhuthi by birth. One of the salient features of BaPhuthi society was the permeability of its boundaries. This is particularly evident in raiding parties (the key to BaPhuthi political economy), which, while including a 'core' of individuals linked by ancestry or marriage, also feature individuals that opted in to the group for different purposes and durations. The BaPhuthi held particularly strong ties with Bushmen, who, by virtue of marriages and perhaps more religious connections such as rainmaking or divination (see Jolly 1993), were highly integrated into BaPhuthi society, though often in subordinate capacities. Wright (1971: 175-6) and Vinnicombe (2009 [1976]: 88) both relate the story of a band of Bushmen led by a man called Masharka living under a chief subordinate to Moorosi (see also Jolly 2007: 4). Moorosi's brother, Lisawana, was also reported to have led a band that consisted of rebel Hottentots, Bantu-speakers, and Bushmen (Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]: 64). These were clearly mutually enriching (culturally and

economically) associations, as expressed most clearly by a Mosotho called Dinilape and recorded by Captain Albert Allison (1869):

Our law does not permit us to kill anyone unless they have committed some great offence. Bushmen are included in the law I refer to, ... I mean to say, their chief would be angry if I interfered with them without reason. Their chief is Moorosi. There are many Bushmen living amongst Moorosi's people.

Dinilape went on to add that Moorosi found Bushmen useful for hunting eland, and would occasionally send one of his headmen along on a hunt (Allison 1869: 255). Marion Walsham How's (1930) interviews with Mapote also confirm a very close association between the BaPhuthi and their Bushman colleagues, describing shared knowledge of rock art production and cohabitation even during periods of relative calm.

All this suggests that, in exchange for the protection of Moorosi and his BaPhuthi, Bushmen aided with hunting, herding, and possibly religious needs. Work by David Hammond-Tooke (1998, 1999) and Pieter Jolly (1993, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007) has explored the relationship between Maloti-Drakensberg Bushmen and neighbouring Nguni/Sotho communities (albeit from opposing perspectives), suggesting that these interactions were symbiotic, mediated primarily through raiding and divinatory and rainmaking practices, and resulting in shared religious beliefs. Drawing on oral historical and rock art evidence and written records, Jolly (1993, 1995, 1996a, 1996b) has argued that several generations of Bushman inter-marriage and cohabitation with Bantu-speakers led to the former's encapsulation in the latter's society. Evidence for this can be found in rock art that he suggests depicts Bushman shamans borrowing items of material culture (animal masks, sticks

used in divination) and initiation rites from Bantu-speakers. Although these cultural influences certainly ran in both directions between Bushmen and Bantu-speakers (Jolly 1995), Jolly (2000: 86) suggests that the stronger influence was that of the 'politically dominant' Nguni and Sotho groups. These studies have highlighted centuries of interaction between societies long thought to be largely culturally separate (e.g. Campbell 1987: 60-1), and thus brought the 'Kalahari Debate' over the cultural 'discreteness' of foraging populations to southern African rock art to the Maloti-Drakensberg (Blundell 2004: 74; for elaboration on the Kalahari Debate, see Solway and Lee 1990, Wilmsen and Denbow 1990, and P. Mitchell 2002a: 223-5).

However, scholars within the last nearly two decades have observed that there is no reason why this cultural sharing should reflect primarily the influence of Bantu-speaking agriculturists on Bushmen and not *vice versa* (e.g. comments in Jolly 1996b; Challis 2008: 83-4; P. Mitchell 2009b: 22). Hammond-Tooke (1998, 1999), an anthropologist specialising in southern Bantu cultures, drew attention to linguistic and ritual features within Bantu societies that certainly derived from Bushmen: *igqirha*, the Xhosa term for diviner, is an obvious cognate with the !Xam *!gi:xa* ('owner of magical power', Bleek 1956: 255, 382; now often translated as 'shaman', Lewis-Williams 1992), while Nguni diviners' use of flywhisks, dancing rattles, and even the dance itself were likely derived from Bushman influences.

Further addressing this debate, Challis (2008: 13) cautions against assuming that Bantu-Bushman interaction took broadly similar paths in all cases. Furthermore, suggesting that interaction was simply a bilateral flow of cultural traits overlooks the possibilities for ethnogenesis (see Chapter 2.3), and for the particularities of certain historical contexts. As discussed here and again in the Coda following Chapter 6,

BaPhuthi-Bushman relationships were not necessarily stable or predictable across the various nineteenth-century contexts in which they manifested. During the cattle raids of the mid-nineteenth century, occasional periods of calm, and even in Moorosi's War itself in 1879, their interactions followed different routes, with each group negotiating convergences and conflicts of belief in particular ways. Building upon his original argument with special attention to the nineteenth century, Jolly (2005, 2006a) has provided compelling evidence (in the form of rock art depicting figures wearing beaded bandoliers) that Bushmen in the Maloti-Drakensberg did adopt and adapt some features of Bantu material culture<sup>21</sup>.

This discussion of Bushman-Bantu interaction prompts an additional observation. The vast majority of the last several decades' research on cultural exchange in the nineteenth-century Maloti-Drakensberg has focused on Bushman-Bantu interactions (e.g. Campbell 1987; Dowson 1994; Blundell 2004), perhaps because the two cultures are sufficiently distinct (historically, materially, ethnographically, and linguistically) as to be able to trace particular cultural traits from origin to borrowing. However, there has been minimal comparative research on cultural influences among Bantu-speaker groups themselves. This is almost certainly due to the paucity of direct ethnographic or material data attributable to specific groups at specific points in their historical trajectories, as mentioned in Chapter 2.3. However, a point worth making here and to which I will return in Chapter 9.2 is that closer scrutiny of the relationships among predominately Bantu-speaking groups in the southern

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<sup>21</sup> Jolly (2005: 95) cites the nineteenth-century Bushman practice of churning ritual ingredients in pots as another borrowing, originating in the traditional preparation of *ubulawu* (herbal medicines) by Sotho and Nguni diviners. While certain aspects of this practice among Bushmen may relate to processes of acculturation, the use of ceramics by Bushmen in the Maloti-Drakensberg pre-dates the arrival of Bantu-speaking agriculturists in the subcontinent (Mazel 1992b).

Drakensberg is necessary to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the cultural and political dynamics that shaped the region. One of the aims of this thesis is to demonstrate that this may be accomplished through careful scrutiny and contextualisation of multiple lines of evidence.

While the connections between BaPhuthi and Bushmen were the most well-known, BaPhuthi raiding parties also included Xhosa-speaking Thembu ('Tambookies') and Mpondomise already mentioned above. As discussed below, despite the BaPhuthi's frequent raids on the Thembu during the early nineteenth century, by the mid-nineteenth century Moorosi's cohabitation and collaboration with Thembu was so extensive as to become dangerous to him: when British forces sought to quell Thembu unrest south of the Senqu, Moshoeshoe had to warn the British against inadvertently harming Moorosi, who might have been close enough to the Thembu as to be confused for one of them. Orpen (NDb) later described confrontations between local British authorities and Moorosi, who at the time was leading a band that included a large number of Thembu. Etherington (2001: 154) even mentions in passing that Moorosi had relatives among the Thembu. Similarly, Moorosi was known to have married at least one Mpondomise woman.

Of the BaPhuthi's diverse associates, perhaps the least is known of the Basotho, although some were certainly subordinate to Moorosi. Until Moorosi's War, the role of Moshoeshoe's Basotho in BaPhuthi raiding parties is somewhat unclear. When Mokuoane first paid tribute to Moshoeshoe, the Basotho and BaPhuthi leaders launched several joint raiding expeditions into the Orange River Sovereignty and eastern Cape to procure cattle and thus greatly augment Moshoeshoe's power, thereby demonstrating the value of BaPhuthi allies to the Basotho paramount (D.F.

Ellenberger 1912: Ch. 20). Moshoeshoe eventually had to remove himself from these raids for political reasons and it is not clear whether Basotho continued to raid alongside Mokuoane and Moorosi. However, there are accounts of Basotho raiding stock within and around the Wittebergen Reserve (Austen 1860, see Chapter 5) which, notwithstanding the territories demarcated in the Reserve's proclamation of 1850, fell under Moorosi's jurisdiction as granted by Moshoeshoe; these Basotho therefore almost certainly conducted raids as subjects of Moorosi.

As much as they were inclusive, the BaPhuthi were also forced to defend their lands and cattle from antagonistic polities, such as groups of AmaTola and Bhaca passing through BaPhuthi territory from Nomansland to the southeast. The Bhaca, a Nguni-speaking group believed to have originated along the Mngeni River on the eastern side of the Drakensberg (Bryant 1929), expanded their raiding range westward around the 1820s, and were attacked as 'invaders' in the territories of the Thembu and Mpondomise (Hammond-Tooke 1962: 6; Wright 1995: 179). The Bhaca were known to have raided with both Mdwebo's band of 'Bushman' raiders, as well as with the AmaTola (Challis 2008: 188-9), taking advantage of their Bushman comrades' horsemanship to expand the range in which they could operate. Based on testimonies that Orpen (1906b) collected from the western edges of the BaPhuthi's territories in the late nineteenth century, the Bhaca and AmaTola were both present there in the 1820s. Orpen (1911a) claimed that the Bhaca were inimical to Basotho and BaPhuthi interests, killing Basotho patrols and attempting to establish their own settlements in Moorosi's territories. The BaPhuthi clashed with the Bhaca (who also raided from Faku of the Mpondo, an occasional BaPhuthi ally) and eventually drove them out of the western portion of the BaPhuthi's lands.

As the nineteenth century progressed and the BaPhuthi rose to power south of the Senqu River, the ethnonym 'BaPhuthi' came to refer to people under Mokuoane's or Moorosi's leadership who might themselves represent individuals of Thembu, Mpondomise, Bushman, or Basotho ethnic backgrounds, and who had united for a shared purpose, primarily for stock raiding. Blundell (2004: 155-6) has suggested that, at least in terms of Bushman raiding groups, cohesiveness was forged through shared practices rather than by forging a common cosmology, and that the social boundaries of these bands were quite permeable: members joined and left fairly freely, but with a solidarity forged through common practice. BaPhuthi cohesiveness becomes clearer during Moorosi's War (see Chapter 6), when Moorosi's followers fought alongside him to the death. While historical sources do not permit a view of the emic terms through which BaPhuthi identity was forged, the perspective available does afford an understanding of some of the group's dynamics and at least some of the terms of interaction and incorporation.

### **4.3.3. Acquiring horses**

During this period the influx of horses had a major impact on both the BaPhuthi and the region as a whole. Moshoeshoe reported having seen a horse for the first time in 1824 when the 'Griqua-Bergenaars and the Koras' began a campaign of mounted assault against Thaba Bosiu (*BRI.256*, 382-3). However, as described above, the BaPhuthi's skill as horsemen, especially their ability to provide Moshoeshoe with his first horse, implies that they had encountered and become proficient in horsemanship well before this (How 1936). Xhosa chiefs and possibly even Khoekhoe servants had obtained Cape horses (primarily Arabians with Thoroughbred infusions made throughout the nineteenth century) as early as the 1790s on the eastern Cape frontier (Mitchell in press: Chapter 9), while Bushmen were seen riding horses near the

confluence of the Orange and Caledon Rivers as early as 1808 (Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]: 149). Sandra Swart (2010: 85) has suggested that changes in horse nomenclature among the Basotho and their confederates reflected the changing sources of those horses, from Korana raiders to Boer settlers. The earliest Sesotho term for 'horse' was *khomo-ea-haka* ('cattle called horse') wherein *haka* was derived from the !ora (the language of the Korana) word *hap* or *hai* (Lloyd 1879: 3). Eventually, *pere*, from the Afrikaans *perd* came to replace *haka* in Sesotho and was adopted in SePhuthi (Donnelly 2009: 1088), although there is no information as to whether SePhuthi had also borrowed earlier terminology from !ora. These observations, combined with Challis's (2008: 1) and Peter Mitchell's (in press: Chapter 9) suggestion, based on historical and rock art evidence, that horses entered the southern Maloti-Drakensberg in or prior to 1835, make it extremely likely that the BaPhuthi familiarised themselves with horses during their excursions in the south and west of that region.

While there is little in the way of direct evidence regarding the BaPhuthi's early experience of the horse, Challis's (2008: 235-53) model for the acquisition of the horse by raiding bands in the Maloti-Drakensberg, which is itself derived from the North American Plains (Hämäläinen 2003), can usefully be applied to this situation (see also Chapters 9.2. and 9.3.). Challis (2008: 235) notes that knowledge of horses very likely arrived in the mountains via various Xhosa, Khoekhoen, and escaped slaves who had been in service in the Cape but fled, taking their experiences with horses with them (cf. Hämäläinen 2003: 845). When horses themselves were acquired, they became pivotal technologies for raiding groups such as the BaPhuthi and AmaTola and 'Bushman' bands such as those of Mdwebo and Nqabayoy, as well as becoming integrated into hunting and herding economies. Hunters mounted on

horseback could pursue game more easily, an advantage that Moorosi almost certainly would have appreciated: recalling Dinilape's statement in Chapter 4.3.2 above, Moorosi took advantage of his Bushmen associates' skill at hunting eland, which would have been enhanced with the adoption of the horse. With horses, the BaPhuthi and others could travel farther to raid and forge alliances, and thus support their mobile existence. Horses functioned as trade goods and, by extension, were subject to being stolen along with cattle and other livestock: BaPhuthi raids involved stealing both cattle and horses, particularly where these were kraaled at a remove from their owners (Swart 2010: 84). Horses were also environmentally compatible with the constraints and opportunities of the Maloti-Drakensberg region: as discussed in Chapter 3.1, the mountains and their adjoining lowlands offered ample water and grazing for horses, while the elevation was too high and the climate too cold to support the disease-carrying vectors (e.g. species of midges in the genus *Culicoides* that carry African horse sickness) that afflicted horse populations in the arid interior (P. Mitchell in press: Chapter 9). While the prevalence of horses in the Maloti-Drakensberg was to increase dramatically during the nineteenth century and the Basotho pony would not emerge as a type of horse specially suited to the mountains until around 1870 (How 1936), the BaPhuthi's early acquisitions made the development of their peripatetic chiefdom possible.

Challis's work pertains primarily to creolised Bushman-Bantu societies where amassing livestock did not necessarily correlate with social hierarchies as a major feature of political economy. Consequently, the question persists of how Bantu-speaking societies, with strong social hierarchies, incorporated the novel domesticate that the horse represented: if, as Norman Etherington (2001: 14-5, cf. Challis 2008: 253-4) notes, social hierarchies premised in part on cattle 'underpinned and

maintained class distinction' were the norm in Bantu-speaking societies, were horses incorporated as cattle-equivalent forms of symbolic property or as something else? Did the BaPhuthi hold horses and cattle as symbolically, economically, and/or functionally equivalent or were they somehow 'valued' differently? Swart (2010: 93) maintains that among the Basotho, horses were primarily a status indicator that was not central to exchange currencies: while cattle represented both stored wealth and a form of social currency, horses' value only depreciated over time, unless they were used for breeding. Horses could be given as bridewealth, although interestingly only the *molisana* (the horse used to herd other horses and cattle) was called 'horse' as part of the brideprice; all other horses were referred to as 'cattle'. However, based on the symbolic role of cattle described above (and detailed more fully elsewhere, notably Ferguson 1990 and Coplan 1994), this rather implies that horses were a fairly significant form of social currency, suggesting that perhaps Swart's conception of the comparative social value of the horse and its rate of depreciation might be more complex than she portrays.

Nevertheless, Swart's position is that horses never acquired the same symbolism among the Basotho as they did (for example) among mounted Native Americans because the Basotho never embraced mounted nomadism<sup>22</sup>. If subsistence strategies dependent upon horses are a dominant factor in creating 'horse value' (symbolic and economic), then surely the BaPhuthi situation would be different from that of the Basotho. Unfortunately, there is little information to explore this suggestion further. For the moment, it is, however, possible to observe that the BaPhuthi quickly

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<sup>22</sup> This position is vitiated in part by the fact that New World peoples that did *not* adopt full-scale nomadism still endowed horses with symbolic potential. Such groups included, among others, Navajo in the United States Southwest (Clark 2001), Wayúu in the La Guajira Peninsula of Colombia/Venezuela (Perrin 1987), and Mapuche in south-central Chile and adjacent parts of Argentina (Bacigalupo 2004).

apprehended the symbolic, charismatic function of horses. As discussed further later (Chapter 6: 192), Moorosi and his famous white horse became powerful figures of BaPhuthi resistance to the Basutoland administration.

Furthermore, as I observe in Chapters 2.3 and 8.2, Challis (2012) has demonstrated that horses were social and cosmological cognates for Bushmen and Bantu-speakers, and fuelled the creolisation of raiding bands during the nineteenth century in the Maloti-Drakensberg. Despite the on-going 'Cape Khoisan debate' over whether the idea of stock-keeping was intelligible to Bushmen (Smith 2008), the fact remains that Bushmen in the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains were patently capable of acquiring and maintaining a surplus of horses, as well as cattle and sheep (Challis 2008: 253); the latter two were also possibly present amongst Maloti-Drakensberg Bushmen at various points throughout the second millennium AD (Hobart 2004). The knowledge and practice of keeping horses and other livestock was a mutually intelligible (at least to a point) common ground for different ethnically mixed groups and within the diverse constituents of the groups themselves. Symbolically, among many raiding groups horses came to embody the potency of eland (which in Bushman cosmology were associated with rainmaking and other shamanistic practices), as well as associations with ritual medicine conferring protection during raids (Challis 2012). Thus, it is reasonable to posit that, as among other raiding groups, reliance on horses (and other livestock), in addition to the larger practice of raiding, formed a suite of practices shared by the heterogeneous members of BaPhuthi raiding parties, and contributed to a shared sense of purpose (*pace* Blundell 2004: 130, 155-6), if not to shared identities (Challis 2009).

#### 4.3.4. BaPhuthi in the borderlands

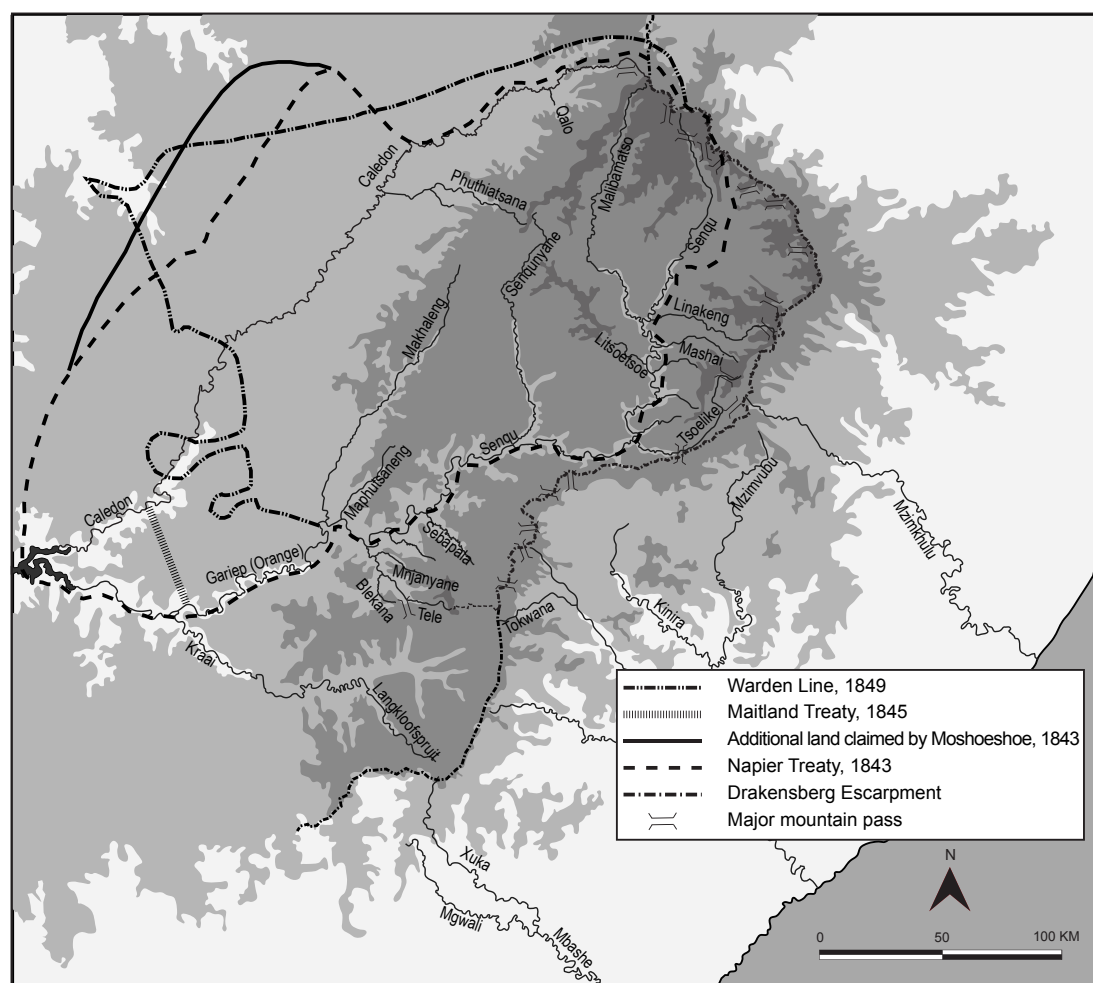
As the BaPhuthi were gaining ground as a regional power, Moshoeshe, for his part, was able to establish a representative of his state along the edges of his territory, which was becoming increasingly contested as British and Boer frontiers were expanding towards his own. Throughout the 1830s and the early 1840s, Moshoeshe's strategies of *mafisa*, his assignment of representatives to certain areas as senior chiefs, and his close collaboration with the missionaries in his territories had allowed his Basotho state to expand greatly. However, *trekboere* had begun moving eastward and southward from north of the Orange River, seeking new settlements away from British rule and the Griqua and Korana attacks along the northern Cape frontier. On Moshoeshe's southwestern flank, the eastern frontier of the Colony was creeping ever eastwards: the Frontier Wars between the Cape and the Xhosa were waged throughout the early nineteenth century, sending defeated and scattered Xhosa and some of their allies into the interior and towards the Drakensberg and causing the Cape boundaries to vacillate between the Great Kei and Fish Rivers (cf. Figures 1.2 and 2.1).

The BaPhuthi thrived amidst this profusion of borderlands. Moshoeshe for the most part turned a blind eye to their illicit activities, and, as Cape law enforcement was ineffective or absent throughout much of the BaPhuthi's western territories, the greatest threats to their existence were reprisals from Boers and African victims of their raids. When Mokuoane or Moorosi were accused of theft, they were able to cast blame (with varying degrees of plausibility) on one of the dozens of other raiding bands active in the region (Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]: 90). Launching raids far afield from BaPhuthi home bases (e.g. across the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Escarpment and west to the edges of Xhosa territory) and using temporary shelters immediately after

raids often confounded pursuers seeking retribution; in the event that those bent on retrieving their property did follow the BaPhuthi back to their settlements, these were in Moshoeshoe's territory and under his jurisdiction, which discouraged incursions by Boers or British settlers in the eastern Cape (*BRV.248-54*; Orpen 1913d). Additionally, the BaPhuthi's maintenance of relationships with other groups of people caught in the tumult of the frontier allowed them to draw on economic and popular support, to request shelter when needed, and to navigate conflicts with other groups as these arose. As described above, these relationships often took the form of marriages, but also included offering aid such as keeping cattle for other chiefs or headmen, as was the case for the Thembu chief Meetirara when Meetirara's kraal was threatened by attacks from other Thembu, Xhosa, or by British incursions from the Cape's eastern frontier (Orpen 1913d).

Unlike Moletsane and other ambitious leaders in the region, neither Mokuoane nor Moorosi pursued anything that resembled a 'conquest' either of peoples or of territories, despite the BaPhuthi's success in the borderlands. They chafed at Basotho rule, but never attempted to overthrow it or to challenge Moshoeshoe for his other lands. While asserting their right to occupy certain territories, the mobile nature of their polity meant that they could never exercise complete authority over those territories, nor could they subjugate whole peoples whose land they wished to take. It was possible to exist in BaPhuthi lands and not swear allegiance to the BaPhuthi or to Moshoeshoe: those who chose not to do so were by and large diasporic peoples from the eastern Cape frontier or the Highveld seeking service or settlement, or other polities or bands passing through BaPhuthi lands, such as groups of Bhaca and AmaTola. Owing to the constitution of the BaPhuthi polity, however, such peoples could ally themselves with, or place themselves under, the protection of the BaPhuthi

fairly easily. How much of this arrangement was mandated by Moshoeshe and how much was the decision of BaPhuthi leaders is unclear. At any rate, the result was that the BaPhuthi were able to accumulate economic and social wealth, both in livestock and in people, without becoming a significant threat to British, Boer, or Basotho plans. In other words, their success was due in large part to their ability to blend into the grey areas of the borderlands, beyond the supervision of colonial (or Basotho) authorities on the frontier.



*Figure 4.5. Moshoeshe's changing territories, 1843–1849, after Eldredge 1993: 52.*

However, securing the borders of Basutoland was at the forefront of both Basotho and colonial interests. Rev. John Philip had spent much of the 1830s working towards

establishing a series of Christian, African states along the Orange River to act as a buffer against *trekboer* settlement (Gill 1993: 89; Legassick 2010 [1969]: 228-230). Nevertheless, *trekboere* arriving on the Highveld in droves were aggressively settling part of what had, since 1834, been recognised as Moshoeshoe's lands. Skirmishes on their edges were common and in 1842 Moshoeshoe actively began seeking assistance from the British to protect his subjects from Boer settlers. Under the guidance of his PEMS missionary, Eugène Casalis, the Mosotho monarch signed the 1843 Napier Treaty, which recognised Moshoeshoe's territory as extending from the confluence of the Caledon and Orange rivers and following a line 40 to 50 km west of the Caledon far to the north (Figure 4.5, Gill 1993: 88-9).

From the perspective of the BaPhuthi as Moshoeshoe's representatives south of the Senqu, the Napier Treaty upheld an earlier decision that recognised Moorosi's rights to these territories. The erstwhile Cape Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban wrote a letter in 1835 that acknowledged Moorosi's authority (if not his ultimate command) of an area that included lands from the Tele to Kraai Rivers when he repatriated stolen cattle to Moorosi (quoted in *BRV*.69). While the Napier Treaty did not specifically mention BaPhuthi lands south of the Senqu, the western extent of their domain, as well as lands along the Tele and especially their established settlements, were certainly under the *de facto* jurisdiction of Moshoeshoe's BaPhuthi vassals (Orpen 1911a). During this time Moorosi also served as Moshoeshoe's representative east into the highlands of the Maloti-Drakensberg, facilitated by his associations with Bushmen living there (e.g. Damane and Sanders 1974: 182; P. Mitchell 2010: 156 citing V. Ellenberger 1953).

In the early 1840s, Moorosi attempted to secure his political position by requesting that a missionary settle amongst the BaPhuthi. On the nineteenth-century frontier there were pragmatic benefits to be derived from Christianisation (or at least its façade): association with missionaries and Christianity could be interpreted by white settlers and officials as markers of civilisation, thus encouraging more auspicious relationships among colonists and Africans. This was integral to the strategies of the Griqua and Moshoeshoe, among others, for whom a missionary presence tended to discourage attacks by opportunistic raiders and more dedicated war parties alike. At least from Moshoeshoe's perspective, the administration and nascent culture of his polity was intertwined with the work of the PEMS: as his subordinate chief, Moorosi should theoretically have been included in the PEMS's ministry to Moshoeshoe's people. In a move that seemingly neglected (at least initially) the implications of further subjugation to Moshoeshoe and his Basotho, Moorosi welcomed the establishment of the PEMS mission station at Bethesda in 1843 under the direction of the Rev. Christian Schrupf. In his original invitation, issued through Moshoeshoe's missionaries Arbousset and Casalis, Moorosi pleaded for a missionary to teach his children (Schrumpf 1847a, 1847b: 289-90<sup>23</sup>). This was especially necessary, he said, because the distances between his settlements were so large that without a centralised institution of learning, his children could never receive an education.

Schrumpf arrived at Bethesda and was granted use of Moorosi's personal gardens (see p. 131 above) and homestead. He cultivated a small following of some thirty individuals and achieved a very small number of genuine converts (Schrumpf 1847b: 283, 286) before the inevitable conflict between the PEMS's *modus operandi* and that

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<sup>23</sup> Records from the *Journal des Missions Évangéliques* are published in French; here, the English translations and/or summaries thereof are my own.

of Moorosi. After only two years, Moorosi decided to relocate his people to one of his other posts at Tulumaneng, which would leave Bethesda virtually deserted, and so suggested that his missionary move with the BaPhuthi. The missionaries found this suggestion risible; as Arbousset said, 'You must be joking! These houses built of stone with so much difficulty, who will put them on his shoulders to cross the Orange and establish them in other places?' (Schrumpf 1847b: 292). Missionary aims of fostering the growth of education and civilisation through commitments to the church and to settled farming were clearly incompatible with the BaPhuthi's unsettled culture; as was the case with LMS attempts at missionary activity among Cape Bushmen, the 'Mission of the Plough' was condemned by its incompatibility with the practical lifeways of those it aimed to convert as much as by ideological differences (Guenther 1999: 213-4). Schrumpf and his brethren attributed Moorosi's insistence upon re-locating to political motives as well as being hidebound by tradition: re-locating his followers sapped the mission of its strength (indeed, of its *raison d'être*), thus undermining the missionaries' authority and, by extension, that of Moshoeshoe. The missionaries therefore accused Moorosi of preventing his people from attending church or school, and depriving them of an education by forcing them to migrate. Nevertheless, by that point Moorosi had already sent his sons to secure his settlement at Tulumaneng (Schrumpf 1847b: 292).

The raiding strategies, strength in people, and political manoeuvring that characterised the period between roughly 1821-1850 for the BaPhuthi polity were valuable means for navigating the borderlands, but these tactics came with a cost. Establishing authority in what became known as 'Moorosi's Country' involved a certain amount of dissembling when it came to colonial administrators and missionaries, on the parts of both Moshoeshoe and Moorosi. When British Kaffraria was formed from Rharhabe

Xhosa territories between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers, the violent clashes that ensued between British and Xhosa combatants sent numerous Xhosa and Thembu dispersing into the interior and Moshoeshoe's territory (cf. Peires 1981: 188-9). These new migrants who settled in Moorosi's Country were useful insofar as they fuelled Moorosi's and Moshoeshoe's strength in people, but also jeopardised the relationship that Moshoeshoe was cultivating with the Cape Colony. When the British received word that Xhosa and Thembu (still considered British enemies) had arrived at Moshoeshoe's door, Moshoeshoe and Moorosi were both quick to reassure the British that this was not their doing. British Resident Henry Warden, being familiar with Moorosi's fraternisation with all and sundry, voiced his doubts (*BRI*.148-53). These doubts were well-founded: when the British sent a punitive expedition against the refugees, Moshoeshoe attempted to convince them that they should stay their hand against Moorosi as he was not involved, but it quickly emerged that Moorosi was both living with and leading Thembu: in the ensuing conflict, upwards of 200 of Moorosi's followers were slain.

This event signalled the impending arrival of the British frontier at the threshold of the BaPhuthi's territory. The vanguard of this movement was the Wesleyan Missionary Society, which soon encroached upon Moorosi's territory and began the process of closing off the borderlands in which he thrived. The first step in this process was the establishment of the Wittebergen Native Reserve in 1850.

## CHAPTER 5: RESERVING AND RESISTING IN THE BORDERLANDS

*The locusts have no king, yet they go forth all of them by bands. – Arthur Brigg (1888: 148).*

The BaPhuthi polity went through several phases during their brief existence in the Maloti-Drakensberg borderlands. The first phase, described in the previous chapter, saw their rise to regional prominence and authority under Moshoeshoe's aegis while still managing to maintain a degree of autonomy and form a unique political structure. As a result of the mutually reinforcing relationship between the BaPhuthi's fluid group composition, peripatetic settlement, and manipulation of rugged landscape, the BaPhuthi were well-suited to exploit the ambiguities at the edges of Moshoeshoe's nation. When the Wittebergen Native Reserve was established in 1850, however, this signalled both the beginning of the next phase of the BaPhuthi polity, in which the BaPhuthi adapted to the changed circumstances of the borderlands, and also the beginning of the constriction of their way of life.

The establishment of the Reserve further demonstrates the tension between how the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Cape government on the one hand and Moorosi and Moshoeshoe on the other conceived of how African polities were constituted.

From the perspective of the Cape and the WMS, establishing the Reserve as a concentration of ‘acephalous’ peoples created a buffer between the more unified and supposedly homogeneous Basotho and Xhosa (cf. Peires 1981 and see Chapters 2.1.3 and 4.2), and was thus intended to ensure that they could not band together. However, such a buffer was not an insurmountable barrier for Moorosi and his BaPhuthi: rather, the Reserve was an entity that they could not only navigate but that would provide them with precisely the sort of dispersed peoples who would be willing to participate in raids or appeal to Moorosi for protection. Further, the *terra nullius* myth that the WMS used to justify the appropriation of the Wittebergen territory betrays their misunderstanding of African land tenure: to them, the BaPhuthi’s nomadic occupation of the land south of the Senqu disqualified them as lawful tenants, even while this exact same strategy was recognised as tenancy according to the customs of most Sotho-speakers. Given these misunderstandings, the Reserve’s administration was destined to come into conflict with its original inhabitants.

## **5.1. ‘A RESERVE FOR THE ABORIGINES’**

The Wittebergen Native Reserve constitutes something of a lacuna in contemporary southern African studies. Colin Bundy (1980, 1988) and Helen Bradford (2000) have written about it from the perspective of the Cape Colony in their studies on rural peasantry, but otherwise the area has been only minimally studied, despite being a crucial nexus of nineteenth-century Cape, African, and missionary control. This may be due in part to the dispersed nature of the surviving documentation on the region: because it was under joint Cape and WMS jurisdiction (the archives of which are located in Cape Town and London, respectively), with inhabitants also under the watch of Moshoeshoe’s state (with archives in Morija), assembling a complete picture

of the Reserve is challenging. Additionally, the Reserve changed names several times. Nevertheless, Joseph Orpen felt so passionately about the injustices perpetrated upon both Moshoeshoe and Moorosi through the Reserve's establishment that he spoke before Cape Parliament on the matter and wrote numerous memoranda and letters, giving precise details of the process through which the Reserve was constituted (see Appendix C). Thanks to Orpen's vociferous defence of Basotho rights and to the occasional letters on the Reserve compiled by Theal, it is possible to reconstruct the motivations and declarations leading to the Reserve's establishment, and also the effects of these on the region's inhabitants. Doing so also responds to one of Bradford's (2000: 91) critiques of Bundy's earlier work: that the history of the Reserve be located in a colonial tradition of land expropriation, which in turn implicates the Reserve's agrarian policies in a broader project of 'subduing' native populations.

Wittebergen had its roots in an 1835 programme of the then Cape Governor D'Urban and Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith to extend British influence and 'civilisation' across African territories. In the wake of the Sixth Frontier War with the Rharhabe Xhosa (1834-1835, also known as the War of Hintsá), D'Urban and Smith decided to annexe the land between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers to serve several purposes: to form a reserve for 'friendly chiefs' and loyal Mfengu; as a project by which Xhosa could be transformed into British subjects; and as a haven for white settlement and land speculation (Lester 1998). What eventually became known as Queen Adelaide Province was a joint effort between the WMS and the Cape military to control and 'civilise' Africans on the frontier, while providing a secure source of labour for settler-capitalists (Keegan 1996: 140-145). However, the Province was short-lived (existing only from 1835 to 1836) due to the structural weakness of its administration

and prevailing humanitarian interests in government that disapproved of settler expansion into African lands (cf. Elbourne 2003). Lieutenant-Governor Andries Stockenström withdrew the Cape Colony's boundary to south of the Stormberg Mountains, but these 'paper barriers' were largely ineffective: settlers continued to occupy the land between the Kraai and Klaas Smits Rivers (in the hope of being eventually re-annexed, e.g. *BRI*.49), often displacing and abusing native residents with impunity (e.g. *BRI*.15). Indeed, some white settlers made concerted efforts to provoke confrontations with Moorosi (as Moshoeshoe's vassal) and thus justify war and further land appropriation (Orpen 1913d)<sup>24</sup>. There was also a considerable amount of antagonism between the area's British and Boer settlers, who included members of the WMS.

In 1842, the Wesleyan missionary William Shepstone obtained permission from Moshoeshoe to establish a mission station between the Kraai and Orange Rivers (A. Brigg 1875; *BRI*.80; see Figures 5.1 and 5.2 below). This was a continuation of his collaboration with the Christian Chief Kama of the Xhosa AmaGqunukwebe, which had begun during Shepstone's time on the eastern Cape-Xhosa frontier and had flourished during the Queen Adelaide period. Kama and Shepstone erected the doubly eponymous Kamastone Mission Station, which Shepstone eventually re-named Wittebergen. Shepstone's ministry at Kamastone took in a varied congregation, including numerous Xhosa groups, Basotho, 'Bastaards,' and escaped slaves from the Cape (A. Brigg 1864a), and in a few short years their membership had swelled to 2,000 souls (Robinson 1850a). However, Shepstone and his successor J.P. Bertram were constantly frustrated by unauthorised settlement and aggression from farmers,

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<sup>24</sup> Orpen may have been particularly sensitive and suspicious of such schemes after having encountered similar situations (and been manipulated into being the aggressor in them) along the Cape's northern frontier (Orpen 1964 [1908]: 272-83).

incursions from the Cape to return servants to their masters, and stock raids by independent or semi-independent groups of Bantu-speakers (including the BaPhuthi) on farmers and one another (*BRIV.382*). Accusations also flew in the other direction: farmers in the area complained to a local field commandant that natives under orders from Shepstone had driven them from their land (Robinson 1850b).

Shepstone and his colleagues secured their position on the frontier with the aid both of the Cape authorities, who wanted to maintain a presence on the southern borders of Moshoeshoe's state, and of at least two deceptions. First, Shepstone maintained that the territory surrounding Kamastone was vacant when he arrived in 1836, and that Moshoeshoe had then given permission to Kama (not to Shepstone personally) to establish the mission station (Shepstone 1850; *BIV.382*). D'Urban's 1835 acknowledgement of Moorosi's authority over the territory discredit these allegations, as do the claims (corroborated by Wittebergen Reserve's first Superintendent and testimonies from area residents recovered by D.F. Ellenberger and Orpen) that throughout the late 1830s and 1840s Moorosi was functioning (at least in part) as Moshoeshoe's representative (D.F. Ellenberger, ND: Ch. 29; *BRV.69*; Orpen 1913d). Furthermore, Orpen, in particular, was vehement in his criticism of what he thought was Shepstone's inability or unwillingness to comprehend traditional African land titles: Orpen (1969) testified before the Cape Parliament that Moshoeshoe had *granted*, not *ceded*, the land to Kama (although others did not see such a distinction, Austen 1869), who, upon vacating it soon after his arrival, caused the land rights to revert to Moshoeshoe rather than to the Cape government or to the Wesleyans. This was in keeping with earlier situations elsewhere in the Basotho sovereignty, which the Cape authorities had accepted: these principles had, for example, been applied in the Napier Treaty only a few years earlier (*BRI.65*), and to the PEMS missionary Samuel

Rolland's grant from Moshoeshoe to establish a mission station on the north side of the Senqu (Coplan 2009). At the heart of this and, indeed, of nearly all misunderstandings over Moshoeshoe's borders, was the unintelligibility of African political culture to colonial authorities: while 'effective occupation' of land (i.e. increasing its productivity) was a condition of tenancy within both European and African notions of land tenure, the former linked 'effectiveness' with cultivation and settlement, while (significantly for the BaPhuthi) the latter did not necessarily do so (Germond 1967: 252-3; Claeys 2010: 15-21). Additionally, as chiefs held land in trust from their ancestors, land could never be alienated from them, only lent to other occupants (Coplan 2000a: 135). Consequently, Moorosi's form of peripatetic chieftaincy was not incompatible with traditional forms of landholding, as his mobility and frequent absences from certain locales did not negate his right to occupy, or hold authority over, those locales.

Shepstone's second deception was his insistence that, if the Cape did not act decisively and soon, Boer farmers settling around Kamastone would annihilate both the missionaries and the area's native residents. Undoubtedly, violent confrontations were regular occurrences; however, Shepstone detailed violent threats of imminent attacks from farmers in the area (on or around 2-16 May 1850) that eventually proved to be grossly exaggerated (Gilfillan 1850; Pretorius 1850), but which the Cape nevertheless took seriously (Calderwood 1850; Porter 1850). The Cape government was also seeking a solution to the overcrowding of farmers into this area, and the competition for land that was developing between farmers and the Wesleyans (Office of the Surveyor General 1850; Robinson 1850a). In spite of the fact that the Wesleyans' claim to the land rested upon a supposed cession from Moshoeshoe and an unverifiable verbal agreement between the missionaries and Sir Harry Smith

(Robinson 1850b), William Shaw, Superintendent of the WMS, proposed a compromise (Shaw 1850): the Wesleyans' land should be designated as a 'Reserve for the Aborigines, or persons of Native African descent, and that no farms or lands be granted within that District to persons of european [*sic*] race'. Native residents would be subject to colonial laws, would pay taxes as the Cape government would see fit, and would be subject to Cape legislation. The Wesleyans would hold the land in trust for the natives, continue ministering to them, and be allowed to build churches, schoolhouses, gardens, and cultivate their fields. The farmers displaced to produce the reserve would be given land elsewhere. Smith accepted Shaw's proposal almost in full, except that he chose not to evict the farmers and instead granted them different tracts of land on the side of the Wilge Spruit opposite the Reserve (Montagu 1850).

While Shaw's plan had the advantage of establishing an outpost of the Cape government close to the Orange River Sovereignty and checking the settlement of Boer farmers, Shepstone (1850) explained the chief benefit (from his perspective) of creating the Reserve:

It is further desirable that this tract of country be placed under British authority as it forms the key of communication between the Tambookies [Thembu] and Moshesh's people, who not many years back carried on to a large extent a system of Robbery and murder, in which the Korannas have also joined; and it is a fact that a mission established in that country by the Wesleyan Missionary Society has been the means of preventing the continuance of this system. Thus the government by holding that tract of country, inhabited by so mixed a population, whose ties of clanship are broken would effectually prevent the recurrence of it.

Shepstone further stated his belief that if this land were declared a native reserve, it would attract natives in colonial service, who would gladly submit themselves to

colonial governance rather than to their own chiefs. For Shepstone and Smith, Wittebergen was an opportunity to curb the threat that they saw in collaboration between Moshoeshoe and Xhosa-speaking Thembu peoples to the south and west.



**Figure 5.1.** Map of the Wittebergen Native Reserve, 31 March 1850. Cape Town (South Africa). Western Cape Archives: GH 28/53.

Thus, on 31 July 1850, Governor Sir Harry Smith proclaimed the Wittebergen Native Reserve as the land between the Tele, Wilge, and Orange Rivers, abutting Basutoland and the Orange Free State (Smith 1850; Figures 5.1 and 5.2). In the dossier of the Cape government's negotiations on the Reserve, there is no mention of consulting Moshoeshoe or the missionaries attached to him. D.F. Ellenberger (ND: Ch. 29) attributes this oversight to the Cape government's reliance upon misinformation from

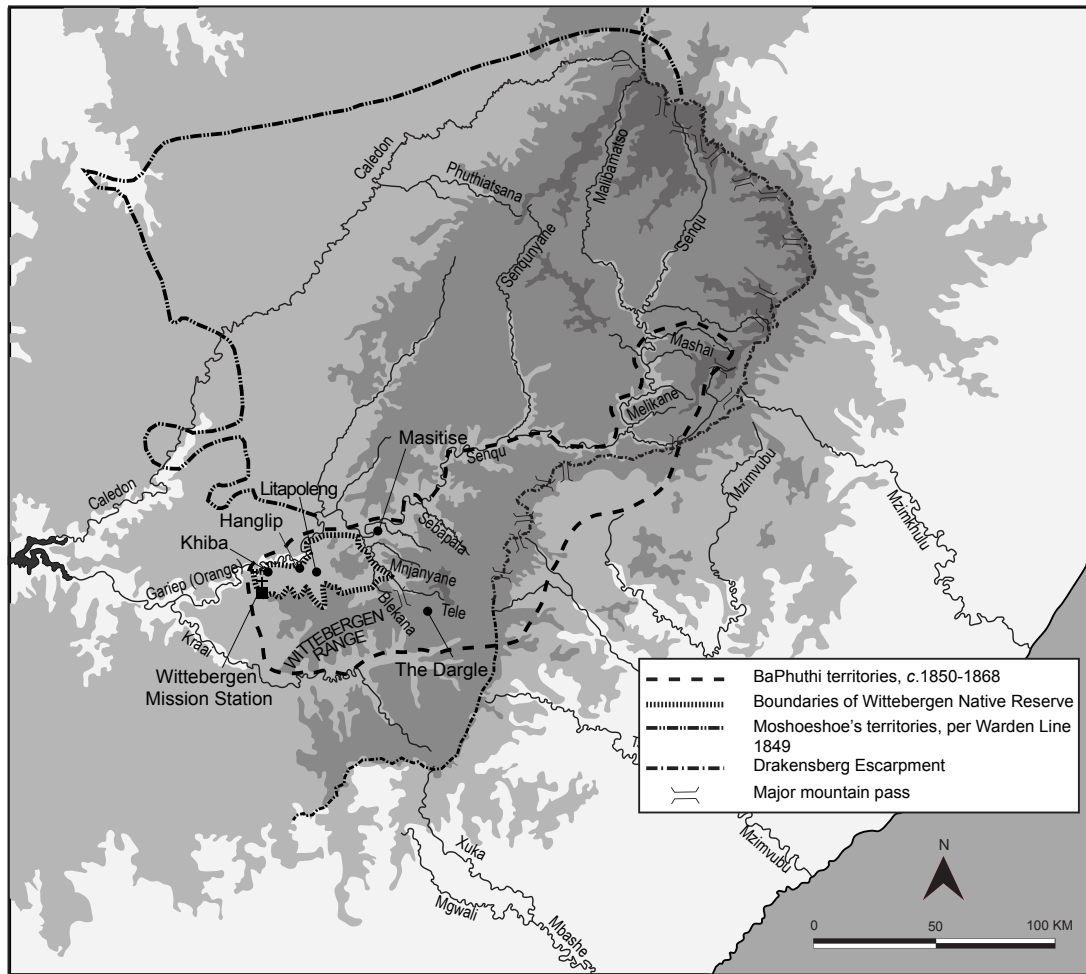
the Wesleyans as to Moshoeshoe's alleged surrender of the land. In his unpublished manuscript on the Reserve, Ellenberger notes (combining his own observations with those related by Orpen and Ayliff) that, contrary to the Wesleyans' assertions, the Reserve was continuously occupied by both vassals of Moshoeshoe (his relative Mojakisane and Moorosi both resided there), as well as by other independent groups. Nevertheless, lands within the Reserve were annexed without Moorosi's or Moshoeshoe's knowledge.

In many ways, Wittebergen represents a continuation of the strategies that both the Wesleyans and Harry Smith had attempted to implement in the now defunct Queen Adelaide Province. The church was to be the institution through which the cultural transformation of the native population would take place: adopting European agriculture, houses, dress, and converting to Christianity both saved souls and shaped good citizens who could eventually find work at the Cape (e.g. A. Brigg 1988: 144). The use of a diverse population apparently lacking in strong traditional leadership as a check on Basotho expansion was in keeping with WMS policies both in the eastern Cape and north of the Orange River. These included supporting weaker and more fragmented peoples and opposing stronger chiefly centres, such as Moshoeshoe's, 'whose claims to authority implied a centralisation and consolidation of black state power and black means of resistance' (Keegan 1996: 133, see Chapter 2.1.2: 47).

However, the Wesleyan missionaries and the Cape government failed to recognise two realities of this frontier: first, that close relations between representatives of Moshoeshoe's state and the Thembu had prevailed for decades and were largely Moorosi's doing (despite an intense phase of bilateral raiding in the early nineteenth century); and second, that instead of representing a buffer of disjointed and thus

ineffectual ‘acephalous’ peoples, the mixed population of the Wittebergen area was, in fact, a pool from which emergent heterogeneous social organisations drew their support. In addition to the BaPhuthi, the AmaTola and Bushman raiding bands all collected followers from these territories. Moreover, given the porous boundaries of these raiding entities, members could opt in or out as it suited them, so those who might appear as ‘settled,’ peaceable people to Shepstone and his brethren may in reality have participated in more illicit activities than they knew. These misunderstandings about borderland politics and culture had two major, readily apparent consequences. First, church and Cape officials were unable fully to control BaPhuthi alliances and recruitment as they could not properly understand how these processes operated, thus allowing the BaPhuthi to exploit the population concentration that the Reserve created. Eventually, however, the number of people drawn into the nascent rural peasant economy would make it more difficult to recruit raiders from a body of farmers heavily vested in working their private lands. Secondly, an unfortunate consequence of these misunderstandings was that the view of Moorosi’s territory as *terra nullius* that led to the appropriation of his lands meant that the BaPhuthi and Reserve officials would eventually come into conflict over their rights to the Reserve and its inhabitants.

## 5.2. AMONG THE ‘BANDITTI OF ROBBERS’



*Figure 5.2. Map of Moorosi's territories showing the Wittebergen Native Reserve, the boundaries of Moshoeshoe's polity, and some places mentioned in the text.*

The Wittebergen Native Reserve was a bilateral Wesleyan and Cape administration: the missionaries had jurisdiction over the mission and school, as well as educational and religious matters, while the Superintendent appointed by the Cape presided over legal matters, including settlement rights and tax collection. Nevertheless, according to D.F. Ellenberger (ND: Ch. 29), ‘Moorosi still held sway and exercised his rule in the territory unaware of any political or geographical change.’ Moreover, officials within the Reserve continued to recognise this authority: when James Ayliff, in his

capacity as the Reserve's first Superintendent, was required to register residents, he admitted that he could only do so once Moorosi was consulted. Additionally, despite the Napier Treaty delimiting Basotho territory at the Senqu, Moshoeshoe assured Moorosi that those lands south of the Senqu and west of the Tele were still under the latter's jurisdiction (Figure 5.2, Orpen 1911a).



*Figure 5.3. Photograph of landscape around Wittebergen Mission Station. Photo by Edwin Smith, c.1898-1914. London (United Kingdom). School of Oriental and African Studies: Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, MMS/17/02/05/02/08.*

However, Moorosi and his followers in particular were subject to strong censure from the colonial and church authorities. Officials in the Reserve noted that their success at stock theft would make them lucrative subjects under the newly imposed Hut Taxes (BRIV.43). During the preceding Frontier Wars, the BaPhuthi had been reported as making a habit of stealing cattle from peoples defeated and dispersed across the Drakensberg Escarpment, or at least were rumoured to do so (BRIV.248). Likewise,

stock thefts in and around the Reserve were attributed in large part to the BaPhuthi, acting independently or as agents of Moshoeshoe (*BRIV.248*). These stories alone negatively predisposed those in positions of power in the Reserve against Moorosi and his followers. Given that the mandate of Wittebergen was fundamentally opposed to the BaPhuthi and their way of life (unsettled, often lawless and united under a form of traditional leadership), conflict was inevitable.

Additionally, the inclination of the Reserve to accept residents who may at one point have been involved with the Frontier Wars or otherwise have come into conflict with settler farmers made the Reserve a lightning rod for farmers seeking retribution. At numerous points in the early days of Wittebergen's existence, commandos of white settlers launched attacks on the Reserve to expel and arrest residents, or, conversely, to march into the Reserve at gunpoint those Africans in their own areas whom they thought of as dangerous nuisances (Orpen 1911a).

Perhaps one of the most significant threats to the BaPhuthi and their way of life, apart from the establishment of the Reserve itself, was the arrival of John Austen as the Reserve's second superintendent in 1853. Unlike many administrators in the Cape government, Austen was a man of limited education and spent much of his youth working for the WMS. His tenure at Wittebergen was fraught with conflicts between native residents and administrators alike, and he struggled to earn the respect of his colleagues. Matters worsened when in 1870 he became a magistrate in Basutoland as it was annexed to the Cape: other magistrates and especially the missionaries disliked him, and he frequently complained of his supervisors' lack of confidence in him (Austen 1879j, 1879l). Almost certainly, one major factor underpinning his difficulties was his race: D.F. Ellenberger (1880d) and the French missionary

Hermann Dieterlen (1875) described him as ‘*un mulâtre*’ and ‘*un homme de couleur*’ and he was mocked by the Tlokoa chief Lelingoana Maketekete as *Leqhea*, or ‘half-caste’. This likely added to his defensiveness and insecurity, both in Wittebergen and throughout his later magisterial term (Burman 1981: 54).

Austen administered the Reserve through a combination of traditional African and Western law. Mr. D. Brigg<sup>25</sup> (1906), a relative of Rev. Arthur Brigg quoted in this chapter’s epigraph, described it thus:

He held his court in the open air & cases were tried there; a number of headmen & old natives were allowed to take part in these trials, making observations & asking questions, till the cases had been thoroughly threshed out; then Mr Austen summed up & if the party was found guilty the sentence was pronounced & the punishment awarded, which was generally carried out there and then! The culprit was placed face downward over an iron stone boulder, while a native constable or sometimes a coloured man officiated with a stirrup leather, till the appropriate number of strokes had been inflicted! In cases of an offender having to be detained all night, a pair of stocks in an outbuilding secured him for the night. In some cases fines varying in severity were imposed. These were generally paid in livestock & must have brought in a very nice little revenue to someone! In this matter Mr Austen followed the usual practice of native chiefs, making the punishment of crime a fertile source of revenue! In cases where the alleged crime was committed by white men, or where the criminality demanded to be dealt with by a higher court, the prisoners were sent to Burghersdorp to be tried at the Circuit Court.

When cattle were stolen from within the Reserve, Austen, who was ‘a splendid shot & good horseman’ would join commandos to track the stolen livestock, occasionally

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<sup>25</sup> This descendant has yet to be identified precisely by name, as sections of Orpen’s letters containing that information are missing and missionary archives do not contain Arthur Brigg’s genealogy.

dispatching capital punishment on the spot and returning to the Reserve with trophies such as Bushman bows and arrows.



*Figure 5.4. Photograph of the Wittebergen mission house. Photo by Edwin Smith, c.1898-1914. London (United Kingdom). School of Oriental and African Studies: Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, MMS/17/02/05/02/08.*

For a time Austen was believed to be a suitable authority figure, as he spoke ‘English, Dutch & Kafir with equal fluency & showed considerable tact in the management of the numerous clans & tribes represented in the district’ (D. Brigg 1906). This number was growing in large part through the efforts of the mission station: after Shepstone’s departure for the relocated Kamastone Mission Station, successive missionaries reported the settlement of a large number of diverse followers in the Reserve. Following the protocols of both the mission station and the Reserve, different groups were settled in discrete areas of the Reserve with their own settlement styles: ‘Fingoes’ lived in clusters of kraals praised for their cleanliness and ‘civilised’

whitewash and thatch under their own headmen; Basotho lived in another part of the station under an elected chief and in wattle-and-daub or brick houses less clean than those of the Fingoes; and 'half-castes' (i.e. mixed race Hottentots or freed slaves) lived in small villages comprising brick houses and an ambiguous semi-democratic form of local government (A. Brigg 1888:106-7). Exactly how these local authority structures were established is unclear; elements appear to be borrowed from traditional African rule, but the Superintendent was the final authority within the Reserve.

Despite these efforts to consolidate the Reserve's population, a large number of people lived at a remove from the mission station but still in the Reserve, and the missionaries' work included itinerant preaching both at the edges of the Reserve and throughout the surrounding region. Arthur Brigg (1888: 132, 134), describes how his wanderings took him to the kraals of people self-identifying as 'Batlokua', 'Mantatees', and 'Amahlubi', representing peoples who had been dispersed following earlier violent conflicts elsewhere in southern Africa; see Appendix A for the accepted terminology pertaining to these peoples.

It is unclear precisely when and how Moorosi transgressed Austen's authority, but by 1859 his non-compliance with the Reserve's laws was enough to result in his expulsion from the Reserve (*BR*III.106). Not only did this lead to the BaPhuthi's legal exclusion from a large part of their territory, but it also had ramifications for Moshoeshoe and his Basotho state. Moshoeshoe was only informed of his vassal's eviction during a meeting with Austen (*BR*III.106-7), when Moshoeshoe relayed complaints from Moorosi that he was being deprived of access to his gardens. Moshoeshoe explained that he had been unaware that the Reserve's boundary

extended into Moorosi's territory, to which Austen responded that not only was this the case, but that by leaving the Reserve Moorosi had forfeited both his own and Moshoeshoe's rights to the land. Moshoeshoe and Orpen on his behalf argued for the return of the land from the Cape, but to no avail.

In the interim, the Reserve's *raison d'être*, housing diverse and 'leaderless' peoples, became the greatest threat to its existence. Clashes between Boer and African settlers were common (BRIII.224), particularly as people flooded into the Reserve following further frontier conflicts, especially the Eighth (1850-1853) Frontier War, and the cattle killings of Nongqawuse (1856-1857) and the subsequent famine (see Peires 1989). From 1850 to the mid-1860s, the Reserve's population swelled from around 2,000 (Robinson 1850b) to as many as 22,664 souls (A. Brigg 1888: 106). The major limitation on the Reserve's carrying capacity was the availability of grazing land for its residents, and land shortages became critical as early as 1863 (BRIII.238). Consequent on this overcrowding was the rising prevalence of disease: a letter from Arthur Brigg (1864b) describes the dire need for even the most basic medicines in the Reserve and the challenges of obtaining these given its relative isolation. Additionally, stock thefts in the Reserve were common, perpetrated by residents and outsiders alike. Rather ironically, Austen appealed to Moshoeshoe as the most influential chief in the area to exercise some control over these supposedly leaderless thieves when Austen's own discipline failed (BRIII.292). Moshoeshoe's continued authority was a part of the problem as much as the solution, however: some continued to look to Moshoeshoe as the ultimate overlord of the Reserve, and would apply to him for permission to cross through the Reserve, which was, Austen believed, how so many stock thefts were perpetrated (BRIV.39).

One attempt by British authorities to regulate these illicit activities (both within Wittebergen and elsewhere along the frontier) was to recruit their own outlaw, an experiment that provides a valuable contrast between Moorosi's BaPhuthi and other forms of heterodox behaviour. By the 1850s, Moshoeshoe's brother Posholi had a well-deserved reputation as a 'free booter' and brigand, who spent his time 'robbing from friends & foe with the greatest impartiality & thus [...] became very rich with plundered cattle' (D. Brigg 1906). As with the BaPhuthi and other contemporary groups, Posholi recruited a heterogeneous consortium of comrades that included 'Fingos, Tambookie Kaffirs' (*BRI.238*) and Bushmen. Unlike the BaPhuthi, however, Posholi's group was primarily a commando of bandits (*BRI.378*) interested in stealing guns and cattle from British and Boer settlers and then retreating to their kraal at Hanglip (see Figure 5.2 above), with little interest in expanding alliance networks or establishing anything resembling an authoritative chieftaincy. Posholi gained such an extensive reputation for dispatching Bushmen to steal cattle from Boer settlers and from those in Wittebergen that these groups were given the nicknames 'Boshuli's dogs' or 'Bushuli's jackals' (Burnet 1860a, 1860b; Austen 1860). Posholi's violent assaults against people on Moshoeshoe's borders were so problematic that Moshoeshoe disavowed his brother, claiming that as Posholi's kraal was inside the 'British Line' (i.e. within what was then the Orange River Sovereignty) and that as the British had rewarded Posholi for his assistance in several of their skirmishes, Posholi was 'made independent of' Moshoeshoe (*BRI.397*). Indeed, Posholi was so often in the company of British officers (such as the one-time British Resident in the Sovereignty, Major Henry Warden) that when Posholi was attacked by Mfengu whom he had once robbed, one Mosotho commentator mused that the Mfengu displayed great boldness to attack an Englishman so openly (*BRI.542*).

British militiamen and officials on the Cape-Basutoland border sought to make use of Posholi's thieving to thwart other thieves and recover their own stolen animals. Particularly around Wittebergen, Posholi spied on Moorosi's movements and retrieved cattle stolen by the BaPhuthi. Interestingly, it is during this period that the names of individual BaPhuthi (such as Moorosi's uncle Sepere) emerge in the historical record, as British observers launching counter-raids began to identify specific offenders (e.g. Orpen 1911a; Webb 1958). Posholi certainly profited from the help that he offered: he took advantage of these counter-raids to recover guns for his own benefit, and James Ayliff apparently had to remind Posholi – to no avail – that as a 'government man' he ought to return them (Orpen 1911a). Eventually, however, Posholi's unruliness made him an undesirable ally. By 1852, Governor Sir George Cathcart was convinced that Posholi was more a 'robber' than a chief, an opinion that Cathcart did not have of Moorosi, whom he considered an actual leader (*BRI*.617). Posholi was known to have tortured native prisoners captured during his forays (*BRI*.360) and, while that did not initially preclude his alliance with the British, his intractability limited his usefulness to both the British and the Basotho. By the end of the first Boer-Basotho War (Senekal's War) in 1858, Posholi himself had realised that the behaviour of those whom he nominally commanded was a threat to his very existence: fearing reprisals by Boers whose animals Posholi's followers had taken, Posholi went so far as to attack and kill Bushmen at Litsueneng on the western edge of Basotho territory (Jolly 1993: 66).

Amidst all of this and despite Posholi's best efforts, the BaPhuthi were re-situating themselves and continuing to operate illicitly within and around the Reserve, bringing Austen's ire upon them to a greater degree than ever before. After his expulsion from Wittebergen, Moorosi withdrew to his other territories across the Tele River while the

BaPhuthi launched raids against the Reserve, as well as re-orienting their operations elsewhere in the Drakensberg. To Wittebergen officials, it appeared that Moorosi had 'let loose his thieves upon the border, and [...] taken to himself the position of the head of a Banditti of robbers' (*BRIV.449*). Moorosi continued to use trails through the Reserve to provision his followers, primarily with traded goods and ammunition, until Austen blocked the road (*BRIV.271*). According to reports from Austen, BaPhuthi mischief in the Reserve included slaughtering animals belonging to the mission station (*BRIV.447*) and confiscating stock and crops from people within the Reserve. In one such incident, Austen reports the story of one of Moorosi's sons, Lebitsa, confiscating the livestock of a Mosotho man, claiming that this man must have been spying for Austen, given Austen's detailed knowledge of the BaPhuthi's thefts (*BRIV.522*).

Before and after his expulsion, Moorosi took advantage of the Reserve's concentration of diverse peoples to recruit more subjects and raiding allies. Chiefs of various groups of 'Tambookies' (in reality Xhosa and Mpondomise, among others) presented themselves to Moorosi as would-be allies, some of whom moved across the Tele with Moorosi when he left the Reserve and undoubtedly took part in Moorosi's raids (*BRV.254*).

Beginning with the establishment of Kamastone in 1842 and intensifying through the 1850s and 1860s, the BaPhuthi appeared more frequently in connection with cattle raids perpetrated across the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Escarpment in Natal, as well as along their former haunts in Nomansland. As described in Chapter 3.2, the 1840s and 1850s saw numerous raiding bands (including groups of BaPhuthi) forming in Nomansland, to the perpetual annoyance of the Natal authorities. While Henry

Francis Fynn, British Resident amongst the Mpondo, attempted to take the situation in hand by compelling the Mpondo leader Faku to impose fines on petty chiefs responsible for thefts (Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]: 64), geography and political alliances provided protection for the BaPhuthi. By launching raids at such a remove from BaPhuthi territories and relying upon long-established connections with other polities such as the Mpondomise, Bhaca, and Thembu, the BaPhuthi were able largely to avoid retributions from Nomansland and Natal. Moorosi's brother Lisawana, with his own adherents of Hottentots, Bushmen, and freed slaves, was known to occupy the mountains above Faku's settlements and to lead raids through the area known today as the Dargle. From that position, Lisawana's group and other BaPhuthi contingents from elsewhere in their territories led forays into Natal and the Cape Colony, absconding with both cattle and horses. After one raid in particular, a reprisal force followed the spoor of stolen horses into Moorosi's territory and demanded that Moorosi help apprehend the perpetrators. However, Robert Speirs, a member of the expedition, reported that Moorosi led the party on a wild goose chase into the Maloti highlands while he had prevailed upon Bhaca and Thembu allies in Nomansland to shelter the horse thieves (Speirs 1858).

From roughly 1856 until the early 1870s, parties of BaPhuthi and Bushmen were reported to be active throughout the southern Drakensberg. Writing in 1971, Wright (p. 169) speculated that the increase in raids during this period in Natal was in some way connected with a simultaneous increase of BaPhuthi raids around the today's northern Eastern Cape Province on the southern fringes of Wittebergen; taken with the above discussion about the impact of Wittebergen's boundaries and surveillance on BaPhuthi activities in that area, Wright's suggestion fits with the BaPhuthi's re-orientation of focus. While in Natal these intensified raids incensed both the public

and the government, the continued use of the Senqu Valley as a fall-back position for raiders (for BaPhuthi and others) meant that Natal could do little by way of seeking retribution in what would soon become Basutoland: the conflicts and tenuous negotiations between the Orange Free State and the Basotho meant that Natal was forced to exercise caution in its intrusion into sovereign Basotho land (Wright 1971: 170). Thus, while Moorosi's territories were compromised to the west, his relationship with Moshoeshoe ensured that along the Senqu and within the mountains the BaPhuthi could retain their autonomy.

The use and acquisition of horses was particularly useful for BaPhuthi lifeways during this period. While the BaPhuthi certainly had had access to and knew how to handle horses early in the first half of the nineteenth century, the increasing emphasis on trans-montane raiding excursions meant that horses were an essential element of both executing raiding sorties and of escaping from them. From *c.* 1840 onwards, the number of Cape horses entering the Maloti-Drakensberg had been rising, procured through purchase, trade, or more dishonest means (How 1936). While the Basotho pony would not emerge as a distinct breed until around 1870, throughout the nineteenth century Cape horses within the Maloti-Drakensberg were already diverging from their western relatives: although Cape horses were frequently bred with Arabians and Thoroughbreds to increase their size and strength, in mountain horses traits such as small size and endurance were enhanced through several generations (Swart 2010: 87). Although the BaPhuthi were known as skilled horsemen (whose familiarity with mounted combat and raiding pre-dated that of the Basotho), the prevalence of horses increasingly well-suited to the terrain of the Maloti-Drakensberg increased the distance and effectiveness of BaPhuthi raiding during the Wittebergen period.

Although the BaPhuthi retained a wealth of material resources upon which to draw, one aspect of their popular resource base was undermined by Wittebergen's policies favouring commercial farming and stock-rearing. While, as demonstrated above, it is not accurate to view Wittebergen's population as entirely insulated from forms of traditional leadership, it is true that the absence of strong traditional authority and rules for land tenure favoured individual enterprise: as Colin Bundy (1980: 211) put it, the Reserve 'was largely free of the traditional sanctions against the accumulation of wealth by individuals.' Pressures from the Wesleyans and incentives from the Cape government sought to direct that enterprise towards commercial production of crops and livestock. These possibilities appealed to a number of Wittebergen's residents, who readily began producing grain in the form of sorghum, maize, and wheat. Moreover, the potential for prosperity attracted Africans who had already accumulated a large amount of personal wealth, either through service in the Cape or on the frontier. While Marxist studies of Wittebergen's peasantry may have overstated the irresistible appeal of surplus production (Bradford 2000), the fact remains that by the late 1860s, much of Wittebergen's population desired greater stability and private land ownership. In 1869 and 1870, they petitioned the Cape Parliament against illegal activities (which included 'eating up'<sup>26</sup> of property) by headmen, Reserve constables, and the Frontier Mounted Armed Police (Wodehouse 1870).

We can see the BaPhuthi being forced to change and adapt with the establishment of the Wittebergen Native Reserve and the encroachment of the Cape frontier. It also

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<sup>26</sup> 'Eating up' refers to the rights of chiefs to punish their subjects for common or criminal offences by confiscating the property of the offender and banishing them. Regardless of who was the direct victim of the offence, the chief was considered the injured party and was entitled to claim the fine, although he could re-distribute this as gifts to the victims (Burman 1981: 31). For the juxtaposition in oral narrative of legally sanctioned Basotho 'eating up' with the insatiable voracity of Shaka kaSenzangakhona, see Coplan (1993: 86-89).

becomes clear that the arrival of the Cape Colony at their doorstep posed a real threat to the BaPhuthi's lifestyle: Moorosi was essentially a marked man. Following the final Boer-Basotho War (1865-1868), Moshoeshoe ceded a large portion of his lands to the Orange Free State in an agreement brokered by the Cape authorities, while the remaining lands were annexed to the Cape. Upon subjecting Moorosi's enclave to heightened scrutiny, Cape and Wittebergen officials became concerned over the concentration there of diverse, dispersed peoples, whose numbers were constantly increasing. In a letter to the Governor of the Cape Colony, the Governor's Agent J.H. Bowker expressed his concerns that the lands south of the Senqu would, 'if not arranged in some way, become a nest for thieves and vagrants from all the adjoining tribes' (*BRV.208*).

The necessary first step in this process was establishing Moorosi's submission. Originally, Governor Philip Wodehouse wanted to exclude Moorosi's territory from the new boundaries, no doubt because the land was too 'wild' to control. However, D.F. Ellenberger, who by that point had established the PEMS mission station at Masitise and cultivated a strong rapport with Moorosi, was convinced that annexation was in the BaPhuthi's best interest, both for the sake of their safety as a people and for establishing a measure of order within BaPhuthi lands (D.F. Ellenberger 1902). Moorosi nevertheless refused to treat with the Cape authorities. The latter were themselves little concerned with this refusal, believing that the question of Moorosi and his BaPhuthi would resolve itself: given Moorosi's notorious reluctance to 'bend the knee' and his incorrigible violence and thieving, he would eventually provide an easy excuse for removing him from power. As Bowker wrote to Wodehouse when asked about progress in this regard, as of July 1869 Moorosi had yet to send 'earth

and water'<sup>27</sup> as a token of his submission, 'but it will be just as well to let him have rope. He must swing soon or late, and the more rope he is allowed the sooner he will do it' (*BRV.266*).

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<sup>27</sup> 'Earth and water' refers to an ancient Persian practice recorded in Herodotus. In Books IV, V, and VII of his *History*, Herodotus describes how those surrendering to the Persians were required to offer soil and water to symbolise supplicants' forfeiture of their lands and livelihoods.

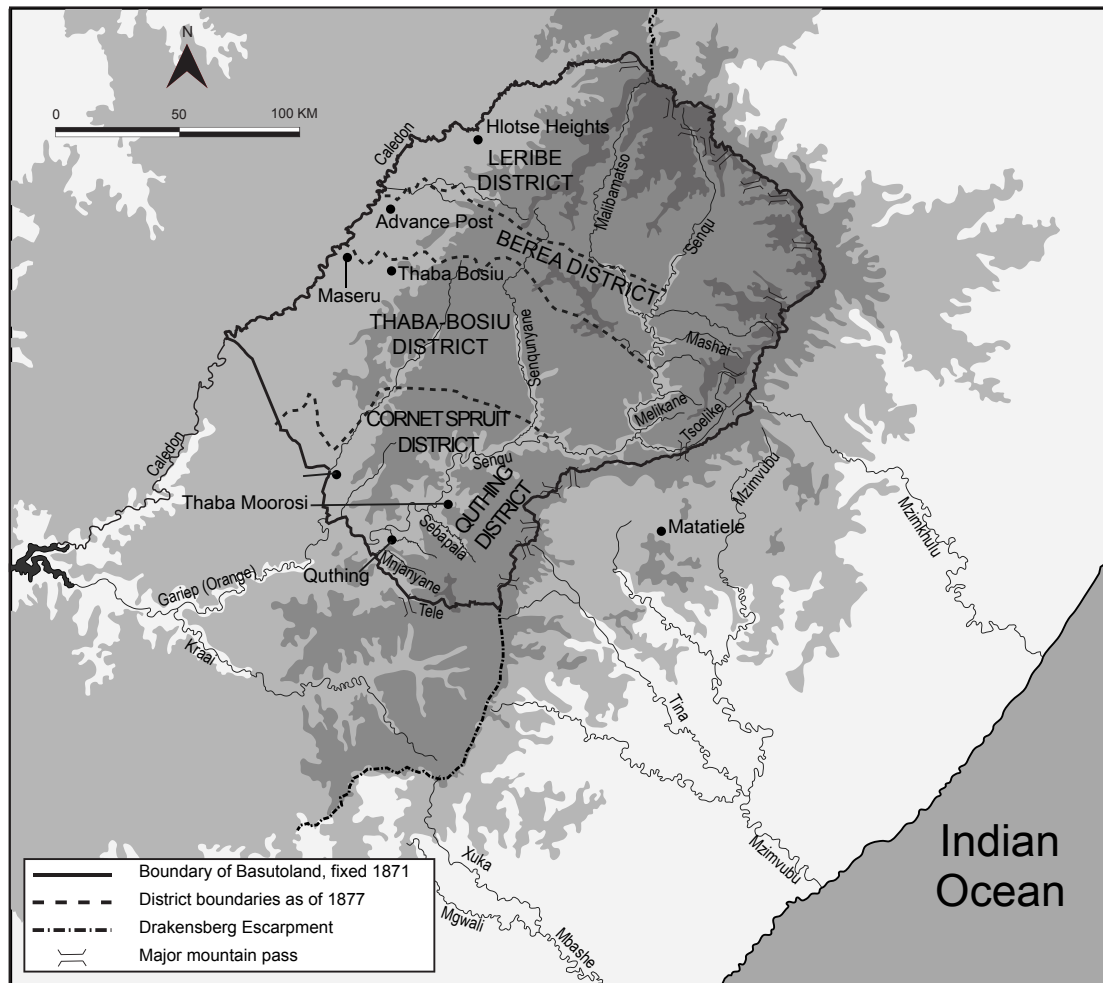
## CHAPTER 6: UPRISE AND FALL

*I consider Morosi [sic] and his Tambookies a standing menace and that wherever war did break out on this border, it would begin with Morosi [sic], and that this position was the key to Matatiele, Tambookieland, and Basutoland, that so long as Morosi [sic] and his Tambookies were kept right there would be peace and security on this border. – John Austen (1879i), emphasis original.*

*“The day of the Bantu mountain stronghold is over.” – Gordon Tylden (1950: 136).*

The annexation of Basutoland to the Cape Colony (Figure 6.1 below), followed by the imposition of policies such as magisterial districts and the Peace Preservation Act, commenced the final phase in the constriction of Moorosi’s polity (Figure 6.2 below). With magistrates stationed within BaPhuthi territories, which were now restricted to the lands bounded by the Senqu and Tele Rivers, and many of Moorosi’s powers devolved to colonial authorities, BaPhuthi autonomy was effectively ended. These measures lit a fuse that would catch fire in Moorosi’s 1879 war. While this spelled the end of the BaPhuthi polity as such, it is in these final stages of the polity’s existence that we are afforded a clear view of how BaPhuthi identity was constructed and deployed, and how settlement and landscape use operated during the conflict. In both of these themes, we see echoes of sociocultural phenomena described in the two

preceding chapters, and the translation of Phuthi cultural idioms into the conflict situations of the late 1870s.



*Figure 6.1. Colonial Basutoland showing boundaries determined in 1871 and district boundaries. Note that*

The rebellion and the events surrounding it also provide some of the only first-person testimony of Moorosi's BaPhuthi, in the form of the evidence that surrendered or captured rebels and other witnesses brought before the Quthing magistrate. These accounts provide rare windows onto how Moorosi's territories were administered and the shifting alliances in place in the final days of BaPhuthi autonomy. Furthermore, in reading the statements of Moorosi's comrades in arms, it becomes clear that while these troops coalesced around a shared cause in a similar manner to the raiding



*Ntoa ea Seqiti*, or Cannon-Boom War) and the 1869 Convention of Aliwal North, which fixed the boundaries between Basutoland and the Orange Free State. Prior to Basutoland's official annexation in 1871, the British High Commissioner Philip Wodehouse had commenced discussions with members of the PEMS and other British officials (although not with Moshoeshe himself) as to how the new territory would be regulated. The French missionary Emile Rolland (who eventually served the Cape government in Basutoland as a magistrate and *pro tem* Governor's Agent) penned one of the most influential documents on this issue (BRIV.125-51), which emphasised the need to slowly diminish chiefly powers in order to bring Basotho subjects into compliance with British law. Rolland's recommendations were in keeping with contemporary official distaste for what was seen as the despotic operations of the chiefs: these included their prerogatives to 'eat up' the wealth of subjects, to conscript whomsoever they desired into unpaid labour in their own gardens and fields (a practice called *letsema*), and to claim stray livestock as their own. Drawing on his nuanced understanding of Basotho society, Rolland outlined a series of measures designed to undermine chiefly authority, which largely derived from a chief's ability to reward people with cattle, women, and land. Rolland suggested preventing chiefs from 'eating up' followers, abolishing polygamy, and reforming land laws to allow for individual tenure and ownership (Burman 1981: 37). He also suggested abolishing 'pagan' institutions such as levirate marriages, rainmaking ceremonies, and divination. These measures would, he thought, be especially effective if and when Basutoland was annexed to the Cape Colony pursuant to Wodehouse's wishes, as opposed to the colony of Natal adjoining Basutoland to the east: unlike Natal, which governed natives through a system of indirect rule that allowed chiefs to retain their powers, the Cape advocated a 'civilising' approach that

gradually supplanted traditional rule with magisterial authority. While the annexation itself was delayed until 1871 because of disputes over the precise location of Basutoland's borders, Wodehouse's proposed regulatory strategy was approved both in the Cape and on Thaba Bosiu<sup>28</sup> fairly rapidly, and its measures were enacted prior to the Cape being given Responsible Government in 1872<sup>29</sup>.

By the time of Moshoeshoe's death and his son Letsie I's assumption of power in 1870, a team of Cape administrators had already begun collecting hut taxes from Basotho subjects and had drawn up magisterial boundaries and powers. This team included John Austen, who by that point had been transferred to Basutoland from Wittebergen to save both himself and the Cape a certain amount of embarrassment: in addition to the Cape's inability to continue justifying Austen's untenable combination of tribal and Western law, Austen had embarked on trading ventures in the Reserve (forbidden for Cape administrators) and his son had fought with the Boers against the British in previous conflicts surrounding the Orange River Sovereignty (Orpen 1870; *BRV*.401-4). However, the Cape chose to capitalise on Austen's experience in dealing with native affairs and nominated him as magistrate in one of Basutoland's new districts. Originally, three magisterial districts were proposed, although that number eventually grew to six (Figure 6.1 above). Magistrates had jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases, except for capital offences, which were tried under Cape law. Chiefs could try civil or petty criminal cases but could not enforce penalties such as fines or imprisonment, and a suitor could bring the same case separately to a magistrate. If a

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<sup>28</sup> Sanders (2011: 14) suggests that despite Natal having policies more favourable for chiefly powers, Cape annexation was attractive to Moshoeshoe because the Cape at least permitted Africans to own firearms, albeit subject to regulation.

<sup>29</sup> Under Responsible Government, the Cape remained a British colony but a Cape Prime Minister and his cabinet had total responsibility for the affairs of the colony rather than having to turn to Westminster for decisions regarding governance and legislation (Parsons 1982: 152).

chief levied fines, litigants could refuse to pay them and, moreover, could then bring charges against the chief concerned for theft (Burman 1981: 42). Additional regulations included a mandate that marriages were registered and taxed (thus discouraging polygamy), and the provision that widows could re-marry according to their choice and retain custody of children from previous marriages (Burman 1981: 43, 45). Through the magisterial system, the Cape administration took Rolland's proposed strategies much farther than he had originally intended (although ironically Governor's Agent Charles Griffith would eventually accuse the French missionaries of overzealousness), with dire consequences for all Basutoland chiefs and for BaPhuthi leaders in particular.

While the most heated debate over Basutoland's boundaries concerned the decision to cede the land west of the Caledon (by far the most fertile in the region) to the Orange Free State (see Gill 1993: 108-110), discussions as to the southern borders proceeded in a lower key. Moorosi had originally resisted the annexation of his territory to the Cape, but was forced to acknowledge his submission to Moshoeshoe (and thus the rightful inclusion of his lands into Cape-administered Basutoland) in a formal meeting with Austen and Governor's Agent James Bowker (*BRV.205*; cf. *BRVI.151*). Prior to annexation, the Basotho similarly maintained that their perimeter should encompass the southern Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains as far as Matatiele for two reasons: first, Moshoeshoe's son Nehemiah (somewhat similar to Posholi in his outlaw tendencies) and his followers had settled across the Escarpment in that area; and second, the Basotho had an agreement with Faku and his Mpondo that permitted them to claim the land as their own (Barkly 1871). Both of these claims ultimately derived from the BaPhuthi: their long relationship with Faku almost certainly secured the Mpondo-Basotho arrangement, and Moorosi was instrumental in obtaining permission for

Nehemiah to establish himself across the mountains. After Moorosi's War was over, Orpen (1879b) would testify before Cape Parliament that '[The BaPhuthi] have a general belief that they are entitled to the land under the Drakensberg' based 'upon its having been granted to them by Faku.' Furthermore, fixing Basutoland's southwestern border at the Tele River cut Moorosi off from his lands in the Wittebergen; the annexation of the southern Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains (rather than simply the northern half) would at least have preserved part of Moorosi's territories intact. The last chapter drew attention to how, in the years preceding annexation, Moorosi had begun to re-orient and strengthen BaPhuthi ties to the southern and eastern extent of his lands; while fixing any boundaries so tightly around his territories was undesirable, maintaining trans-montane connections within his ambit allowed him to retain at least a measure of his strength in people. Additionally, considering the BaPhuthi's ability to turn the more hostile aspects of the Maloti-Drakensberg landscape to their advantage, a boundary that included a significant expanse of 'impenetrable' mountains within their remit would have served their lifeways and political strategies well. Unfortunately for the BaPhuthi, the Cape rejected this proposal and drew the boundary at the Escarpment itself, believing this would make Basutoland more open to the Cape as long as mountain passes across it could be controlled (*BRV*.388); this last condition was considerably easier to fulfil in theory than in practice, as the Natal authorities (and, increasingly, the Cape administration) were well aware (cf. Ayliff 1879).

Although Moorosi and the BaPhuthi proved adept at negotiating borders where these were simply formalities, the imposition of district boundaries and magistracies severely compromised the functioning of the BaPhuthi polity. To begin with, following the Seqiti War and the slow solidification of Basutoland's borders Moorosi

and his followers had moved their base yet again, up the Senqu River to occupy positions first at Bolepeletsa and, eventually, at Thaba Moorosi. A Frontier Armed Mounted Police station established across the Tele River in what was formerly an officially recognised part of BaPhuthi territory meant that armed government oversight was closer than ever before to the seat of BaPhuthi authority, curtailing BaPhuthi raiding activity west of the Tele.

However, for a time the BaPhuthi were able to continue to launch raids in Natal and Nomansland, as neither Basutoland nor Natal had the resources or manpower to launch large-scale punitive measures. In 1869, Captain Albert Allison announced, to the satisfaction of the Natal public, his intention to pursue one of Moorosi's raiding parties in Nomansland and requested assistance from James Bowker in Basutoland, a reasonable request given that the BaPhuthi were based in Basotho jurisdiction (*Natal Witness* 1869; How 1962: 58). Bowker, however, equivocated: he was unwilling to send a costly expedition into mountainous territory that he knew from earlier forays (*BRV.126*) to be treacherous, choosing instead to wait for Natal to drive the fugitives farther into Basutoland and apprehend them there (*BRV.381-2*; Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]: 90). Despite Moorosi's increasingly negative reputation among colonial officials, his status as a Koena-backed regional chief undoubtedly afforded him further protection, as Bowker was likely unwilling to attack Moorosi and rally support to his anti-colonial cause (Griffith 1877).

In 1870, the magisterial district of Cornet Spruit, with its headquarters at Mohale's Hoek and under John Austen's authority, was established to oversee BaPhuthi territory. The relationship between Austen and Moorosi was decidedly poor after their interactions in the Native Reserve, but the magistracy (based at Mohale's Hoek, see

Figure 6.1 above) was far enough removed from Moorosi's positions south of the Senqu that the newly imposed regulations initially had only an indirect (albeit insidious) effect on the BaPhuthi chieftaincy. The arrival of magisterial oversight also provides the first detailed information as to how this chieftaincy was administered immediately prior to and under the Cape administration.

Much in the manner of Basotho chieftaincies in the north of the country, Moorosi appears to have established wards under sub-chiefs and headmen throughout his territory; owing to the lack of direct documentation pre-dating the magistracy, it is unclear by how much these practices pre-date the fixing of Basutoland's borders. Wards were organised by ethnic self-identification and clan, and leadership was self-determined: for example, the majority of the Mnjanyane Valley was occupied by the AmaVundle, a Thembu clan from south of the Drakensberg, who were led by a man called Tjale<sup>30</sup> (e.g. Griffith 1879a). This stands in contrast to Moshoeshoe's early policies in northern Basutoland, where he would welcome the leaders of other ethnic groups under his protection, but would generally place them under the ultimate control of another Koena chief (with followings such as those of Moletsane and Moorosi being the obvious exceptions). Tjale and others in his position were ultimately accountable to Moorosi, but still held sway over their people: as the tension between the Cape and the BaPhuthi escalated throughout the 1870s, the Cape

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<sup>30</sup> In D.F. Ellenberger's ethnohistory of the AmaVundle and oral histories that I collected during the course of my research (see Chapter 7.2), the AmaVundle claim the same fifteenth- or sixteenth-century AD Fokeng ancestors as many Sotho-speaking peoples in southeastern Africa. By and large, AmaVundle claim to have migrated to what was, in the colonial period, Nomansland and the eastern Cape in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries and become acculturated by the Nguni-speakers that would eventually coalesce into the Thembu. While the AmaVundle claim Sotho progenitors, they aligned themselves politically and militarily with the Thembu during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and effectively became a Thembu clan, called 'BaThepu' by many Basotho. Here, I refer only to those Thembu under Tjale's leadership as 'AmaVundle', and refer to other Thembu peoples in Moorosi's Country without identified leaders or clan affiliations simply as Thembu.

government saw winning these sub-chiefs' co-operation as the key to undermining the BaPhuthi support base and ensuring a measure of stability once the BaPhuthi were removed. Where possible, Moorosi would place his sons in control of their own wards, with some sons given preference over others, especially his favoured sons Letuka and Lehana (also called Doda). By 1870 Moorosi was about 75 years old and still held a large measure of control over his followers, although owing to his devolving power to his sons and perhaps to the widespread perception that his obstinacy would not hold up long against Cape rule, a certain degree of internecine antagonism had begun developing amongst his children (discussed below).

As seen above, the Cape's 'divide and rule' strategies were designed precisely to take advantage of these fault lines in chiefly rule. As one of Moorosi's chiefly prerogatives was the ability to extract hut taxes from his followers (which, in keeping with the practices of virtually all chiefs, he likely used to extract a measure of personal gain), the transfer of that power to the magistrate at Mohale's Hoek was an overt declaration that chiefs could be 'put aside' (Eldredge 2007: 44). More detrimental to the BaPhuthi were prohibitions against the levirate system and the right to claim stray livestock. As seen in Chapter 4, many of the BaPhuthi's wide-ranging alliances were cemented through marriages. Particularly where these followed Sotho (in the broader sense than the 'Basotho', see Appendix A) custom<sup>31</sup>, the woman's family received *bohali* (Sesotho, 'bridewealth'), but upon the husband's death the bride's children and the bride herself remained tied to her in-laws. On the other side of the equation, *bohali*

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<sup>31</sup> Regrettably, the terms and practices of BaPhuthi-Bushman marriages remain unknown and there is no known documentation of what such arrangements might have entailed. However, it is interesting to note that when Orpen encountered Qing in 1873, Qing was married to his brother's widow (discussed further below), suggesting that Bushmen in the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains may have assimilated some aspects of Bantu-speaker marriage practices.

became embedded in an extensive system of kinship and obligations, with *bohali* for a daughter paying for her male relatives' marriages (Burman 1981: 43). Under the Cape administration, *bohali* had to be registered and taxed by magistrates (thus discouraging polygamy), widows and their children were no longer obligated to remain with their in-laws, and, moreover, these widows could assume guardianship over their children and thus arrange marriages independently from their wider families. For the BaPhuthi, whose political strength derived in large part from their ability to make connections to the heterogeneous communities of the southern Drakensberg and who relied on marriages to do so, the new laws undermined the entire premise of these relationships. The prohibition against chiefs arrogating stray stock as their own property also put an end to a convenient alibi that the BaPhuthi had been using for years to explain their acquisition of numbers of cattle when confronted with charges of theft and raiding (Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]: 88, 90). Moreover, the magistrates encouraged people to report stock thefts by chiefs, making Moorosi's position more still more precarious.

It is during the initial implementation of these new laws that we see the BaPhuthi re-orienting their social connections and physical movements yet again, this time farther up the Senqu and into the Maloti highlands (Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]: 90). In this context, the story related to Victor Ellenberger by an elderly Mosotho woman, Elisabetha 'Malékètanyané Môhanoè, of her visit to Sehonghong with Moorosi in the late 1860s or early 1870s would perhaps appear as part of this BaPhuthi re-orientation (P. Mitchell 2010: 156). 'M'e Môhanoè reported seeing female members of Moorosi's group make pottery and male members execute paintings on the walls of the shelter, but unfortunately does not include physical descriptions of these images

and objects, nor is further information about the polity's internal workings available from her testimony.

While the antiquity of the BaPhuthi sub-chieftainship up the Senqu is unclear, by 1873 Moorosi's son Qacha (not listed in any genealogy, but likely the son of a Bushman wife) had served as a sub-chief at least for a few years. Incidentally, if Qacha was in fact one of Moorosi's Bushman sons, it would mean that Moorosi's administration wherein he devolved authority to sub-chiefs of other ethnicities, extended to Bushmen as well. At least as far to the east as the eponymous Qacha's Nek, Moorosi's subjects retained perhaps the greatest degree of autonomy from the Basutoland magistrates. The levirate system was still very much in place and seems to have been adopted by people of Bushman descent, as Joseph Orpen observed in 1873 that Qing, his Bushman guide, was married to his brother's widow (McGranaghan *et al.* 2013: 153). It was in this part of Moorosi's territory that Allison encountered his informants who described their relationships with the BaPhuthi (see Chapter 4.3.2: 135). Despite these hints of lawlessness, the political situation around Qacha's Nek appeared relatively stable: when James Murray Grant's expedition passed through Qacha's territory from 8-9 December 1873, Grant noticed an abundance of trading stores established at the base of the mountain below Qacha's kraal, with decent grazing and an large number of people willing to help him in his pursuit of the fugitive chief Langalibalele (P. Mitchell and Challis 2008: 421-7). Strengthened ties with BaPhuthi living in the highlands and with Bushman compatriots would eventually prove essential to provisioning the BaPhuthi during the 1879 war, as seen below.

## 6.2. 'THE BEER, AND THE GARDENS, AND THE GUN'

The BaPhuthi were thus able to maintain a measure of their accustomed authority (albeit in a more confined area) until 1877, when a new magisterial district was created from the original Cornet Spruit District specifically to provide a vantage point closer to Moorosi's territory. What exactly prompted Basutoland Governor's Agent Charles Griffith to take this step is unclear, suffice it to say that he had by then concluded that Moorosi and his followers were 'about the wildest and most uncivilised of any in this territory' (Griffith 1876; cf. Rolland 1877b) and as such merited closer attention. In the new Quthing District, the magistracy was located at the present-day town of Alwynskop, only six kilometres up the Tele River from the BaPhuthi establishment at Bolepeletsa. The new magistrate, Hamilton Hope, had been promoted from a clerkship at Mafeteng and soon proved to be entirely unsuited to his new post. He was young, inexperienced, described by D.F. Ellenberger (1915) as 'an irascible and impatient character,' and therefore a poor choice for administering the somewhat precarious relations between the Cape administration and the BaPhuthi.

Shortly after Hope's appointment a series of crises arose as the result of inevitable conflict between the new Cape regulations and BaPhuthi customs, and of aggressive posturing by both Moorosi and Hope. The first of these crises involved a headman called Raisa who stood accused of destroying a cornfield belonging to a widow, which Raisa took to be his under the old levirate system but which he no longer could claim. When the widow complained to Hope, Hope adjudicated in her favour and Raisa appealed to Moorosi, whose reaction was to assemble a large number of followers (Hope estimated 500 men) at the magistracy and to accuse Hope of

overstepping his authority. When Moorosi demanded of those assembled, ‘Do you obey this man (pointing to [Hope]) or do you obey me? They all with one voice cried out, we obey Morosi [*sic*]’ (Hope 1877a).

While Hope may well have exaggerated the size of Moorosi’s party, it is worth noting that the group included Moorosi’s AmaVundle subordinates (residing in the valley adjacent to the magistracy), who participated in the confrontation by performing a ‘war-dance’ and contributing to the mayhem of the event. This incident is the first of several throughout the coming years where Moorosi would attempt to draw on support from one of his more ancillary collaborators with varying results. Likewise, as conflicts escalated prior to the outbreak of the war, Basutoland officials became increasingly cognisant of and concerned over Moorosi’s abilities to rally his heterogeneous following. Here (and, indeed, at many places throughout the documentation related to the coming incidents), the AmaVundle, led by their chief Tjale, occupied a somewhat ambiguous position: they were unquestionably allied with Moorosi during their agitation at the magistracy, but following one arrest made as a result of this melee, Hope charged Tjale with securing the prisoner and producing him for trial. I return to the unstable and variable coalitions from which Moorosi attempted to fashion his BaPhuthi during this period below.

This first major confrontation with Hope resulted in the magistrate banning weapons from future *pitsos* (Eldredge 2007: 42) and rescinding Moorosi’s right to fine people for selling beer without his permission, a chiefly power that was significant insofar as it provided a ready source of income through fines (Hope 1877b). While Moorosi protested, he realised the futility of his arguing and admitted, ‘I give in about the beer, and the gardens, and the gun, but I give in grudgingly. I can see that I am no longer

anybody in this land' (Moorosi 1877). Rather than accepting this concession and Moorosi's arrangement of Raisa's submission, Hope went a step beyond the legislated punishment and fined Raisa three sacks of millet. This directly contravened Griffith's (1877) strongly worded caution to Hope to 'substitute diplomacy and moral persuasion for [...] high-handed proceedings' out of fear that these might force Moorosi into open rebellion, and thus provoking his extensive following to rebel likewise. In this instance, Moorosi and Raisa acquiesced, but Hope mistakenly interpreted their concession as submission, rather than simply deferring further action for later.

Through 1877 and 1878 there ensued 'a game of veiled threats and counterfeit claims of friendship' (Eldredge 2007: 46) between Moorosi, Hope, and Hope's superiors Griffith and Emile Rolland<sup>32</sup>. Moorosi would challenge regulations such as the prohibition against carrying guns, only to be checked by Hope or Rolland (Rolland 1877c). Eldredge (2007: 46-47) has drawn attention to Rolland's perceptive readings of Moorosi's intent in these exchanges, with Moorosi often attempting to engineer situations wherein he could display his strength in manpower and thus incite Hope to an intemperate reaction; Rolland (1877d) therefore cautioned Hope against playing into these schemes.

During his long tenure in the southern Drakensberg, Moorosi had cultivated a reputation as a charismatic and indefatigable leader, and he employed his personality as a weapon as much as guns and horses. By 1877, he was around 82 years old but undiminished in vigour, and still 'rash and reckless to an extraordinary degree for a native' (Hope 1877c). As mentioned in Chapter 4.3.3: 144, Moorosi had adopted as

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<sup>32</sup> Rolland served as Governor's Agent for the period 1877-1878 in Griffith's stead while the latter was called upon to lead British forces against the Xhosa in the eastern Cape.

part of his image a white horse that, according to one MoPhuthi who surrendered to the British after Thaba Moorosi fell, accompanied him everywhere ('Statement of Mapara' in Austen 1879b). By this point, Moorosi's past exploits had attained an almost legendary status. D.F. Ellenberger's and Orpen's notes on the history of the BaPhuthi polity reveal contradictions in narratives of their leaders' deeds that suggest the emergence of stories verging on apocrypha. Returning to the story of Motlejoa and the cannibals mentioned in Chapter 4.1, Ellenberger's (1912: 161) telling has Mokuoane concocting the scheme to out-manoeuvre the cannibals and winning back the BaPhuthi's lands, which Moorosi helped carry out. Orpen's records, on the other hand, have only Moorosi defeating Motlejoa (Orpen 1907). Unfortunately, there is no way to test the veracity of either statement: Moorosi would have been a young man at the time of the attack (in his mid-twenties) and so could have carried it out instead of his father. The names of Orpen's and Ellenberger's informants are unknown, as are the dates of when these stories were recorded. Two conclusions are, however, possible: that this story was a major part of the BaPhuthi historical narrative, and that where it implicated Moorosi it added to the widespread opinion of him as a cunning and fearless figure (Hope 1877c; Eldredge 2007: Chapter 4, *passim*). The strength of Moorosi's charisma in uniting his following, as well as his longstanding alliances and agreements with various confederates, will become more apparent in the following paragraphs.

The Basotho monarch Letsie I publicly supported the Cape administration, complying with Griffith's and Rolland's directives to instruct Moorosi to obey their dictates. Privately, however, Letsie was almost certainly sending messengers to Moorosi keeping him abreast of rebellions brewing elsewhere in the colonies (Hope 1878; Eldredge 2007: 48-49). These included the Xhosa in the eastern Cape (which

implicated the Thembu as Xhosa allies), Sekhukhune's Pedi in the northeast, and Cetshwayo's Zulu in Natal. With so many crises breaking out throughout southern Africa, the Cape government was concerned that a BaPhuthi rebellion was not far behind and that the region would soon be consumed by a mass African uprising. These concerns over the BaPhuthi were not unreasonable: after the war was over, Mofetudi, a son-in-law and messenger of Moorosi, told Austen that when Moorosi heard of the Zulu successes he caught the 'war spirit' ('Statement of Mofetudi' in Austen 1880). Eventually, William Ayliff, the Secretary for Native Affairs himself, wrote to Rolland instructing Moorosi to fall in line with Cape directives, invoking the violence in the eastern Cape and Natal when he cautioned, 'It is better that a chief should use his influence in giving good advice to his neighbours than that he should, like chiefs in this neighbourhood, lead them to destruction' (Ayliff 1878).

BaPhuthi clashes with the British continued to escalate, however, with Moorosi's son Lehana leading mobs that prevented constables from collecting fees in cash or cattle. Employing the tactics and knowledge of landscape that served the BaPhuthi well during their raiding ventures, after one such altercation Lehana and 60-70 followers fled into the higher reaches of the mountains, where they were known to have ensconced themselves in several familiar rockshelters. When James Bowker took over for Rolland as Governor's Agent in 1878, he immediately mobilised a force of 700 Basotho to move against Lehana, but found that he could not reach him because the latter had positioned himself across the Senqu River, which was running too high and fast for an armed party to cross it. Both sides then resorted to a tense *pitso* at which Moorosi marshalled an estimated 800 men, a force which drew a sharp contrast to the reluctant Basotho troops who strongly resented being ordered to act against their countrymen (Sanders 2011: 67). Lehana eventually surrendered and was fined cattle,

while the BaPhuthi were punished with the removal of Hope as magistrate and his replacement with John Austen. As much as Hope was brash and impatient, Moorosi had demonstrated that Hope could be manipulated easily (Rolland 1879); Austen was more experienced at dealing with Moorosi and the BaPhuthi, and thus more dangerous.

From 1878, Austen embarked upon a campaign of aggressive, direct assault upon the upper echelons of BaPhuthi authority that eventually triggered the rebellion itself. By this point, the BaPhuthi appear to have become increasingly internally fragmented. Moorosi's eldest son Letuka, who had been living with a small contingent of BaPhuthi in East Griqualand, contacted the Cape administration requesting that his father be removed as chief of the BaPhuthi and that Letuka himself be installed in his place. Such a measure would, he said, prevent rebellion, and the Cape was still considering this offer when Lehana forestalled a decision by precipitating the above-mentioned crisis on the Senqu River (Rolland 1878; Burman 1981: 120). Tjale's AmaVundle were declaring solidarity with both the British and BaPhuthi causes, apparently waiting to see which way the tides of war would turn before committing themselves firmly (Austen 1879c; Griffith 1879a). Austen had also managed to cajole or coerce residents within Moorosi's country to act as his 'detectives', providing him with information that he could use to punish Moorosi, Lehana, and those BaPhuthi who he viewed as threats (Austen 1878d; Griffith 1878b).

As a political entity the BaPhuthi almost certainly had centrifugal tendencies and could have been prone internal fragmentation prior to Cape rule; as described earlier, the body politic was naturally inclined towards volatility, and intrigues and internal aggression had likely been present throughout the polity's existence. However, prior

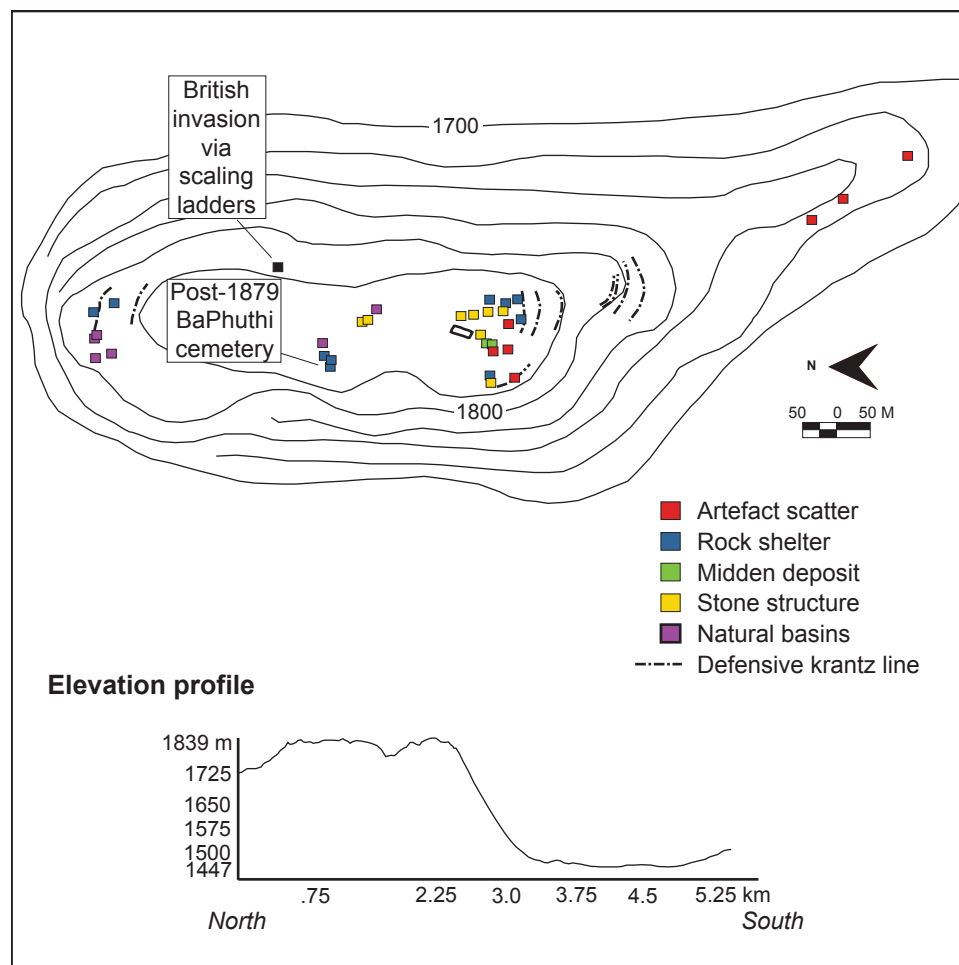
to the solidification of Basutoland's boundaries during the magisterial period, such tensions would likely have been resolved through migration. A longstanding check on chiefly powers among Bantu communities was the ability of dissatisfied subjects to 'vote with their feet'; this underpinned the fissiparous nature of hierarchical African polities, apparent in groups documented during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Chapters 2.1 and 8.3). This trend was even more pronounced in mobile raiding bands, such as the BaPhuthi and groups led by Bushmen, where cohesion was formed through practice and occasional subscription to a polity rather than more substantial obligatory relationships; for example, partnerships cemented by marriage may have been more stable than opportunistic membership in *ad hoc* raiding parties. To be sure, unifying ideologies could emerge in such situations and forge a shared identity among participants (Challis 2012), although how these creolised identities navigated internal conflict remains to be explored. Nevertheless, it is likely that in the pre-colonial days of the BaPhuthi polity inherently mobile and fluid lifeways provided mechanisms for coping with internal group tensions through migration. With the imposition of enforced settlement, registration, and direct oversight by the magistracy, not to mention the possibility that sedentism and a chance to accumulate personal wealth may have been an attractive proposition for many chiefly subjects, migration became more difficult and political fissures could become more pronounced.

Austen's policies amplified these tensions and produced new ones. He sought to root out potential rebels by retaliating against their families and confiscating the livestock of their relatives. He arrested several of Moorosi's sons, including Lehana, on flimsy charges for which Austen himself admitted that he had 'no direct evidence,' both as punishment and provocation to further overt acts of disobedience (Austen 1878d).

Lehana was eventually jailed for his many crimes (including stealing horses and cattle) and the Cape was discussing removing him from the territory entirely by having him serve his sentence at the Breakwater Prison in Cape Town (Austen 1878b). Before this could happen, however, on New Year's Eve 1878 a rescue party stormed the gaol, freed Lehana and others kept there, and sent Austen and his family fleeing across the Tele to Palmietfontein, allegedly in fear of their lives. Once arrived at Palmietfontein, Austen told the Commanding Officer of the Frontier Armed Mounted Police contingent there to march upon the magistracy. Believing that the Cape had not only abandoned them but decided to march upon them, a force of BaPhuthi stormed the magistracy, signalling the outbreak of the rebellion. Meanwhile, the freed convicts fled into the mountains.

Austen's actions were roundly condemned by his superiors and by D.F. Ellenberger, the local missionary, for what they thought was a gross overreaction and dereliction of duty (e.g. Austen 1879m; Griffith 1879b). The military camp at Palmietfontein had received reinforcements a few days previously to discourage any armed resistance that might follow Lehana's arrest and transfer to the Breakwater; this increased military force, installed in full view of Moorosi's scouts (Griffith 1879e), had already increased the tension between British and BaPhuthi and prompted Griffith and Letuka to urge their respective followings to caution (Austen 1879g; Griffith 1879d). In his disparaging report of Austen's actions, Griffith (1879e) went as far as suggesting that the BaPhuthi who moved against the magistracy 'were acting, more on the defensive, than the aggressive.' The damage was done, however: the Cape military marshalling against the magistracy was interpreted as an act of aggression and launched the BaPhuthi into an all-out rebellion.

### 6.3. DYNAMICS OF MOOROSI'S WAR



*Figure 6.3. Plan of Thaba Moorosi, based on my survey of June 2013.*

On 6 and 7 February 1879, Charles Griffith and Letsie met in Morija to discuss the consequences that both Moorosi and Letsie would incur as a result of the former's rebellion: in addition to the obvious fates of forced servitude or death for the rebels, the Quthing District would be sold off to pay the debts (financial and symbolic) that the Cape forces would sustain in the process of quelling the rebellion (Griffith 1880a, Figure 6.3). Despite the recent success by Zulu forces against the British military at

Isandhlwana<sup>33</sup> (from which Moorosi was said to have drawn inspiration, see the ‘Statement of Mofetudi’ in Austen 1880a), a British-led victory was never seriously in doubt. Letsie acknowledged this and made it clear to Moorosi that his loyalties were with the British, saying to Moorosi’s messenger, ‘When [Moorosi] says he will fire upon the whitemen [*sic*] does it not mean that he will fire on me?’ (‘Message from Letsie to Governor’s Agent, 24 February 1879’ in Griffith 1879b). It was clear, then, that to join Moorosi’s rebellion meant an almost certain loss of life, land, and worldly goods, and that no support would be forthcoming from the Basotho. Nevertheless, the rebellion lasted for eight months, not only because of the strategic use of Thaba Moorosi and its surrounds (and the relative ineptitude of the British forces in dealing with this landscape), but also because of the large number of followers that Moorosi was able to rally to his cause.

### **6.3.1. ‘We are Moorosi’s people’: identifying rebels**

Most of the information regarding the identity of the rebels was obtained from witnesses or informants in Austen’s court, discussing events occurring either in the lead-up to rebellion or in the rebellion itself and its immediate aftermath. As such, these testimonies must be weighed carefully. It scarcely bears stipulating that those who came before the magistrate voluntarily sought to convince him that they were not involved in the rebellion, while those who were captured hoped to mitigate their punishment by providing useful evidence.

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<sup>33</sup> The Battle of Isandhlwana took place on 22 January 1879 and was the first major battle of the Anglo-Zulu War. The Zulu were victorious due to a combination of tactical and command failings on the part of the British, and the Zulus’ own successful manoeuvres and use of landscape (see David 2006).

On the opposite side of the bench, Austen had a personal stake in demonstrating violent, seditious behaviour by many of those in his district to defend his own actions immediately prior to the onset of the rebellion. As the arrests of Moorosi's fellow conspirators began, Austen never lost an opportunity to draw attention to testimonies that could (perhaps correctly) vindicate his decisions (e.g. Austen 1879h, 1880) and emphasise the precarious situation in which he found himself. These qualifications notwithstanding, these testimonials are crucial evidence and can prove illuminating with careful reading and the historical understanding of the BaPhuthi described above. Of further use is the knowledge that Austen's clerk, Charles Maitin, who was fluent in Sesotho (his proficiency in SePhuthi is unknown), took the testimonies himself and did not have the same stake in the proceedings as his supervisor; Maitin earned a reputation throughout his career as a diligent and loyal Cape official who performed his duties conscientiously (Rolland 1877e). Additionally, Austen was quite familiar with all those involved, having known them from his days in Wittebergen, and was therefore capable of giving accurate descriptions of the language and (at least apparent) affiliations of those who appeared before him.

Moorosi had originally anticipated support from Basotho opposed to the Cape's new policies, but was disappointed to learn from Letsie that such support would not be forthcoming (Griffith 1879f). He may have even continued to represent that he had the backing of Basotho troops long after it became apparent that this was not the case ('Statement of Mofetudi' in Austen 1880). However, Griffith (and Hope before him) had illustrated the benefits that could accrue to Letsie if Basotho fought alongside the British against the BaPhuthi: Letsie could claim Moorosi's cattle and land, the latter of which could also increase Letsie's hut tax revenue (Hope 1879). Additionally, Burman (1981: 128) posited that the longstanding geographical, cultural, and political

differences between BaPhuthi and Basotho made the vast majority of Letsie's followers unsympathetic to the BaPhuthi cause.

Nevertheless, many Basotho were opposed to the war: they were unwilling to take up arms against a fellow countryman and they feared doing so on Moorosi's own land where he had the advantage of knowing the terrain and its inhabitants. The praise poems of Maama, one of Letsie's sons, claim that '[he] felt [his] hands grow cold: [he] could hardly take [his] gun' when called to war (Sanders 2011: 71). The praise poet of another of Letsie's sons, Lerotholi, described Lerotholi's reluctance to go to war, saying "I'm afraid when Moorosi is fought. Beyond the river only paupers should fight" (Damane and Sanders 1974: 153). Nevertheless, there were still disaffected Basotho in Moorosi's ward who were willing to support and join cause with the BaPhuthi. One of Letsie's messengers, Ntsibi, reported that it was the sons of a Mosotho man rather than BaPhuthi who helped Moorosi to fortify Thaba Moorosi. There was even testimony that at least one Mosotho, a man called Mogatiwana, fought on the mountain with Moorosi (Austen 1879o). Further, cattle belonging to Thembu and Basotho living around the Seapala River (immediately to the south of Thaba Moorosi and a major BaPhuthi stronghold) were reportedly driven up the Senqu River and into the highlands during the months preceding the rebellion as stockpiles for the BaPhuthi (Austen 1879e). Whether these livestock were given voluntarily is open to speculation, but Basotho support was nevertheless present.

Bushmen were also key allies in combat. One of Moorosi's sons called 'Kqang', who was almost certainly half-Bushman<sup>34</sup>, had to be restrained from leaving Thaba

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<sup>34</sup> 'Kqang' is never specifically described as half-Bushman, but the consonant cluster 'kq' likely represents either a velar voiceless or velar ejective affricate (<̠x̠> or <kx'>, respectively, in the International Phonetic Alphabet) combined with an alveolar click (<!>),

Moorosi and launching an all-out assault on the British front lines (Austen 1879g). Indeed, the password for obtaining access to the mountain was ‘Marwa,’ a corruption of the Sesotho word *Moroa*, which means ‘Bushman’ (Austen 1879o). A part-Bushman woman, whom Marion Walsham How interviewed in the 1930s, told of how a large group of Moorosi’s Bushman supporters were massacred by the British in a valley near Thaba Moorosi (likely the Seapala, How 1962: 14). When the war was over, Bushmen dispersed from the Quthing District, moving towards Qacha’s Nek or over the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Escarpment into Matatiele, probably under the protection of Moorosi’s sons who had managed to escape (How 1930, 1962: 14). Even after this BaPhuthi diaspora, some BaPhuthi continued to maintain close connections with Bushmen: in 1904 C.H. Laird, a shop owner in Matatiele, recalled meeting a BaPhuthi couple who were raising a pair of Bushman children whose family had been slaughtered in the Maloti highlands a few years prior to Moorosi’s rebellion (Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]: 97). The close relations that prevailed between Bushmen and BaPhuthi before the rebellion and the fact that these continued long after defeat attest to the strong cohesion between the two, and support Jolly’s (1993) thesis that these connections were premised upon more than simply mutual self-interest or a shared political or economic cause.

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uncommon sounds in Bantu languages that likely originated in Khoe-Kwadi languages (cf. Güldemann and Stoneking 2008). These complex consonants are often found in Bushman languages in combination with distinctive click consonants (Bleek 1956: 507-10). Austen and Maitin were both fluent in Bantu languages (Austen in Xhosa and Maitin in Sesotho) and it is fairly safe to assume that they would recognise the click in Kqang’s name as different from other Bantu consonants, and thus employ the diacritic ‘q’ when transcribing it. It is thus possible to identify Kqang as having some Bushman background. To lend further weight to the BaPhuthi’s familiarity with Bushmen and the click consonants of their languages, Mapote identified ‘qang’ as the Bushman word for a kind of *letsoku* (Sesotho, ‘ochre’) that pertains specifically to the Maloti Mountains (How 1930; 1962; see also Lewis-Williams 1995; 2010: 14; Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1990).

In addition to Bushmen, BaPhuthi related to Moorosi by marriage or blood were the main constituents of Moorosi's army. In his statement before John Austen, one of Moorosi's supporters called Litsilsa listed the names of 17 of Moorosi's supporters atop the mountain (out of between 100 and 300 in total, Martin 1879) and their attack positions (Austen 1879n). Virtually all of those whom Litsilsa named were sons or grandsons of Moorosi, in addition to some more minor BaPhuthi chiefs and their own relatives (cf. D.F. Ellenberger 1912: 344-6). Likewise, most of the ancillary positions occupied within Moorosi's Country (useful shelters and nearby mountaintops), were also occupied by Moorosi's sons: Ratsanyane held a stronghold across the river at Muldoon's Kloof (Austen 1879n; Martin 1879), Lehana employed his extensive experience as a fugitive to secure stores of grains and food within caves around the valleys (Martin 1879: 10), and Motsapi held another village farther down the Senqu from Thaba Moorosi (Martin 1879: 12). As one of Moorosi's sons (also part-Bushman by birth), Mapote himself served on Thaba Moorosi (How 1962: 33).

However, familial loyalty did not necessarily entail cohesion. I have already mentioned the conflict brewing between the bellicose partnership of Lehana and Moorosi on the one hand and the more conciliatory Letuka on the other, with each of Moorosi's sons jockeying for their father's position following the outcome of the war (cf. Austen 1878a). Significantly, when rebels began to surrender after the first few months of fighting, followers of Moorosi's sons were among the first to approach the magistrate. It is unclear whether these followers were BaPhuthi united by a common ancestor, or more diverse peoples who had fallen in with Moorosi's people. At least some were sons of BaPhuthi chiefs (Austen 1879k; Griffith 1879c), although as we have seen above Moorosi would bestow chieftainships upon BaPhuthi-by-choice as much as to BaPhuthi-by-birth.

In addition to his own relatives, the Thembu who had been occupying the land south of the Senqu under Moorosi's stewardship also occupied a highly ambiguous position during the rebellion. As described above, the Basutoland administration was concerned that these Xhosa-speakers would lend their support to Moorosi, possibly elevating the conflict from a rebellion into an all-out civil war (Austen 1879c; 'Statement of Japhuta' in Austen 1879c; Griffith 1879a). During the 1877-1878 Xhosa conflicts along the eastern Cape frontier, Rolland (1877a) suggested that Thembu alliances with their Xhosa brethren had also roused the BaPhuthi in Moorosi's territory to restiveness. At the outbreak of war, Letsie sent messengers to Tjale as the senior AmaVundle chief to secure his loyalty, something that Tjale appeared to grant (Austen 1879d; 'Message from Letsie, 24 February 1879' in Griffith 1879b). However, Tjale seems to have offered Moorosi advice and support throughout the rebellion, as well as cattle that he obtained from his neighbours in the Mnjanyane Valley ('Statement of Fytji Mofadi' in Austen 1879n; 'Statement of Mofetudi' in Austen 1880). This aid may have derived mainly from self-interest: according to Austen and based on testimonies from his court, Tjale may have 'requisitioned' (or looted) livestock for British and BaPhuthi alike, but under-reported his take so as to keep a large number of animals for himself (Austen 1879o). While some Thembu and Mfengu fought on Thaba Moorosi (Austen 1879k), most of the Thembu within Moorosi's Country provided only auxiliary support in Moorosi's War and were primarily interested in maintaining some degree of autonomy from British and Basotho rule. This became even clearer after the rebellion, when Tjale and his AmaVundle refused to comply with disarmament policies and were eventually forced to surrender their arms (Austen 1880).

It is therefore possible to discern a different dynamic functioning among the BaPhuthi atop Thaba Moorosi than in earlier raiding parties. The stakes of overt, violent defiance of British and Basotho authority were very different from subscribing to occasional or even prolonged periods of raiding. Entities such as the Thembu, who had placed themselves under Moorosi's patronage within the last half-century and derived benefits such as land and cattle from doing so, were understandably unwilling to jeopardise their gains. The case of Tjale's AmaVundle is particularly instructive as to the integration of Moorosi's conflict within regional politics: relatives and allies of Tjale's AmaVundle on the eastern Cape frontier (including Maphasa's 'Tambookies' [Mager 2013] and the Gcaleka Xhosa) had been buffeted by decades of successive wars and were becoming increasingly incorporated into the Cape Colony. Remaining in Basutoland with lands and herds relatively intact was, therefore, one of the best (and few) options available for many of Moorosi's constituents, and openly showing support for the rebels would, as Griffith made clear, result in the loss of these privileges.

### **6.3.2. Broadening battlefields**

However, staying away from Thaba Moorosi did not necessarily mean that people were clear of conflict, as Moorosi and his followers made use of the entire Quthing landscape during their war. In their strategies for combat and flight, we see a continuation of the same strategies developed and honed during the preceding decades of stock theft throughout the southern Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains, employing rockshelters, natural fortifications, and impenetrable valleys to hide people and supplies (Austen 1879a). This topic has hitherto gone unremarked upon by historians, but, when integrated within the longer history of the BaPhuthi polity and its *modus operandi*, it becomes all the more salient. Moorosi kept a large number of cattle atop

Thaba Moorosi during and before the war (Martin 1879: 12), but he also sent herds into the Maloti highlands where they were looked after by Bushman and BaPhuthi allies and brought down to re-stock the rebels as needed ('Statement of Molotsi' in Austen 1879e). While Sanders (2011: 73) counts Moorosi's division of stock as a major error in judgment, we have seen in Chapters 4 and 5 that splitting resources among various locations was a strategy that Moorosi used to his benefit throughout his raiding career. In this case, moving animals into the mountains constituted a vital supply chain and was complemented by the further use of the numerous rockshelters surrounding Thaba Moorosi to store food and supplies and house refugees (Martin 1879: 10; Southey 1879: 21). As noted above, Moorosi dispatched his sons to auxiliary stations, including other *liqobosheane*, adjoining valleys, and nearby rockshelters. As armed conflict took in the entire region, so too did its depredations: the Wesleyan missionary Joseph Start (1879) made an excursion from his station at Bensonvale in Nomansland to minister to the Cape forces at Thaba Moorosi and, crossing through western Quthing, saw windows shattered and horses stabbed, and heard of dwindling numbers of people at the local churches.

While occasional skirmishes between Cape and BaPhuthi forces would occur throughout Moorosi's Country (and, indeed, the destruction that Start noticed could have been due to looting and local, secondary conflicts), the Cape military initially focused almost all of its attention on Thaba Moorosi (Figure 6.3 above), much to their own detriment. Sanders (2011: 73-81) provides a detailed summary of the manoeuvres involved during Moorosi's War and recounting them here would be redundant. The Cape forces, led by Charles Griffith himself, struggled with their ancient and faulty artillery and the difficulties inherent in storming a mountain with only one natural ingress. The first two attacks that launched on the mountain (7 April

and 5 June 1879) were fiascos, with a total of 33 Cape casualties and insignificant BaPhuthi losses. However, Cape forces realised the damage that they could inflict by striking at BaPhuthi resources at a remove from the mountain: Griffith succeeded in capturing livestock intended to re-provision the besieged BaPhuthi (Browning 1880: 299) and his replacement General E.Y. Brabant launched expeditions up the Senqu to dynamite the shelters where BaPhuthi refugees and provisions were hidden (Brabant 1931: 80-2).

The duration of the war and the erosion of BaPhuthi supply lines took a toll on the combatants atop Thaba Moorosi. Moorosi attempted to negotiate terms of surrender several times, but was rebuffed by no less a personage than Cape Prime Minister Gordon Sprigg, who had come to Basutoland to confront the problems of Moorosi's War and disarmament more broadly<sup>35</sup>. Sprigg would accept nothing but unconditional surrender, which Moorosi would not grant, and so the war dragged on until late November. As much as the BaPhuthi were affected by the strain of the siege, so too were the Cape forces. Brabant (1931: 91-2) admitted that his troops were 'disheartened' and he himself could not face remaining at the mountain until the end. Upon his arrival at the British camp, the Rev. Start was appalled at the emotional and moral deterioration that he observed among the troops: he was aghast at observing that one of the British soldiers had placed a human skull on the south side of the British fortifications 'as a warning to the Kafirs,' prompting Start's observation that 'such a scene was more becoming a *savage* than a *Christian* people' (Start 1879, emphasis original).

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<sup>35</sup> As of 30 June 1880, Moorosi's War had cost the Cape an estimated £97,315, 8s, 5d (Garcia 1879).

## 6.4. FALL AND DIASPORA

The end of the war finally arrived when the new commander Colonel 'Zach' Bayly employed scaling ladders and the cover of darkness on the night of 19/20 November 1880 to allow his men to scale the mountain and decimate the BaPhuthi they encountered there. The outcome of this last attack and the fate of the BaPhuthi was outlined in Chapter 1: 16, suffice it to say here that it led to a diaspora of those BaPhuthi who remained alive and at liberty, resulting in Moorosi's people fleeing through the Maloti-Drakensberg.

However, Moorosi's War was a bittersweet victory for the Cape. Coupled with the on-going Anglo-Zulu War in Natal, it underscored the necessity of disarming all natives within British territories. For the Basotho whom the Cape were attempting to make into both allies and subjects, the latter's war demonstrated the Cape's military weaknesses and convinced the Basotho that, having demonstrated their loyalty to the British in a war against their own countrymen, they should be entitled to keep their arms (Sanders 2011: 87). Instead, the Cape government under Sprigg decided that Quthing would be alienated from the rest of Basutoland and divided into farms for white settlement, both as punishment for those involved in the rebellion and to pay for the costs of Moorosi's War, which amounted to about £300,000 (*Cape Argus* 1880a). Individual Basotho could bid for farms, but most of the lands would be divided into settlements for whites, which would be surveyed and established by John Austen. Both Orpen and D.F. Ellenberger protested vehemently against this: Orpen introduced a motion into the Cape House of Assembly against the alienation of any part of Basutoland without an Act of Parliament at Westminster but was compelled to withdraw it (*Cape Argus* 1880b), and D.F. Ellenberger (1880a) thought this

profoundly unjust to the BaPhuthi non-combatants who would lose their lands. Emile Rolland (1879) likewise opposed Quthing's appropriation, as such a move would challenge the Basotho's long-established role as the land's rightful rulers. Nevertheless, the Cape's confiscation remained official: Basotho were allowed to purchase land in Quthing from the Cape and Letsie was permitted to place a Mosotho chief, Nkhwebe, as his representative in Quthing, but the district remained a Cape possession until it was returned to the Basotho as part of the terms that ended the Gun War in 1881 (Sanders 2011: 184-8).

The ramifications of Moorosi's War reverberated far beyond Basutoland. As far as the Cape was concerned, the rebellion was an expensive and unnecessary endeavour that laid bare the faults of military and political administrations alike. Parliament in Cape Town convened the Select Committee on the Hostilities in Basutoland with the aims of investigating the causes of the war (in part driven by the above-mentioned fear of a widespread African uprising) and the conduct of government representatives therein (see A.6-'79, 'Minutes of Evidence: Committee on Basutoland Hostilities', Cape Town (South Africa), Western Cape Archives). Administrative officials including John Bowker, James Ayliff, and Emile Rolland and Cape Town-based officials such as undersecretaries for Native Affairs examined and – in some cases – reformed decisions believed to have played a part in instigating the rebellion. These included the almost unbridled power given to Basutoland magistrates and the wisdom of allowing the southern Drakensberg to remain free of roads and government outposts (Ayliff 1879; see Chapter 3.2). The Committee also commissioned a history of the BaPhuthi and the occupation of Moorosi's Country from Joseph Orpen (1879a, 1879b; see Appendix C); in these discussions one can see a hint of understanding that

Moorosi's occupation of 'fortified' *kopjes* was not a wartime manoeuvre, but part of a longer institution particular to his *modus operandi* in the region.

This retroactive interest in BaPhuthi culture and historical activities highlights points made in Chapters 1 and 2: revisionist histories and archaeologies must take cognisance of the context in which observations of ethnic groups and their pasts were produced. For instance, in the months before Moorosi's rebellion, despatches from Basutoland portrayed the BaPhuthi as too scattered, too heterogeneous, and too undisciplined to pose much of a threat (e.g. Griffith 1876); immediately following the rebellion, the BaPhuthi were described by the very same officers as a culturally isolated, homogeneous people whose dissent had not infected the other peoples of Basutoland (e.g. Griffith 1880b). Looking back to Chapter 2, we are reminded of the dissonances between perceptions of how groups of people behaved and how they were composed in the past; the preceding three chapters have attempted to come to grips with how these ethnic groups operated through close (often between-the-lines) readings of archival materials. The following Coda discusses how this historical analysis has afforded an understanding of how the BaPhuthi functioned as a polity, and leads on to Chapters 7 and 8, which discuss the material correlates of these understandings.

## CODA. PERSPECTIVES ON THE BAPHUTHI AS POLITY AND ETHNONYM

Following the preceding historical analysis, it is useful to pause here and return to the discussion in Chapter 2 of how polities and related ethnonyms were constituted and deployed in the southern African past. In the case I have described, relying uncritically upon historical observations to identify BaPhuthi can be misleading, especially given the heterogeneous nature of BaPhuthi social organisation. With the notable exception of D.F. Ellenberger's (1912) study, virtually all nineteenth-century accounts label Moorosi and his followers uniformly as 'BaPhuthi', usually because they were seen with Mokuoane or Moorosi. As the discussion in the preceding chapters has illustrated, this is accurate in the sense that, for some purposes and in some way, the constituents of that group may have identified as 'BaPhuthi' at the time they were observed. But the content of that ethnonym was demonstrably fluid, changing members and purpose depending upon the group's needs at a particular time. There were, in other words, different ways of being BaPhuthi.

Chapter 4.3.2. showed that there were nuances to BaPhuthi ethnic identity, especially insofar as BaPhuthi patriarchy was concerned: Moorosi differentiated between his children by BaPhuthi wives and those by women of other backgrounds, and he often expressed these distinctions in the territorial rights that he gave to his children. Another way of being BaPhuthi lay in more political forms of ethnic identification, relying on unity of purpose rather than on kinship. The preceding chapters have shown that individuals or groups of people could subscribe to BaPhuthi raids for indefinite periods of time, if they did not want to place themselves under Moorosi's protection altogether. Some alliances were simply that, temporary collaborations: Chapter 6 described the ambiguous relationship between the BaPhuthi and the Thembu in their territories, with the AmaVundle leader eventually deciding against supporting Moorosi's rebellion.

Recalling Blundell's (2004: 155-6) assertion that Bushman raiding groups gelled fairly opportunistically for specific purposes rather than creating a common identity, this may also have been the case with BaPhuthi-Thembu alliances, but some BaPhuthi relationships certainly ran deeper. The connection between the BaPhuthi and many of their Bushman associates was clearly more than that of co-conspirators. The degree of intermarriage between BaPhuthi and Bushmen was described in Chapter 4.3.2, and in some instances (although certainly not with all Bushmen in the mountains), there was a farther-reaching, mutually enriching (economically and culturally) partnership at work. Jolly's (1993) discussion of BaPhuthi-Bushman relationships make it clear that there was certainly cultural sharing between the two and, while Challis's (2008) work pertains primarily to the AmaTola, it clarifies a route by which Bushmen and Bantu-speakers engaged in collaborative raiding ventures might reach an ideological and practical middle ground. The rebellion itself demonstrates that, despite the

heterogeneous and fluid composition of Moorosi's polity, there was enough unity of purpose to enable BaPhuthi and Bushmen to fight alongside Moorosi for eight months, with consequences that would certainly be dire. The recollections of the Matatiele shop owner C.H. Laird described in Chapter 6.3.1: 201 demonstrated that these affinities seem to have prevailed after the BaPhuthi diaspora in 1879.

We can thus see that the ethnonym 'BaPhuthi' meant different things to colonial observers and to those who may have identified as BaPhuthi. Observers used 'BaPhuthi' to refer to people under Mokuoane's or Moorosi's leadership, but who actually represented Nguni, Bushman, or Basotho ethnic backgrounds, united for a shared purpose, primarily for stock raiding. The entity that historical accounts labelled as 'the BaPhuthi', particularly pertaining to raiding ventures, was a fluid polity that retained a stable core of ancestrally-linked BaPhuthi and others allied through firmer ties such as marriage. The salient behavioural traits of these BaPhuthi were that they followed particular leaders, lived a mobile life emphasising stock-keeping, and occupied a particular swathe of territory between the Kraai River and the Maloti-Drakensberg highlands.

However, for the BaPhuthi themselves there were broadly two forms of being 'BaPhuthi', and here it is useful to recall the discussion of chiefdom formation in Chapter 2.1.3. On the one hand, there was BaPhuthi-as-*seboko*, or clan, which referred to a group of people who speak a distinct language and who share a common ancestor and *seboko*. On the other hand, there was BaPhuthi-as political-entity, or *sechaba* ('nation'). As *sechaba*, the BaPhuthi were a constantly changing polity (although they certainly included BaPhuthi unified by *seboko*), absorbing and discharging members as its needs dictated or as members choose, united around a

common end for varying periods of time. The ability to join or leave was surely not equally easy or available to all, but it was nonetheless an option for most. The elective sense of belonging to the BaPhuthi-as-*sechaba* is nowhere clearer than in the contrast between raiding bands and rebel army: Moorosi's raiding alliances and protection included Thembu, Basotho, and other Nguni-speaking peoples, but he could not command military support from them. Individuals and groups, such as Tjale's AmaVundle, continued to live in Moorosi's Country as non-combatants or with their own agendas, and did not function as 'Moorosi's people'. In a way, the concept of BaPhuthi-as-*sechaba* found its truest expression during Moorosi's rebellion, when the force that he commanded, composed primarily of relatives or Bushman allies but also including a few Thembu, Mfengu, and Basotho, chose to die for the principles that Moorosi represented. We can then see nuances within the BaPhuthi-as-*sechaba*, wherein the BaPhuthi who raided livestock with Mokuoane and Moorosi in the eastern Cape were different to those who fought against the British and Basotho in 1879.

Intertwined with these conceptions of BaPhuthi as *sechaba* or *seboko* were notions of chieftainship (and by extension chiefdoms), and how chiefs' and colonial officials' perceptions of these institutions were highly contingent. The BaPhuthi case study illustrates points made in Chapter 2.1 about how chiefdoms can represent hordes or nations in different contexts. Moorosi was almost always regarded as a more or less sovereign chief, as observations by Governors such as Cathcart (*BRI.617*) and D'Urban (*BRV.69*) demonstrate, while by contrast Cape officials came to view Posholi as a gangster. Clearly this designation of 'chief' was not contingent on being able to rally men to military action, which Posholi could accomplish. On the other hand, the perspective from Natal appears to have been that the BaPhuthi were raiders

and outlaws similar to the Bushman raiders that were plaguing farmers there (*Natal Witness* 1869). The protection offered to Moorosi by Moshoeshoe did little to elevate the former in the eyes of militia seeking to launch counter-raids into Moshoeshoe's territories.

In part, the Cape's recognition of Moorosi as a chief was tied to his status as one of Moshoeshoe's subordinates, which D'Urban recognised when he acknowledged Moorosi's claim to the lands that would eventually be annexed to Wittebergen. From Moshoeshoe's perspective, it would appear that Moorosi was never a chief until he achieved a Basotho mandate to rule and a grant of land. In a very telling statement recorded by the Rev. Christian Schrumpf (1847b: 249-50), Moshoeshoe told Moorosi, 'You, Morosi [*sic*], when I raised you you were a *Moroa*<sup>36</sup>, you'd hardly a skin to cover your body. Today you do not lack for anything. All of you [BaPhuthi], I saved you repeatedly from the hands of those enemies who would crush you.' For Moshoeshoe (as, indeed, for many colonial observers, see Chapter 2.1), being a 'Bushman' implied landlessness and destitution, while elevation to chiefly status entailed possessing land and the ability to protect one's people and territories, either through military strength or the patronage of others. Interestingly, based on Moshoeshoe's claim above, mobility and a certain degree of nomadism do not seem to have equated with 'Bushman' behaviour or to have negated chiefly rights. To the extent that land tenure was a part of chieftainship, we have seen in Chapter 5.1: 157 that the standards of 'effective occupation' prevalent in Sotho (and presumably BaPhuthi) society allowed Moorosi to secure territories within his ambit without maintaining a continuous presence there; this was reinforced by his ability to send his

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<sup>36</sup> Schrumpf's footnote defining this term reads: 'A *Moroa* is a *Bushman*, and by extension means an unhappy, poor, and destitute man' (emphasis original).

sons to certain locations in his absence. Thus, there is a sense that chieftainship inhered in skilled leadership and territorial control rather than in the perception of sedentism and control of a geopolitical centre, at least for Moshoeshoe and Moorosi.

Comprehending the diversity and somewhat anomalous political organisation of the BaPhuthi was particularly problematic for the Cape and Basutoland governments. Charles Griffith's statements described in Chapter 6.4: 209 illustrate how the Cape struggled to assess the threat posed by degrees of heterogeneity or homogeneity among Moorosi's polity. Of course, Moshoeshoe had demonstrated that it was possible to forge a strong state from a culturally heterogeneous following through institutions such as cattle-loan systems and tributary arrangements. However, Cape officials appeared unable to identify such institutions uniting the BaPhuthi apart from Moorosi's cult of personality and tenuous opportunistic alliances (e.g. Griffith 1876). As such, the Cape's experience with the BaPhuthi caused government officials to revisit their notions of what constituted a chiefdom – hence the Committee on Basutoland Hostilities' request that Joseph Orpen (1879a) compile a summary of BaPhuthi history and culture; unfortunately, despite Orpen's extensive first-hand knowledge, his report did little to resolve the Committee's uncertainties.

Given the information adduced here, and drawing on work by Jolly (1993, 1996b, 2006a), Challis (2008), and Vinnicombe (2009 [1976]), it is possible to conclude at least that the BaPhuthi were a polity that was fundamentally inclined to accommodate cultural diversity, and that its leaders were those who could effectively marshal this diversity to meet the polity's needs (see Chapter 8.3). Further, there is reason to believe that this syncretistic element of BaPhuthi culture pre-dates the establishment of colonial or African states, and thus of the borderlands of which the nineteenth-

century BaPhuthi were a part. In other words, while in the nineteenth century the BaPhuthi polity thrived in the borderlands, their cultural predisposition towards openness and fluidity was not solely a borderland product (cf. Landau 2010). Chapter 4.1 demonstrated that well before Moshoeshoe's ascendancy, the BaPhuthi were forging marriages and alliances with Bushmen, MaPolane, BaFokeng, Mpondomise, and others. BaPhuthi had employed Bushman names and raided with diverse groups that included Bushmen from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, well before the BaPhuthi were integrated into Moshoeshoe's sphere of influence. If we are prepared to accept that BaPhuthi culture was geared towards incorporating heterogeneity, then we can begin to consider the potential for certain BaPhuthi beliefs and practices to facilitate this incorporation.

As an illustrative example, I return to studies of Mapuche ethnogenesis described in Chapter 2.3. From roughly AD 1300, the Reche, Mapudungun-speaking ancestors of the Mapuche, occupied lands south of the Río Maule in present-day Chile (dubbed Araucanía), where they practised a mixture of hunting and gathering, fishing, and horticulture involving maize and beans (Dillehay 2007: 98). Between AD 1300 and 1500, Reche food production intensified and more consolidated chiefdom-like centres emerged in valleys such as the Purén and Lumaco (Dillehay 2007: 126-7). Nevertheless, when the expanding Spanish frontier reached Reche lands in the early 1550s, Spanish observers were shocked and intrigued by what appeared to them to be an absence of any political structure or distinct spatial organisation of Reche (also called Araucanian) society. Reche peoples appeared to lack a distinct political head, and their settlements were highly dispersed, which meant that Spanish authorities found it nearly impossible to negotiate with them; this description recalls the distinctions between 'barbarians' and 'tribes as nations' from Chapter 2.1.1. This

acephalous organisation was also a significant part of the violent warfare that also characterised Spanish-Reche encounters in the War of Arauco that lasted from roughly 1552-1641: with no identifiable leader, the Spanish army was unable to designate and eliminate the figure holding the Reche resistance forces together (Weber 2005: 58).

In reality, Reche society, as defined by shared language and cosmology, was comprised of multiple nested groupings of agnatic, largely endogamous homesteads and villages. To discuss issues of large-scale military, legal, or spiritual importance, villages would assemble into a larger unit known as a *lebo*, which came under the tripartite authority of a civilian head, a war chief, and a religious leader; these three positions were not fixed, but could be assumed either by right of succession or by merit. Villages did not necessarily have to group together or to belong consistently to the same *lebo*, as the aims, leadership and composition of the *lebo* changed with each assembly. Boccara (1999) argues that, paradoxically, despite these shifting compositions the *lebo* was the Reche boundary between Reche and ‘other’: members of the same *lebo* were not permitted to harm one another and it was through the *lebo* that war, arguably the defining social institution of Reche culture, was carried out.

Warfare permeated Reche politics and spirituality. The leaders of the *lebo* were accomplished warriors and everything from children’s education to sport was discussed in the idiom of war. As what Boccara (1999: 434) calls a ‘total social fact’, war was about more than simply gaining political, economic, or territorial advantage. Ritualised warfare was a process of assimilating the difference of the ‘other’, and thus reproducing and negotiating internal and external socio-political space. When Reche took Spanish captives during the War of Arauco, the best and bravest of the Spanish

warriors were given to other *lebo* as tokens of alliance, and then cannibalised so that the Reche could assume the power of their enemy. Those captives not fit for ingestion were subjected to ‘recheisation’: they were forced to dress as Reche and speak Araucanian, the men were made to farm as Reche men did, and the women were married to Reche men and made to bear Reche children; these captives did not constitute a slave or lower-class tier of Reche hierarchy, but rather became integrated into Reche society as Reche.

The transformation of Reche into Mapuche in the eighteenth century was not accomplished so much by colonial military or political domination as through changes to the institutions of the *lebo* wrought by more indirect forces rooted in colonial trade. Militarily, the Reche effectively resisted Spanish rule both by employing the strategies of mounted warfare that they had honed over decades, and also by integrating Spanish weaponry and tactics into their combat. After several major rebellions and even more skirmishes, the Spanish and the Reche signed the Treaty of Quillín in 1641, which fixed the boundary of Spanish and Araucanian territories and granted the Spanish permission to maintain an economic presence in Araucanía. The Spanish implemented a system of *parlamentos*, or meetings, with the Reche and other indigenous groups on the frontier, aimed at securing mutual understanding and peace through access to trade goods. In addition to bringing indigenous peoples into European markets, Tom Dillehay and José Manuel Zavala (2013) have suggested that *parlamentos* served another purpose: to act as ‘proto-panopticons’, serving as an ever-present reminder of Spain’s military and political presence, while also keeping a watchful eye on the southern frontier. The Reche certainly felt these impacts economically, as the *parlamentos* offered an opportunity for leaders within the *lebo* to accumulate wealth in trade goods at an unprecedented scale. By the early eighteenth

century, Reche stock-keeping had grown to focus almost exclusively on European-introduced domesticates like sheep and cattle, but the proprietary rights that these entailed had not changed, and Reche worldview and social organisation remained intact.

However, once leaders who could parley with the Spanish were designated and rewarded by large amounts of ponchos, livestock, and money, positions within the *lebo* became permanent and the powers of various leaders no longer varied by context. Men rose to power who can appropriately be described as ‘chiefs’, ‘big men’ who played key organisational roles in the agonistic social institutions that persisted, and who rewarded their followers with wealth rather than with captives. Chiefly status became hereditary and a hierarchical administrative organisation developed with chiefs in charge of administering a specific group of followers in certain areas. Thus, the Mapuche emerged as a society decidedly less fluid than that of their Reche forebears, but still as one premised upon assimilating cultural difference while retaining a unifying cosmology.

In a similar approach to the one that I have employed for the study of the BaPhuthi, Guillaume Boccara’s extensive critical analysis of historical and ethnohistorical resources identified Reche social institutions and tracked the changes in these as the Spanish sought to expand into Araucanía. As I have outlined for the BaPhuthi, the Reche and Mapuche demonstrate the abilities of ethnic groups stubbornly to resist conforming to colonial descriptions, being both ‘barbarians’ and chiefs.

We can also see strong resonances with the BaPhuthi situation in terms of potential processes for subsuming heterogeneity. As observed above and as the preceding chapters have demonstrated, there is good reason to think that cattle raiding formed an

institution that allowed groups of people to either assimilate or simply cope with heterogeneity over time. The arrival of a colonial presence thrust cattle raiding to the fore as a form of political resistance and lawlessness, but I submit that the practice was more deeply culturally entrenched as a means of exercising authority and negotiating social relations; I return to a re-consideration of cattle raiding as a longstanding social institution in Chapters 8 and 9.2.

As Boccara's archival explorations illuminated an emic perspective on social change among Reche and Mapuche, Sol Lanteri and Victoria Pedrotta's (2012) work on historical records related to the 'friendly Indians' whose lands adjoined Araucanía later in the nineteenth century has identified an archaeological signature that would otherwise be invisible. The Spanish *parlamentos* were a venue to highlight those indigenous groups who were amenable to Spanish rule and those who were not. The latter category included Mapuche, while the former included heavily creolised groups of Spanish and Indigenous peoples from multiple ethnic backgrounds, eventually labelled as *indios amigos*, or 'friendly Indians'. As the Argentine pampas across the Andes from present-day Chile became heavily implicated in the expanding market for South American agricultural exports, settlement and farming likewise had to expand. This entailed expelling the 'friendly Indians' who had been persuaded to settle on the pampas and thus abandon their nomadic lifestyles. Resistance movements ensued, one of which was led by the chiefs Juan José Catriel and Juan Manuel Cachul, but was crushed by forces from Buenos Aires that then removed Catriel's followers from their lands around the Arroyo Nieves Basin in roughly 1878.

Prior to the expulsion of Catriel's followers, authorities in Buenos Aires had taken several censuses of native populations in the Arroyo Nieves Basin, a major watershed

serving the forts surrounding Buenos Aires. This area was home to as many as 4,000 Indians in 1870 but official maps made by government surveyors when granting lands for farming recorded the area as uninhabited. From diary entries, letters, and reports by missionaries, Lanteri and Pedrotta demonstrated that not only were ‘friendly Indians’, including Catriel’s group, indeed residing around the Arroyo Nieves during the earlier part of the nineteenth century, but they argue that indigenous settlement in the area had been continuous for several centuries. Furthermore, Lanteri and Pedrotta employed the historical record to hypothesise horticultural and stock-keeping practices and their possible archaeological corollaries, including settlements along riverbanks, which they then confirmed using ground penetrating radar to identify sites buried by fluvial deposits. Excavations revealed an assemblage of glass and European wares that confirm the sites as pertaining to the mid- to late nineteenth century. The presence of goods and comestibles only available through trade or government rations testify to the close connections between ‘friendly Indians’, despite the cartographic evidence.

Returning to the BaPhuthi, this discussion and the previous chapters illustrate that, even without first-person ethnographic material with which to build an emic understanding of BaPhuthi ethnicity, it is possible to posit reconstructions of how BaPhuthi identities *functioned* if not how they were *formed*. Doing so foregrounds the nuances of meaning in the ethnonym ‘BaPhuthi’, and the implications for how forms of BaPhuthi were expected to behave historically and archaeologically. Moreover, identifying these nuances in tandem with the BaPhuthi’s uses of landscape through time and in various situations enables us to link expressions of BaPhuthi ethnicity with particular places, which has implications for archaeological approaches to the BaPhuthi. Chapters 7 and 8 explore these implications while devising an

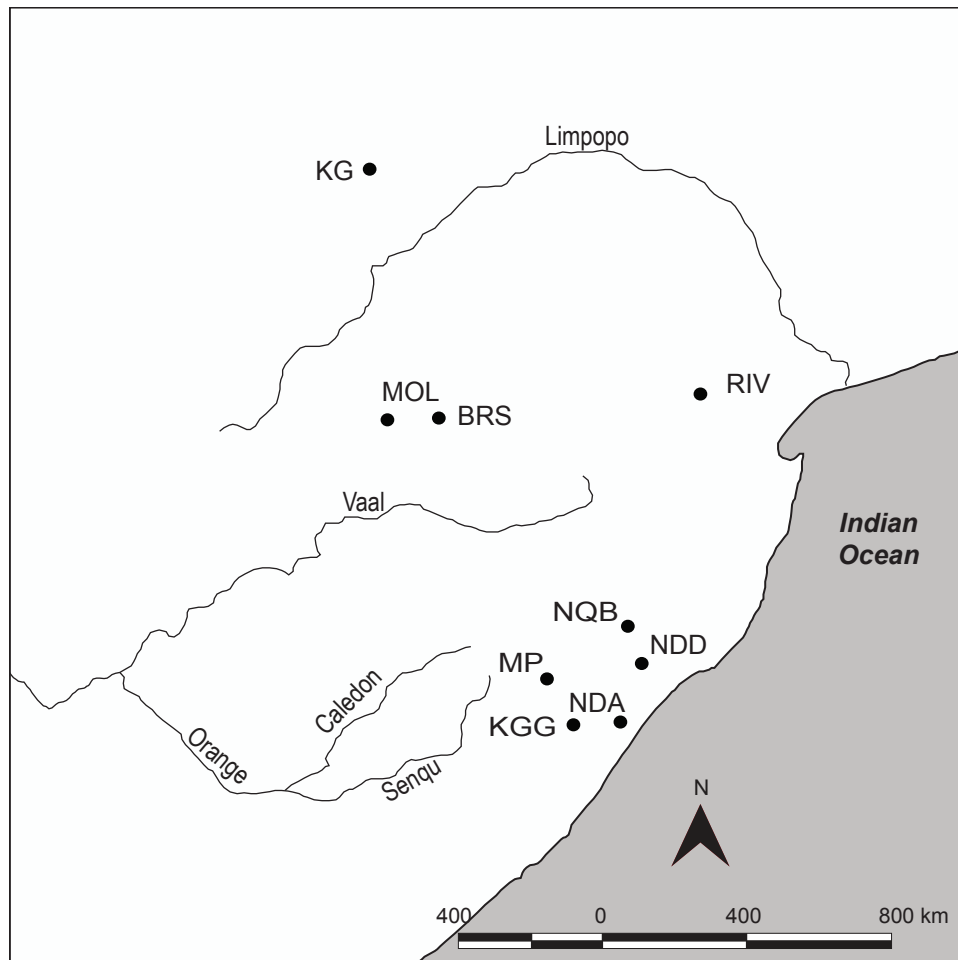
archaeological methodology drawn from the preceding analysis of BaPhuthi history and ethnicity.

## CHAPTER 7: ARCHAEOLOGICAL VIEWS OF FARMING AND RAIDING

*The mountains were Moorosi's, the Highveld was  
Moshoeshoe's. – Ntate Thukela Makoko, 23 October 2012.*

The preceding chapters have illustrated the geographic and demographic reach of the BaPhuthi polity; this chapter discusses attempts at developing an archaeological perspective on how the BaPhuthi constituted and 'settled' their territories. Doing so entails considering the ways in which 'tribes' and Farming Communities have previously been investigated archaeologically, thereby returning to the categories discussed in Chapter 2.1 and the material corollaries that they represent. In so doing, the BaPhuthi emerge as an especially valuable case study of a polity that fails to conform to archaeological expectations of nineteenth-century Bantu-speakers, and prompts us to revisit the heuristic and methodological tools brought to bear on the archaeology of these peoples.

## 7.1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPECTATIONS OF IRON AGE FARMING COMMUNITIES



**Figure 7.1.** Map of archaeological sites mentioned in Chapter 7.1. Site names are abbreviated thus: BRS Broederstroom, KG Kgaswe, KGG KwaGandaganda, MOL Molokwane, MP Moor Park, NDA Nanda, NDD Ndongondwane, NQB Nqabeni, RIV Riverside.

Beginning in the early twentieth century, studies of southern African agriculturists, and the Iron Age of which they were the architects, were underpinned by an emphasis on locating agrarian societies on a global trajectory of socio-economic development (Childe 1936; Sinclair *et al.* 1993). In the project of ‘world prehistory’, with its roots in colonialism and an Enlightenment-derived focus on universalist narratives, agriculturists were heavily implicated as the first masters of food production and

metallurgy. Indeed, the Enlightenment tenet that agriculture and metalworking were prerequisites for the advancement from ‘barbarian’ to civilised man (described in Chapter 2.1.1: 39) is echoed in the ‘ladder-like’ ‘age/stage’ system that early prehistorians devised to categorise the evolution of cultures across the world (Stahl 2005 :7), and which the first Africanist archaeologists imported from Europe in the first half of the twentieth century.

Two points from these early investigations into southern Africa’s Iron Age bear on the present discussion: 1) running through these studies is the notion that, as the first Iron Age peoples to colonise southern Africa relied upon cultivated cereals, sedentism and population aggregation were inevitable correlates of these subsistence strategies (Clark 1962, 1964; Stahl 1984), as was believed to have been the case in the European Iron Age (Barker 2006: 278-9); and 2) inherent in the ‘age/stage’ scheme was a chronological separation of ‘forager’ and ‘farmer’ lifeways, with the result that, theoretically, hunter-gatherers and farmers could interact in the same context, but the former did so within the Later Stone Age and the latter within the Iron Age (although the two periods were actually contemporaneous). Southern African archaeologists have long contested the use of European-derived ages and stages (Goodwin and van Riet Lowe 1929), and the term ‘Iron Age’, in particular, has been criticised as unsuited to such a broad, varied period that bears so little resemblance to its European forebear (Inskeep 1969; Parkington and M. Hall 1987; M. Hall 1990; Maggs and Whitelaw 1991; Maggs 1992; Pwiti 1996). Nevertheless, the term and its heuristic baggage remain embedded in the archaeology of agriculturists in the last 1,800 years, although recent revisionist efforts directed at terminology and methodology applied to the period may now be gaining some traction (see below).

When studies of southern African Iron Age agriculturists came to the fore within South Africa during the 1960s (M. Hall 1990; Shepherd 2003), research targeted the material corollaries of the above-mentioned principles. These studies primarily took a subsistence-settlement approach (Esterhuysen *et al.* 2008: 10), in which demography and subsistence strategies were major determinants of socio-cultural forms, and could be predictively modelled and ‘mapped onto’ the archaeological record (e.g. Mason 1972). Such models were often coupled with or derived from late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ethnological accounts of the sort described in Chapter 2.1.5, particularly those of A.T. Bryant and, from the 1920s and 1930s, of N.J. van Warmelo and Isaac Schapera. The inter-relationships among cultural institutions (for example, the ‘package’ of sedentism, field agriculture, and lineage-based social organisation) seen in those works likewise entered into archaeological schemata, as did many of the modern ethnic identifications associated with those packages.

Consequently, identifications of agriculturist settlement in the subcontinent were based on aerial surveys across selected parts of eastern South Africa, targeting abandoned settlements and stonewalling in combination with vegetation and topography to identify past societies employing economies based upon agriculture and stock-keeping (Mason 1962; Evers 1973). In some instances, as with surveys by Tim Maggs (1976) on the southern Highveld and Martin Hall (1981) in KwaZulu-Natal, settlement patterns were combined with historical and ethnohistorical data to attempt a more socio-politically contextualised interpretation of settlement patterns and landscape use. However, Hall’s work in particular was constrained by the assumption of a regional economy completely driven by the build-up of large herds of cattle and the ecological determinants of this, rather than considering the possibility of complementary subsistence strategies or settlement premised on other social factors.

Importantly, his catchment included territories almost certainly occupied by AmaZizi and their confederates during the eighteenth century (described in Chapter 4.1: 107) and thus encompasses a period of migration and shifts in subsistence from intensive agriculture to more contingent economies such as hunting and possibly horticulture (see also Whitelaw 2009).

Combining regional distributions of settlement patterns with seriation of regional ceramic types and models for linguistic spread led to the conclusion that agriculture arrived in southern Africa as a ‘package’ of technological innovations brought by a migrating Bantu-speaking population in the last two millennia (Phillipson 1977): these innovations included iron-working, pottery-making, domestic livestock, sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*), pearl millet (*Pennisetum americanum*) and finger millet (*Eleusine coracana*) cereal agriculture, and a worldview in which settlement layout gave material expression to a suite of symbolic beliefs. This last concept of the spatial manifestation of an Iron Age worldview was modelled by Tom Huffman (1982) in what he designated the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP), which has since become one of the major underpinnings of southern African Iron Age studies. With roots in Adam Kuper’s (1980) ethnographic study of southern Bantu homesteads, Huffman (1982) developed the CCP as a cognitive symbolic model of the spatial organisation of southern Bantu homesteads based on a combination of early twentieth-century ethnographies, oral histories, and nineteenth-century travellers’ accounts. Its salient features include ‘an outer zone containing circular huts (with central fireplaces), low status burials and privately owned grain-bins, and an inner zone of stock kraals, high status burials, a men’s court and communal grain storage facilities controlled by the leader of the settlement’ (Huffman 1993: 200). This organisation also implicates a gendered separation of architectural elements and the symbolic significance of

ancestors anchored in the rear of the settlement. The CCP has been applied through direct historical analogy to sites throughout southern Africa, including Broederstroom (Huffman 1993), Riverside (Huffman 1998), Nanda, Ndondondwane (Whitelaw 1993), KwaGandaganda (Whitelaw 1994), Molokwane (Pistorius 1994), and Kgaswe (Denbow 1999), spanning nearly 1,500 years of southern Bantu-speaker occupation in the subcontinent and addressing the totality of a hypothesised Bantu cognitive system.

The CCP is one of the most hotly debated theories in southern African Iron Age studies and critiques of the model can only be addressed briefly here (but see Huffman 2001 and P. Mitchell 2002a: 279-84 for summaries). In particular, the model has been criticised as ahistorical, both in terms of its physical and symbolic constituents. Martin Hall (1986) has observed that the model does not accommodate diachronic changes in how social relationships were signified or enacted, either in prehistoric or historical contexts (see especially Reid *et al.* 1997 and Lane 2004b). Empirical evidence of change in spatial organisation such as alternative arrangements or constructions of grain bins, ritual burials (e.g. Maggs 1994/95: 176), and the cattle kraals themselves (Pearson 1995) (including the potential that these housed a smaller number of cattle than previously supposed, Badenhorst 2009) suggests that the CCP is unable to provide a comprehensive description of the nuances of past societies. James Denbow (1986) similarly criticised the CCP as envisioning Bantu-speakers as a closed society and agropastoralism as a closed system: Denbow drew attention to the relationships between farmers and foragers from roughly the seventh century AD and the inability of the model to account for such cultural interactions (see also Wilmsen and Denbow 1990). Other criticisms have addressed the application of ethnographic analogy in the CCP: Paul Lane (1994/95), for example, has argued that the CCP fails to consider the historical contexts of its ethnographic source materials, overlooking

their biases and limitations, as well as the impacts of colonialism on the beliefs and lifeways of both ethnographic informants and archaeological subjects, thus rendering African pasts as incapable of change (see also Stahl 1993; Lane 1998, 2005). Huffman's (2001, 2004b) responses to these criticisms have included the assertion that the model is intended to be ahistorical as it is an idealised depiction of the world, and is therefore immune to historical contingencies and empirical exceptions.

While in recent years the CCP debate has reached something of an impasse as both sides have become entrenched in their respective positions, Gavin Whitelaw (2013: 221) has recently proposed a revised model based on a critical reading of Sotho and Zulu ethnography that emphasises the tensions inherent in homesteads as a result of marriage practices and the access to agricultural resources that these entailed. Homesteads represented agnatic clusters where social order was maintained through a ritual ideology based in shared lineage (Whitelaw 2013; cf. M. Hall 1987a: 10). Changes in social power occurred when competition over livestock and agricultural resources allowed certain agnatic lineages to gain dominance over others, forming distinct polities and perhaps leading to violent conflict (Kuper 1982: 51; Huffman 2004a: 89); climate change and shifts in resource availability may have been involved in such phenomena (Whitelaw 2008, but see Tyson *et al.* 2002).

When climatic and social turmoil became extreme, as during the Little Ice Age (*c.* AD 1500-1800, Holmgren *et al.* 2003; Huffman 2008), Whitelaw (2009) has proposed that climate change may have forced some Nguni agriculturists in southeastern Africa to abandon their crops and effectively become foragers or raiders in league with Bushmen. Whitelaw (2009: 156) argues that Bushman had hitherto occupied an anti-social position within Nguni cosmology, and that this social and subsistence shift

posed an ideological challenge for Nguni-speakers, which they overcame by incorporating Bushmen into society as rainmakers or herdsman but without assimilating them entirely. Bantu-Bushman relations certainly did not follow this same trajectory in all encounters: creolisation among the AmaTola did not, for example, involve ‘socialising’ certain classes of people (Challis 2012), and by the early nineteenth century |Xam Bushmen in the Karoo had integrated certain categories of Bantu-speaking farmers and their livestock into their cosmology without attributing notions of foreign or anti-social behaviour to them out of hand (McGranaghan 2014a, in press). Whitelaw’s proposal also rests upon the Little Ice Age being a sufficiently devastating experience for agriculturists as to cause them to become nomadic foragers and raiders (though it was not experienced this way within the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains, see Chapter 3.2: 96-8). However, Whitelaw’s argument nevertheless provides a useful, ethnographically grounded framework for envisioning prehistoric forager-farmer interaction.

By combining archaeological, ethnohistorical, and anthropological lines of evidence, archaeologists have postulated that the chieftaincies visible to colonists may have emerged through a combination of internal political tensions and climatic factors that impacted agriculturist economies: chieftaincy and power were rooted in the ability (of individuals or groups) to accumulate and redistribute wealth, but this power was checked by the inclination of lineages to fission, as well as by the vulnerability of livestock and crops to climate fluctuations in southern Africa (cf. Huffman 2008). These events may have expressed themselves spatially at sites such as Moor Park (Whitelaw 2009) and Nqabeni (M. Hall and Maggs 1979; M. Hall 1981) in KwaZulu-Natal. This fission of subordinate lineages from genealogically linked communities resulted in the colonisation of the Highveld by a proliferation of similarly organised

polities (Huffman 2002). Settlement layout may have expressed the need to maintain social boundaries between competitors (especially when exogamously incorporated into the family unit) and kin either by dispersing homesteads or by aggregating them within a defined perimeter (Whitelaw 2008, 2013). However, the ability of some lineages to translate wealth (in goods or in people) into broader coercive power led to the rise of the tributary, state-like chieftaincies that appear in the historical records of the eighteenth century and after (M. Hall 1987a); I return to these conceptions of power and community formation in Chapter 8.3.

Throughout the agriculturist occupation of the subcontinent, hunter-gatherers and agriculturists interacted in productive ways (Mazel 1989; Wilmsen and Denbow 1990; Denbow 1999; P. Mitchell 2004, 2009b: 7), although the ‘age/stage’ divide has impeded study of the two populations within the same archaeological or socioeconomic framework. Peter Mitchell (2004: 7-8) has suggested that collapsing these partitions may open new avenues of research in considering, among other topics, the spread of early agriculturists through the subcontinent: could relationships hunter-gatherers have helped these new arrivals to ‘settle in’ to southern Africa and facilitate expansion once there (as in Europe, Zvelebil 1998; Gronenborn 2004)? How common might it have been for hunter-gatherers to adopt a form of stock-rearing, and to transition to what Sadr (2003) has described as a ‘Neolithic’ for southern Africa (as in studies noted by Humphreys 1988; Kinahan 1994; Loubser and Laurens 1994)? And how common was it for farmers to become hunter-gatherers when farming was not viable? In particular, the archaeology of the last two millennia in the Maloti-Drakensberg (see Chapter 3.2 and P. Mitchell 2009a, 2009b) has demonstrated that suites of material culture long seen as diagnostic of forager (e.g. bored stones and other lithic tools) and farmer populations (e.g. pottery, metal, and livestock) were not,

in fact, so discrete and actually reflect extensive cultural and technological sharing. Certainly throughout the second millennium AD (if not before, see Solway and Lee 1990; Wilmsen and Denbow 1990), hunter-gatherers and agriculturists interacted symbiotically from both cultural and socioeconomic (if these two can even be separated) perspectives: for instance, the former acted as client stock-keepers and rainmakers for the latter (Jolly 1996b, 2007; Denbow 1999), sharing divinatory beliefs (Hammond-Tooke 1998, 1999; Challis *et al.* 2013) and resources in times of environmental and social hardship (Whitelaw 2009). However, despite the wealth of archaeological, historical, and ethnographic information on forager-farmer interactions within the last few centuries in southern Africa, hunter-gatherers have been largely omitted from recent moves to revise the 'Iron Age' as a useful heuristic category (detailed below), and the 'age/stage' divide remains a prevalent feature of southern African archaeology (but see Challis 2012).

A growing revisionist movement within Africanist historical archaeology seeks to replace the term 'Iron Age' with new terminology (such as 'Farming Communities') that refers to subsistence practices rather than explicit chronological boundaries (Esterhuysen *et al.* 2008). Such terminological shifts have been proposed for years (Pwiti 1997 and see above); however, recently the Five Hundred Year Initiative (FHVI, see papers in Swanepoel *et al.* 2008) has gone farther in advocating the development of new approaches to the recent past that are grounded in the inter-relationships between historical, archaeological, and ethnographic lines of evidence. These approaches have been particularly successful where they have included close partnerships between archaeologists and historians (e.g. Delius *et al.* 2012; Hamilton and S. Hall 2012) or where researchers have been able to engage rigorously with multiple types of archaeological and historical materials (e.g. rock art and nineteenth-

century histories and ethnohistories, Challis 2012). While this shift allows for methodological and theoretical advances, a large portion of the projects under the FHYI aegis nevertheless continue to employ, as their basic unit of analysis, a focus on 'Farming Communities' as large, sedentary chiefdoms (see papers in Swanepoel *et al.* 2008 and *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38(2)). While this is not in and of itself inappropriate, without more detailed studies of how different kinds of social entities emerged and manifested materially in the recent past, the FHYI is in danger of simply re-branding 'Iron Age communities' as 'Farming Communities'. This is all but inevitable if there is not simultaneously an explicit effort to de-couple subsistence labels from ethnic (or even 'tribal') terminology in the archaeological record: as discussed in Chapters 2.1 and 3.2 and in greater detail elsewhere (e.g. Marks 1972; Blundell 2004; Jolly 2007; Challis 2008; Mallen 2008; Whitelaw 2009), Bantu-speakers can hunt and gather and hunter-gatherers can adopt livestock, but these historical conceits have not been widely rectified in the archaeological record.

The imbricating historiographies of the 'tribe' as laid out in Chapter 2.1 and 'Iron Age'/'Farming Community' discussed in this chapter illuminate how these communities are conceptualised ethnologically and materially. Earlier usage of tribal categories drew on observations of behaviour, location, and social institutions manifested in visible hierarchies and industries such as herding and crop cultivation to delineate separate groups. Twentieth-century archaeological investigations of food producers in southern Africa implicated these conceptions of farming peoples in the process of developing expectations of how such peoples would manifest themselves materially. Agriculturists were seen as, by and large, Bantu-speaking, sedentary (although they may have engaged in some seasonal transhumance), economically reliant on cultivated cereals and domestic livestock, and possessing a kinship-based

social structure (based on observations such as those by Burchell [1824: 545-6], see also discussion in Appendix A: 336). While recent scholarship has drawn attention to the frequency with which agriculturists were obliged to uproot and re-settle elsewhere (Whitelaw and S. Hall, in press), the majority of the Iron Age archaeological record still leaves the impression that agriculturist material signatures consist mainly of pottery and built settlements, which are, in turn, embodiments of shared social worldviews and agnatic continuity (Huffman 2007: 23-5; Whitelaw 2013: 219-21). Within these settlements social authority was established through ideologies emphasising shared lineages, and, when chieftaincies became apparent, power was accumulated and deployed through a combination of tributary rule and kinship ties. Importantly, the establishment and exercise of power by dominant lineages could have been checked through subordinate lineages breaking away and settling elsewhere.

Of course, the above description is not an incorrect characterisation of some forms of agriculturist settlement and society in the subcontinent: Early Iron Age settlement certainly corresponded to agriculturally fertile nodes of soil at river valley bottoms and thus supports notions of a strong commitment to crop cultivation (P. Mitchell 2002a: 261-4; P. Mitchell and Whitelaw 2005; Greenfield *et al.* 2005), albeit in a context where livestock (especially cattle) were numerically less important than in later centuries (M. Hall 1986; Badenhorst 2009). However, the notion of a coherent ‘package’ of Early Iron Age technologies has been called into question (e.g. Mazel 1992; Sadr 1998; Hobart 2003; see also Chapter 3.2), as has the ‘discreteness’ of hunter-gatherer and agriculturist communities. These questions encourage re-visiting notions of how categories of people are expected to have behaved in the past and the nature of the archaeological record they may have produced.

Furthermore, the preceding discussion illustrates how the BaPhuthi can quite literally fall through the cracks of the historical and archaeological identities described above. As highly mobile cattle raiders practising horticulture rather than agriculture, the BaPhuthi do not conform to archaeological expectations of Bantu-speaking Iron Age Farming Communities or nomadic hunter-gatherers, and can thus be rendered archaeologically ‘invisible’ (cf. Arthur 2008b; Sadr 2008). Moreover, without a comprehensive archival investigation of BaPhuthi history and lifeways, archaeological investigations of the southern Drakensberg would perhaps be unsuited to identifying the BaPhuthi’s archaeological presence. Thus, the BaPhuthi’s unique settlement strategy and interaction with the Maloti-Drakensberg landscape demand that we explore other ways of investigating their material histories.

## **7.2. BUILDING THE BAPHUTHI LANDSCAPE**

In doing so, it quickly becomes apparent that achieving a nuanced understanding of the BaPhuthi from archival study is essential to building archaeological research strategies. We have seen that the BaPhuthi were highly mobile within a rugged, difficult landscape. Chapter 3 demonstrated that while the Maloti-Drakensberg was not the inhospitable wilderness described by early visitors, it was and remains today a rocky and heavily dissected landscape. In particular, as an immense part of the terrain in Lesotho is highly impacted by erosion and human settlement, preservation of archaeological deposits in the open air is rare. Moreover, mobility of the sort that we have seen within the BaPhuthi polity leaves limited archaeological traces: the BaPhuthi did not engage in field agriculture, nor did they establish long-term settlements concomitant with such practices, focusing instead on settlements incorporating topographic features and occupied sporadically, albeit repeatedly.

Therefore, recovering an archaeological view of the BaPhuthi demands careful interrogation of the historical material presented thus far to draw out material corollaries of their nineteenth-century presence in the Maloti-Drakensberg.

To begin with, re-creating BaPhuthi territories reveals a significantly different picture of Moorosi's Country than that depicted in previous historical analyses. As the few historical treatments of the BaPhuthi deal almost exclusively with Moorosi's War and events immediately to either side of it, Moorosi appears as an authority figure only within an enclave of Basutoland and the war appears as a fairly parochial matter within the annexed territory as a whole. This depiction is drawn, I believe, largely from historical sources that represent a single colonial theatre and a single set of boundaries. However, closer examination of the history of the BaPhuthi polity reveals that the lands known as 'Moorosi's Country' were more extensive and had a longer BaPhuthi pedigree than existing scholarship acknowledges. The territory over which the BaPhuthi held sway encompassed areas outside the bounds of Cape and Basotho jurisdiction, extending from the Maloti highlands in the east to the edge of the Wittebergen Native Reserve in the west, and bounded to the north by the Senqu River (although some of the BaPhuthi's early settlements lay north of this) and loosely by the Drakensberg Escarpment in the south, although this was often transgressed.

Furthermore, we can see these territories shifting with the borderlands of Moshoeshoe's state, the eastern Cape frontier, and Nomansland. The creation of the Wittebergen Native Reserve brought an established colonial authority to the frontier and caused the BaPhuthi to re-orient their movements and raiding foci. Colonial borders began to solidify and encroach upon Moorosi's territories; where legitimate claims to lands had previously been recognised by the Cape, these were set aside in

favour of political conciliation and promoting settled agriculture within the Cape Colony. Nor were Moorosi's followers the only ones disenfranchised: as a subordinate chief of Moshoeshoe, colonial land appropriation similarly impinged on Moshoeshoe's territories and political remit. Following Basutoland's annexation to the Cape in 1871, the territory under Moorosi shrank further, commensurate with the demarcation of his monarch's boundary, and the BaPhuthi consequently became territorialised within Basutoland. Moorosi and his followers, however, continued to occupy the land south of the Senqu both within Basutoland and the eastern Cape. Thus, it is not entirely accurate or useful to imagine the BaPhuthi simply as comprising a ward within Basutoland or as a provincial concern of Basutoland's rulers and administrators.

Careful reading of the historical descriptions of the BaPhuthi and their movements also reveal trends in 'settlement' within Moorosi's Country. Field agriculture was hardly employed, if ever, until Basutoland was annexed in 1871 and the BaPhuthi were confined to Quthing District. Instead, the BaPhuthi appear to have practised primarily garden agriculture (mainly sorghum) throughout the early and mid-nineteenth century, as this was well-suited to the emphasis they placed upon mobility, and also perhaps to the landscapes in which they found themselves (see below). It is not possible to discern much about the construction or layout of BaPhuthi homesteads, although based on archaeological and historical examples from elsewhere in Lesotho and the Highveld (Walton 1951, 1953, 1956b, 1958; Maggs 1976), these were likely constructed from stone or reeds, with gardens attached to

homesteads or individual houses<sup>37</sup>. There was also a strong emphasis on building shelters atop steep, well-fortified mountaintops and plateaux. While these did serve as refuge sites at times (following raids or skirmishes), they should not be conceived solely as such: many were well-built and well-fortified, and occupied selectively (see Chapter 8.1). These strongholds were provisioned from stores of grain and other supplies hidden in the numerous naturally occurring rockshelters, particularly as the BaPhuthi moved farther up the Senqu and were able to access the valleys formed by tributary rivers such as the Seapala (e.g. Austen 1879i). This use of landscape stands in contrast to contemporaneous Basotho practice in northwestern Basutoland, where villages were built to take advantage of fertile fields and grazing lands, and households and their economies were more closely tied to a specific locale (although seasonal transhumance was a significant part of this economy, see Eldredge 1993 for a more complete discussion). Moorosi's Country represents a different sort of settlement: less sedentary, making full use of landscape features such as valleys, mountaintops, rockshelters, and plateaux, and doing so in a way that demonstrates familiarity with and attachment to these places.

As seen in Chapters 4 and 6, the BaPhuthi encouraged their confederates from numerous other ethnic groups to settle within their lands. While many of these peoples were partners in BaPhuthi raiding ventures and thus became politically BaPhuthi (if only on an *ad hoc* basis), these same people also established homesteads and larger villages throughout Moorosi's Country. Indeed, this appears to have been a

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<sup>37</sup> Elsewhere in Basutoland, gardens were attached to individual houses within homesteads, as an economic complement to crop fields and a store of household food as opposed to communal fields (Eldredge 1993). In the case of the BaPhuthi the field component was lacking, which puts issues of ownership of agricultural produce at issue. Unfortunately, there is no indication in the available historical material to suggest whether garden crops were shared communally or were private property.

shared strategy of Moshoeshoe and Moorosi to increase the numbers of people and livestock in BaPhuthi and Basotho jurisdiction. Based upon records from the Quthing magistracy, during the Quthing period (and possibly earlier) Moorosi as paramount chief south of the Senqu was entitled (as were all chiefs in Basutoland) to levy taxes and fines on those settled within his district, usually in the form of cattle. This allowed Moorosi to increase his own herds, which in turn contributed to his ability to recruit allies (relationships premised upon and solidified by gifts or leases of cattle) and to pay *bohali* (i.e. bridewealth) for his male relatives. In return, settlers were entitled to Moorosi's protection and patronage, in addition to whatever benefits they could derive from participating in stock raids.

Arguably, achieving security and building wealth through cattle were aims that underscored virtually all major decisions by chiefs, commoners, and wholesale polities alike during the nineteenth century, and Tjale's AmaVundle appear as an almost archetypal case. As outlined in Chapter 6, this group were occasional supporters and partners of the BaPhuthi, particularly insofar as they were able to derive material benefit from such an association and exist somewhat autonomously within their enclave. The debates described earlier between Tjale, Moorosi, and the Quthing magistrates illustrate that Tjale was allowed a considerable amount of independence under Moorosi, and that AmaVundle sovereignty was respected, at least to a degree. The BaPhuthi still maintained outposts within Thembu territory: Bolepeletsa, one of the major centres of BaPhuthi raiding and short-term settlement since Mokuoane's time, was situated in the midst of Thembu settlement and Thembu homesteads were arranged around its base (see below). BaPhuthi use of Bolepeletsa pre-dated Thembu settlement in and around Mnjanyane, so whether the continued BaPhuthi presence there was rooted in BaPhuthi traditions or there was an element of

control in occupying Bolepeletsa after subordinates arrived in the area is open to speculation. However, Thembu entanglements with the BaPhuthi did not extend to involvement in BaPhuthi insurgency. While Tjale and his followers clearly offered the BaPhuthi aid and succour at various points preceding and possibly even during the rebellion, their professions of loyalty to the Cape allowed them to retain their lands in the Mnjanyane Valley after the rebellion was quashed.

Thus, the Mnjanyane Valley, the archaeological study area discussed here, sat in a nineteenth-century theatre that encompassed both Basutoland and the eastern part of the Cape Colony. To understand the historical context of its archaeology one must look beyond these borders and their respective archives. Doing so permits a view of the area's inhabitants as an aggregation of peoples held together by contingent circumstances and shifting alliances, with various expressions of group identity that can be tied to particular locales. Bolepeletsa, the well-known stronghold of *BaPhuthi-as-raiders* is linked to mixed bands joined in raiding endeavours. Farther up the Mnjanyane Valley, settlements belonging to Tjale's people effectively pertain to *non-combatant BaPhuthi confederates*: while residents of these settlements may have raided alongside Moorosi's BaPhuthi at one point, their homesteads were built by different entities for different purposes and under different leadership than that present at Bolepeletsa.

Bearing the above considerations in mind, we can begin to craft an archaeological approach sensitive to the historical, political, and material contingencies that shaped Moorosi's Country and, more specifically, the Mnjanyane Valley.

### **7.3. ORAL GEOGRAPHIES AND ‘RENDERINGS’ OF THE MNJANYANE VALLEY**

Both above and elsewhere (King *et al.* 2014; cf. Nic Eoin and King 2013; King and Nic Eoin 2014), I have noted that the sustained presence of lineages and communities for the last two centuries within certain areas of Lesotho, combined with the practice of building modern homesteads atop ancestral ones, demands that archaeologists engage descendant communities in their research. This is necessary not only for addressing well-attested social and ethical imperatives to involve descendant communities in archaeological practice and interpretation (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Schmidt 2010; Lane 2011; King and Arthur 2014), but also for more pragmatic reasons related to identifying archaeological sites. In regions such as the present study area, the landscape has been highly impacted by generations of farming and stock grazing. Additionally, the ruggedness of the terrain ensures that virtually every available piece of flat ground has been built upon, meaning that the best chance of encountering preserved archaeological deposits (outside of rockshelters, which may themselves be disturbed by livestock that have sheltered within them) lies within homesteads. Finally, the common practice in Lesotho of curating household middens through multiple generations for use as fuel and fertiliser has resulted in archaeological deposits being preserved to varying degrees within settlements that are still occupied. However, these ash middens often contain infant burials, whose excavation is strictly taboo throughout southern Africa, and extra care is required in identifying such burial sites. Therefore, it is necessary to involve residents living around (or, indeed, on top of) archaeological remains in identifying those archaeological deposits that may be appropriate for excavation, in addition to

providing social histories of the contexts in which archaeological remains were produced.

An investigation into the formation processes (social and physical) of archaeological remains may appear as a form of direct historical ethnography (Trigger 1989: 124-5) in which geographic proximity to remains suggests temporal continuity between the archaeological past and modern source communities (Lane 2005: 27). However, it is important to emphasise that the approach I employed in gathering and interpreting ethnohistorical data in my fieldwork is not a form of analogical reasoning: I did not seek points of similarity between the archaeological record and modern ethnography in order to flesh out the material evidence from the archaeological past (Wylie 1985: 94), nor was I seeking to compare past material practices with present ones to assess the 'fit' of ethnographic models (Stahl 1993: 236). Instead, my approach can best be conceived as one of collecting oral narratives with physical set pieces, or, following Simon Hall *et al.* (2008), as a form of 'oral geography'. Given the continued presence of lineages and communities within the study area as far back as the early to mid-nineteenth century and the age of the elder population there, many interviewees have grandparents or parents who were living in the Mnjanyane Valley prior to and during Moorosi's War. As such, their histories might be classed within Jan Vansina's (1985: 13) term 'immediate history,' although I am wary of the temporal slippage attendant on eliding the late nineteenth century into the 'immediate' present. In any case, these memories and histories can inhere in and implicate physical locales (Langton 2002; cf. Gell 1998). Of course, working with oral histories demands an awareness of potential cleavages between reality and representation, all the more difficult for foreign anthropologists without an emic understanding of the narrative frameworks in place (Coplan 1994: 12). Moreover, one can expect tensions between personal or

family memories and group accounts that are, to some extent, institutionalised and bound up with collective identity (Vansina 1985: 18-20). Tensions can also emerge in the association between narrative and landscape, as conflicting interests or accounts may seek to appropriate a place in the service of authenticating their own history or proprietary claim (Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008). However, while oral narratives and memories are ‘but a rendering at one moment’ (Vansina 1985: 3) in producing larger oral traditions, they may still have a basis in historical events and these may, in turn, have material correlates. Identifying physical components of these histories does not make the histories any more or less ‘real’, but can provide a material cognate that anthropologists and their informants may reference (cf. Nic Eoin and King 2013: 660-1). In this case, these principles filled a genuine methodological need in identifying archaeological sites.

Following from these conceits and caveats, I sought specific information about family genealogies and settlement, the use and modification of living space over time, and the location of archaeological deposits. Conversations inevitably strayed to other topics and narratives arose that permitted a glimpse into memories and beliefs about specific historical events or processes. These were often related with very clear agendas: stories frequently asserted Thembu non-involvement in any of Moorosi’s activities<sup>38</sup> and, in Matatiele, interviewees insisted that they were poorly repaid by the Basotho for their support in the Gun War<sup>39</sup>. Claims of being Mnjanyane’s aboriginal settlers were common, and asserted Thembu, Mpondomise, BaPhuthi, and Basotho primacy in the valley; consequently, the clearest dissonances between stories of population movements and their associated dates were visible when interviewees

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<sup>38</sup> Ntate Eliot, 22 October 2012; Ntate Dlabantu, 9 May 2013.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Tyhali Motse, Chief Thembani Tyhali, 7 May 2013.

wished to drive home a ‘foundation story’. Interviewees also often identified particular historical antagonists and protagonists, the former of which included John Austen and the latter, predictably, Tjale<sup>40</sup>. Additionally, the modern residents of Mnjanyane and, indeed, of most of Quthing District, which boasts the largest population of non-Basotho in Lesotho, have experienced generations of poverty and disenfranchisement by the Basotho government, largely as a continued effect of BaPhuthi separatism (see Chapter 9: 305). This led interviewees simultaneously to assert both their rights as longstanding residents of Basutoland and by virtue of shared Sotho origins on the sixteenth-century Highveld, and also claims to BaPhuthi and Thembu sovereignty, which certainly coloured their accounts of political allegiances and settlement histories.

Thus, even in such basic questions as those related to genealogy, I was careful to identify concordances and discrepancies between narratives. Thankfully, Joseph Orpen and D.F. Ellenberger collaborated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to produce a genealogy of Tjale’s lineage (D.F. Ellenberger 1912: 338), which broadly supports the genealogies and settlement histories that I collected. What brief mentions of Tjale’s AmaVundle clan there are elsewhere (Peires 1981: 95; Mager 2013) likewise broadly concur with the testimonies that I recorded. There were, however, some conflicts between genealogies and precise dates given by informants. When establishing chronologies from oral testimonies, I relied primarily on well-established historical events and generational timelines as temporal markers rather than precise dates that interviewees provided. In other words, I inferred periods of time from the lineages provided and estimated lifespans of ancestors, as well as

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<sup>40</sup> E.g. Ntate Fani Xena, 9 May 2012.

employing well-known dates (i.e. Moorosi's War) as reference points to account for chronological inaccuracies that may have been present in some testimonies. A good example of this method is the process of assessing several AmaVundle interviewees' claims that Tjale was the first person to settle in the Mnjanyane Valley: by reviewing his lineage and movements from historical sources, it emerged that he likely settled in the valley in the mid-nineteenth century, after Bolepeletsa had already been in use by Mokuoane and Moorosi for several decades.

Through experienced interpreters I interviewed individuals and groups of people within the study areas, using audio, visual, and written recordings<sup>41</sup>. I selected interviewees based on their age (older residents of course had longer memories, although I did interview younger people as well), length of residence in the area, and their interest in being interviewed. I solicited the perspectives of women and where possible attempted interviews both in and out of the presence of their male relatives. I also held a *pitso* (community gathering) in May 2012 at the outset of fieldwork and solicited perspectives from several villages in Mnjanyane during the course of this two-hour meeting. As I lived in Mnjanyane for roughly three months in total (May 2012, October 2012, and May 2013), residents would frequently come to me individually to pursue issues that arose during the *pitso* or to offer their testimony.

Figure 7.2 below shows the progression of homestead establishment in the Mnjanyane Valley. Each dot represents a rough centre of settlement, which began with a single homestead and radiated outward as additional houses were built. As mentioned above, Bolepeletsa was well established as a BaPhuthi post by the time the Thembu arrived

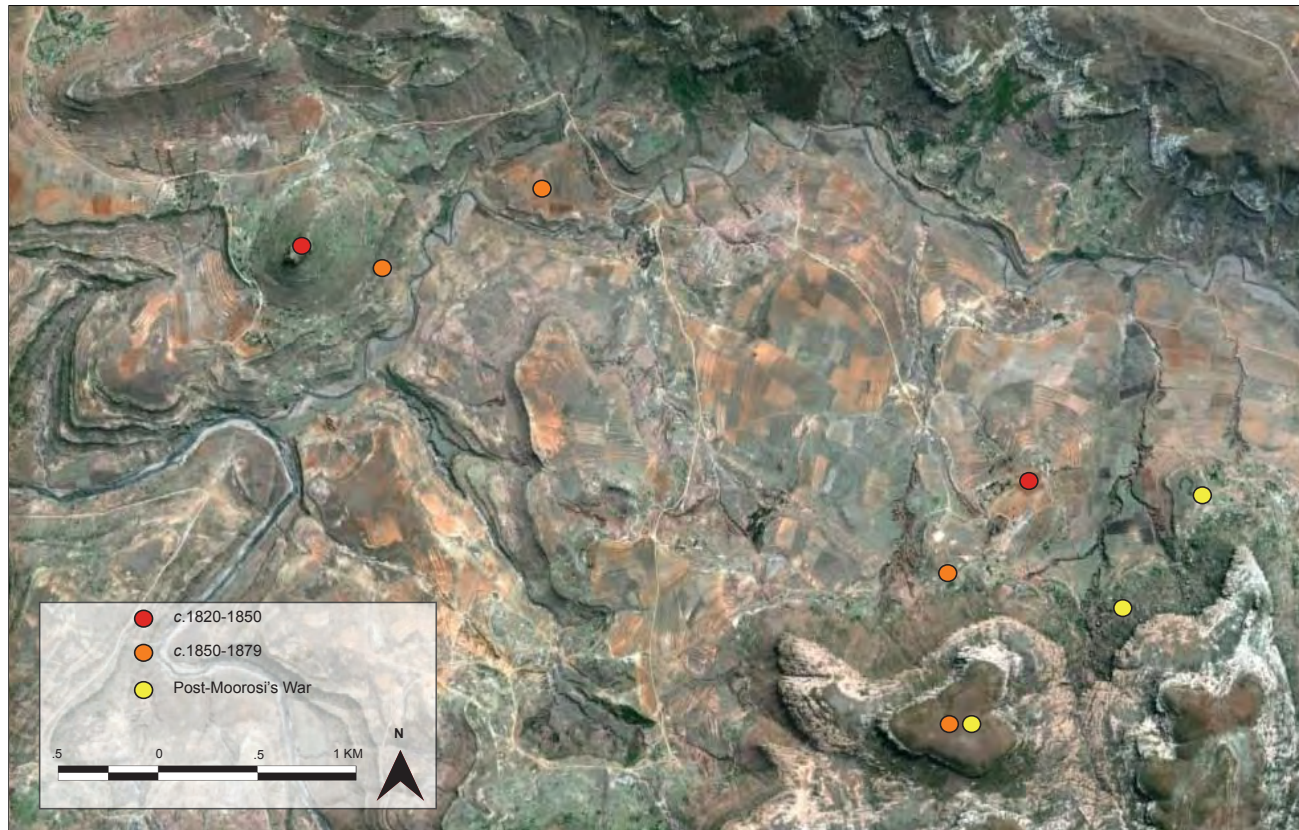
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<sup>41</sup> Oral historical data were collected as part of a CUREC/I protocol approved by the University of Oxford in August 2012. This aspect of my research was funded by a Tweedie Exploration Fellowship for Students from the University of Edinburgh.

in Mnjanyane. The BaPhuthi were by no means the first inhabitants of the area, however: my survey found three rock art sites displaying both classic fine-line and ‘contact’ poster-painted traditions (cf. Loubser and Laurens 1994) and, in the adjacent Qomoqomong Valley, the Analysis Rock Art Lesotho project directed by Professor Lukas Smits found 12 sites of similar (likely pre-nineteenth century) style in the 1980s<sup>42</sup>. The first of the Thembu homesteads were then built close to Bolepeletsa and the confluence of the Mnjanyane and Tele Rivers. Regardless of the motivation for this decision, the result was that these settlers were situated close not only to their district chief’s local seat, but also to the former Cape-Basotho frontier, both across and up the Tele towards Lundean’s Nek. Thus, while Tjale’s AmaVundle were geographically separated from Thembu associates and kin across the Drakensberg Escarpment, contact was facilitated through major mountain passes like Lundean’s Nek and through the eastern Cape. Indeed, these ties were thought to have remained so strong that when Xhosa and Thembu rebelled in the eastern Cape in 1877-1878, the Cape government were afraid that the Quthing Thembu would join in the war and urge the BaPhuthi to do the same (Rolland 1877a).

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<sup>42</sup> Records from the ARAL project are housed in the Rock Art Research Institute archives, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.



*Figure 7.2. Map showing settlement history of the Mnjanyane Valley based on oral geographic evidence.*

Dwellings in Mnjanyane took advantage of the few flat expanses of ground at the mouth of the valley, and were often settled adjacent to large fields, which were ploughed for sorghum and maize. Despite disagreements among Mnjanyane's residents as to whether the Thembu or BaPhuthi were the first arrivals in the valley, there is a strong consensus that the BaPhuthi did not practise field agriculture in Mnjanyane and that it was Xhosa-speakers who first started cultivating crops. These were, however, used to provision BaPhuthi situated on Bolepeletsa<sup>43</sup>.

In a manner similar to settlements in western Lesotho (King *et al.* 2014; cf. Burman 1981: 22), homesteads grew with the wives that a patriarch would take: each wife was given her own plot of ground with her own house and garden and would produce and maintain her own ash heaps and middens. Consequently, on homesteads with sustained occupation, such as those of 'M'e Nowesile Tjale and Ntate Dlabantu, modern residents could identify houses and middens pertaining to specific female ancestors and provide a rough timeframe for when they were in use, which was invaluable for identifying deposits for excavation (see below). Livestock were generally kept in kraals on homesteads except when taken to graze elsewhere in the valley or higher into the mountains.

Occupation was not solely focused on well-established homesteads, however. Particularly during the eastern Cape conflicts of the later nineteenth century and the events surrounding Moorosi's War, the inhabitants of the valley were often forced to abandon their homes for varying lengths of time and seek safety elsewhere. These alternative locations included numerous rockshelters throughout the Mnjanyane

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<sup>43</sup> Ntate Fani and Ntate Eliot, 20 May 2012.

Valley and farther up the Tele close to present-day Alwynskop<sup>44</sup> and atop one of the *liqobosheane* south of the Mnjanyane River<sup>45</sup>. While Bolepeletsa was reserved for BaPhuthi use (as mentioned in Chapter 4.3.1: 130), a small rockshelter partway up the slope also provided protection during times of crisis and, more routinely, for shepherds seeking shelter<sup>46</sup>. When homes were abandoned, it was common practice to bury caches of food in pits dug into cattle kraals and to cover these with stones until the occupants could return (see also Chapter 8.1)<sup>47</sup>. Additionally, out of further concern for security or a desire to live away from a larger homestead, individual houses were occasionally built on the valley's steeper slopes, where they were screened by the large boulders and fairly dense growth of succulents surrounding them. These more discrete dwellings featured gardens contoured to the topography of the valley slopes, often built in gullies within these slopes, and were often located near smaller stone kraals or boulders that were partially walled to serve the same function. With regard to this latter innovation, many boulder-kraals identified (and still used today) were situated so as to conceal a small number of animals from most perspectives except from the top of the adjoining plateau. Indeed, one resident observed that his parents continued living in these more concealed dwellings until he was a young man and could convince them to move into his own home<sup>48</sup>.

The upper reaches of the valley were settled only after Moorosi's War, almost certainly as a concession granted to the Thembu by the Quthing magistrate in exchange for surrendering their arms and swearing their support to the Cape

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<sup>44</sup> Ntate Dlabantu, 9 May 2013.

<sup>45</sup> Ntate Kunyazile Tjale, 12 October 2012.

<sup>46</sup> Ntate Dlabantu, 29 May 2012.

<sup>47</sup> *Pitso* 9 May 2012; Ntate Dlabantu 9 May 2013.

<sup>48</sup> Ntate Elliot, 20 May 2012.

government during the rebellion (e.g. Austen 1880). This may also have been a decision on the part of the Thembu community to avoid boundary conflicts as the Cape administration was carving Quthing up after Moorosi's War, and also to remove themselves farther from the Cape-Basutoland border<sup>49</sup>. However, as the population moved farther up the Mnjanyane River, they became increasingly enclaved through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Mnjanyane persisted as one of the only Xhosa-speaking pockets of Lesotho and, consequently, the Thembu community there retained closer ties with more geographically distant Xhosa-speaking relatives in Matatiele on the South African side of the border than with their neighbours in Quthing.

Given that settlement only focused on the upper valley after the BaPhuthi polity had been dispersed, and that there was a wealth of information available about the use of the lower valley, archaeological survey concentrated on that aspect of Mnjanyane. It is worth noting briefly that despite the archaeological potential of Thaba Moorosi, the mountain's status as a cultural and historical monument for modern BaPhuthi communities meant that it was far too sensitive a location for archaeological excavation, although I was able to carry out a surface survey in 2013 (see Chapter 6.4: 197). I return to the relationships between the political disposition of modern BaPhuthi communities in Lesotho and the places they deem culturally significant in Chapter 9.

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<sup>49</sup> Ntate Thukela Makoko, 23 October 2012.

## **7.4. ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE MNJANYANE VALLEY**

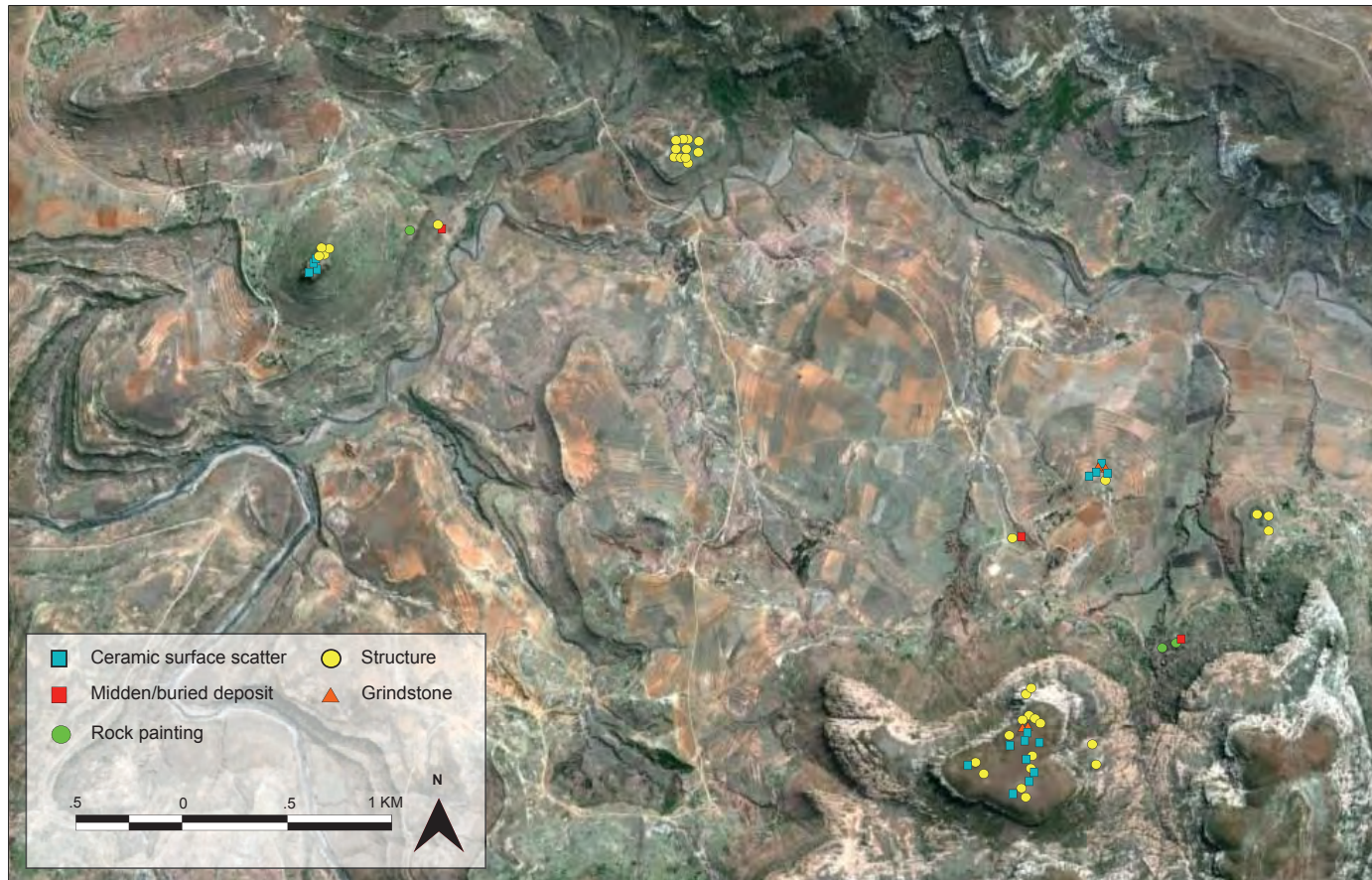
### **7.4.1. Archaeological field survey**

A major reason that the archaeology of agriculturists in the Maloti-Drakensberg has been under-researched is, I submit, the difficulty of applying archaeological survey methods common in other parts of the subcontinent to a montane region. As outlined above, most surveys aimed at detecting sites pertaining to agriculturists in southern Africa have relied on aerial survey (Mason 1962, 1968; Evers 1973, 1975; Maggs 1976; M. Hall 1981; Ohinata 2001) and its modern satellite equivalent in Google Earth (Sadr and Rodier 2012) to detect stone-walled settlements and changes in vegetation due to agricultural activity or livestock dung (Denbow 1986, 1999). However, this approach encounters difficulty in the Maloti-Drakensberg: broken terrain can impair site visibility, with the exception of abandoned homesteads atop broad plateaux, which only account for a fraction of the occupied landscape; as described above, the tendency to build modern homesteads on archaeological sites renders such sites invisible in a remote survey; and the almost total modern use of the Maloti-Drakensberg landscape for grazing and farming means that open air sites may be impacted by human activity. Moreover, given the long history of movement through the mountains discussed in Chapter 3.2 and the mobile settlement strategies employed by the BaPhuthi in the nineteenth century, one can expect that archaeological materials will be fairly ephemeral (cf. Arthur 2008a). Historical understandings of the BaPhuthi and oral testimonies have further demonstrated that stone-walled settlements account for only one type of dwelling in the southern Drakensberg: inhabitants made use of rockshelters, natural features such as boulders

and their lees, and structures contoured to the sides of the valley rather than flat ground close to nodes of fertile soil (cf. Whitelaw and Moon 1996).

Bearing these considerations in mind, it was therefore necessary to design a survey strategy able to provide high-resolution information on the presence (or absence) of a wide range of site types across numerous topographical features. In developing this methodology, I drew largely on studies from South Africa's Western Cape Province and the Seacow River Valley of the Eastern Cape Province aimed at identifying ephemeral, potentially disturbed sites pertaining to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pastoralists (Sampson 1996, 2010; Fauvelle-Aymar *et al.* 2006; Arthur 2008b; cf. Sadr 2008), but modified for a montane environment. The survey area was divided into 15 m-wide transects and walked by a team consisting of myself and two other surveyors; as my research project built upon the archaeological training programme in place at the Metolong Dam in west-central Lesotho (Arthur *et al.* 2011; King and Arthur 2014), one of the surveyors was a graduate of the Metolong Cultural Resource Management Project's training programme and the second a resident of Mnjnayane who expressed interest in learning to conduct survey. Where rockfalls or vegetation made transects impossible, the area was walked in 5 m x 5 m gridded squares. 'Sites' were defined as currently unoccupied walling and/or five or more artefacts within a four metre radius. When scatters were encountered, artefacts were collected for 10 minutes or until no longer visible, providing a roughly uniform collection methodology and thus a broad comparison of artefact density. Isolated diagnostic finds and grindstones were given small find ('X') numbers and GPS co-ordinates. For the reasons outlined above, this strategy was deployed over multiple landforms rather than simply those where deposits were most likely to remain 'intact'. The survey included plateaux, hill slopes, ploughed fields, and river terraces, with a view to

expanding future survey to walk transects through dongas so as to take advantage of the deep natural sections that they provide. Surveys were also conducted during autumn and early spring to ensure that ground cover was low and thus provide maximum visibility.



*Figure 7.3. Map of Mnjanyane Valley survey results.*

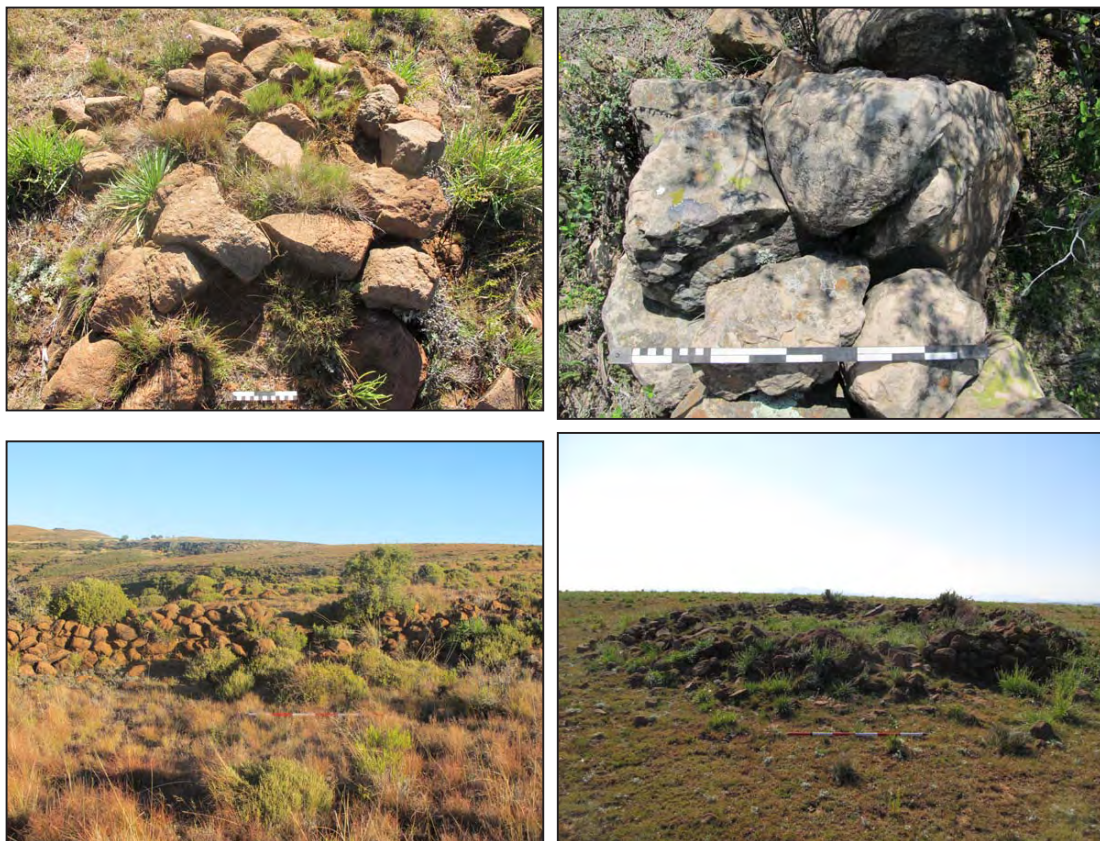
While the survey itself was comprehensive, two major aspects of the valley were nevertheless inaccessible: the area upstream of Lexeni and the majority of rockshelters. The former is currently a major regional centre of illegal marijuana cultivation and, as such, posed a serious risk in terms of my personal safety. The latter were set aside for use by boys' initiation schools and, as a woman, I was not permitted to enter them. Given the significance of rockshelters in the occupation of the southern Drakensberg, both by the BaPhuthi and by others (as described in Chapter 3.2), this is a shortcoming of the survey discussed here. Where possible, however, rockshelters were surveyed and this limited access is taken into consideration in the discussion presented in the remainder of this thesis.

After two phases of survey (May and October 2012), 62 sites were identified, including pottery scatters, rockshelters, stone-walled structures, rock art sites, middens, and a single burnt clay structure (sample survey record sheets are provided in Appendix E). Of course, this large number of sites is due in part to the tendency of the survey strategy to produce an inflated number: for example, pottery scatters resulting from midden deflation and displacement down a slope may have led to multiple different 'sites' being identified when in reality they all pertain to a single archaeological feature. Therefore, post-field processing of survey data included reviewing the aspect, elevation, density, slope, and position relative to other survey finds for each site, and then determining which sites were most likely derived from a single archaeological feature. The refined survey results are presented in Figure 7.3 above, showing the final number of sites (including small finds) as 52. Appendix D: 366 contains a table of final survey results.

Pottery scatters were by far the most common type of sites identified, attesting to the prevalence of site deflation and disturbance by erosion and human activity. While these lack archaeological provenience, their distribution allowed for an informed recreation of the location and extent of now-defunct archaeological deposits. Additionally, the frequency and elaboration of ceramic decorative motifs throughout the survey area (which contrasts starkly with the lack of ceramic decoration in western Lesotho and the Caledon Valley, Maggs 1976; King *et al.* 2014) permit comparison with ceramic sequences from elsewhere in southern Africa; Chapter 7.3.3 below discusses the methods of ceramic analysis employed and their conclusions, while Chapter 8.2 discusses the decorative features of these ceramics in greater detail. In the case of Bolepeletsa (described below and in the following chapter), ceramic scatters within a limited space and with fairly clear local provenance, combined with a well-attested history of occupation means that despite lacking a stratified archaeological context, it is possible to make inferences about ceramic production by particular groups of people within a rough timeframe.

The survey also identified 31 structures representing several types of construction and, when coupled with ceramic scatters, provides information about the locations of archaeological deposits relative to built features in the study area. The majority of structures were built of stone derived from the immediate vicinity: atop one of the broader plateaux in Mnjanyane Valley, one can see changes in the stone used for construction following the geologic changes in the plateau itself depending on where the structure is situated. This is hardly surprising given that quarrying and moving construction material up some of the more inaccessible *liqobosheane* in the area would have been (and remains today) a daunting undertaking. Likewise, structures on hillslopes and valley bottoms were built of stone from the immediate vicinity,

primarily sandstone from the surrounding valley slopes or large stones from the riverbed. There was no visible evidence that building stones had been shaped, although as sandstone is prone to erosion and degradation, marks left by masonry may once have been present but eroded since. However, current local construction practices involve dry-walling and minimal to no stone-cutting, as is also the case in northern and western Lesotho where houses follow traditional layouts rather than the late-nineteenth century trend for European-style rectilinear houses (cf. Eldredge 1993: 92).



**Figure 7.4.** Photographs of walling from MJV 008, 019, and 023. Clockwise from top left: MJV 019, MJV 019, MJV 008, and MJV 023.

While dry-walling is the dominant building tradition represented in the structures surveyed, walls were built in either a single- or double-coursing, the latter of which was filled with either rubble or a mixture of clay, soil, rubble, and water that served as

a mortar fill (Figure 7.4 above). This filling technique is prevalent throughout modern Mpumalanga and Gauteng Provinces, the Highveld, and the Caledon Valley (van Riet Lowe 1944; Walton 1956a; Maggs 1976: 50-1), and is particularly useful on rocky surfaces because it does not require foundations to be dug. Instead, the basal stones are quite large and the two stone faces taper inwards toward the top of the wall, providing stability. In the Mnjanyane survey, some of the structures identified were certainly used for kraaling animals as opposed to dwellings, and these could often be identified by having a single course of walling and/or lacking a built hut platform; the presence of dung layers could be inferred to some extent where the interior of kraals were colonised by vegetation, but there have been no studies as yet to suggest whether this colonisation was responding specifically to the presence of dung or to other organics in hut platform materials.

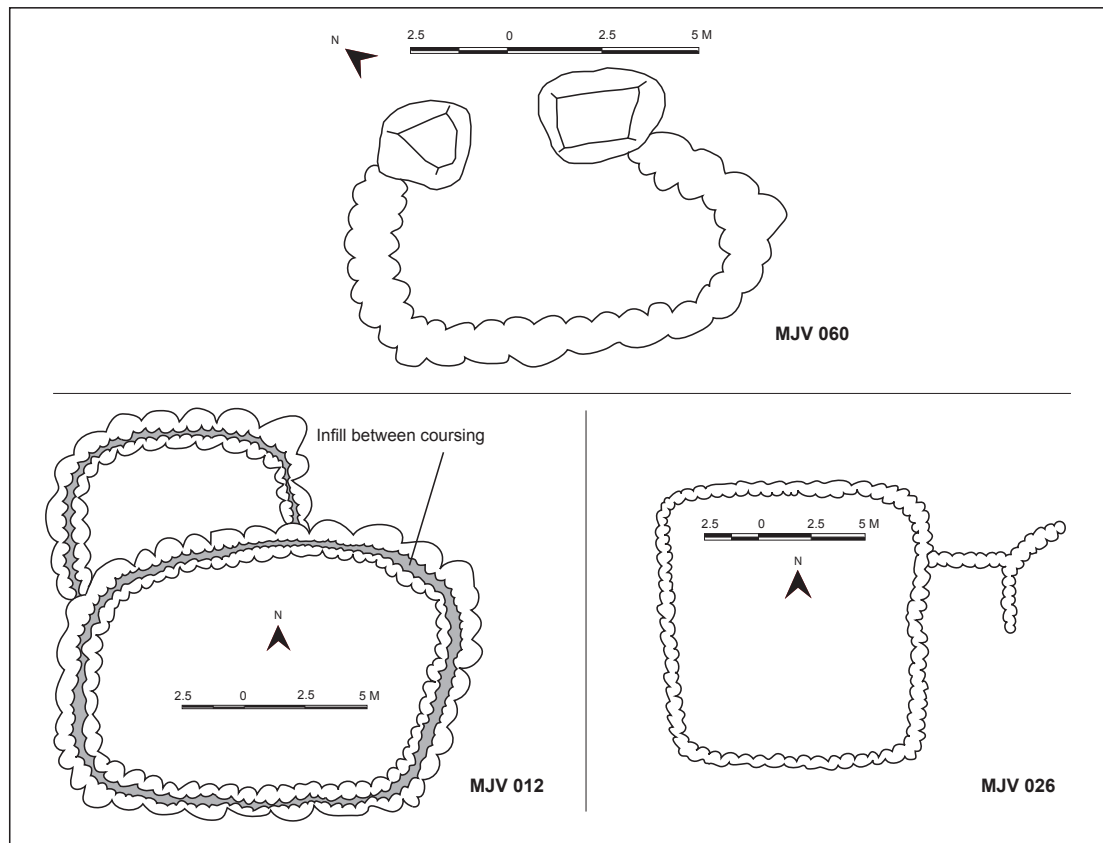
Building layouts represented three styles: rectilinear, single discrete circular, and bilobial. Apart from European-style early twentieth-century houses, rectilinear buildings featuring a single course of walling were rare and used primarily as livestock enclosures<sup>50</sup>; one of these contained pits of the sort described by informants to cache food during crises. The majority of structures are circular, either free-standing and composed of a single unit or bilobial (Figure 7.5 below). There is little at face value to suggest differential use of these types of structure, or of each lobe in a bilobial dwelling, apart from where visible hut platforms make it reasonable to eliminate kraaling livestock as an option. In the Caledon Valley, similar bilobial structures were found to have contained food and grain stores in one room while the residents themselves occupied the second (Maggs 1976: 197, 210). If this is the case

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<sup>50</sup> 'M'e Nowesile Tjale, 21 October 2012.

here, it raises the question of why some inhabitants would have need of a storage room while others did not. To be sure, the distribution of ceramics around certain aggregations of structures suggests that middens did not always correspond precisely to a particular dwelling, and that multiple inhabitants may have shared rubbish dumps; this was certainly the case on one of the large plateaux on the south side of the valley. On the other hand, at the homestead known as Ha Phinzi, each wife's household maintained their own ash heap and rubbish dump. Interestingly, none of the sites identified, including those associated with still-occupied homesteads, featured a surrounding wall; this is yet another contrast with sites farther north and west, which often have at least one wall (sometimes several) bounding the entire settlement (see, for example, Maggs 1976: Figures 13, 39, 46, 49, 56; King *et al.* 2014: Figure 5). Instead, structures are loosely aggregated without adjoining walls.

Of course, one caveat that must attach to surveys of stone-walled buildings in Lesotho is that a common practice throughout the Maloti-Drakensberg, and one sanctioned by local chiefs, is the robbing of stones from abandoned sites or 'ruins' (Sesotho, *thako*, pl. *lithako*) in order to construct new buildings (King and Arthur 2014; King *et al.* 2014). Consequently, the survey took into account the preservation status of each structure identified (see Appendix E), encouraging surveyors to make detailed notes as to the integrity of each site and their confidence in describing the building tradition represented. This was especially important considering the necessary balance between allowing trainee surveyors learning opportunities and producing a fairly standardised set of data.



**Figure 7.5.** Examples of building layouts recorded in the Mnjanyane Valley: MJV 012, 026, and 060.

Taking issues of preservation into consideration when designing the survey also resonated with a concern to avoid an archaeological research strategy influenced by a ‘lithocentric’ bias towards only seeking extant standing edifices built of stone. Traveller and missionary accounts (e.g. Casalis 1833; Eldredge 1993: 91; Gill 1993: 28; cf. Maggs 1976: 130-7), as well as oral traditions, suggest that throughout the Highveld and the Maloti-Drakensberg buildings were constructed from reeds, plaster, and grass, and therefore focusing solely on stone structures would neglect a historically attested building tradition. The discovery of site MJV 032 justified this concern: located close to the Mnjanyane River at the edge of a ploughed field on a homestead belonging to Ntate Fani Xena, MJV 032 consists of a burnt clay hut platform with no visible walling (Figure 7.6 below). The site was found because an

animal track had clipped the platform's edge and exposed it in profile. While it is not possible to infer a building tradition from what is currently visible (and excavation was not possible because of the timing of ploughing and harvesting fields), MJV 032 demonstrates that without fine-grained survey methods such as those employed here, certain types of sites would go undetected. The presence of this hut platform buried beneath a ploughed field demonstrates that areas designated as fields or residences today do not necessarily track the same spatial demarcations employed in the past.



**Figure 7.6.** Photograph of MJV 032, north-facing section (left) and plan (right).

Surveying hillslopes likewise yielded useful information. Again, artefacts found on slopes are likely displaced from farther upslope and therefore lack a stratigraphic context. However, several sites were identified in the lees of the many large sandstone boulders that had long ago detached from the cliffs above the valley and lodged in the slope. Two of these sites featured well-preserved rock paintings<sup>51</sup> (Figures 7.7 and 7.8 below), and the areas around these shelters often had been through several phases of structural modification to create pens for stock animals, as described above.

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<sup>51</sup> All rock art sites recorded during this project have been documented, photographed, and deposited with the Rock Art Research Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. They are accessible online at the South African Rock Art Digital Archive ([www.sarada.co.za](http://www.sarada.co.za)).



*Figure 7.7. Selected rock art from MJV 013.*



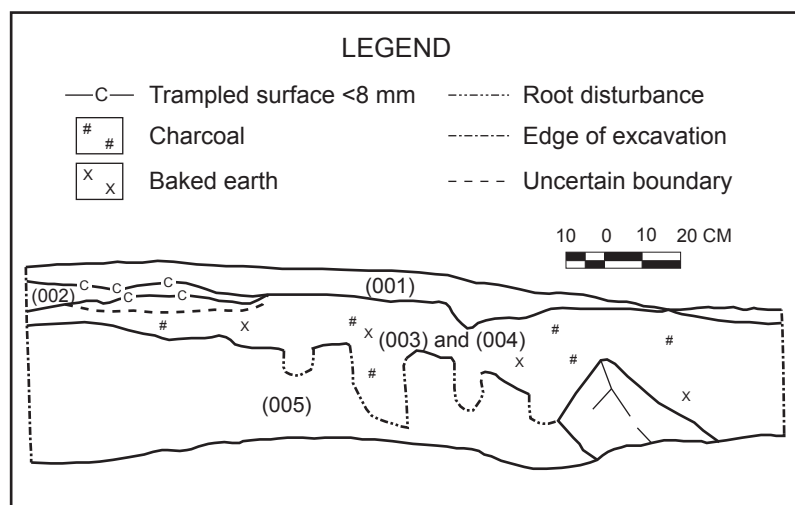
*Figure 7.8. Selected rock art from MJV 031.*

The oral geographies described above, in combination with a nuanced archaeological survey strategy, thus yielded a wealth of data that would have gone undetected in a larger aerial survey or one focusing on structural remains as the basic unit of analysis. Additionally, this approach illuminated three particularly salient points regarding the archaeology of the Mnjanyane Valley: materials pertaining to the past occupation of Bolepeletsa as a BaPhuthi settlement, middens dating to a particular period within the BaPhuthi chieftaincy, and the need to bring questions of manufacturing processes and technological choice to bear on investigating Mnjanyane's varied ceramic assemblages. The first point will be discussed more fully in Chapter 8. I introduce the second and third points here and return to them in Chapter 8.

#### **7.4.2. Excavation at Ha Phinzi**

Oral geographies and surveys on currently occupied homesteads identified a handful of deposits that can confidently be associated with the latter period of the BaPhuthi polity's occupation of the region, namely the years culminating in Moorosi's War. One of these sites, a midden located on the homestead dubbed Ha Phinzi after Phinzi, the male progenitor who established the site in the late 1860s/early 1870s, was selected for excavation. From roughly 1876 to 1882 the midden was used by Mablongwe, second wife of Phinzi, a period that coincides with Bolepeletsa's use by the BaPhuthi. Excavations at this site (referred to as Ha Phinzi 1 and abbreviated HP1) were aimed at recovering a sample of pottery and domestic material. Excavation took place in May 2013 and opened a 2 m x 1 m (sub-divided into two metre-square quadrats) trench. In all, five stratigraphically separate units were recovered (Table 7.1 below), differentiated on the basis of colour and texture, and removed and recorded following the Museum of London Archaeological Service's (1994) 'single context' system (Figure 7.9 below). Where contexts were greater than 5 cm in thickness, they

were removed in successive 5 cm spits. All deposit was sieved through a 1.5 mm mesh to ensure no bias in the recovery of small finds such as beads. Three dumping episodes were identified, separated by compacted layers representing interim trample surfaces. Finds consisted primarily of pottery and beads, with occasional faunal remains, metal fragments, and preserved food items such as peach pits and seeds. Ha Phinzi yielded two intact faunal elements: a mandible and an ulna identified as *Ovis/Capra*. Both specimens are currently with Dr K. Ann Horsburgh at Southern Methodist University (United States) for identification and inclusion in her programme of ancient DNA livestock sequencing. While with small finds, some degree of stratigraphic displacement may be possible, post-depositional disturbance was minimal and the stratigraphy appeared intact. In terms of archaeological material, there was little to differentiate the contexts.



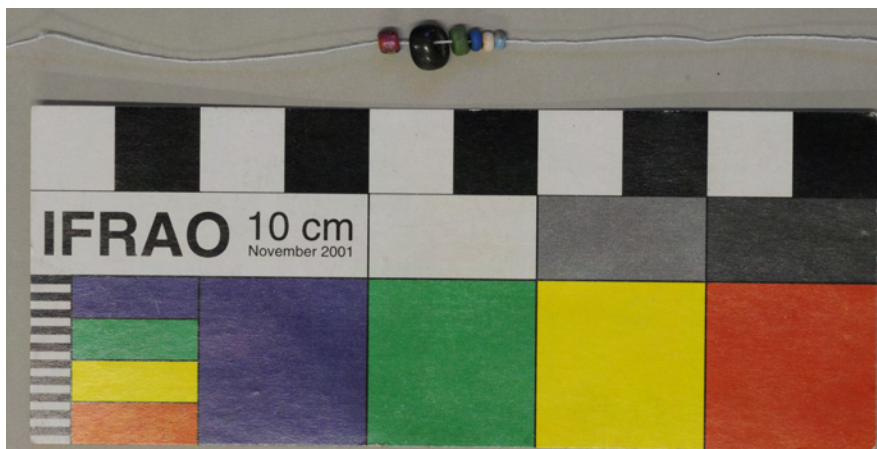
**Figure 7.9.** South-facing section of HP1 trench.

Stratigraphic unit	Depth	Munsell colour	Description	Finds
(001)	0-9.5 cm	5YR 3/4	Series of 3-4 modern baked earth crusts formed by colluvial deposition of sandy soils derived from upslope and subsequent baking and trampling. Series differentiated by friable lower component of each crust.	Seed beads, metal
(002)	9.5-11.7 cm	10YR 3/3 and 2.5 YR 4/3	Trampled midden material with large amounts of charcoal and baked earth. Anthropogenic and hardened by drying out and trample.	Beads (seed, Prosser, white hearts), pottery, metal
(003)	11.7-16.6 cm	10YR 6/2	Loosely compacted and comprised of two interlensing contexts differentiated by colour but taken as one unit due to impossibility of separating them. Lower artefact density than above.	Beads (seed and Prosser), pottery
(004)	16.6-21.1 cm	5YR 4/3	Ashy midden deposit with rapid dumping episodes and occasional in situ burning. Deposit is infiltrated by roots absent from overlying deposits, suggesting (004) was exposed for some time before (003) was deposited.	Beads (seed and prosser), fragmentary faunal remains, pottery
(005)	21.1-56.1 cm	7.5R 7/1	Lowermost geologic layer on bedrock. Silty sand giving on to geologic substrate with low density of finds.	Seed beads

*Table 7.1. HPI stratigraphic units.*

	(001)	(002)	(003)	(004)	(005)
Metal	17	5	6	7	1
Glass	3	2	3	2	0
Ceramics	4	5	4	9	0
Beads	10	19	19	21	9
Peach pips	1	0	2	0	0

*Table 7.2. Finds from the HP1 excavations. Numbers represent individual specimens.*



*Figure 7.10. Selected beads from HP1.*



*Figure 7.11. Selected metal fragments from HP1.*

The most interesting finds from HP1 were the bead and metal assemblages (Table 7.2 above). Although the former in itself is not extraordinary, it benefits from comparison with the slightly later bead assemblage from Ha Makoanyane (occupied *c.* 1881-1960) in western Lesotho, roughly 130 km north of Mnjanyane. Ha Makoanyane's assemblage included a number of bead varieties, including the fairly commonplace Chinese-manufactured turquoise beads and 'seed beads' (still used today), a white heart, a Prosser moulded bead first appearing in the 1840s, and a pink bead of a type that arrived in southern Africa during the early nineteenth century (King *et al.* 2014: 74). HP1's assemblage featured the same bead types, although it lacked turquoise beads (Figure 7.10 above). The similarities between the assemblages are striking given the contrast between the two sites' positions in regional politics and trade networks. Ha Makoanyane was located in the midst of a number of trading posts and general stores (see Eldredge 1993: Table 5), as well as being close to the centre of Basotho authority at Thaba Bosiu and positioned along routes well-travelled by Basotho engaged in migrant labour elsewhere in southern Africa. Ha Phinzi was much more peripheral: as earlier discussions have established, Moorosi's Country was a far-flung corner of Basutoland known for its political instability and inaccessible terrain, which prohibited the establishment of a large number of trading posts. However, nineteenth-century missionaries often offered beads during their proselytising in accordance with local tastes (e.g. Peires 1981: 120-1); D.F. Ellenberger makes no mention of providing beads to congregants from Masitise, but as Joseph Start's itinerant preaching during Moorosi's War (Chapter 6.3.2: 205) demonstrates, Wesleyan missionaries stationed in Nomansland and the eastern Cape would often include parts of southwest Basutoland in their circuit. Further, a handful of general stores were operational in southern Basutoland during the nineteenth century, although nowhere

near as many as in the north. Throughout the late nineteenth century, the Mitchell trading family had stores operating in southern Basutoland (in Sinxondo, Alwynskop, and Fort Hartley)<sup>52</sup>, and from 1877 the well-known Basutoland trading company Frasers also had stores in southern Basutoland (Rosenberg and Weisfelder 2013: 161).

The metal assemblage at HP1 further suggests that residents in Mnjanyane were able to access trading posts and manufactured goods, despite their somewhat peripheral location (Figure 7.11 above). While a good deal of the metal finds recovered at HP1 were corroded beyond identification, those that could be identified included nails and latches of the sort available from the nineteenth-century traders established nearby. The nature of the currency used to purchase these goods or how that currency was obtained is open to speculation, but possibilities include trade or payment for garden crops or remittances from the small but growing exchange of goods and people between the Kimberley diamond mines and southern Basutoland in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Worger 1987).

Despite the violence and demonstrable friction of the southern Lesotho landscape, the bead and metal assemblages from HP1 demonstrate that manufactured goods were still finding their way to residents within Moorosi's territories. The factors that led to this availability of materials remain speculative, but could have included missionary trade, access to trading posts or general stores within or on the borders of southern Basutoland, or, given the highly mobile nature of Moorosi's confederates, procurement of goods outside of Basutoland and their subsequent transport to Mnjanyane. The slight difference between HP1's and Ha Makoanyane's bead assemblages (the absence of turquoise beads in the former) could be related to the

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<sup>52</sup> Don and Scott Mitchell, 21 May 2013.

relative availability of these types. However, perhaps more likely given the otherwise impressive range of bead types available for a comparatively peripheral community is the possibility that we are sampling an instance of the taste and preference of Ha Phinzi's residents manifesting itself in the archaeological record (cf. Chapter 2.3: 72). In any event, while the excavations at Ha Phinzi were limited in scope, they yielded finds suggesting that people living in the Mnjanyane Valley during the late 1870s and early 1880s could access trade networks that resembled those in the commercially and politically (from a Basotho and Cape perspective) more central western lowlands.

### **7.4.3. Ceramics and technological choices**

One of the perennial problems facing historical archaeological research in southern Africa is that while undecorated wares often dominate pottery assemblages, analytical methods addressing them (and especially their technological and morphological attributes) are generally lacking. The prevailing analytical method remains Huffman's (1980) multi-dimensional method, which considers ceramic motif, motif layout, and vessel profile. This system forms the basis for the southern African regional ceramic sequence and was specifically designed to identify large-scale patterns by minimising variations and potentials for analyst error.

Consequently, and given its focus on decorative attributes, this system is of limited use in detecting differences within and between assemblages with a minimal to non-existent decorative component over a limited spatiotemporal range. Additionally, the tendency of multi-dimensional analysis to subsume variation and define 'style' too narrowly (Pikirayi 1999, 2007; Esterhuysen 2008) means that the system cannot account for technological differences reflective of different manufacturers, techniques, skill level, and artisanal variation.

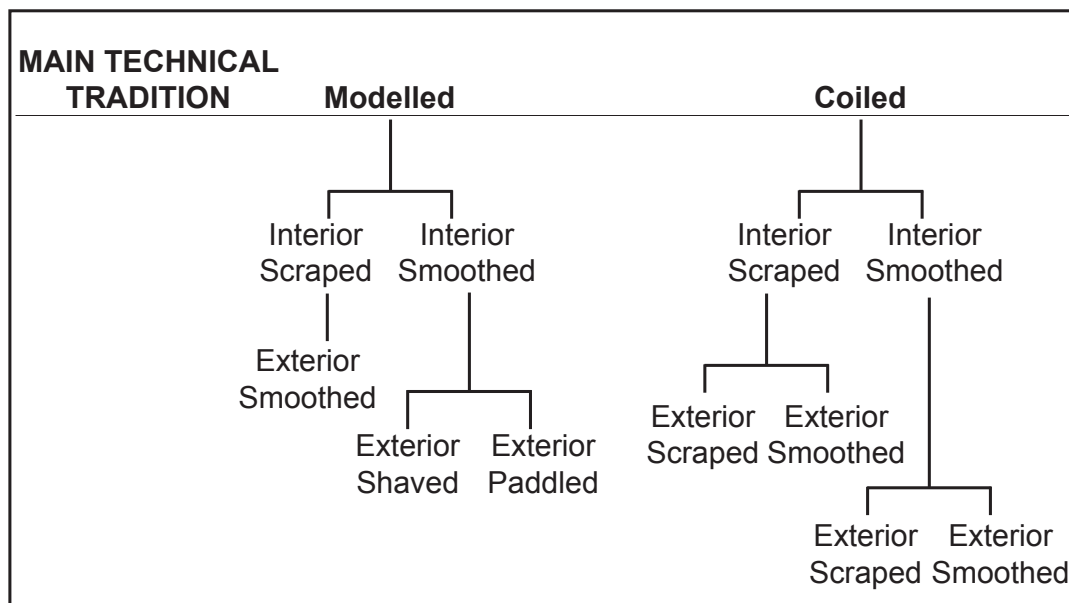
An alternative method is a form of matrix analysis, in which any number of attributes can be recorded and analysed in conjunction with one another. This method was the basis for Iron Age culture-historical sequence on southern Africa's southern Highveld (Maggs 1976) and in early Iron Age archaeology in KwaZulu-Natal (Maggs and Michael 1976; Maggs 1980, 1984; Maggs and Ward 1984), but faces the problems of producing a potentially infinite number of classifications and being heavily analyst-dependent. Moreover, in situations such as southern Lesotho where preservation of archaeological materials is a challenge, the imperative to glean as much information as possible from extant remains (such as undecorated ceramics) becomes greater. It thus becomes necessary to overcome these longstanding analytical biases against undecorated ceramic assemblages and devise investigative strategies that do not rely upon decoration or motif.

More recently in African archaeology, ceramic analyses have focused on the technological aspects of ceramic production and consumption and the social relations that these entail (Gosselain and Livingstone Smith 1995; Croucher and Wynne-Jones 2006; Wynne-Jones 2007; Stahl *et al.* 2008). Within southern Africa, archaeological and ethnographic studies of ceramic manufacture, composition, and raw material provenance and use, have been limited (but see Jacobson *et al.* 1994; Fowler 2006, 2008; S. Hall *et al.* 2008). In part, this is due to a regional lack of facilities and reference collections adequate to investigate a full *chaîne opératoire* at geological, chemical, and microscopic levels.

With these considerations in mind, I employed both Huffman's multi-dimensional system and newer, experimental technotypological classifications for the pottery assemblages recovered. The former method allows for comparison with other

assemblages within a standardised framework and can potentially integrate the sites investigated into a well-established regional ceramic sequence. Of course, this only includes the decorated component. The latter approach, building on work by Valentine Roux and colleagues (Roux and Courty 2005, 2009), addresses both the decorated and undecorated components of the pottery assemblages. It is designed to detect variations in manufacturing processes (i.e. manufacturing *choices*, e.g. Stahl *et al.* 2008) and allow for more nuanced characterisation of pottery styles.

The technotypology employed here is a variation on that of Roux and Courty (2009) (created for but never utilised in southern Africa), based on a reference collection of 504 sherds representing five sites in three areas, all pertaining to the period between roughly 1700 and the late 1880s: sites excavated during Tim Maggs' (1976) study of the Late Iron Age in southern Highveld (the nearest sites contemporary with the Lesotho sites), sites excavated during the Metolong Cultural Resource Management Project in west-central Lesotho, and my own survey work in southwest Lesotho. As it currently stands, the classification scheme features three tiers (Figure 7.12 below). The first includes two basic technological traditions (coiled and moulded). The second tier shows variations in external modifications (paddling, smoothing, scraping), and the third tier shows changes in internal (scraping, smoothing) modifications. Decorative elements, including burnish, slip, and incisions are secondary descriptors added after technological manufacturing characteristics are assigned.



**Figure 7.12.** Diagram of ceramic technotypical classification scheme for southern Africa, after Roux and Courty 2009.

The outcomes of these classification schemes are discussed more fully in the following chapter, but here it is necessary to note two points. First, the technotypical studies employed here do not reflect the full manufacturing *chaîne opératoire* for each ceramic element: components such as clay raw material provenance and firing processes are not included in these analyses. However, and arriving at the second point, macroscopic technical attributes alone contain valuable information that would not be included in ceramic classification schemes standard in southern Africa. At Ha Makoanyane, the ceramic assemblage was almost entirely undecorated, but displayed a broad repertoire of manufacturing techniques (King *et al.* 2014; see Chapter 2.3: 73). Applying the typology described above allowed us to discern three different major manufacturing traditions with nine sub-types represented, as well as decorative additions such as slip and burnish. These conclusions engage directly with Elizabeth Eldredge's (1993: 99) historical analysis of changing household economies in colonial Basutoland, in which she describes only a single ceramic manufacturing tradition in use and states that where pots were made

to fairly standardised specialisations, they were easily supplanted by European-manufactured goods. The Ha Makoanyane assemblage demonstrates that this was not always the case – even for villages located in relatively close proximity to the major *entrepôts* for European goods – and thus shows how detailed study of archaeological materials can qualify or illuminate historical evidence.

These analytical methods, coupled with the nuanced survey and excavation strategies outlined above, permit an archaeological window onto the BaPhuthi and their territories that would have been inaccessible were it not linked with detailed historical analysis. The following chapter describes the outcomes of this methodology and the archaeological perspective derived therefrom in greater detail.

## CHAPTER 8: THE ANATOMY OF A RAIDING CHIEFDOM

Throughout this thesis, I have referred to work by Wright (1971), Blundell (2004), Challis (2008), Mallen (2008), and Vinnicombe (2009 [1976]) as seminal studies of identity formation and heterodoxies within the nineteenth-century Maloti-Drakensberg. These studies address communities of Bushman raiders that were demonstrably interconnected, but they nevertheless treat bands of raiders and the cultural creolisation that occurred within them as epiphenomenal to the expansion of the colonial frontier. Put another way, running through these earlier works is a sense that bands of Bushman raiders were cultural anomalies that emerged through the twinned imperatives of political resistance and cultural and economic survival, as the Maloti-Drakensberg became a last refuge for a nomadic lifestyle (P. Mitchell 2009a, 2009b). The historical trajectory of the BaPhuthi polity and their particular form of settlement and governance demonstrate that the situation in the nineteenth-century Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains was far more complex. The preceding discussions of the territories and alliances that the BaPhuthi encompassed, their ability to draw on various support and knowledge networks, and their inherent willingness to accept cultural diversity has provided us with the conceptual and historical tools to see that

the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains were part of a vast regional phenomenon linking numerous raiding bands and chiefly polities. The BaPhuthi raided with the AmaTola and members of individual bands such as Mdwebo's and Nqabayo's, and varyingly navigated alliances and rivalries with the Mpondo, Mpondomise, Bhaca, Thembu, and Basotho, while distributing their authority along the Senqu River and throughout the southern Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains. Thus, the heterodoxies that the BaPhuthi and their regional confederates represent were far from aberrant within the Maloti-Drakensberg, but were in fact the norms underpinning a large network of associations.

In light of what this thesis has adduced about the BaPhuthi polity, it becomes possible to draw together earlier studies of resistance and heterodoxy within a discernible geopolitical framework that the BaPhuthi shaped through an intentional programme of recruiting diversity and 'outlaw' behaviour, rather than seeing somewhat isolated instances of disobedience. This is not to suggest that the BaPhuthi are solely responsible for creating the cultural phenomena of the Maloti-Drakensberg: Chapter 9.2 offers suggestions for further research as to the roles that as-yet-unexplored peoples and processes might have played. For the moment, conceiving of the BaPhuthi and their confederates in this manner prompts consideration of how these heterodox communities within the Maloti-Drakensberg were interrelated and how they manifested materially throughout BaPhuthi territories.

As seen in the preceding chapters, the BaPhuthi developed a peripatetic system of occupation, anchoring authority in multiple, dispersed locations that they utilised as needed. Often, these needs were based on cattle raiding: places like Khiba and Tulumaneng were useful stages from which to launch expeditions into Basutoland, the eastern Cape, and the Orange Free State, as well as places on which to fall back after

a raid was completed. These locations also served more abstract purposes such as subverting efforts to control the BaPhuthi: by re-locating from Bethesda to Tulumameng, Moorosi demonstrated his ability to thwart the aims of both the PEMS and Moshoeshoe by extension, while returning to Bolepeletsa after forays into the Wittebergen Native Reserve or Natal generally (although not always) prevented authorities of those territories from apprehending them. Moreover, the BaPhuthi's programme of migration coupled with extensive alliances forged through marriage and shared raiding endeavours meant that their social networks were similarly dispersed; consequently, as the BaPhuthi moved through various parts of their territory, they were able to draw on the knowledge and manpower (not to mention goods such as horses and crops) of their compatriots in those parts.

Thus, it is possible to view BaPhuthi territory as having been composed of nodes that they activated and manipulated as necessary, whether to evade capture, subvert authority, or to build political and economic relationships. I use the word 'compose' in its literal sense, as it is clear that the BaPhuthi (and Moorosi in particular) selected the demographic, economic, and geographic constituents of their polity (see Chapter 8.3 below). In this chapter, I propose some ways of thinking about authority, community formation, and their material correlates within BaPhuthi territories. As this thesis represents the first archaeological study of the BaPhuthi and their territories, finds and discussions thereof remain exploratory; nevertheless, I offer some ideas for how the BaPhuthi composed their polity that can form a valuable point of departure for further investigations of the heterodox network that the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains represented, particularly in the nineteenth century. I suggest that BaPhuthi material expressions are best accessed by investigating how certain

cultural institutions were invoked and created, and then used to produce nodes of BaPhuthi authority and identity.

By ‘institutions’, I follow Michael Frachetti (2012: 5) in referring to ‘the organisational and ideological norms that shape practical interactions of agents and communities’<sup>53</sup>: these can range from architectural styles, to political structures, to burial practices. For anthropologists, the concept of ‘institution’ may bear a strong resemblance to that of ‘tradition’, and choosing to employ the former here is not an attempt to deny the fact that both are subjectively produced (Hobsbawm 2012 [1983]: 1-2; 197). I employ ‘institution’ as an analytical tool because it draws attention away from the implied cultural boundedness (i.e. ‘Bushmen traditionally live in rockshelters, farmers live on settlements’, ‘pastoralists are traditionally nomadic, Bantu-speakers are committed agriculturists’) (cf. Ranger 2012 [1983]: 249-50; M. Hall 1983) and invariance of ‘tradition’. Considering institutions encourages examination of their continuity across space and time, and how modifications thereupon can be contingent upon human agency and historical circumstance. Moreover, institutions afford an opportunity to think beyond culturally or ethnically inscribed traditions and see some practices and ideologies as ‘ways of doing’ that can be adopted and adapted by those with an inclination to do so (cf. Ingold 2000: 86).

This ability of individuals or communities to contextually deploy or modify institutions has particular relevance to the BaPhuthi situation. Here, I suggest that it is useful to consider BaPhuthi institutions that served two functions: as material and practical cognates through which to draw together peoples from disparate

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<sup>53</sup> Frachetti’s conception of ‘institution’ draws heavily on new institutional economic theory, and therefore his terminology reflects a preoccupation with searching for social norms underpinning economic activity (cf. North 1990).

sociocultural backgrounds; and as performative actions that constantly re-affirmed BaPhuthi identity and, in certain cases, authority.

## 8.1. REFUGE AS SETTLEMENT

Architecture and settlement location are a useful place to begin and are perhaps the most salient aspects of BaPhuthi material culture. The sites that the BaPhuthi chose to utilise for both settlement and retreat conform to a series of standards: they are located on or adjoining distinctive landforms, which are often virtually inaccessible except by one or two means of ingress, located near but not adjacent to water sources, and with excellent views of the surrounding landscape. They are in many ways perfect examples of the *liqobosheane* that Moshoeshoe used to such great effect as refugia and staging points for battle in the early stages of his ascendancy in the Caledon Valley (Chapter 4.2). Unlike Moshoeshoe, however, the BaPhuthi never actively sought to transition to farming homesteads in lieu of *liqobosheane*, but continued to maintain their *liqobosheane* throughout the duration of the polity's existence. Moreover, I submit that it is inaccurate to conceive of all of these BaPhuthi locales purely as refuge sites, although they may have served that purpose at certain times. Instead, closer examination of BaPhuthi settlements in their social and historical contexts reveals that while these locations may have been occupied expediently, their repeated use and maintenance for nearly a century suggests that they were more institutions than *ad hoc* camps.

Materially, these places may not appear as significant at first glance: throughout southern Africa, hilltop sites from the latter half of the second millennium have been interpreted as refugia during times of demographic change, internal political crisis, or

violence. This is often a reasonable conclusion: to take one example, in the Waterberg region of Limpopo Province large population influxes (perhaps from the south-east, see competing theories in Maggs 1976: 142 and Huffman 2004) during the seventeenth century may have provoked already established residents to retreat to easily fortified positions (Huffman 1990; S. Hall 1995: 309-10). At fortress-type sites such as Rooikrans (S. Hall 1985), the use of space emphasised expediency, with small stock enclosures and food and bone waste showing a very small quantity of livestock remains, in contrast to more robust contemporary settlements as Rhenosterkloof. Other sites from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such as Malore Hill (in South Africa's Limpopo Province, Huffman 2004: 93) and Moor Park (in KwaZulu-Natal, P. Mitchell and Whitelaw 2005: 227; Whitelaw 2009) are similarly characterised by positions on fairly inaccessible rises, defensive walling, and expedient or temporary construction. Sites such as Historic Cave in the Makapan Valley (Esterhuysen 2006) and Lepalong (S. Hall 1995) in South Africa's Limpopo and North West Provinces, respectively, were explicitly used as places of security during sieges and violent conflict. Particularly at Lepalong, archaeological indicators of social stress include a small number of animal enclosures and the lack of a coherent settlement layout, perhaps reflecting the deterioration of the unifying CCP (S. Hall 1995: 314-9). In all these cases, sites were occupied on a temporary basis during a crisis, with the occupants' inferred intention being to survive the conflict and then return to their usual ways of life as farmers and herders.

These temporary refugia stand in stark contrast to the Great Places or agglomerated towns that defined nineteenth-century settled chieftaincies in southern Africa. The Zulu king Dingane ka Senzangakhona's elaborate settlement at Mgungundlovu (occupied December 1829-December 1838, Parkington and Cronin 1979: 133)

consisted of a central royal kraal (*isigodlo*, divided according to age sets and gender), huts for Dingane's wives (*bheje*), and a military barracks consisting of about 800 warrior huts (*izigabeni*). While Mgungundlovu contained grain pits and seems to have been somewhat self-sufficient insofar as iron production was concerned (Parkington and Cronin 1979: 146, 148), both archaeological finds and accounts of contemporary visitors to Dingane's capital show that the settlement subsisted largely upon resources it could marshal from surrounding settlements, including tremendous amounts of cattle and grain (Plug and Roodt 1990). Similarly, the Zulu ruler Cetshwayo ka Mpande's settlement at oNdini (modelled on Mgungundlovu and occupied from roughly 1873-1879, Watson and Watson 1990) was divided according to the contemporary Zulu emphasis on militarisation (with *izigabeni* partitioned according to rank) and to the exaltation of the king (whose *isigodlo* was inviolate on pain of death for those outside the royal retinue). As at Mgungundlovu, cattle dominate the faunal assemblage at oNdini, even during a bovine pleuro-pneumonia epidemic that depleted the national herd, demonstrating the control that the capital exercised over natural resources (Watson and Watson 1990: 36). Turning to the western Highveld, the mid-to late eighteenth century saw the rapid consolidation of Tswana political power into a few dominant chiefdoms with centres at large, agglomerated towns such as Molokwane (the Kwena capital), Marothodi (the Tlokwa capital), and Kaditshwene (the Hurutshe capital)<sup>54</sup> (S. Hall 2012; Whitelaw and S. Hall in press). These three sites display similarly elaborate walling and architectural technology, but possess layouts that demonstrate different attitudes towards the spatial (and thus political and cultural) location and control of cattle: Molokwane's and Marothodi's layouts

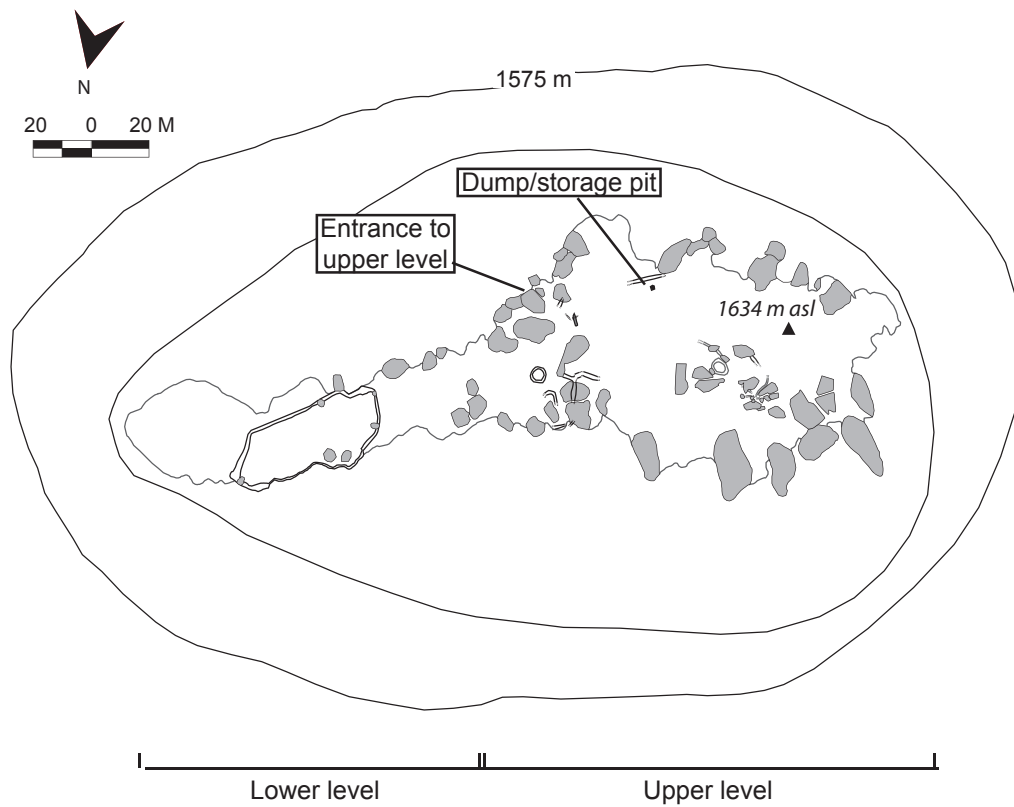
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<sup>54</sup> In discussing these case studies, I employ Tswana and Northern Sotho orthography for places and ethnonyms, see Appendix A.

emphasise the location of cattle in a central, communal area, while Kaditshwene's cattle were more spatially segregated (S. Hall 2012: 314). Further, patterns of ash disposal and ceramic production at these towns demonstrate attempts to negotiate anxieties about the arrival of 'strangers' during the population shifts and changing political landscapes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Ceramic manufacture at Marothodi and Molokwane involved distinct technological and decorative choices, which at each town may have become more standardised through time as women (the main craft producers) sought to minimise cultural and practical boundaries within their communities (S. Hall 1998). Ash disposal, ethnographically described as a means of coping with pollution (especially by strangers, Whitelaw 2013), varied from town to town: in some cases spatial planning encouraged centralised ash disposal and thus 'cultural monitoring' of offensive materials, while in others ash-derived pollutants were kept among agnatic kin groups (S. Hall 2012: 312-3). All of these towns demonstrate combinations of spatial planning, architectural styles, and material practices aimed at coping with the 'layered landscapes' of population movements, political shifts, and cultural innovation (Whitelaw and S. Hall in press).

Sites attributed to the BaPhuthi share physical features with refuge sites, but suggest relationships of maintenance and resource exploitation more akin to political centres. At Bolepeletsa (Figures 8.1 and 8.2 below, see also Chapter 7.2: 240), defensive walling is present around the entire perimeter of the *kopje*'s top, including at points where the edge is a sheer drop and thus completely inaccessible to invaders. The *kopje* itself consists of two main levels, connected by a single, nearly hidden pathway that runs between two boulders, which can be closed using any of the large rocks nearby. Henry Stevens, a resident of the Wittebergen area, confirmed Bolepeletsa's

excellent fortifications, commenting that, ‘This koppie [*sic*] is almost impregnable, the only possible way up leading through a natural arch of solid rock about 3 feet wide. Its only drawback as a fortress being its want of water’ (Stevens 1906).



**Figure 8.1.** Total station survey map of Bolepeletsa.



*Figure 8.2. Photograph of Bolepeletsa, approached from the southeast. Photograph by author.*

Based on the extant architecture, the lower level at Bolepeletsa was likely used for keeping livestock, with a main kraaling area and several smaller enclosures still visible; the largest enclosure most probably pertained to cattle and the smaller ones to sheep<sup>55</sup>. The upper level is split into two terraces, each containing a series of stone structures and walling unrelated to the defensive perimeter walls. The stone structures on Bolepeletsa are mostly drywalled with the exception of some mortar used sparingly in a couple of instances; this is perhaps due to the lack of water and clay atop the *kopje*, which would have necessitated builders mixing mortar by the river and

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<sup>55</sup> When discussing the possible uses of these structures with residents of the Mnjanyane Valley, it was universally asserted that stone enclosures would have been used for sheep, cattle, and horses, while goats were kept in enclosures of reed or wood, as is common practice today. The reason for this is that, as excellent climbers, goats can easily escape from a stone pen, while reed and wood present them with more serious obstacles.

carrying up the *kopje* with them. Additionally, very few walls are dug into hut platforms, but are instead built directly on top of the ground surface. The stones used for building are all locally derived, largely undressed sandstones, some of which may have been quarried from boulders atop Bolepeletsa, but many of which would have had to be brought from elsewhere in the vicinity.

As a whole, the upper level functioned as the living space for the site's occupants. It was also the location of Bolepeletsa's middens, as attested by the large quantity of pottery fragments on the surface (see below). Other waste was dropped over the *kopje*'s edge: as one resident of the Mnjanyane area told me, the name 'Bolepeletsa' is a shortened form of the site's *bitsolebe* (Sesotho, 'bad name'), the English translation of which (bowdlerised here) is 'waste which falls down'. At roughly 2,300 m<sup>2</sup>, the surface area of the upper level is too small to have accommodated the totality of the BaPhuthi following, and the lower level (about 2,755 m<sup>2</sup>) is also insufficient to provide space for all their animals; more likely and based on the practices described in the preceding chapters, a portion of the BaPhuthi's livestock holdings were kept on Bolepeletsa along with a contingent of group members, while the remainder were dispersed among rockshelters or other hilltops in the vicinity, or occupied one of the other BaPhuthi mainstay settlements (see discussion in Chapters 4 and 6).

The significance of Bolepeletsa and similar sites (see below) for the BaPhuthi lay not so much in how they were built as in how they were used. It is certainly possible to read the occupation of Bolepeletsa as an expedient use of an advantageous position and local materials. However, this would be an incomplete interpretation: the discussion in Chapters 4-6 of Bolepeletsa's repeated use throughout the nineteenth century both in the aftermath of raids and during periods of calm prompts further

consideration. While the site's construction appears opportunistic and largely utilitarian, maintaining it as suitable for occupation over such a long period of time would have required significant amounts of effort. In the absence of firm hut foundations and efforts to engineer the stability of the BaPhuthi's structures, the walls would have required constant repair and modification: as these were inevitably damaged through use and by the elements, fixing them was contingent on finding and working adequate replacement stones. Each re-occupation involved rehabilitating damaged features, creating new ones, procuring supplies such as water, grain, and vegetables that could not be produced in great quantities on Bolepeletsa itself, securing defensive walls, and other tasks involved in provisioning a large number of people atop an isolated *kopje* for a time ranging from days to months.

Pits dug into the upper level were most probably used to store reserves of non-perishable supplies in the BaPhuthi's absence, which were then augmented by fresh supplies upon their return. Grindstones and ground surfaces on Bolepeletsa show that processing and preparation of food (and perhaps medicine) occurred there. Historical and ethnohistorical evidence demonstrating that BaPhuthi women also occupied the *kopje* (in itself further evidence that this was more than just a fall-back position for raiders) suggest that women carried out these and perhaps other household tasks. These efforts necessitated transporting grain (possibly including maize) to the settlement, as well as wood to prepare fires for cooking. Over the years children were born atop Bolepeletsa, including Moorosi himself and later Mapote (How 1930), meaning that there were resources and community structures sufficient to care for newborns and their mothers before and after giving birth.

As observed elsewhere in southern Africa (Fewster 2006; Fredriksen 2011; cf. Lane 1994) and in archaeological theory more broadly (e.g. Bourdieu 1977; Shanks 2004; Tilley 2004), the repetitive practice involved in producing or maintaining living spaces can be fundamental to negotiating social dynamics. Domestic architecture not only exhibits social values (inhering in style, building materials, and layout), but is also a social construction, as the labour involved in maintenance and building is fundamentally performative, drawing on repetitive, collective, and public action (Connerton 1989; cf. Giddens 1984: 14-16, 23; Ingold 2000: 175-6). Carrying these tenets of architecture-as-material-culture further, Serena Love (2013) has suggested that where major architectural features may be hidden (e.g. plastered-over mudbricks) and part of a domestic rather than monumental setting, archaeologists should direct their attention to the *process* of construction rather than to its outcomes in order to retrieve social information. Love's exhortation to focus on building practices can be extended to include situations such as those obtaining at Bolepeletsa or other BaPhuthi settlements, in which architecture was not hidden but was susceptible to rapid abandonment and deterioration. Thus, the view of activity around BaPhuthi occupation sites that I suggest here engages with the CCP Debate of the past few decades (Chapter 7.1), and offers a different take on the significance of settlement layout and construction. In the CCP Debate, the focus has been on whether settlement organisation was the manifestation of a specific southern Bantu-speaker worldview, with spatial components corresponding to elements of southern Bantu cosmology. At Bolepeletsa, the extant architecture is too fragmentary to reconstruct the site's past layout and thus posit the presence or absence of or deviation from the CCP. More to the point, however, I submit that at Bolepeletsa (and certainly at other homesteads pertaining to Farming Communities within the last two millennia) considering the

process of settlement construction (including labour mobilisation, tempo and scheduling of construction, use of raw materials, etc.) can be a valuable way of thinking about settlement production and use beyond searching for correspondences between layouts and ethnographically derived models. The information adduced through historical analysis about the recurrent occupation of Bolepeletsa suggests a longer-term engagement with the site and its structures than implied by its extant features and refuge-like qualities; considering the process of maintenance and rejuvenation that occupying the site entailed as a BaPhuthi institution offers the possibility that these actions were part of how the BaPhuthi negotiated social dynamics within a more domestic sphere of life.

Further, this cycle of construction, occupation, and withdrawal, repeated countless times during the nineteenth century, represents a process more akin to activation and de-activation rather than one-off opportunistic asylum-seeking; this becomes more apparent below when placed in the broader context of the BaPhuthi network. As earlier chapters have demonstrated, BaPhuthi mainstay sites were selectively activated as necessity dictated, whether as a staging area for a raid, as a retreat thereafter, for ceremonial or ritual purposes (e.g. childbirth), or for more sustained habitation; similarly, they were de-activated when they were no longer needed. On Bolepeletsa, with its scarcity of resources such as food and water, activation not only involved occupation, but also drawing on nearby support networks to supply the materials and manpower necessary to compensate for this lack. The BaPhuthi could access their alliances and contacts in the adjacent valleys to acquire food and other supplies from homesteads, whether through trade or as levies or tributary fines in exchange for BaPhuthi patronage. Thus, while Bolepeletsa itself may have been lacking in the requisite features to make it habitable in the long term, in their activated states, the

site and its supply networks were transformed into a sustainable settlement. Although Bolepeletsa and other BaPhuthi settlements lack evidence for the elaborate architecture of social stratification present at the Great Places of more agriculturally-based African states, this ability of leaders to provision their strategic seats by marshalling resources from allies and tributaries recalls features of major political centres such as Mgungundlovu and oNdini described above.

Suggesting that site use, maintenance, and disuse constitute a social institution is not a novel idea: in the period surrounding the Pueblo Revolt (AD 1680-1692) against Spanish rule in New Mexico, deliberately abandoning villages and settlements were processes that not only enabled Pueblo Indians to defend themselves, but also allowed them actively to construct community cohesion around these shared experiences (Wilcox 2009: 99). For the Pueblos, mobility was a social diacritic, emphasising the social boundaries between moving groups and the distance (physical and metaphorical) between them and the colonists (Wilcox 2009: 105). As observed in Chapter 2.2, processes of identification rely upon maintaining relationships of difference as much as of similarity: group mobility that underscored differences between Pueblos and 'others' fostered community consolidation within Pueblo groups themselves. Similarly and with respect to Tswana townscapes in latter half of the second millennium AD, Paul Lane (2004) has argued that mobility and relocation were not solely responses to political or climatic instability, but were tied to Tswana relationships to their landscape more broadly, especially an emphasis on the centrality of water in divination and rainmaking. In the case of the BaPhuthi, such mobile communities did not exist in isolation, but were enmeshed in regional knowledge networks on which they were able to draw when needed.

## 8.2. REGIONAL KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS

Pottery use and manufacture elaborate upon this scenario of BaPhuthi occupants pulling together diverse resources, both human and material. Employing the ceramic technotypology described in Chapter 7.4.3: 271, the ceramics present on Bolepeletsa represent two major ceramic traditions with five types of variation within these (Table 8.1 below). Given the relatively small number of pottery sherds recovered from surface scatters, the variety of manufacturing styles represented is all the more striking. In addition to this range of shaping techniques, the surface assemblage reflects at least two different kinds of temper (identified macroscopically), including both fine-grained and coarser combinations of grit, grass, and grog. Interestingly, and again bearing in mind the small assemblage, the pottery from Bolepeletsa was entirely undecorated.

While the site of Qobosheane ha Mnjanyane farther up the Mnjanyane River cannot be attributed solely to the BaPhuthi (the extensive settlement there was occupied by both BaPhuthi and Thembu groups), the elaboration of both ceramic manufacture and decoration present there merits discussion. In total, the assemblage represents the same two major manufacturing traditions seen on Bolepeletsa, but with seven types of variation within them, and likewise shows a range of tempers including fine-grained and combinations of grit, grass, quartz, and grog. Additionally, the Qobosheane ha Mnjanyane assemblage shows a prevalence of incised decoration unusual for sites in the western Maloti-Drakensberg: in contrast to the ceramic assemblage at Ha Makoanyane (King *et al.* 2014) which is almost completely bereft of decorative elaboration, Qobosheane ha Mnjanyane produced a number of ceramic sherds incised in various styles (Figure 8.3 below). Following Huffman's (1980) multi-dimensional

classification scheme outlined in Chapter 7.4.3, decorative features of this assemblage such cord-stamping, rim notching, and appliqué show affinities with Makgwareng facies pottery. Samples of this pottery style have thus far been recovered in contexts from roughly AD 1700-1820 on the Highveld and west of the Drakensberg Escarpment (Huffman 2007: 179-81), although the absence of prior archaeological investigation pertaining to pottery-making peoples in Lesotho may account for this limited geographic and temporal range. The relatively intact nature of the structures on Qobosheane ha Mnjanyane, combined with ethnohistoric testimony as to the site's occupation within the nineteenth century and the chronological frame offered by the decorative traditions, place its occupation as at least within the period of the BaPhuthi's tenure south of the Senqu.

Feature	Modelled			Coiled				% Burnished	Total no. sherds
	I.Sc.	I.Sm.		I.Sc.		I.Sm.			
	E.Sm.	E.Sh.	E.P.	E.Sc.	E.Sm.	E.Sc.	E.Sm.		
Bolepeletsa	6	0	2	0	1	2	13	0.00	24
Qobosheane ha Mnjanyane	3	17	9	6	9	11	69	0.81	124

**Table 8.1.** Ceramic technotypes represented at Bolepeletsa and Qobosheane ha Mnjanyane, showing main ceramic traditions (coiled and modelled), modifications (I. and E. prefixes refer to interior [I] or exterior [E] modifications, and Sc.=scraped, Sm.=smoothed, Sh.=shaved, P.=paddled), and percentage of burnished sherds. Counts in each category reflect individual sherds and include refits, where applicable.



*Figure 8.3. Decorated ceramics recovered from survey in the Mnjanyane Valley, including Qobosheane ha Mnjanyane.*

The range of knowledge and stylistic variety represented in the ceramics from the Mnjanyane Valley, some of which can be attributed directly to the BaPhuthi and some more generally to constituents of Moorosi's Country, attests to the creativity prevalent within the BaPhuthi milieu of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is perhaps too facile to argue that the different technologies and decorations evident in these assemblages correspond to the diverse groups of people that comprised the BaPhuthi's extensive network: as Simon Hall (2012: 305) has noted, '[t]here is an apparent inadequacy of ceramic style, as a proxy for identity, to engage with the finer-grained history of identities afforded by oral and written evidence.' Moreover, ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological work concerning ceramic *chaînes opératoires* in sub-Saharan Africa demonstrate that ceramic manufacture is deeply enmeshed in cultural systems, and that various features of a pot (decoration, shape, firing, clay

processing and temper, and technical traditions) may be ‘multi-lingual’ expressions of a potter’s identity (Gosselain 1999, 2000; Croucher and Wynne-Jones 2006; Cruz 2011). Consequently, the stylistic and technological attributes of a pot may represent an aggregation of the potter’s experiences and choices that may be employed in various combinations, depending on the circumstances in which the potter finds herself. Decorative ceramic attributes may be powerful expressions of social identity (Huffman 2007; Whitelaw and S. Hall in press), but, as described in Chapter 7.4.3, a ceramic analysis that focuses solely on decorative seriation rather than addressing a wider range of choices in the ceramic *chaîne opératoire* would be unable to account for these processes and social contexts. Since the ceramic classification and analyses presented in this study consider both technological and decorative components, it is possible to address several layers of technical knowledge and taste (recalling the discussion in Chapter 2.3: 72 of taste as a convergence of past experience and present or future desires, Stahl 2002), without relying on ceramics as markers of bounded or (literally) inscribed cultural identities.

If one follows Olivier Gosselain’s (2000) suggestion that ‘technical styles’ (technological approaches to potting that are specific to a person or to communities of practice) are less susceptible to change than decorative styles (heavily influenced by social contexts and norms), then the contrast between the ceramics on Bolepeletsa and elsewhere in Mnjanyane could imply different processes of negotiating identities in a culturally heterogeneous context. Potters attached to these locations (‘attached’ because the locations of ceramic manufacture remain unknown) practised individual technical styles while decoration (or lack thereof) represented an effort to navigate social boundaries and norms (e.g. S. Hall 1998). At Bolepeletsa, potters’ technical styles demonstrate diverse backgrounds in technical manufacture, but the absence of

decorative style could be read as efforts to minimise social or cultural distinctions, or simply that such distinctions (at least as mediated through decorative styles) were not significant. At Qobosheane ha Mnjanyane, the proliferation of both technical and decorated styles could therefore be interpreted as a greater emphasis on social and technical distinctiveness. In short, within this formulation decorative style becomes a form of monitoring, to borrow Giddens' (1984: 44) concept, in which a potter articulates a social identity both through intentional, discursive actions (seeking a social response) and also through non-discursive, aesthetic or 'tasteful' choices (cf. S. Hall 2012: 310-1). Thus, one could see ceramic producers in Mnjanyane as being aware of entrenched cultural institutions while making choices that respond to a sense of what they believe is appropriate in their current cultural context.

On the other hand, if one follows Stephanie Wynne-Jones and Bertram Mapunda's (2008) suggestion that multi-ethnic communities can re-configure learning networks and become open to new technical styles, then the differences between the ceramic assemblages in Mnjanyane appear as much more experimental. Working with ethnoarchaeological communities on Mafia Island (Tanzania), Wynne-Jones and Mapunda demonstrated that in situations where multiple ethnic communities are drawn together rapidly, learning networks within which apprentices are taught to pot become more open and cross ethnic and kin boundaries. Thus, technical styles may correspond to a fairly homogeneous community of practice, but that community may not align with ethnic, linguistic, or historical identities. Decorative style would then be simply one more layer of elaboration on both technology and material expression. Taking this view, the situation in Mnjanyane could be interpreted as one in which social boundaries at all levels were being negotiated and new communities of practice were forming.

Regardless of the level at which communities of practice were coalescing, the Mnjanyane Valley and Bolepeletsa in the nineteenth century were clearly witnessing intense experimentation with ceramic materials. Further information about the nature and context of ceramic consumption awaits more extensive fieldwork and more detailed *chaîne opératoire* analysis than was possible for the present study, but the information available here provides a compelling basis for continued investigation. Considering the variety of ceramic styles present in Mnjanyane recalls Andrew Martindale's concept of 'tinkering' discussed in Chapter 2.3: 72: potters were experimenting with combinations of familiar and new technical and decorative styles as part of a dynamic social and cultural context. Thus, it is useful to consider this profusion of ceramic 'tinkering' as part of the cultural milieu that the BaPhuthi had shaped within their territories.

Rock art sites from elsewhere in BaPhuthi territory further contribute to this sense of cultural vibrancy. Along the Sebapala Valley, one of the BaPhuthi's main holdfasts (see Chapter 6.3.1), paintings depicting riders mounted on horses (the regional introduction of which from the 1820s to 1870s provides a secure date for the paintings) (ARAL 335, 341, 368<sup>56</sup>) demonstrate trends that Challis (2009) has previously identified elsewhere in the Maloti-Drakensberg: the emergent symbolism of the horse as a potent cognate for culturally hybrid raiding parties, invoking both protection during raids and rainmaking qualities hitherto inhering primarily in eland. As discussed in the preceding chapters, these and similar cultural innovations were not particular to the BaPhuthi, but were certainly within their ken and comparable processes were at work within their polity.

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<sup>56</sup> ARAL archives, Rock Art Research Institute, also available at [www.sarada.co.za](http://www.sarada.co.za).

At RARI-LES-MTM1<sup>57</sup> on the banks of the Senqu<sup>58</sup>, images of cattle-headed therianthropes and *accoutrements* such as knobkerries and bandoliers associated with Bushman-Bantu interaction (cf. Jolly 2005) have been used to propose that the paintings are a direct product of Bushman-BaPhuthi interaction (Mokhanya 2008: 77-8). At the same site, the presence of human figures in a style dubbed ‘significantly differentiated’ has been linked with similar figures at sites in Nomansland (Blundell 2004: 133-5), implicating RARI-LES-MTM1 in the processes of Bushman-Bantu cultural amalgamation that Blundell has linked with those sites. It is, however, not possible to attribute the site’s authorship definitively to a BaPhuthi-Bushman cohort. Although the BaPhuthi may not have been directly responsible for producing the site, RARI-LES-MTM1 was almost certainly still accessed as part of their landscape. Testimony from the late Manqindi Dyantyi, a descendant of members of Nqabayo’s band of Bushman raiders and the daughter of a painter and rainmaker active in South Africa’s Eastern Cape Province in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, illuminates the consumption of rock art by culturally hybrid raiding groups: Dyantyi told archaeologists and anthropologists that at certain sites (including those with significantly differentiated figures), rainmakers and their followers would dance before the images, and either open their hands towards them or touch them to harness their potency (Prins 1994; Blundell 2004: 166). Statements made by Silayi, a Thembu man who raided with Nqabayo’s band for part of the nineteenth century, in 1884 (Stanford 1910; Maquarrie 1962) further corroborate that the band was raiding cattle

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<sup>57</sup> This site designation (while cumbersome) is the code employed by the South African Rock Art Digital Archive ([www.sarada.co.za](http://www.sarada.co.za)), and is used here for ease of reference.

<sup>58</sup> The site is also referred to ‘Woodlot’ and is the type-site for Woodlot scrapers (P. Mitchell *et al.* 1994).

through Dordrecht and Nomansland at the same time as the BaPhuthi, and that some of Silayi's confederates were painting and consuming images in the 1850s.

More broadly, much of the ethnographic and archaeological material discussed in the Jolly/Hammond-Tooke debate described in Chapter 4.3.2 derives from BaPhuthi territories and, although it may pre-date their ascendancy, it supports the notion of this area having been an incubator for novel interactions between Bantu-speaking and Bushman groups. Jolly (2005) identified rock art depicting beaded bandoliers as evidence of Bushman cultural borrowing from Bantu-speakers, while Hammond-Tooke saw Xhosa-speaking diviners' use of fly-whisks, dancing rattles, and emphases on wild game as potent animals as evidence of borrowing in the other direction (Hammond-Tooke 1998, 1999). Within the Mnjanyane Valley itself, rock art depicting Basotho-style shields (MJV 013<sup>59</sup>, identified as part of my own field surveys) further suggests a scenario of extensive cultural contact between Bushmen and groups of Bantu-speakers throughout the past few centuries.

These features of BaPhuthi territories thus contribute to a picture of on-going cultural contact and innovation. Nqabayoy's and other Bushman raiding bands were not reported on the northern side of the southern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Escarpment (most likely due to the absence of colonial observers dedicated to tracking these bands in that part of the region, e.g. Chapter 6.1: 184), but they formed a part of the same network of nomadic or semi-nomadic raiders of which the BaPhuthi were a part. As Chapter 3 emphasised, the southern Maloti-Drakensberg extending as far east as Qacha's ward in the highlands constituted a cultural milieu defined by sharing beliefs, ritual practices, settlements, and raiding practices among Bushmen, Bantu-speakers,

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<sup>59</sup> This site has yet to be assigned a SARADA code.

Khoekhoen, and escaped slaves. The BaPhuthi may not have been the originators of this milieu and may not have exercised absolute control over it, but their manipulation of the mountains-as-borderlands, particularly their settlements and political strategies, drew on this cultural environment and helped to shape it. Recalling the finds from Ha Phinzi (Chapters 7.4.2 and 7.4.3), the wide repertoire of foreign manufactured beads and metals recovered there supports the notion that Moorosi's Country included exchange networks capable of provisioning inhabitants' tastes in spite of the area's distance from trading hubs such as Thaba Bosiu, Mohale's Hoek, and Aliwal North.

Within this setting, BaPhuthi institutions become more apparent. Sites such as Bolepeletsa appear as expedient but as part of a backdrop of cultural innovation and material experimentation that demonstrates the establishment of BaPhuthi institutions: settlements were built along lines of functional expediency as part of a peripatetic system of occupation, but within extensive networks of social and natural resources, within which these settlements were nodes that could be activated or de-activated at will. Therefore, while individual nodes may manifest themselves materially as refuges, the historically and ethnohistorically known uses of these sites belie a more sustained, culturally ingrained functionality. These examples urge caution, therefore, in the archaeological inferences drawn from sites in the absence of more detailed knowledge about the context in which a site was produced.

### **8.3. TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR COMMUNITY FORMATION AMONG THE BAPHUTHI**

The preceding chapters have demonstrated that we can achieve an understanding of how the BaPhuthi functioned as a group, who their constituents were, and the ways

that one could elect to be BaPhuthi (see the Coda following Chapter 6). Earlier discussions have also shown that one cannot assume that BaPhuthi social organisation followed the same models as those that hold true among either agriculturist nation-states like the Basotho, or creolised, more egalitarian bands like the AmaTola<sup>60</sup>. Resolving these internal dynamics among the BaPhuthi or, indeed, among any of their contemporaries for whom the ethnographic and historical records are scanty or silent will be nearly impossible unless new evidence surfaces. However, the observations made above in this chapter and running through this thesis can, I suggest, contribute to a framework for understanding how community and authority may have been structured amongst the BaPhuthi. While this framework is necessarily somewhat abstract, it is useful in that (as described in Chapter 9.2) the BaPhuthi were one of several contemporary groups operating as semi-nomadic, culturally hybrid entities that drew on diverse cultural institutions. Articulating even a broad framework for how these institutions may have been mobilised is a contribution towards characterising the ways in which these polities emerged and operated within the colonial borderlands, both in southern Africa and elsewhere in the world (see Chapter 9.2).

The framework that I propose rests heavily upon the performance of collective actions and demonstrations of effective leadership. Recently, discussions of how authority

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<sup>60</sup> Colin Campbell (1987) argued that shamans-of-the-game became increasingly important figures for addressing the tension and changing circumstances in which Bushmen found themselves during the colonial period. By acquiring livestock and exploiting their authoritative position, shamans thus rose to the top of a social hierarchy that had been absent prior to the colonial period. However, Challis (2008: 255-8) takes a position that resonates somewhat with my own as presented here: given the absence of conclusive evidence in the rock art of the AmaTola for the formation of social hierarchies, he concludes that historically-known AmaTola 'chiefs' were leaders who emerged by consensus or by circumstance and were able to successfully mobilise the group for specific purposes, rather than being part of a ruling class.

was constituted in the African archaeological past have drawn attention to the importance of alliance building and ‘the performance and maintenance’ of collective actions in producing community cohesion and legitimating authority therein (Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2010: 185). Authority and cohesion were often more consensual than coerced, formed by convention (Lukes 1978: 642-3) in which leaders were those who could best meet the needs and demands of a group of people in a given situation. That leadership was legitimised through subjects’ acceptance of it, something that in turn engendered the collective production of ‘corporate’ (*pace* McIntosh 2005: 133) institutions. To maintain their legitimacy, those institutions demanded re-enactment and negotiation: their success and longevity were contingent upon retaining the support of the collective. These tendencies are especially visible in the emergent chiefdoms of the Maloti-Drakensberg and Highveld during the nineteenth century: chiefs’ powers, while open to abuse, were held in check by the ability of their followers to ‘vote with their feet’ (King *et al.* 2014) and leave if dissatisfied. Speaking of both historic and contemporary circumstances, David Coplan (1994: 34) characterises the constitution of chiefly authority as a ‘balance of hierarchy and reciprocity’: ‘The essence of Sotho-Tswana chieftainship was negotiation and conciliation, reinforced by judicious applications of economic incentive and the threat rather than the peremptory application of force.’

This last point underscores a facet of African mechanisms of chiefly authority that is key for understanding the nature of Moorosi’s polity: the notion that authority resides in the ability successfully to mobilise a range of people and the knowledge they possess. The idea of power as ‘wealth in people’ was proposed by Jane Guyer and Samuel Belinga (1995) in what has become a foundational work for explaining why power in Indigenous African societies rarely manifests itself in hegemonic structures

and material wealth. Drawing on historical and ethnographic evidence from Equatorial Africa, Guyer and Belinga argue that recruiting people rather than goods was the source of power and, more specifically, that the ability to recruit different kinds of knowledge (as opposed to large numbers of people or labour) was the defining feature of an effective leadership. The term they employ for this mobilisation is ‘composition’, the understanding that knowledge is diverse, vital, and often volatile and can only be aggregated and collectively deployed with great skill; ‘composition’ further implies that the great composers of communities saw varied forms of knowledge as a potential source of strength and innovation rather than of instability. Recalling the discussion in Chapter 2.3: 65 of hybridity as a social process akin to nationalism, Guyer and Belinga (1995: 102) suggest that, ‘[w]here knowledge was plural and distributed, the ability to range over vast differentiated social and geographical space for exactly the right components to produce a desired goal was intrinsic to power.’

Again, such concepts resonate with trends in southern African historical leadership. Paul Landau’s (2010) study of popular politics on the Highveld in the last 600 years posits that ‘tribal’ organisations were, in fact, premised upon amalgamations of heterogeneous peoples. Landau (2010: 59) argues, in particular, that genealogies are as much a collaborative effort to ‘cover the tracks of amalgamations’ as they are factual records, which are then materialised in settlement layouts that invoke ties to ancestors both real and imagined<sup>61</sup>. These processes have also been described for the

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<sup>61</sup> I rely on Landau’s arguments insofar as they pertain to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He attempts to extend his argument to the late first/early second millennia AD and as far north as the Zimbabwe Plateau using evidence of phonemic mutations in linguistic documentation from the colonial period and broad trends in settlement. His argument dovetails with my own for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but not prior to the period

AmaLala, a group of people at the margins of the Zulu nation who created a Zulu genealogy to show their affinity with and win the favour of their new overlords (Hamilton and Wright 1990). The paradox inherent in such inclusivity among communities lacking a strong central power structure (and the AmaLala are an excellent counter-example of this) is that it can often exacerbate already-present centrifugal tendencies in the larger polity (cf. Whitelaw 2013): among less hierarchical groups than the Zulu, men at the head of followings often united by an interpretation of lineage would often break from the body politic and form their own alliances and homesteads. Landau's study highlights that an emphasis on authority-as-convention within traditional African communities should not be mistaken for a form of proto-democracy: democracy is an inherently secular, Western invention, whereas the ritual and the secular intertwined to produce the institutions that Landau describes for the Highveld and likely for other southern African situations, too. Given the prevalence of cultural interaction mediated by divination or rainmaking practices in the nineteenth-century Maloti-Drakensberg (Jolly 1993, 1996b, 2006a; Hammond-Tooke 1998), it is not difficult to imagine these practices as part of the ritual-secular complex upon which the BaPhuthi drew.

Following these processes of community formation and leadership, it becomes possible to envision how Moorosi and his BaPhuthi (and similarly heterogeneous entities) were able to compose and, moreover, maintain a polity comprising such diverse interests and backgrounds. The framework proposed here implicates the development of institutions like cattle raiding, semi-nomadism including repeated occupation and abandonment of sites, and even the fluidity of the polity's

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for which inter-related ethnohistoric, archaeological, and direct linguistic evidence is available.

membership. Moreover, in this formulation, subsistence choices and technologies such as horses become an institutional common ground for shared technical knowledge among the polity's varied constituents (see Chapter 4.3.3). The ceramic technologies described above appear as traces of the knowledge networks that BaPhuthi leaders composed and activated, and remind archaeologists of traces that may not have been preserved, such as leather and cloth goods.

Additionally, Mokuoane's and Moorosi's charismatic leadership appear as valuable contrasts with Moshoeshe's: while the three leaders certainly developed what were effectively cults of personality, Mokuoane's and eventually Moorosi's polities appear as far less fragmented. Of course, size has a great deal to do with this, as Moshoeshe's polity was much larger and involved a great many more alliances and divisions of wealth and labour. Nevertheless, Moorosi's ability to maintain his heterogeneous following and draw on their loyalty when needed demonstrates that there were institutions at work that facilitated an extreme amount of group solidarity, without complex systems of reciprocity, agricultural production, and tribute such as those that Moshoeshe himself instituted. Again, while we may never have a complete picture of BaPhuthi internal dynamics, these hints and the rough conceptual frameworks that they provide encourage further exploration of how polities such as the BaPhuthi were held together and mobilised from within.

## CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

In 2011 the South African government awarded a land claim to the BaPhuthi community living in Matatiele in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province, recognising their right to the lands of which the BaPhuthi were divested when, in 1963, the apartheid government included Matatiele in the Bantustan of Transkei. As much as land claims in South Africa often devolve into internecine antagonism (Robins and Van der Waal 2008; King 2011), the BaPhuthi case stands out as a triumph of fraternal co-operation. The BaPhuthi are not the dominant ethnic group in Matatiele, but their numbers are growing: their village of Ha Masakala now hosts a chalet within the Mehlooding Adventure Trail tourism network, thus bringing employment and tourism into BaPhuthi areas.

On the Lesotho side of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Escarpment, BaPhuthi communities continue to exist and maintain contact with their South African relatives, but their outlook is much less rosy. SePhuthi is not a recognised language in Lesotho and, with children being educated in English and Sesotho, BaPhuthi parents and grandparents fear that their language will eventually die out. While BaPhuthi chiefs continue to function at the village level, there are no BaPhuthi regional chiefs, and therefore their interests are often not represented in traditional courts or in

government. Quthing is one of the poorest and most under-resourced districts in Lesotho, with no mines, dams, or large-scale investment in its population and infrastructure. The Lesotho BaPhuthi have formed a *lebandla* (political interest group) and, liaising with their relatives in Matatiele, are advocating for the creation of a trans-frontier sovereign BaPhuthi state. It is doubtful that this will ever be achieved, but these endeavours do engender a sense of solidarity, further fuelled by the annual BaPhuthi pilgrimage to Thaba Moorosi. While the mountain has become, effectively, the Thaba Bosiu of southern Lesotho (although it lacks the UNESCO World Heritage status and multi-million dollar visitors' centre of its northern counterpart), the Lesotho government will not recognise it as such. It is telling that when I proposed my field project to the Lesotho Department of Culture, their first suggestion was to excavate on Thaba Moorosi, whereas the only non-Mosotho to attempt an excavation on Thaba Bosiu (in 1996) was forced off at gunpoint, notwithstanding that he had received official permission to work there. These experiences speak to the broader difficulties of being an ethnic minority in Lesotho: 'Mosotho' and 'Basotho' are not simply ethnonyms but also nationalities, and, inversely, to be a non-Mosotho is to be a lesser citizen.

That these ethnic identities and histories continue to have an impact today underscores points made earlier in this thesis about how ethnonyms behave: ethnonyms are bundles of propositions that, depending on how and by whom they are deployed, can licence particular kinds of treatment and invoke historical and contemporary relationships.

This thesis has demonstrated how refining an understanding of the ways in which identities, whether based in subsistence, observed behaviours, or ideologies, were

created can affect these propositions and produce new ones. The BaPhuthi were not unknown to archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians prior to this work, but they were treated merely as a Sotho chiefdom that was particularly welcoming of Bushmen, similar to the Mpondomise (Jolly 1993: 61-4; Blundell 2004: 125-7). Here, I have demonstrated that a more nuanced reading of historical materials can produce new understandings of how the BaPhuthi constituted their polity physically and demographically, identifying specific nodes within their peripatetic system of rule and nomadic subsistence strategies, and demarcating how their territories shifted throughout their tenure in the Maloti-Drakensberg region. Beyond this, achieving a more comprehensive understanding of the BaPhuthi polity leads to a series of questions and propositions for how we can conceptualise the Maloti-Drakensberg during the colonial period, and the behaviours of historical actors therein.

## **9.1. MATERIAL COROLLARIES OF BAPHUTHI HISTORIOGRAPHY**

The material corollaries of the BaPhuthi polity demanded different archaeological investigative strategies to those commonly employed when addressing Iron Age Farming Communities, which, in turn, led to new methodologies for recovering and evaluating relevant archaeological materials. As a result, this study has demonstrated the viability of a suite of methods necessary for recovering an archaeological perspective on agriculturist and historical communities in the Maloti-Drakensberg region. As illustrated in Chapters 3 and 7, this landscape presents a challenge for preserving archaeological traces pertaining to certain lifeways and time periods (P. Mitchell 2013: 20). The heavy impact of agriculture and livestock grazing, a high degree of erosion, and the ruggedness of the terrain itself means that open-air

archaeological sites will generally not survive unless they are preserved within or underneath modern homesteads, or by simple good fortune (e.g. at the hunter-gatherer riverine campsite of Likoaeng, near Sehonghong, in Thaba-Tseka District, P. Mitchell *et al.* 2008). Additionally, the use of rockshelters as cattle posts, kraals, and for initiation schools within the past few centuries means that, while Middle or Later Stone Age archaeology may be preserved well below modern ground surface, more recent archaeology (especially that pertaining to the last few centuries) will have been destroyed. Nevertheless, the approach employed during this research demonstrated that it is possible to recover such material remains through a strategy tailored to the particularities of the Maloti-Drakensberg landscape and informed by rigorous use of historical and oral historical data. Here and in other publications (Nic Eoin and King 2013; King and Arthur 2014; King and Nic Eoin 2014; King *et al.* 2014), I have established the usefulness (and even the necessity) of incorporating oral geographies in archaeological landscape surveys, particularly where archaeology pertains to local descendant communities. Deployed in tandem with fine-grained survey techniques and a well-developed understanding of historical landscape use, archaeological traces that would have been rendered invisible by large-scale survey techniques become visible, as do the past peoples to whom they relate.

However, the present study has also illustrated that these traces are often present as just that, traces: in addition to the natural and human factors adversely affecting archaeological preservation, given that (as this thesis illustrates) a large part of the Maloti-Drakensberg south of the Senqu was populated by peoples leading semi- to highly mobile lifestyles, it seems inescapable that their archaeological presence will be similarly ephemeral. Thus, while the methods employed in the Mnjanyane Valley have proven effective at recovering such archaeology, the archaeological outcomes

presented here demonstrate that a broader approach is needed to achieve a more complete picture of the southern Maloti-Drakensberg region's archaeological past. Put another way, as evidence is thin on the ground, future research into the archaeology of the past few centuries in this region must cast a wider net, taking in a large number of ephemeral sites rather than focusing on a narrow catchment. As noted in Chapter 7.4.1: 252, studies of pastoral communities in the Western Cape (Fauvelle-Aymar *et al.* 2006; Arthur 2008b) and the Seacow Valley (Sampson 2010) have proven this to be effective in similar situations. Of course, more settled communities such as those around Thaba Bosiu during the nineteenth century and the mid-second-millennium agriculturists living in the Caledon Valley produced a different archaeological signature to the inhabitants of Moorosi's Country (King *et al.* 2014), and the field research strategies employed in the latter context should not be applied wholesale to the former. However, as this thesis represents the first-ever archaeological study of agriculturist communities undertaken for the western Maloti-Drakensberg, its methodological contribution represents a significant step towards developing a broader archaeological understanding of the region and its inhabitants in the last millennium.

This study also joins a comparable study in central-western Lesotho (King *et al.* 2014) in highlighting the need to bring more detailed examinations of material culture to bear on the archaeology of the last few centuries, particularly where this is poorly preserved or scanty. Technological studies of ceramics focusing on *chaînes opératoires* are unfortunately too rare in southern Africa, as technical choices and individual style inhere in these processes and provide a crucial window onto the knowledge of past peoples (S. Hall 2012: 310-1). While the technotypological study employed could address only part of the *chaîne opératoire*, it nevertheless revealed

attributes of the Mnjanyane Valley ceramics that would have gone undetected in the multi-dimensional analysis that is currently standard for Farming Community ceramics in southern Africa. Ideally, and following examples from West and East Africa (Stahl *et al.* 2008; Wynne-Jones and Mapunda 2008; Cruz 2011), integrating technological and stylistic ceramic analyses will enable archaeologists to identify the decisions that potters made in the production process. In so doing, artistic gestures and idiosyncracies become visible, as well as continuities or changes in manufacturing technologies, making it possible to identify communities of practice. Southern African ceramic studies have long relied upon seriation of decorated types to establish patterns of population migration and culture group definition, and critics have argued that as a result the social and cultural context of ceramics in the archaeological past has been obscured or overlooked (M. Hall 1984; Pikirayi 1999, 2007). Examining the full *chaîne opératoire* of ceramic production on both local and regional scales addresses these criticisms, as doing so permits a view of how choices in ceramic production interrelate with individual and group identities.

## **9.2. BORDERLAND HETERODOXIES**

In a similar vein and as mentioned in earlier chapters, the BaPhuthi are one of many heterodox African polities to have appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in southern Africa. Earlier chapters have mentioned some of these entities, including the BaTaung of Moletsane and Posholi's commando. These groups evinced particular forms of social organisation, unifying ideologies, and, as with the BaPhuthi, shaped the southern African frontier as much as they were its products. Moletsane, Posholi, and others are visible historically (albeit often between the lines, similar to the

BaPhuthi), and the same approach employed here to recover the perspective of the BaPhuthi could easily be applied to their cases.

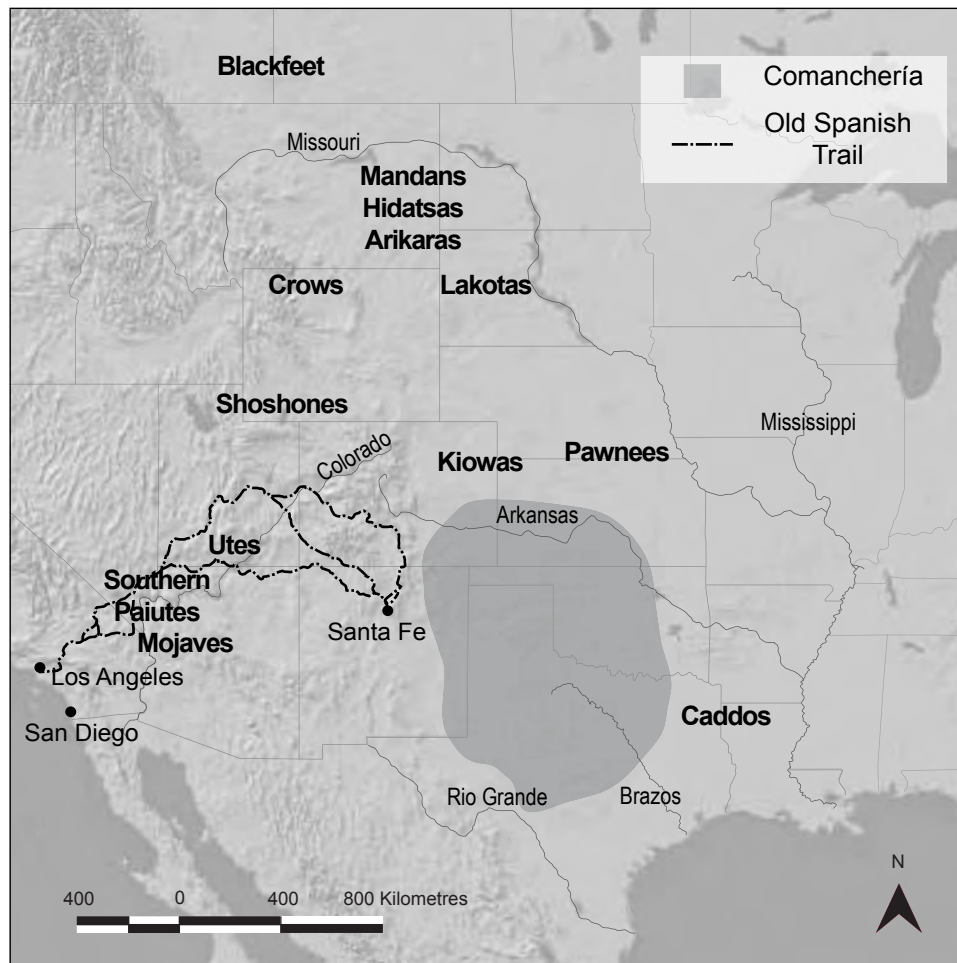
Moreover, as the last several decades have brought the Maloti-Drakensberg/Cape frontier to the fore as a zone of cultural innovations (Wright 1971; Blundell 2004; Challis 2008; Mallen 2008; Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]), historical and archaeological focus has fallen on pockets of distinct, somewhat egregious examples of borderland heterodoxy: people and polities regarded as outlaws and whose heterodoxy in large part is seen through the experiences of their Bushmen constituents, primarily through rock art. However, little research has been done from the perspective of predominantly Bantu-speaker polities such as the Mpondomise, Mpondo, Thembu, Bhaca, and others in the Maloti-Drakensberg, and how they engaged in cultural creolisation and heterodox activities on the frontier. As has been shown in this thesis and elsewhere (Blundell 2004; Challis 2008; Mallen 2008), these groups were also involved in raiding stock from one another and from colonisers, collaborating with Bushmen as raiders and rainmakers, and perhaps, in cases like the Bhaca, also engaging in a degree of nomadic agriculture. Additionally, they did so in constant contact and conflict with one another, meaning that these associations of polities formed a regional network rather than being a string of occasional chiefdoms with cultural phenomena like Bushman raiding bands interspersed among them. Put another way, these relationships between nomadic raiding groups and more sedentary Bantu-speaker chiefdoms were demonstrably symbiotic<sup>62</sup>, and were the norm rather than the exception (the potential for viewing borderland situations as a mosaic of economic options related to landscape use is explored below in Chapter 9.3). As these

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<sup>62</sup> The exception is perhaps when Natal began its programme of settling Bantu-speaking farmers along the edge of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Escarpment as a buffer against Bushman raiders in the late 1840s, see Chapter 3.2.

entities (perceived as chiefdoms) often had to negotiate directly with colonial authorities, they perhaps felt the tensions between frontier heterodoxies and expected orthodox behaviour more acutely than the BaPhuthi and AmaTola. There already exists a good deal of scholarship about the Mpondo (Beinart 1980; Stapleton 2001), Mpondomise, and the Thembu (Peires 1981; Mager 2013), and there is certainly scope to explore the heterodoxies of these polities and their interactions with one another further. These cases would serve as a useful reminder that heterodox formations are not the same in all situations, and that ethnogenesis should not be taken for granted as occurring in every frontier community. Embarking on such a project articulates with my proposal in Chapter 8 that the Maloti-Drakensberg region (especially the southern mountains and Nomansland) should be conceived as an interlinked network of heterodox polities that comprised a far-reaching sphere of influence within southern Africa's changing colonial landscape. Such an approach would surely revise our historical understanding of the colonial Maloti-Drakensberg region's political and cultural configuration.

Looking to comparative situations in colonial contexts in, for example, the North American southwest suggests that we conceive of borderland heterodoxies as significant components of the colonial experience, and to explore the ramifications of shifting our perspective to view the colonial world from these borderlands.



*Figure 9.1. Map showing Comanchería, the Old Spanish Trail, and relative locations of North American Plains cultures in the late nineteenth century.*

On North America's southern Plains, Pekka Hämäläinen (2008) has demonstrated that recovering the perspective of the Comanche Empire (long invisible or miscast in historical accounts) and viewing the history of the American west from Comanchería revises the dynamics of colonial expansion and Indian roles therein. Upon acquiring horses in the late seventeenth century, Comanches transformed themselves from hunter-gatherers on the southern Plains to mounted nomads emphasising bison hunting and horse herding. Hämäläinen (2008: 346) has posited that these and later economic and social innovations were due to Comanche culture and worldview being intrinsically open and adaptable, capable of incorporating new technologies and ideas rapidly and effectively. Thus, within only a few decades of accumulating horses,

Comanches had fully integrated horses into their subsistence strategies, a transition that compressed the Comanche world spatially and temporally, as hunting expeditions could take in more ground faster (Hämäläinen 2008: 29-30). From their advantageous position in the central grasslands, Comanches had access to the natural resources necessary to fuel growth in both their human and horse populations, and to exploit the political advantages of existing between two major colonial spheres: Spanish and Mexican settlement to the south and west, American and French to the east.

American historiography and popular culture in the last century have tended to view Comanches as some of the most wild, irrational, and violent of American Indians. However, Hämäläinen (2008: 39-41) argues that to label Comanche behaviours simply as trading, raiding, and enslaving is to misunderstand Comanche culture. Comanches saw trading as a system of gift-giving between kin (literally or figuratively) and acts labelled by colonial observers as 'theft' were not considered antagonistic by Comanches or their Indian associates. Wars were not acts of conquest but rather premised upon vengeance and the need to extract the spirits of slain kin from those killed in conflict. In terms of settlement and social organisation, Comanches appeared demographically fragmented and dispersed, and indeed the Comanche political system did tend towards local pluralism and fragmentation (Hämäläinen 2010: 184). However, a remarkable strength of the Comanche Empire was the ability of consensus-based Comanche grand councils, during a time of need, to marshal the entire Comanche confederacy rapidly and efficiently. Consequently, Comanches were able to mobilise as formidable military and diplomatic forces, capable of both subduing enemies and forging treaties with colonial and Indian powers alike.

By 1706, Comanches had allied with Utes to raid pueblos and colonial settlements in New Mexico and by the 1740s they had replaced Apaches as the dominant force on the southern Plains, due in large part to Comanche mastery of mounted warfare. Specialised bison hunting and horse herding became the mainstay of Comanche subsistence economy, demanding a high degree of nomadism both to follow seasonal bison hunts and also to find grazing sufficient for what may have been a population of 40,000 Comanches by 1772. Indeed, the significance of horses as social and economic currency, coupled with rapid demographic and territorial expansion, launched an almost Malthusian pattern of Comanche growth, which eventually contained the seeds of Comanche collapse as their environmental demands began to exceed the carrying capacity of the Plains<sup>63</sup>. The Comanche horse and bison economy became central to a burgeoning trading and raiding milieu on the Plains, and gave Comanches access to European goods such as guns and powder, and Indian agricultural products like cereals and maize (Hämäläinen 2008: 347; cf. P. Mitchell in press: Chapter 4 for arguments in favour of a greater role for agricultural or wild plant products). Taking slaves and captives also formed part of this system, as forced labour was necessary for Comanches to maintain their herds and to procure goods through trade, as well as being valuable bargaining chips in negotiations with colonial powers.

Through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Comanches leveraged their military strength and wealth in valuable commodities to establish themselves as powerful middlemen in the Plains trade. Comanches brought bison hides and meat and Apache captives towards New Mexico in exchange for manufactured goods,

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<sup>63</sup> In essence, this process involved an increased demand for bison meat and hides for both subsistence and trade, combined with the almost exponential growth of Comanche horse herds that competed with bison for grazing and winter shelter; see Mitchell in press: Chapter 4 for calculations of how growth in Comanche horse biomass interacted with the amount of grass available on the Plains during various seasons.

while they exploited eastern networks of Pawnee, Wichita, and Caddo farmers to trade for the guns and ammunition forbidden in New Mexico. So successful was their gun trade, in fact, that at one point Comanches were called upon to provide New Mexico with guns (Hämäläinen 1998: 498).

The Comanche trading empire grew to encompass lands from what is today eastern New Mexico and west Texas to the upper Arkansas River, where their trade fairs drew in peoples such as Shoshones, Crows, and Kiowas. Through coercive and cooperative networks that took in numerous other Indian peoples, as well as a large population of captive labour, Comanchería became a cultural melting pot, amalgamating Plains cultures with those of confederates and Mexican and Euro-American captives. In a complex series of treaties, Comanches halted aggressive pushes westward by Osages from the Mississippi Valley and by Utes eastward from the Rocky Mountains (about whom more shortly), solidifying their dominance on the Plains (Hämäläinen 2008: 49-50, 97). Located at an intersection of competing European, and eventually American and Mexican interests, Comanches effectively pitted these powers against one another and negotiated treaties as peers, particularly with the Spanish. Comanche raiding and control of trade goods arguably defined the historical trajectories of what is today northern Mexico, New Mexico, and Texas: Comanches crippled Spain's efforts to make New Mexico economically viable in the eighteenth century, prevented the newly independent Mexico from controlling its borders around the state of Coahuila y Texas in 1821, and after the Texas revolt in 1835 the Mexican government lost hope of reconquering its lost territory because Texas settlers refused to believe Mexico City could protect them from Comanches (Hämäläinen 2008: 143, 150, 167). As New Mexico's and Texas's disenchantment with Mexico City grew and the United States began to exert a greater economic

influence in the west, relations between those territories and the United States were largely facilitated by longstanding Comanche trading routes between the southern Plains and the Mississippi (Hämäläinen 2008: 358).

Thus, from a Comanche perspective there were no frontiers in North America between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (Hämäläinen 2008: 9). The commonly accepted narrative of the United States' expansion into a politically and demographically fractured western frontier simply does not accord with the view from Comanchería: Comanche networks paved the way for American relationships with New Mexico and Texas and, far from being a violent barrier to American and European expansion, Comanches constituted a major sphere of influence with which ambitious colonial powers were forced to contend.

Viewing the American west from the southern Rocky Mountains' Colorado Basin, which Natale Zappia (2008, 2014) has called an Indigenous 'interior world', similarly encourages an exploration of how heterodox polities can shape the terms of the colonial encounter, a process that Hämäläinen (2008: 1, 7-8) calls 'reversed colonialism'. For Zappia, the 'interior world', which encompassed Utes, Mojaves, Quechans, Cahuillas, Yokuts, Yavapies, Kumeyaays, Maricopas, and Akimel O'odhams, was a place where Indian groups maintained a large degree of cultural autonomy while exerting a powerful influence on Spanish and American expansion: far from being a 'middle ground' (*sensu* White 1991) in which Indian and Euro-American populations were compelled to create a mutually intelligible society, in the 'interior world' Indian groups established the conditions through which Indian, Spanish, and American occupation of the Colorado Basin would proceed (cf. Barr 2007).

As mentioned above, Comanches precluded an eastward push by Utes from the southern Rocky Mountains by breaking a long-term Comanche-Ute alliance, effectively closing the southern Plains to Utes (Hämäläinen 2008: 49-50). As a result of this and the enduring instability of the earlier Pueblo Revolt (1680-1692), Utes allied themselves with the Spanish, who were looking to solidify their northern territories, and produced an agreement premised upon access to trade routes through Ute lands. While Zappia (2008: 8) argues that the 'interior world' existed well before the arrival of Europeans, this treaty transformed the 'interior world' into a colonial theatre: although the Spanish were granted rights to trade through the southern Rockies, Utes and other Indian groups maintained effective control of the mountain trails by virtue of their superior knowledge of the terrain, and established themselves as consummate trans-montane traders.

The story of the 'interior world' resonates in places with that of the BaPhuthi. The unintelligibility of the landscape for European (and, from the 1820s, Mexican, Canadian, and American) newcomers gave Indians a distinct strategic and diplomatic advantage, allowing them to serve as guides or middlemen. The central axis of the 'interior world' was the Old Spanish Trail, a route connecting the port of Los Angeles with Spain's New Mexico capital of Santa Fe, along which Indian traders moved goods such as horses, guns, ammunition, turquoise, textiles, beaver pelts, and obsidian (Zappia 2008: 10). As much as trading defined the 'interior world', so too did raiding: Indians (as well as mixed-race groups that occasionally included Europeans) raided Spanish missions, Mexican ranchos, and American homesteads for livestock, guns, and captives. While Utes and others in the Colorado Basin had raided Indian groups such as Shoshones and Paiutes for centuries prior to European arrival, raiding for captives accelerated once the market for labour on ranchos and elsewhere expanded,

inaugurating a traumatic period of widespread violent kidnappings (Zappia 2012). Horses were the technological linchpins that held the 'interior world' together: Utes and their confederates were adept hunters and raiders before they acquired horses, but horses accelerated and expanded the scope of these activities.

Trade along the Old Spanish Trail was commercially significant but often clandestine (Spain threatened to ban Ute trade in 1778) until Mexican independence in 1821 and the influx of American and Canadian settlers into Alta California. Contact between the coast and Santa Fe intensified and the combination of trading and raiding allowed Indians to retain their autonomy within 'interior world': peoples such as Mojaves and Utes were both indispensable middlemen and allies for those tradesmen or settlers seeking to cross the mountains, while their 'hit-and-run' raiding strategies allowed them to accumulate large quantities of horses and guns, thus simultaneously provisioning themselves and destabilising frontier expansion.

Thus, the roads, military groups, and horticultural and semi-nomadic practices that defined the landscape of the 'interior world' were part of an autonomous regional Indian system that endured until the late nineteenth century while retaining ties with European, Mexican, and American markets. Consequently, the 'tribelets' that the anthropologist Alfred Kroeber (1925) observed in the early twentieth-century Colorado Basin were not remnants of 'natural', pristine, or isolated groups of people (as he suggested), but represented centuries of intraregional contact and material innovation; indeed, the landscape itself was hardly pristine, as the Colorado Basin was a zone of extensive Indian experimentation with various horticultural and land management strategies (Zappia 2008: 16).

Returning to the descriptions of borderlands and heterodoxies laid out in Chapter 2.2, the ‘interior world’ was an interstitial space, but one where heterodoxies, behaviours that contested the expectations of colonial authority, dictated the terms of colonial encounters rather than being reactions thereto. Recalling Adelman and Aron’s (1999: 815-6) description of borderlands as places of accommodation rather than ‘unambiguous triumph’, viewing the ‘interior world’ in this light demands revising narratives of Euro-American expansion that rest on outright conquest and doomed native resistance. Indeed, in the case of the ‘interior world’ raiding (of goods more than of captives) activities certainly constituted a form of resistance, but a fairly banal form, as raiding was so widespread and Indian control of the ‘interior world’ was fairly secure.

Returning to southern Africa, the preceding discussion suggests that we should re-examine those institutions and actors labelled as heterodox as potentially significant in shaping colonial borderlands. Turning to one particular heterodox institution, the discussion of the BaPhuthi in this thesis prompts a re-consideration of what cattle raiding entailed and how it functioned on the eastern edges of the Cape Colony. If the BaPhuthi were, as I have demonstrated, skilled manipulators of the socio-politics of the borderlands rather than the opportunistic criminals that some contemporary accounts make them out to be, then surely the institution of ‘cattle raiding’ is more than an opportunistic crime, at least as it functioned among African polities. The ease with which raiding targets could become allies and *vice versa* implies that, while raiding certainly entailed conflict, it was not always a purely malicious or self-serving act, but rather a practice that was somehow part and parcel of borderland interactions. In colonial historiography of the Maloti-Drakensberg, the focus on raiding as an illicit act has tended to obscure more legitimate actions like trading, and also to gloss over

the fact that raids may have more culturally ingrained meaning than they were credited with. This study is guilty of perpetuating that gloss as shorthand for describing BaPhuthi behaviour, but also highlights the need for closer study of the political, economic, and cultural space that cattle raiders occupied on the borderlands and frontiers of southern Africa.

### **9.3. SUBSISTENCE AND LANDSCAPE AS OPTIONS**

Chapter 3.1 demonstrated that at least from 2000 BP the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains were a dynamic region in which populations exchanged technologies and ideas. Archaeological data and the historical evidence adduced here have shown that the Maloti-Drakensberg presented a range of social and economic options for those who dwelt therein or moved throughout: technologies such as ceramics, metals, and domesticates were selectively incorporated into hunter-gatherer repertoires, Bantu-speaking agriculturists were able to adopt lifeways that closely resembled foraging behaviours, and all parties through the last 500 years found ways to exploit the region's microclimatic and topographic variations. Particularly within the last few centuries, the Maloti-Drakensberg clearly emerged as a social phenomenon as much as a natural one (although one can certainly argue this for earlier periods): the landscape was itself an actant (*sensu* Latour 1996, 2004) in facilitating the heterodox behaviour of the BaPhuthi and others, and in the friction that it presented with respect to the infrastructure of particular kinds of institutions, like Basotho agriculture and colonial authority.

Taking this view of the Maloti-Drakensberg region permits one to see the landscape as a series of options for subsistence and social interactions within a set of ecological

parameters. I do not mean this statement to revive criticisms of environmental determinism, nor to embark on the well-rehearsed arguments for landscape as an inherently social formation (Lefebvre 1991; Bender 1993; Tilley 1994; Heidegger 1997; Ingold 2000); instead, I mean to draw attention to how this conception of the Maloti-Drakensberg interacts with the expectations that certain past populations would necessarily have been committed to certain forms of subsistence. The BaPhuthi case study identifies the Maloti-Drakensberg region as a valuable example of how people dwelling in a landscape can identify and engage with a variety of social and economic options, including pronounced mobility, sedentism, band formation, social hierarchies, agriculture, pastoralism, and foraging, all within the same or adjoining physical spaces. As described in Chapter 2.2: 63, theorists within hunter-gatherer studies have emphasised that subsistence should be seen as a series of social choices rather than as heritable institutions (Ingold 2000; Pluciennik 2008); the archaeology and history of the last few centuries in the Maloti-Drakensberg region have demonstrated that this is a viable viewpoint.

In essence, I am proposing an approach to the Maloti-Drakensberg that falls into the category of landscape historical ecology, a discipline that addresses the historical trajectories of a landscape from cultural and ecological perspectives that foreground the social context of human-environment interactions (Balée and Erickson 2006). Under the landscape historical ecology paradigm, the focus falls on articulating human agency: while environments present a limited range of economic opportunities, people interact with and shape their environment based on a range of needs and desires, meaning that landscapes always have a sociocultural and political frame (Balée and Erickson 2006: 4). In South Africa's Namaqualand region, Rick Rohde and Timm Hoffman (2008) have employed a landscape historical ecology

approach in a study of ‘ecological revolutions’ contingent on changing political situations and modes of production. Employing archival sources, oral histories, repeat photography, and data on climate, cropping, and grazing, Rohde and Hoffman argue that landscape management (or mis-management) in their study area has been fundamentally linked with major sociocultural changes over the last 2,000 years (despite the name of their article). These changes, or ‘ecological revolutions’, include the emergence of pastoralist societies *c.* 2000 BP (see P. Mitchell 2002a: Chapter 9 and Orton *et al.* 2013), the expansion of the colonial livestock economy in the eighteenth century, and in the twentieth century the organisation of the area’s Indigenous population into reserves concurrent with a decline in rural economy and land reform. However, the lack of an archaeological component to this and related studies (Hongso *et al.* 2009; Hoffman and Rohde 2011) restricts the available time depth and the scope of investigations concerned with human engagements with these landscape changes.

In East Africa, projects under the aegis of the Historical Ecologies of East African Landscapes (HEEAL) programme have likewise addressed the ecological, social, and economic impacts of nineteenth-century European economic interest on East African landscapes (Lane 2010). Focusing in large part on the expansion of the ivory trade but also examining changing agricultural and forestry practices, work by Paul Lane and his students and colleagues has interrogated the effects of the increasing demand for African commodities on local ecologies, population health, and local perceptions of landscape and environment (Lane 2010: 304). Archaeologically, HEEAL projects have included: large-scale foot surveys and targeted test pits to recover significant faunal, botanical, and artefactual assemblages (Biginagwa 2009); geoarchaeological studies of soil erosion phases to determine the effects of agricultural intensification;

and stable isotope analyses of historic and modern samples of ivory, thus identifying ivory provenance based on elephant diets and locating the ivory trade within the changing landscape (Coutu 2011). Measuring landscape and ecological change in the colonial period demands identifying pre-colonial antecedents, and by thus charting changes in land use over time, the HEEAL programme has aimed to provide ‘usable’ pasts that are relevant to the livelihoods of East African people today (Lane 2010: 313).

The two cases outlined above are excellent examples of approaches that place human-environment interactions in a social frame and in which human agency is a leading concern, and resonate with suggestions I have made above about investigating subsistence options in the Maloti-Drakensberg. Furthermore, achieving an understanding of how those who dwelt within the Maloti-Drakensberg saw themselves, their histories, and their relationships with the landscape would add substance to the subsistence-based identities employed hitherto. Taking a cue from the so-called ‘cultural turn’ in North American environmental history (White 2010), attempting an emic perspective on historical social and environmental change gives prominence to the choices that historical actors made. It thus becomes possible to explore decisions to become farmers, nomads, traders, etc. in the context of expanding commodity markets, changing boundaries, the introduction of new technologies, and (as described in Chapter 2.1) the expectations and dictates of colonial authorities. Moreover, recovering this sort of emic view engages with Ingold’s (2000: 42, 77) proposition that divisions between hunter-gatherers, farmers, and pastoralists inhere in the social and cosmological relationships between humans and environment, rather than in economic activities alone.

Looking to examples of hybrid cultural and environmental histories from North America, one ready comparison with southern Africa is the set of consequences following the introduction of the horse. The impact of the horse on Indigenous cultures both in southern Africa and North America has been discussed in Chapter 4.3.3 and reviewed by both Challis (2008) and Peter Mitchell (in press), and I will not belabour the comparison here. However, I wish to highlight how the incorporation of technologies such as horses into Indigenous lifeways was often part of a larger environmental transformation. This included Indigenous groups expanding their territories, changing land use patterns, becoming incorporated in trading networks, and attaching themselves (voluntarily or otherwise) to mission stations with expectations of sedentism and agriculture.

To take one example, on the Northern Plains the incorporation of the horse into Blackfoot culture permitted access to the Euro-American fur trade that was gradually gaining footholds on the Plains from the 1780s. Mounted, Blackfeet could expand their hunting range to take in more ground in what is now Montana and the Canadian provinces of Alberta and British Columbia, and acquire larger quantities of meat and hides. They would then exchange these for money, guns, cloth, and other goods from the Hudson's Bay and North West Trading Companies (Hämäläinen 2003: 848-9). For Blackfoot chiefs or aspiring 'big men', this increased access to personal wealth amplified changes already occurring in Blackfoot social hierarchies and gender relations: an elite class was emerging based on wealth in horses, which allowed horse-rich Blackfeet to afford more wives, who could then process more furs and hides, and thus bring Blackfoot elites further into the fur trade (Ewers 1955: 318-20). The demand for horses to supply furs and hides impacted the natural and cultural Plains landscape: beaver populations were dramatically reduced or depleted and Indians

involved in the fur trade had to re-focus their energies on bison, increasing the number of bison that a tribe had to take to satisfy subsistence and commercial requirements, and necessitating the aggressive expansion of hunting territories (Hoxie 1995: 71).

These violent clashes over horses and lands were particularly detrimental to Crow Indians, who had occupied land around the Yellowstone River from the seventeenth century. Upon acquiring horses in the eighteenth century, Crows took advantage of their access to the Rocky Mountains and fashioned a montane horse transhumance system, moving through passes in the foothills of the Rockies to access river basins like the Wind and Yellowstone. In this way, Crows were able to navigate the harsh and often unpredictable climates of the Northern Plains (Hoxie 1995: 67). The arrival of the fur trade on the Plains and the demand for horses and bison that ensued disrupted this system: Crows successfully established themselves as horse-rich middlemen in the fur trade, but this made them targets of raids by Blackfeet and others, and they lost a great portion of their lands and people in wars over horses and territories.

During the 1830s and 1840s, Crow locations were determined largely by the locations of their powerful neighbours. Later in the nineteenth century, the establishment of military forts and Indian agencies on the Northern Plains further contributed to the re-shaping of Indian territories and resource exploitation. Charged with providing Indian tribes with rations and goods, as well as monitoring Indian behaviour for the United States government, agencies provided Indians with grain and other commodities, while forts offered opportunities for acquiring guns and ammunition. For Crows, as well as their allies and enemies, these institutions were a mixed blessing: food and

weaponry allowed Crows to defend themselves and supplement their own food supplies during winter, but also allowed their enemies access to firearms (Hoxie 1995: 76). Agencies and forts thus contributed to the re-structuring of Plains landscapes, acting as hubs for more settled tribes looking for protection, and as *entrepôts* that fuelled the consolidation and fragmentation of Indians and their territories.

Returning briefly to Comanches, their migration from the southern Rocky Mountains to the southern Plains in the early eighteenth century necessitated negotiating survival in a new, grassland environment. The ubiquity of grazing allowed Comanches to build huge herds of livestock and reduce (possibly even eliminate) their reliance on wild or cultivated foodstuffs (Hämäläinen 2010: 180). Comanches' rise to political power based on this increased access to horses for raiding and trading has already been discussed, and retaining their positions depended on reliable access to the environmental resources necessary to sustain their herds. Over several decades in the nineteenth century, Comanches established an intricate land-use system alternating between lowland settlements in the winter (emphasising bison, deer, elk, and antelope hunting) and more nomadic hunting and grazing during the spring and summer (Hämäläinen 2010: 194-5). In doing so, Comanches changed the biology of the southern Plains: they burned swathes of grass to promote new growth and secured river systems for horse habitation by crowding out other grazing species. Raiding for horses, livestock, and crops was part of this strategy: raids alleviated some of the pressure for Comanches to raise and breed their own animals and to grow their own crops, thus externalising some of the environmental costs that their economy entailed. Raiding cattle and horses was therefore as much a subsistence activity as it was a political strategy or social institution (Hämäläinen 2010: 198, 204).

Comanche raids affected Euro-American settlements and also other Indian groups farther north, forcing Indians with a strong tradition of settled agriculture to re-visit their settlement choices in the light of increased threats from mounted raiders. On the Plains, the widespread shift to mounted nomadism and raiding, fuelled by the demands of expanding trade networks, instigated a regional Red Queen Effect: whether traditionally sedentary or nomadic, in order to survive in this new order Plains Indians had to consider subsistence systems in which they had enough horses and livestock to provision and defend themselves without accumulating so much as to become raiding targets. Peoples such as Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras opted for settled agriculture, minimal possession of horses, and short bison hunts, but suffered greatly from smallpox and frequent attacks by the more mobile Blackfeet, among other groups. Other traditionally agriculturist peoples, including Pawnees and Wichitas, became increasingly nomadic, which gave them a greater advantage in evading or confronting mounted fighters like Comanches and Lakotas. However, these transitions were not simply economic and involved confronting and re-negotiating beliefs and cultural values: for instance, Pawnee cosmology equated corn with life, meaning that Pawnees could not easily abandon maize agriculture and thus remained tied to their villages for at least part of the year, which left them vulnerable to raids (Weltfish 1965: 258).

These cases from the North American Plains recall the discussion of the Griqua and Korana from Chapter 2.1.3. In particular, considering the social and political context in which the Korana emerged as raiders along the Orange River suggests that for the Korana, cattle raiding may have been another location on a spectrum of pastoralist activities. Following Penn's (1995) discussion, Korana were recruited from Khoekhoe pastoralists and 'Bastaards' who were often displaced or economically destabilised

once the northern frontier was opened for livestock farming and settlement by burghers or wealthy 'Bastaards'. In describing Korana use of raiding as both economic and resistance strategies, Penn (2005: 109) has suggested that among nomadic pastoralist societies warfare and raiding were means of reducing tensions within a society; as such, Korana cattle raiding may have sat comfortably within a range of Khoekhoe social institutions, as well as usefully destabilising the colonial frontier. Further, Korana groups pursued a variety of strategies to survive on and exploit the frontier, from cattle raiding to attaching themselves to Sotho or Tswana chiefdoms (e.g. the Links Korana in Chapter 4.2) and even adopting farming at mission stations. Thus, inasmuch as the Korana were best known as cattle raiders and mounted warriors, they demonstrated a tremendous amount of flexibility in terms of establishing economies and alliances where these were necessary to live on the northern frontier.

Bearing these examples in mind encourages careful consideration of how subsistence-based labels are linked with ethnic identities, and what behaviours these denote, particularly in the Maloti-Drakensberg. To reiterate points made earlier in this thesis, the BaPhuthi do not conform to any archaeological subsistence-based label that may be applied to them short of 'pastoralist', which is technically accurate but fails to capture the elective nature of that lifestyle. Similarly, Bushman raiding societies like the AmaTola cannot properly be classified as hunter-gatherers once they adopted the horse. The same argument can be applied to archaeological finds of domesticated livestock at Sehonghong, Pitsaneng, and Likoeng in the late first/second millennia AD, which suggest that hunter-gatherers may have found a way to incorporate livestock into their lifeways and may have become 'hunters with sheep' (P. Mitchell *et al.* 2008; cf. Sadr 2008).

This long history of social and technological innovation and experimentation demands closer interrogation both of those archaeological contexts with early domestic introductions, and of others with extensive deposits pertaining to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century implantation of agriculturist communities. Moreover, and echoing points made in Chapter 9.1 above, resolving these processes demands detailed attention to primary evidence of changes in subsistence technology. Particularly with respect to the introduction of domestic crops and animals, southern African archaeology has tended to rely on proxy indicators of these (e.g. grindstones as proxies for maize and millet); in particular, studies of archaeobotanical remains from the last two millennia, which would provide direct evidence of crop cultivation, are all too rare (P. Mitchell 2002a: 275; but see Greenfield *et al.* 2005). Recent ancient DNA analysis of Nguni cattle has begun to reconstruct how populations of cattle moved throughout southern Africa (Horsburgh *et al.* 2013), and, while this study is in its early stages, the lone sample currently available from the Maloti-Drakensberg does belong to the same haplogroup as samples from South Africa's KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo Provinces. The arrival of cattle in the Maloti-Drakensberg may therefore be related to the arrival of technologies from the north and east, perhaps in advance of the agriculturists themselves or perhaps through early interactions between aboriginal hunter-gatherers and newly settled populations (P. Mitchell 2004). Resolving these and other questions regarding interaction and subsistence demands similar attention to direct evidence of technological innovation, including examining evidence of domestic stock management (herd profiles, secondary resource extraction, etc., see Halstead 1996), starch and phytolith analysis of grindstones<sup>64</sup>, and flotation of archaeological deposits to recover archaeobotanical remains.

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<sup>64</sup> Geeske Langejans' (2006) work and Luíseach Nic Eoin's (University of Oxford)

In addition to new methodologies, social propositions follow from treating subsistence technologies and landscape as options. For example, if, following Etherington's (2001: 14-5) and Swart's (2010: 93) suggestions that horses would have functioned only as status symbols subordinate to cattle in sedentary, generally hierarchical Bantu-speaking societies, what of more mobile societies such as the BaPhuthi? Would horses have occupied a different technological and social space in BaPhuthi culture? Do Hämäläinen's (2003: 835) and Challis's (2008: 230) observations that the adoption of the horse 'transcended the farmer-nomad dichotomy' have applied to both subsistence and cosmologies among the BaPhuthi, just as it did among Comanches in North America and the AmaTola in the Maloti-Drakensberg? Chapter 4.3.3 and discussions throughout this thesis suggest that the answer is yes, but clearer resolution demands closer interrogation of ethnographic and historic material pertaining to the BaPhuthi and their compatriots.

## **9.4. NAME-CALLING IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PAST**

This thesis began with observations on revisionist approaches to the 'tribe', and so it is appropriate to end with a discussion of tribes and tribal identities as they have appeared in the preceding chapters. Inasmuch as one aspect of the revisionist project entails rehabilitating marauding hordes and barbarians running rampant across the historical landscape, this thesis has accomplished this in several ways. Chapter 3 demonstrated that the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains were not simply a nest of lawless bandits, but an active corridor and locus of cultural creativity. As observed in

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forthcoming DPhil are the only attempts at such studies for southern Africa. While their results are preliminary, their methodologies will ideally be applied more broadly to agriculturist studies in the near future.

Chapter 1, ‘reactionary heathens’ can be transformed into major historical actors by showing that these are, in fact, people with particular histories, which was the focus of Chapters 4-6. Similarly, underpinning this thesis has been the assertion that the BaPhuthi, as well as other groups engaged in raiding ventures, rarely did so out of sheer opportunism, but as part of a larger programme of inter-group alliances, conflicts, and compromises, albeit on varying scales. This revisionist strategy is drawn in part from Hämäläinen’s (2008) work on the Comanches, although extended to address the material aspects of the BaPhuthi: Hämäläinen’s work is inspired, but in its detailed historical analysis he overlooks the material aspects of the Comanche Empire and the archaeological implications inherent in these (cf. P. Mitchell in press: Chapter 4).

In drawing attention to this point, I return to observations in Chapter 2 and above that historical identities are constructed and materialised, and that these are accessible insofar as they are read in tandem across multiple lines of evidence. The concepts of ‘BaPhuthi’ adduced within this thesis demonstrate that this identity meant and did a variety of things for different people during the nineteenth century, and that this polysemy inhered in places like Bolepeletsa, Wittebergen, Thaba Moorosi, and elsewhere. My aim in drawing out these facets of being BaPhuthi and criticising subsistence-based and tribal labels was not to highlight the futility of archaeological and historical nomenclature; as one Oxford lecturer observed to me, ‘You have to call people something at some point.’ The purpose of these discussions has been to demonstrate that tribes, ethnic groups, and subsistence categories can be valid self-identifications or useful heuristics, but only when fully parsed and contextualised (cf. McGranaghan 2012). This approach is, I believe, a contribution to post-colonial revisionist projects: as noted in Chapter 1, post-colonial projects should not simply be

about tearing down past paradigms such as tribes or introducing peripheral ones, but also about taking these apart to see how they work.

This study is also relevant to contemporary debates surrounding post-apartheid identities. This is admittedly dangerous territory, as in both Nelson Mandela's 'Rainbow Nation' and Thabo Mbeki's 'African Renaissance' archaeological and historical pasts tended to become weapons in a battle for political recognition of historically disenfranchised peoples (Meskell 2006; King 2011; Esterhuysen 2012). Especially in Lesotho, triumphalist narratives of Moshoeshe's rise to power leave little space for alternative or marginal histories such as those of the BaPhuthi. I appreciate that when BaPhuthi, Thembu, and Basotho communities receive copies of this thesis (which they will, translated into Xhosa and Sesotho, as part of the agreement that allowed me to work in certain villages), many will be opposed to its findings and it will very likely fuel the tensions described above (cf. Giblin 2014).

However, substantial portions of Lesotho will be inundated by large dam construction in the coming two decades as part of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, including parts of former BaPhuthi lands along the upper Senqu River. The impacts of these dams on cultural heritage (tangible and intangible) will be severe and will demand a large programme of mitigation and conservation sensitive to the social and political histories of the region, and also to the nature of the archaeology present therein. Recently, archaeologists and heritage managers working in Lesotho, including the nation's only consortium of Basotho archaeologists (the Lesotho Heritage Network), have called for mitigation programmes that take greater cognisance of the intangible significance of places destroyed during dam building, greater attention to sites of historic significance, and a higher degree of engagement with impacted communities

(Gill *et al.* 2013; King and Arthur 2014). Furthermore, work at the Metolong Dam in west-central Lesotho has recently demonstrated that where a region has a well-documented archaeological record, the case for extensive mitigation is easier to make (King *et al.* 2014). This thesis is an attempt to address these needs, by contributing to the archaeological record for southern Lesotho and demonstrating for the first time the connections between historical and archaeological identities, landscape, and archaeology therein. Provided that future development projects have a thorough cultural resource management programme, this study will therefore have a direct bearing on the mitigation strategies employed ahead of them.

# APPENDIX A

## NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY, PRONUNCIATION, AND TERMINOLOGY

Throughout the majority of this thesis, I have followed Lesotho's national Sesotho orthography adopted in 1906, except where a quoted text employs different conventions and in the northern Sotho and Tswana case studies in Chapter 8.1, for which Northern Sotho orthography is most appropriate. Sesotho orthography has several peculiarities:

1. A double consonant is a prolongation of the single consonant; consequently, the double *Mm* as a prefix of a woman's name is now commonly written '*M*', as in '*M'e*' ('Ms.').
2. When placed before another vowel *e* is pronounced as *y*.
3. An *l* before an *i* or *u* is pronounced as *d*; for example, *Lerotholi* is pronounced *Lerothodi*.
4. When placed before another vowel *o* is often pronounced as *w*; for example, *Moshoeshoe* is pronounced *Moshweshwe*.
5. *Ph* represents an aspirated *p*; *th* an aspirated *t*; and *tš* an aspirated *ts*.
6. Sesotho has one click: an alveo-palatal click orthographically represented in its ejective, nasal, and aspirated forms by *q*, *nq*, and *qh* respectively. In the international phonetic alphabet, the sounds are represented by /!k'/, /<sup>h</sup>!/, and /!<sup>h</sup>/.

In Bantu languages, cultural identities, languages, and possessive locations are formed from a root word appended to prefixes that vary according to the language. People who reside in Lesotho and self-identify as part of lineages related to Moshoeshoe I's nation refer to themselves as *Basotho*, with *Mosotho* as the singular; 'Basotho' is therefore a modern nationality as well as an ethnic identification. Similarly, a single member of the BaPhuthi is a *MoPhuthi*. Their languages are thus *Sesotho* and *SePhuthi*. Following both the Lesotho national orthography and the sensibilities of modern Basotho, I employ the lowercase 's' in *sotho* when it is used in 'Sesotho',

‘Mosotho’, and ‘Basotho’, while I retain the uppercase in most other ethnic groups whose titles are thus constructed for the sake of clarity (cf. Rosenberg and Weisfelder 2013: 214-5).

As noted in Chapter 1: 34, I employ colonial terminology and nomenclature where these are the most appropriate phrases, where they are used in direct quotations, or where they serve a rhetorical purpose (and they are then placed in quotation marks). I refer to ‘Basutoland’ only where this was the official name of the annexed territory (later colony) from 1871-1966.

Importantly, I use the term ‘Basotho’ purely in its political sense as outlined above. This decision is premised upon the discussion in Chapter 4.2, wherein I illustrated how Moshoeshoe created the identity ‘Basotho’ from various Bantu-speaking clans united under a complex system of political and economic obligations. While Moshoeshoe’s own lineage, the BaKoena ba Mokoteli, became and remains the aristocratic ruling house of the Basotho, in its original sense Basotho did not refer to a culturally homogeneous group with shared ancestors. As mentioned above and in Chapter 9, today in Lesotho ‘Basotho’ is a nationality and an ethnicity: to identify as Basotho today means to claim a shared ethnicity as descendants of Moshoeshoe’s polity, regardless of the clan identification of one’s nineteenth-century progenitor. In other words, modern Basotho tend to subsume their nineteenth-century ancestors’ diversity in favour of adopting a more cohesive Basotho identity (see Coplan 1994 for a more in-depth discussion of modern Basotho identity, particularly related to migrant labour). Thus, within this thesis I use ‘Basotho’ to refer to Moshoeshoe’s polity, acknowledging the diversity that ‘Basotho’ encompassed during the nineteenth century.

More broadly, the term ‘Sotho’ as used in this thesis refers to the Sotho language (part of the Sotho-Tswana group of Southern Bantu languages) and speakers of that language (including its northern and southern variants) rather than to a particular ethnic group. As such, ‘Sotho’ languages and peoples cover a massive area extending from South Africa’s Eastern Cape Province to its North-West Province and Botswana.

On a related note, archaeologists and anthropologists often refer to ‘Bantu peoples’ or ‘Bantu-speaking peoples’ to describe communities descended from Bantu-speaking populations believed to have arrived in the southern African subcontinent c. 1800 BP (Huffman 2007). As used within archaeology, and echoing points made in Chapters 2.1 and 7.1, this denotes more than purely linguistic affiliations: from their arrival in the subcontinent, Bantu-speaking peoples have been associated with economies that emphasised livestock and cultigens such as sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*), pearl millet (*Pennisetum americanum*) and finger millet (*Eleusine coracana*), ceramic production, symbolic beliefs emphasising ancestor-worship, and (uniting these in a idealised cognitive system) homesteads built according to the Central Cattle Pattern. By referring broadly to ‘Bantu-speaking peoples’ within this thesis (particularly in Chapters 2 and 7 and in order to differentiate them from Khoekhoen and Bushmen), I recognise that the term carries the conceptual baggage described above. In my discussion, I endeavour to make it clear that the term is primarily a shorthand used to describe a very broad linguistic community that is separate from speakers of Khoeid languages (e.g. Khoekhoen and Bushmen), acknowledging that linguistic divisions do not necessarily track with sociocultural divisions. However, both in historical imaginations and in emic constructions of identity there appear to have been a certain amount of broad social differentiation between Bantu-speakers and other nineteenth-

century African peoples, and so there was some tangible difference between these in the past (e.g. McGranaghan 2014a).

The term ‘Bushman’ (Dutch, *Bosjesman*) was employed by European observers from the eighteenth century onward (alongside – and eventually supplanting – the Cape Khoekhoe term *Soaqua* or *Sonqua*) to denote not only hunter-gatherers, but also wild, ‘uncivilised’ Africans resisting colonial rule through unlawful activity such as raiding (see Chapters 2.1 and 3.2: 100 and the Coda following Chapter 6). From the latter half of the twentieth century, scholars and advocates for the rights of forager populations in southern Africa have employed the Khoe-derived *San*, which, in its original idiomatic sense, also suggests social inferiority and a lack of property. Without a clear consensus among extant hunter-gatherer peoples or their descendants, and given that nineteenth century informants self-identified as ‘Bushmen’, this is the term that I employ throughout this thesis.

Similarly, I follow the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (<http://undesadspd.org/IndigenousPeoples.aspx>) in capitalizing ‘Indigenous’ where this references a population, and retaining the lowercase ‘indigenous’ when I use the word as a general adjective. Obviously, interactions from the seventeenth century onwards produced hybrid populations that incorporated Indigenous and colonial elements, and thus beg the question of whether these qualify as Indigenous in southern Africa today (Meskell 2002, 2006; Robins and van der Waal 2008). For the sake of simplicity, within this thesis I reserve the term ‘Indigenous’ for those populations inhabiting the southern African sub-continent prior to the arrival of Portuguese and Dutch sailors in the mid-second millennium AD. These include groups that are predominately composed of Bantu-speakers, Khoekhoen, Bushmen,

and exclude groups of mixed African and European descent such as ‘Bastaards’, ‘Griquas’, and ‘Oorlams’.

In historical documents and even among modern scholarship, the orthography of some ethnonyms varies widely. In drawing on these sources to refer to specific communities, I have standardised my use of these terms and their spelling in accordance with conventions employed by southern African historians, except, of course, where the original spelling is preserved in a quotation. These standardisations are:

<i>My usage</i>	<i>Derived from</i>
Bantu or more specifically Xhosa, depending on context	Caffre, Kaffer, Kaffre, Kaffir
BaThlaping	Bachapin(s)
Bechuana	Bichuana(s)
Bushman	Baroa, BaTwa, Bosjeman, Botwa, San
Khoekhoe (pl. Khoekhoen)	Hottentot, Khoe, Khoi, Khoikhoi
Mfengu	Fetcani, Ficani, Fingo, Fitcani
Thembu	AmaThepu, BaThepu, Tambookie
Tlokoa	Mantatees, Tlokwa
Zulu	Zooloo

## APPENDIX B

### DAVID FRÉDÉRIC ELLENBERGER AND HIS ARCHIVE

Perhaps the best source of biographical information about D.F. Ellenberger is the introductory essay accompanying the 1992 re-print of *History of the Basotho*: this was written by Stephen Gill, curator of the Morija Museum and Archives, in close consultation with scholars of Lesotho history such as David Ambrose and Mosebi Damane, as well as with members of the Ellenberger family. The biographical outline presented in the following paragraphs is a brief summary of salient events from that essay.

D.F. Ellenberger was born on 14 April 1835 at Yverdon in the Swiss canton of Vaud, the fifth of seven children born to a clothier, Jacob, and his third wife Salomé. After his stepmother's and father's deaths in 1840 and 1842, respectively, David-Frédéric was separated from some of his siblings and spent an unhappy adolescence with another family before joining his brother Henri in Paris in 1853. There, he became actively involved in evangelism and, in 1856, he enrolled at the Mission House of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS). David-Frédéric excelled in his studies there, including medicine (which attracted the attention of Eugène Casalis, eventual founder of the Lesotho Mission), and was ordained on 4 November 1860. Shortly before his ordination, on 11 October 1860, David-Frédéric married Emma Hartung, a Frenchwoman educated in England who would become his partner in both scholarly and spiritual endeavours. The couple were dispatched to Lesotho in late 1860 charged with revitalising the Lesotho Protestant mission that Eugène Casalis had started in

1833, but which had been enervated by a lack of resources and setbacks from the First Basotho-Boer War in 1858. The Ellenbergers were sent to Bethesda (Maphutseng), the station originally intended to minister to the BaPhuthi until the BaPhuthi's migratory nature thwarted the missionary Christian Schruppf's best efforts (see Chapter 4: 149). Ellenberger had better luck with his own congregation, embarking upon ambitious evangelistic campaigns directed at outlying villages, which bore fruit in the large number of converts that Ellenberger recruited. Drawing on his erstwhile apprenticeship to a printer in Lausanne, Ellenberger re-organised the PEMS printing press with the aid of both a locally trained man called Tlapa and of the missionary Adolphe Mabile, who in turn began printing the church newspaper *Leselinyana la Lesotho* ('The Little Light of Lesotho') at Morija in 1863. Ellenberger made similar strides in his efforts to establish 'outstations' (smaller, satellite mission stations), often under Basotho evangelists. These accomplishments were made possible by Ellenberger's ability to forge and maintain good relationships with Basotho chiefs, earning himself an overwhelmingly positive reputation throughout his section of Basutoland.

The advent of the Seqiti War in 1865 made it impossible for the Ellenbergers to remain at Bethesda: the border zones were rife with violence perpetrated by Boers and Basotho alike. Concurrent with the exacerbation of border conflicts, D.F. Ellenberger received an invitation from Moorosi to take up residence in his territory south of the Senqu, which was largely free from the impacts of the Seqiti War. The Ellenbergers relocated to Masitise in 1866 and took up residence in a rockshelter that they converted into a house; appropriately dubbed 'the Cave House', the residence stands today as a satellite museum of Morija Museum and Archives. Ellenberger continued his ministrations in Quthing, focusing his energies on educational and industrial

training programmes and on establishing a new printing press at Masitise. His cool head in the midst of crisis, whether in matters of personal safety or internecine church conflict, earned him the Sesotho title *Setima-mollo*, ‘the Fire-Extinguisher’.

During the process of negotiating Basutoland’s boundaries and annexation with the British, Ellenberger had counselled Moorosi to accept the protection of the BaKoenas and the Cape. Unlike Christian Schrumpf, the BaPhuthi’s first missionary, Ellenberger seemed to make greater progress winning the confidence of Moorosi and the conversion of some of his people: part of this may have been to do with the fact that unlike in the earlier days at Bethesda, the BaPhuthi were constrained by magisterial districts and were unable to move away from the mission station as a group, forcing them into closer relations with Ellenberger and his family. When Moorosi’s rebellion broke out in 1879, Ellenberger’s diary conveys both his horror and also his resignation to the events that he witnessed. The Masitise Mission Station became a haven for refugees, wounded combatants, and those who wanted to surrender to the magistrate. Although he voiced his disapproval to Moorosi and refused BaPhuthi requests for aid (‘[T]o act as [Moorosi] wished me would be unfaithful to God and to my vocation,’ D.F. Ellenberger 1879: 6 March), he likewise refused aid to Basotho and Cape forces. Indeed, Ellenberger was appalled at the depredations wrought by both sides, especially the number of houses burnt and cattle stolen by advancing Basotho troops allegedly under Basutoland Governor’s Agent Charles Griffith’s supervision (D.F. Ellenberger 1879: 18 March). When the war was over and the Cape began discussing plans for the remnants of the BaPhuthi and their territories, Ellenberger became a staunch advocate for those BaPhuthi who remained in Quthing: he argued that not all BaPhuthi in Quthing were part of the rebellion, and

that to punish them by depriving them of their livelihoods and safety would be a grave injustice (Ellenberger 1880a, 1880c).

D.F. Ellenberger remained at Masitise until he retired in 1905, having transformed the mission station into a fully functioning church, school, and orchard, with a large congregation drawn from throughout southern Lesotho. He and Emma raised ten children, of whom three were also involved in missionary work, and several chose to remain in Basutoland or southern Africa. Some even chose to follow in D.F. Ellenberger's scholarly footsteps: his son Victor wrote about aspects of southern African history (perhaps Victor's most famous work is the 1953 *La fin tragique des Bushmen*), and his granddaughter Marion Walsham How wrote several well-known papers and books about nineteenth-century Basutoland and its surrounds, including her 1962 *Mountain Bushmen of Basutoland*. Both D.F. Ellenberger's son René and How took up the cause of editing and assembling his notes, correspondence, and manuscripts into what would eventually become *History of the Basuto: Ancient and Modern*.

D.F. Ellenberger began his collection of oral histories without any ambitions of writing a comprehensive history, unlike many of his contemporaries such as Orpen and George McCall Theal. According to living family members, Ellenberger would welcome visitors or potential converts to Masitise by having them recount their genealogies and family histories. By gathering enough of these individual stories, Ellenberger was able to collate them by lineage, clan, and carefully reckoned generations, and thus produce a fairly accurate chronology from the consensus (P. Ellenberger ND). He also interviewed chiefs such as Moorosi and Moletsane. As with projects such as those of Sir Walter Stanford's and James Stuart's (see Chapter 2.1:

58), in 1904 the British Resident Commissioner of Basutoland Sir Herbert Sloley commissioned a study from Ellenberger on Basotho customs so as to aid the Native Affairs Commission in its administration. Working with his son-in-law John MacGregor (Assistant Commissioner of Leribe District and Marion Walsham How's father), Ellenberger produced a condensed version of his research called *Basuto Traditions* in 1905.

After his retirement, however, he and MacGregor embarked on a larger research project that would eventually result in *History of the Basuto*. Thanks to donations and bequests from the Ellenberger family, the archive of D.F. Ellenberger's materials maintained at Morija Museum and Archives in Lesotho reflects the complete process of researching and assembling *History of the Basuto*, including correspondence, annotated drafts of manuscripts, notes, copies of primary documents consulted, and diaries. In the course of their work Ellenberger and MacGregor consulted with colleagues and historians in Basutoland such as Azariel Sekese and Nehemiah Moshoeshe. Their research also drew on the long and fruitful correspondence that Ellenberger had maintained with Joseph Orpen over the years. Orpen had by that point published the first history of Moshoeshe's chiefdom, *History of the Basutus of South Africa*, and by 1908 had published his own *Reminiscences*. Throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, Orpen and Ellenberger exchanged drafts of chapters, recruited friends and colleagues to supply memoirs, and offered advice (and, in Orpen's case, opprobrium for certain colleagues) to one another. For his own part, MacGregor was more than simply Ellenberger's amanuensis: he rendered Ellenberger's chapters into English (not a direct translation but rather a re-telling with Ellenberger's approval), offered suggestions and revisions, and arranged the chapters for publication. Ellenberger accepted many of MacGregor's revisions, but also chose

to overlook others: for instance, MacGregor suggested that Ellenberger remove speculations that Bushmen were related to Biblical Canaanites, which the latter unfortunately rejected.

D.F. Ellenberger divided Basotho history into three periods: the First ('ancient') Period that stretched from when major Sotho lineages began to emerge in the mid-second millennium AD to the 1820s; the Second ('modern') Period when stable political institutions and Christianity appeared from the 1820s to the arrival of the PEMS in 1833; and the Third Period from 1833 until Moshoeshoe defeated the Tlokoa in 1853. Only the first two periods were published in the official English edition, while the First Period was published with additions in Sesotho in 1917 and the Second and Third Periods were only published as instalments in the PEMS newspaper *Leselinyana* from 1913-1914 and 1917-1919.

Unlike the first two, the Third Period was never included in any edition of *History of the Basuto*, as it is less well-organised and D.F. Ellenberger's age and health prevented him from researching it as fully as he would have liked. However, the Third Period relates directly to the establishment of Wittebergen and the BaPhuthi polity during the 1840s and 1850s, and so is highly relevant to this thesis. It appears that the information contained in the Third Period chapters comes from a mixture of sources: BaPhuthi and Basotho informants (including Moorosi himself), documents from the Cape Archives, and accounts from English-speaking residents of the eastern Cape, including Joseph Orpen's own memories. Indeed, Orpen procured most of these residents' testimonies for Ellenberger, prevailing upon those friends he deemed knowledgeable to contribute to Ellenberger's project (see Appendix C). These recollections (all contained in Ellenberger's archives and his correspondence with

Orpen) are consistent on most details, although occasionally an informant would add his own embellishments or conjectures: Mr. D. Brigg (1906) (undoubtedly a relative of the Wesleyan missionary Arthur Brigg but his first name is not known), for example, digressed on how 'Bushmen looked upon the lions as their best friends,' far from a true statement (see McGranaghan 2014a).

From 1916, D.F. Ellenberger's son René greatly assisted him in typing, compiling, and commenting upon the Third Period chapters, as well as the Sesotho translation of the Second Period. After D.F. Ellenberger's death in 1920, René continued to edit his father's manuscripts, a task that Marion Walsham How took up in the 1950s. How not only edited her grandfather's writing, but also attempted to continue his research, largely through correspondence with Captain Ronald Stretton Webb (b. 1892-d. 1976), a South African who served in France during World War I and was an amateur but highly accomplished historian (see P. Mitchell and Challis 2008: 405). How and Webb corresponded from roughly 1954-1958, primarily discussing the early nineteenth-century history of the Wittebergen area, including the movements of Moorosi and his BaPhuthi through their western territories. How sent Webb drafts of her grandfather's writing, which Webb returned with notes drawn from his own library and scholarship, as well as suggestions for further research in the Cape Archives and Theal's *Basutoland Records*. These are all preserved in How's and Ellenberger's respective archives and were consulted in the process of researching this thesis.

As revisionist historiography of southern Africa has flourished in the last three decades (see Chapters 1 and 2), D.F. Ellenberger's scholarship has come under close criticism. Writing on the historiography of Basutoland, Elizabeth Eldredge (1993)

noted that while Ellenberger carefully evaluated the materials he employed in writing his history and his methodology would have met the standard of modern historians, his work suffered from a specific set of biases and errors. These include a subscription to theories of large-scale migration to describe 'racial' differences and, particularly in the information that MacGregor supplied, an incompleteness of information due to informants' reticence when talking to a representative of British government (Eldredge 1993: 203-5). While these infelicities make *History of the Basuto* less than accurate, Eldredge (1993: 204) nevertheless affirms it to be 'the most authoritative version of early BaSotho [*sic*] history now available.'

In his introduction to the 1992 re-print of *History of the Basuto*, Gill likewise recognises these limitations in his evaluation of D.F. Ellenberger's work. He draws attention to some potential discrepancies in Ellenberger's genealogies, as many of these were collected from those who approached him as supporters of the church: some modern descendants of lineages mentioned in *History of the Basuto* feel that their families were given less prominence in the book because of their less-than-devout commitment to Christianity (Gill 1992: Footnote 46). However, Gill also comments upon the fine line that Ellenberger walked between pursuing what he believed to be valid historical conclusions and appeasing both sponsors in the British government and other contemporary historians (Gill 1992: 25-8). Despite the assertions of Theal and Stow that Bantu-speakers crossed the Zambezi into southern Africa in the latter half of the second millennium AD, that these Bantu-speakers were antagonistic to Bushmen, and that specific depredations of the *Lifaqane* could be attributed to specific peoples, Ellenberger quietly disagreed. Controversially but subtly, he proposed an earlier arrival of Bantu speakers in the subcontinent and presented oral histories suggesting more nuanced (and occasionally co-operative)

relationships between farmers and hunter-gatherers. He proposed that, contrary to prevailing ideas, the Tlokoa were not solely responsible for the destruction of the town of Dithakong, which Marion Walsham How later published in a 1954 paper that remains the authoritative voice on the subject. Ellenberger's and Orpen's correspondence documents the latter's exhortations to oppose Stow and Theal more vocally, although Ellenberger quietly demurred; Orpen's more vociferous criticism is described in Appendix C.

A further, more pervasive bias is D.F. Ellenberger's praise verging on adulation of the Basotho as possessing the greatest hope for civilisation among African tribes. In this Ellenberger was not alone: other colonial officials and historians such as Irvine (1881: 31) and Orpen (1908: 364-5) wrote in similar terms. Despite some observations about the Basotho's persistent primitivism (e.g. Ellenberger 1912: 237), Ellenberger was largely predisposed to hold the Basotho in high regard relative to their contemporaries. As noted in Chapter 4.1: 115, this inclination can be seen when Ellenberger describes Basotho as exerting a positive acculturative influence on less civilised peoples such as the Mapolane and BaPhuthi, without considering that cultural influences can be mutually enriching.

Also as noted in Chapter 4.1: 115, a good deal of debate surrounds the veracity of tales of 'cannibalism' that D.F. Ellenberger and others (e.g. Casalis 1861: 19-22) relate from early nineteenth-century Basutoland. Ellenberger, in particular has come under intense criticism for exaggerating the number of victims of cannibalism during the 1820s, quoting a figure of 300,000 for the whole of the decade (Ellenberger 1912: 225; cf. Etherington 2004: 207). David Coplan (1993: 86-8), on the other hand, takes cannibalism as a Sotho narrative trope evoking the gluttonous appetites of chiefs and

the chaos of the 1820s (specifically the Shakan wars), used in explicit juxtaposition to Moshoeshoe's benevolent rule; it is possible that Ellenberger was simply relaying these sentiments from his informants. However, the French missionary Thomas Arbousset's (1991) account of his 1840 excursion into Basutoland's north-eastern highlands details meetings with confessed cannibals; these men, including a chief, described their desperation in the face of starvation and poverty, leading them to target more vulnerable members of society like women (cf. Eldredge 1992: 509).

Nevertheless, Ellenberger was surely overstating the prevalence of cannibalism in Basutoland. Some critics, in particular Norman Etherington (2004: 207, footnote 14), have used this hyperbole to place Ellenberger in the same category as alarmist contemporaries who embellished African-led violence out of fear and for rhetorical effect. These allegations of recklessness against Ellenberger imply that we should take his histories with the proverbial grain of salt, which in itself is not unreasonable, given the somewhat jingoistic bias on behalf of the Basotho described above.

However, to dismiss Ellenberger's histories as sensationalist is extreme, especially when viewed in the context of the entire *History of the Basuto*, and with his letters and unpublished works. Later in *History of the Basuto* Ellenberger goes on to praise Mokuoane and others for trying to establish some sort of order in their territories (see below). In his unpublished third volume of *History of the Basuto* (Ellenberger ND), Ellenberger dedicates several chapters to chronicling the injustices that the BaPhuthi and their allies suffered at the hands of British and African forces alike; moreover, he lays the unruliness of the southern Drakensberg equally at the doors of British, Basotho, BaPhuthi, and Thembu offenders, without invoking the much-feared contemporary spectre of a massive African uprising. Thus, as described in Chapter

4.1, I believe that it is reasonable to take Ellenberger's statements in the sense suggested by Coplan: conveying an atmosphere of chaos, wherein emotions and sensory perceptions may skew how specific acts of violence are described (as is the case with most colonial observation and ethnohistory, *sensu* Fabian 1983), but which qualify rather than discredit Ellenberger's work.

As Eldredge (1993: 205) notes, Ellenberger's published materials are valuable historical resources, as long as one recognises the work's errors, including the tendency to privilege some lineages' narratives over others and to attempt large-scale migration narratives based largely on conjecture. However, for the Third Period and the history of the BaPhuthi (and thus for the purposes of this thesis), it is fortunate that Ellenberger's correspondence with Joseph Orpen, combined with Orpen's separate and meticulous research, provides an additional source of commentary and independent verification of many of the details in Ellenberger's writing.

## APPENDIX C

### JOSEPH MILLERD ORPEN AND HIS ARCHIVE

*Still [...] making the truth in history clear always does good.  
People think more kindly of those wrong for it. – J.M. Orpen  
to D.F. Ellenberger, ND 1913.*

Joseph Millerd Orpen was born in Dublin on 5 November 1828, the fourth of seven sons of an eminent surgeon. Although Joseph originally intended to study medicine, the allure of farming and frontier life in South Africa proved too strong and emigrated with his brothers Arthur and Richard in 1846, following two elder brothers Frank and Charles who had already settled there. Once in the colony, the Orpen brothers distinguished themselves in Cape government and/or settler politics: Frank as a farmer in the Colesberg district, Charles as a well-known lawyer and amateur historian (see Chapter 2.1.5: 59), Arthur as the eventual head of the Cape Customs Department, and Joseph in numerous offices including, eventually, membership in the Cape's Parliament.

Upon his arrival at the Cape, Joseph Orpen obtained certification as a land surveyor and worked throughout the eastern Cape, serving as a lieutenant in the Eighth Frontier War (1850-1853, also called Mlanjeni's War). In 1851, he was dispatched as a surveyor to the nascent Orange River Sovereignty (established in 1848) along with his brother, Frank. He took an active role in the politics of the Sovereignty, becoming a member of Parliament in 1853 and an outspoken opponent of Britain's abdication of the Sovereignty in 1854. Orpen's politics can perhaps best be characterised as favouring benevolent expansionism, born in part of the liberal humanitarian trend of

the first half of the nineteenth century (Elbourne 2003; see Chapter 2.1.2): he believed that the incorporation of South African territories into the British Empire was in the best economic and social interests of African subjects, but that the Empire's critical failing was that its ambitions outpaced its ability to fulfil its responsibilities to those subjects. To his way of thinking, colonisation entailed an obligation on the part of the Empire to protect and represent the interests of British subjects, black and white alike; the Cape's annexation of the Orange River Sovereignty and its subsequent failure to enforce law and order there, particularly in the face of raids from growing African polities on its frontiers, caused Orpen to lose confidence in the Cape and its policies (Orpen 1908: 233-4). As such, Orpen's brand of expansionism was very different from the aggressive expansionism of Sir Harry Smith, one of the Cape governors under whom Orpen served (see Chapter 2.1.4: 57). As Orpen (1908: 23) put it, 'Sir Harry was a dashing soldier. He dashed too much as an administrator' (see also Orpen 1913d): Smith annexed huge swathes of southern Africa without approval from Parliament in London, cajoling or coercing African leaders to sign treaties that surrendered their lands with the understanding that the Cape would reciprocate with military protection, which never materialised. Instead, settlers continued to encroach on African territories that were ostensibly off-limits, and once there committed crimes against Africans, including kidnapping African children for farm labour without legal recriminations (Orpen 1964 [1908]: 259-61).

Orpen referred to the Cape's abdication of its obligations as a colonial power as 'colour blindness' (Orpen 1906a, emphasis removed), lamenting that the Cape 'always forgot its simplest duties and its written engagements to these allies right through the years.' These criticisms of the British government's lack of sensitivity to the problems of its African subjects earned Orpen a measure of criticism in his own

right as a ‘negrophile’ excessively predisposed to favour native rights over British ones. A passage from a letter that Orpen (1906b) wrote to James Ayliff (the one-time Superintendent of the Wittebergen Native Reserve) as he was compiling his memoirs illuminates both Orpen’s moral code and his relationship with contemporaries also engaged in ethnohistorical work:

I did not come to the study of Native Affairs which was afterwards forced upon me by circumstances [i.e. commission by Cape Parliament, see below] with any other negrophilist ideas as Mr [George McCall] Theal suggests but simply with a loyal liking for British “fair play” which has always been my political motto. I think still British feelings are fundamentally for fairplay [*sic*], though we have made plenty of bungles, as I have myself, particularly in my earliest official positions. Such things are inevitable in dealing with the very difficult problems that South Africa presents.

Driven by this sense of fair play, Orpen not only fought the Cape’s abdication of the Orange River Sovereignty, but upon the Cape’s eventual withdrawal helped to draft the constitution for what would become the Orange Free State republic. He became a member of the Volksraad (the Free State’s Parliament), a member of the Supreme Court of the Free State (he had no legal training and taught himself law from various commentaries, including a ‘Notary’s Manual’ and an ‘Executor’s Guide’, Orpen 1964 [1908]: 225), and a *landdrost* (in effect, a resident magistrate) of Winburg and Harrismith. Orpen viewed his continued presence in the Free State as both shrewd and essential. He recognised that the abundance and cheapness of the land available between the Orange and Vaal Rivers, in addition to the appeal that a government conducted in Dutch and based on Dutch principles would have for disaffected Boers from the Cape, meant that a massive influx of Boers was imminent (Orpen 1964 [1908]: 221-3). Consequently, there were opportunities for him not only to earn a

good deal of money, but also to help manage the Free State in a way that would make it profitable and hospitable, and perhaps one day bring it back into the British fold. Although Orpen was disappointed by Britain's lack of interest in the Free State (he penned several letters in the *Zuid Afrikaan* newspaper under the name 'An Abandoned Englishman', Orpen 1908: 375), he embraced his new identity as a Free State resident and was genuinely touched by the offer to be a *landdrost* (Orpen 1964 [1908]: 225). However, this did not stop him from speaking out against what was effectively Boer enslavement of African women and children on the frontier (Orpen 1964 [1908]: 259-61).

One of Orpen's tasks in the government of both the Sovereignty and the Free State was to manage Free State-native relations. This was a diplomatic and, to a lesser extent, a military post: he liaised with chiefs whose territories overlapped with the Free State's and with relevant missionaries, on occasions he participated in retaliatory commandos responding to raids, and he drew up the Commando Law that provided the Free State with a standing militia (Orpen 1908: 345). As of 1854, Orpen viewed Moshoeshoe and his Basotho as the worst offenders in the raids and inter-tribal violence disrupting the settlement and administration of the Highveld. Although Orpen did not admit to it, it would seem that this poor opinion was formed primarily from hearsay and reports from the eastern Cape and along the Orange River that held Moshoeshoe to be an unscrupulous politician and vicious warrior. These portrayals likely derive from the general violence and chaos around the Caledon during the 1820s and implicated all regional African leaders rather than only Moshoeshoe (cf. How 1954: 67), and from Moshoeshoe's earlier forays against Moletsane and Korana raiders on the Highveld. By this point, Moshoeshoe controlled a vast area from atop Thaba Bosiu, although his territories west of the Caledon had been severely reduced

in the successive Napier (1843), Maitland (1845), and Warden (1849) treaties with the Cape (Eldredge 1993: 52). Orpen was dispatched by the Orange Free State's President J.P. Hoffman to discuss the Basotho monarch's disposition toward the new state, including disagreements over the boundaries between Basotho and Free State territories.

Orpen's visit to Moshoeshoe in 1854 was one of the turning points of his career. At a meeting facilitated by Eugène Casalis, Orpen recognised that his first impression of Moshoeshoe was false and began to see the king not as a hazard but as an outstanding example of the shrewdness and civilisation that African leaders could achieve. At Casalis's insistence and with his help, Orpen reviewed letters between Moshoeshoe, PEMS and Wesleyan missionaries, and the Cape government, as well as Cape Blue Books of colonial records, and came to the conclusion that Moshoeshoe had been sorely done by in the 1843, 1845, and 1849 negotiations over the extent of his territories. From this revelation stemmed Orpen's lifelong commitment to writing southern African history from all sides, especially obtaining first-hand accounts from British, Boers, and black Africans (Orpen 1908: 364-5).

Despite the personal goodwill that Orpen had earned from Moshoeshoe, territorial conflicts between Boers and Basotho persisted and led to Senekal's War in 1858, during which the Boers attempted (unsuccessfully) to storm Thaba Bosiu and the Basotho launched raids into the Free State. In the Volksraad, Orpen spoke out strongly in favour of British intervention in the Boer-Basotho crisis, a move that earned him such ill will within the Free State's government that he was compelled to resign his post as *landdrost* of Winburg and Harrismith. He stepped down in 1856 and

resumed his career as a surveyor in Aliwal North, back across the border in the Cape Colony.

There, inspired by his visit with Moshoeshoe, Orpen and his brother Frank embarked on Joseph Orpen's first study of native southern African history (and the first history of the Basotho), *History of the Basutus of South Africa*, which was published in 1857. From a nuanced reading of this work, in combination with Blue Books and correspondence between the Orpen brothers, Elizabeth Eldredge (1988: 196-7) has argued convincingly that while Joseph Orpen did a great deal of research for the book, it was in fact Frank Orpen who was largely responsible for its composition. While Joseph initiated the project with Moshoeshoe's support, he and Frank worked together as surveyors in the Free State and shared similar views, which Frank often communicated on his brother's behalf in various memoranda and government documents (Eldredge 1988: 195-6). Joseph and Frank also recruited input from the PEMS missionary H.M. Dyke, who helped the brothers to contextualise the correspondence that Moshoeshoe gave them to assist with the book. Dyke offered first-hand accounts of various meetings between Moshoeshoe, his missionary advisors, and representatives of the Cape government that he witnessed between 1839-1853. Thus, Eldredge (1988: 197) urges historians to make use of *History of the Basutus* as a valid historical source, but to take cognisance of the fact that while Joseph Orpen is listed as the book's author, it was in reality a collaborative effort between Joseph and Frank Orpen, H.M. Dyke, and no less a person than President J.P. Hoffman, who offered insights into details of various Boer-Basotho negotiations.

Joseph Orpen's vociferous support of the Basotho in the matter of territorial claims was the final straw in his already tenuous position in the Free State. Orpen was

arrested and eventually expelled from the Free State in 1858; it is unclear what, if any, punishment Frank suffered but if he was not expelled as well, one must wonder if Joseph's claim to sole authorship of the book was a means of protecting his brother. He returned to the eastern Cape and continued to work there as a surveyor, still taking an interest in political matters and serving the Cape government by representing its interests to African leaders, especially Moshoeshe. It was during this period that Orpen became familiar with the Wittebergen Native Reserve, John Austen, and Moorosi. Because of his keen interest in Moshoeshe's Basotho state and an awareness of that state's fluctuating boundaries, Orpen was again incensed by what he saw as the amputation of Moorosi's territories by the Reserve's establishment: in his correspondence with D.F. Ellenberger regarding the Wesleyans' grant of Moorosi's territory, Orpen's (1913b) comments included 'Oh what untruth!'. To Orpen, Moorosi was first and foremost a representative of Moshoeshe, regardless of Moorosi's distasteful and illicit activities. As such, the two had a very amiable relationship (Orpen 1906a), one outcome of which was a conversation in which Orpen took Moorosi's genealogy and a brief history of the BaPhuthi (Orpen 1876).

In his correspondence with D.F. Ellenberger, Orpen spent numerous letters reiterating incidents that he observed within Wittebergen where Cape officers and representatives of the Reserve either contrived flimsy reasons for attacking Moorosi or blaming Moorosi for stock theft without proof (although it was extremely likely that he was in some way connected). Orpen's tautology seems both a deliberate attempt to highlight the unjust and incompetent nature of government administration in the eastern Cape, and also aggressively to counter-balance what Orpen genuinely feared would be an inaccurate historical record that depicted Moshoeshe and his followers as menaces. On a more mundane level, Orpen also took advantage of the

opportunity to vent his spleen at those colleagues he found especially noxious. For instance, he describes a parley with Moorosi that became a comically botched counter-raid against the BaPhuthi led by a Mr Cole, the Civil Commissioner of Albert District (Orpen 1906b). The terms of Cole's parley had been miscommunicated and, when Moorosi gathered a number of his followers at Tulumaneng, Cole perceived he was being attacked and turned and fled, leaving his militia behind him (Orpen 1913c). In response to Ellenberger's query about Cole's strategy, Orpen (1913d) replied simply, 'My opinion is that there was and has always been nothing in his mind but brandy and oblivion.'

From 1862-1868 Orpen acted as the official British mediator between the Cape and Moshoeshoe, eventually facilitating the treaty that led to Basutoland's annexation. Orpen was elected to the Cape Parliament in 1871 and from 1871-1873 he administered the Cape territory of Griqualand West. In 1873 Orpen was appointed British Resident and Chief Magistrate in Nomansland. His main charge was to initiate the process of annexing to the Cape the lands between the Mzimkhulu River and Natal (known as Griqualand East, which would eventually be annexed in 1877). As British Resident, Orpen attempted to represent the interests of his Mpondomise and Mpondo constituents to the Cape government, advocating on their behalf against resettlement where he could (Orpen 1874). He also took advantage of his time in Nomansland to collect oral histories as part of his on-going project to research Indigenous histories of southern Africa.

It was in Orpen's capacity as British Resident in Nomansland that he embarked on the expedition that would take him into the Maloti Mountains and lead him to the well-known encounter with the Bushman Qing in the Maloti highlands. In 1873, the Hlubi

chief Langalibalele refused to comply with the Natal authorities' demands that he and his followers relinquish their guns and submit to taxation (Wright and Mazel 2007: 99-109). To escape punishment in Natal, Langalibalele led his group, which included several hundred men and 7,000 cattle (P. Mitchell and Challis 2008: 402) into the Maloti Mountains. Theophilus Shepstone, Natal's Secretary for Native Affairs, called upon militia and contingents of the Frontier Armed Mounted Police (F.A.M.P.) to pursue Langalibalele into the mountains and also into Moshoeshoe's territories. Peter Mitchell and Sam Challis (2008) have chronicled Orpen's travels as part of the F.A.M.P. force led by James Murray Grant through Grant's diary, and it is not necessary to detail this here. Suffice it to say that Grant and Orpen's military efforts were fruitless, as Langalibalele surrendered (through the 'deceit and treachery' of Moshoeshoe's son Molapo, Sanders 2011: 58) just days after Grant and Orpen's group arrived in the mountains. Nevertheless, the expedition continued through the Maloti highlands from 23 November until 27 December 1873. Throughout the expedition, Orpen and Grant constantly butted heads, as Grant grew impatient with Orpen's rapport with their Basotho comrades and Orpen's tendency to pursue his own leads and agenda.

One such lead was Orpen's time spent with Qing, an event that has become a key moment in archaeological and anthropological understandings of Bushman rock art. Again, the significance of Orpen's conversations with Qing and the 1874 *Cape Monthly Magazine* article derived therefrom (Orpen 1874) for archaeology and rock art studies have been discussed in-depth elsewhere and need not be repeated here (but see Lewis-Williams 2003; Vinnicombe 2009 [1976]; McGranaghan *et al.* 2013 for reviews of these). What is of note is that while Orpen's article represents a milestone in our understanding of Bushman cosmology, for Orpen the event appears to have

been of little importance. He never references it in his correspondence or memoirs, nor does it appear that he intended to incorporate any of the information that Qing supplied into the history of southern African peoples that he began compiling (although never wrote) in the early twentieth century. One possible explanation concerns the fact that the Langalibalele expedition was a debacle: British forces allowed a fugitive, rebel chief to escape into the mountains and Basotho custody while F.A.M.P. forces meandered through the highlands for more than a month, a failure that Orpen and others likely did not want to re-live. Further, Orpen's insubordination to Grant returned to haunt him when, later in his tenure as British Resident, he ill-advisedly called up Natal's armed forces to settle a relatively minor boundary dispute with Mpondomise or Mpondo residents. When Charles Brownlee, the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, sought to impugn Orpen's judgment to the Secretary for Native Affairs in 1880, he cited both Orpen's behaviour towards Grant and the Natal military incident as evidence against Orpen's competence (Brownlee 1880). Clearly, Orpen's experience in the Maloti Mountains did not reflect well upon him as a British officer, perhaps making him inclined to suppress it subsequently, including his encounter with Qing.

In 1879, following the conclusion of Moorosi's War, Orpen was called upon to testify before the Cape Parliament, based on his familiarity not only with the major players involved in the war (especially Austen and Moorosi) but also with the southern Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains and their inhabitants. Orpen agreed to write a history of the occupation of Moorosi's Country, including his own assertions that Moorosi's lands had been unfairly usurped (Orpen 1879a). The memorandum that Orpen produced (Orpen 1869; *BRV*.69) is the first and possibly most thorough chronicle of the BaPhuthi, their history, and their territories yet published. In it, he drew on

interviews with Moorosi and other BaPhuthi, Blue Book documentation, communications with Moshoeshoe and his missionaries, and events that Orpen witnessed as Wittebergen was created. His memorandum also includes maps that Orpen produced (albeit schematic rather than survey maps) in which Orpen brought his skills as a surveyor and his bias against Cape officials to bear on discrediting the Cape surveyor in charge of demarcating the Reserve's boundaries (a Mr R. Robinson). It was during this testimony that Orpen maligned the work of Charles Brownlee, which prompted Brownlee to retaliate by bringing up Orpen's missteps during the Langalibalale and Natal military affairs.

In 1881, Orpen was appointed Governor's Agent in Basutoland and facilitated the conclusion of the Gun War. After several more years of service in southern Africa, he was dispatched to Rhodesia and acted as Surveyor General there from 1897-1903 (Orpen 1908: 3). In 1903, he returned to South Africa and his farm Avoca in the eastern Cape. He published his *Reminiscences of Life in South Africa* in 1908, which dealt primarily with his experiences upon first arriving in South Africa, in the Orange River Sovereignty and subsequent Free State Volksraad, and in his dealings with Moshoeshoe. Geographically, the book focuses primarily on the Highveld, with very little attention paid to Orpen's time in the eastern Cape and Nomansland. Largely absent from the book are references to his encounters with Moorosi and various Mpondomise and Mpondo leaders and, as noted above, with Qing. These omissions were due in part, I suggest, to Orpen's decision to reserve them for a larger, more comprehensive study of the native tribes of southern Africa that he planned to write (Orpen 1907).

Orpen was motivated to write a thorough treatment of southern African native histories both by his own personal interests and convictions, and also by his belief that similar contemporary projects were incomplete or biased. Orpen admired the oral historical work in which Sir Walter Stanford (see Chapter 2.5.5: 58) was currently engaged in Natal (Orpen 1907) and firmly believed in the necessity of achieving an indigenous perspective on the history of the occupation of southern Africa, particularly of contested territories like the Maloti-Drakensberg. He also viewed George Stow and George McCall Theal, two of the leading lights of southern African ethnohistory, as ‘unreliable’ and prejudiced against Bantu-speaker chiefdoms (Orpen 1917). To address these unbalanced histories, Orpen corresponded extensively with colleagues and friends from his years in service in southern Africa, soliciting their recollections of encounters with African people, especially leaders like Moorosi (e.g. Orpen 1906b; Stevens 1906). One of his chief suppliers of information was Nehemiah Moshoeshoe, one of Moshoeshoe’s sons whom Orpen had met after Moshoeshoe sent Nehemiah to settle a Basotho community in Nomansland (see Chapter 6.1: 182). Although Stow discounted virtually all of the information with which Nehemiah provided him for his own research (which did indeed contain several errors, Eldredge 1988: 200), Orpen nevertheless believed that Nehemiah could make a valuable contribution. Orpen’s and Nehemiah’s correspondence covered the internal political workings of the Basotho state, as well as Basotho settlement of Nomansland, in both English and Sesotho (Moshoeshoe 1903).

Orpen and D.F. Ellenberger appear to have begun communicating in earnest during this period, although they certainly had met prior to this. As discussed in Appendix B, Ellenberger began compiling a study of Basotho customs in 1904 for Basutoland’s Native Affairs Commission, but continued to write what would eventually become

*History of the Basuto* as a personal project. Ellenberger was especially keen to solicit Orpen's input for the composition of the Third Period, which dealt with events, places, and individuals with which Orpen was familiar. Orpen, for his part, saw Ellenberger's research as a valuable contribution to the ethnohistorical projects currently being undertaken in southern Africa (Orpen 1906b); not only was Orpen an enthusiastic supporter of and contributor to Ellenberger's work, but he recruited submissions from friends and colleagues that he thought would be of use (e.g. D. Brigg 1906; Orpen 1906b; Stevens 1906).

In their correspondence, D.F. Ellenberger sent Orpen sections of the Third Period manuscript and even the manuscript in its entirety (Orpen 1913d) for Orpen's comments, feedback, and lengthy digressions. Orpen also did a large amount of research on Ellenberger's behalf, taking notes from official papers and Blue Books, procuring survey maps (Orpen 1911b), and forwarding relevant newspaper clippings (Orpen 1911a). In his comments on Ellenberger's manuscripts, Orpen corrected various chronological and factual errors, stressing in particular where and how territorial boundaries had changed, and suggesting maps to clarify population movements. He also made corrections to other aspects of Ellenberger's narrative, observing where he believed Ellenberger attributed an inaccurate motivation to a historical actor, as with Commissioner Cole mentioned above. The exuberance with which Orpen wrote and punctuated his comments makes one hope that there is no truth to Sir Terry Pratchett's famous comment that 'multiple exclamation marks are a sure sign of a diseased mind.'

Orpen likewise sent correspondence and historical descriptions relating to his own native history volume to D.F. Ellenberger for comment; this is an exchange upon

which scholars working with the Orpen and Ellenberger archives have yet to comment, and so perhaps it has gone unrecognised, but Ellenberger's annotations are clearly identifiable in the margins of Orpen's documents if one is familiar with Ellenberger's handwriting (e.g. Orpen 1905, 1907). Orpen and Ellenberger's discussions included more philosophical comments about the function of histories, particularly native histories. Especially with reference to the Third Period, Orpen (1913d, emphasis original) was firm on what he saw as the volume's purpose:

You have to shew by true history that Quthing and Herschel & more did belong to the Basutos of old & of right & thus undo the mischief done by older Missionaries as far as you can. Alas! that is not easy now! Still the making the truth in history clear always does good. People think more kindly of those wrong for it.

Upon his death, Orpen's personal papers and correspondence were accessioned to the Western Cape Archives in Cape Town (Accession Number 302). In this thesis, I have drawn heavily on these papers, as well as the correspondence between Orpen and D.F. Ellenberger contained in the Ellenberger archive in Morija and Orpen's published *Reminiscences*. It is worth noting that there are papers and letters written by Orpen housed in the Cory Library (Grahamstown) that I was unable to access and Orpen's diary from the Langalibalele expedition has been lost (if, indeed, it ever existed, Lewis-Williams 1981: 32). Building upon Eldredge's (1988: 197) assertion that the *History of the Basutus* is a valid historical source as long as one understands its authorship and historical context, I believe the same caveat can be extended to the rest of the Orpen corpus. Orpen made his political views and agendas in compiling his native histories clear, and very helpfully cited relevant Blue Book records and *Basutoland Records* correspondence in support of his arguments or as specific targets of invective.

Recently, the Qing and Orpen Project, a consortium of archaeologists, historians, and anthropologists, has coalesced with a view to critically interrogate the historical and anthropological context of Qing and Orpen's encounter, and the invaluable body of information to which it led (Wright and de Prada-Samper 2012). In particular, the Qing and Orpen Project aims to answer questions such as why Orpen wrote what he did (both in terms of his personal interest and the larger intellectual milieu in which his interest developed) and what he omitted. Scholars affiliated with the Qing and Orpen Project are correct in attempting to place this historic meeting in a historical trajectory that emphasises contemporary knowledge networks, within both Bushmen and Cape Colonial societies. However, their assertion that archaeologists have 'raided' Orpen's article for factual information without properly understanding its historical and epistemological context are unjustified (McGranaghan *et al.* 2013; P. Mitchell 2013). As mentioned above, there exists a vast body of literature discussing the uses, abuses, and caveats of Qing's testimony as reported by Orpen, particularly concerning the contextualisation of Qing's statement within ethnographies of contemporary Bushmen elsewhere in southern Africa (McGranaghan *et al.* 2013: 139). While it is true that his methodologies for collecting ethnographies and ethnohistories would not survive modern scrutiny (McGranaghan *et al.* 2013: 138), Orpen's and similar contemporary work is nevertheless valuable where it is possible to identify correspondences with other historical and ethnohistorical sources. Thus, the discussion within this Appendix and the use of Orpen's historical material throughout this thesis follow a well-established tradition regarding the qualified use of Orpen's research and personal perspectives. Further, the detail in which I have described and critiqued the D.F. Ellenberger and Orpen archives serves as a response to the Qing and Orpen Project's accusation of archival raiding. In the case of his

native histories we are particularly fortunate that Orpen himself has supplied the archival and historical references with which to verify his conclusions. Accounts from individuals such as Ellenberger and other French missionaries, as well as more recent historical endeavours (Peires 1981, 1989), further corroborate the vast majority of the details that Orpen's archive contains about the movements and actions of the polities that Orpen describes.

## **APPENDIX D**

### **TABLE OF RESULTS FROM THE MNJANYANE VALLEY SURVEY**

The table below lists final site identifications following post-field processing described in Chapter 7.4.1.

<b>Site Number</b>	<b>GPS Coordinates</b>	<b>Altitude (m a.s.l.)</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>MJV001</b>	30°27'34.27"S: 27°38'11.43"E	1821	Discrete double-walled circular stone structure
<b>MJV002</b>	30°27'34.19"S: 27°38'11.05"E	1821	Pottery scatter, 5 m E-W x 5 m N-S, n=20
<b>MJV004</b>	30°27'34.91"S: 27°38'12.82"E	1815	Discrete double-walled circular stone structure
<b>MJV006</b>	30°27'37.40"S: 27°38'17.29"E	1824	Pottery scatter, 8 m E-W x 7.5 m N-S, n=106
<b>MJV007</b>	30°27'36.53"S: 27°38'18.12"E	1826	Discrete double-walled circular stone structure
<b>MJV008</b>	30°27'37.66"S: 27°38'19.42"E	1826	Discrete single-walled circular stone structure
<b>MJV009</b>	30°27'28.41"S: 27°38'20.62"E	1804	Pottery scatter, 3.5 m E-W x 2.75 m N-S, n=5
<b>MJV010</b>	30°27'34'1"S: 27°38.17'6"E	1812	Pottery scatter, 1.22 m E-W x .7 m N-S, n=25
<b>MJV012</b>	30°27'30.74"S: 27°38'19.84"E	1811	Bilobial double-walled circular stone structure
<b>MJV013</b>	30°27'15.62"S: 27°38'45.44"E	1568	Shelter in lee of large stone boulder; rock art present
<b>MJV014</b>	30°27'28.76"S: 27°38'18.42"E	1795	Buried circular stone structure
<b>MJV017</b>	30°27'36.08"S: 27°38'20.70"E	1815	Pottery scatter, .4 m E-W x .35 m N-S, n=26
<b>MJV018</b>	30°27'34.71"S: 27°38'20.91"E	1810	Pottery scatter – possible midden, 4 m E-W x 3.6 m NE-SW, n=7
<b>MJV019</b>	30°27'34.35"S: 27°38'20.84"E	1809	Discrete double-walled circular stone structure

<b>MJV022</b>	30°27'28.15"S: 27°38'21.49"E	1800	Small discrete single-walled circular stone structure with assoc. grindstones
<b>MJV023</b>	30°27'27.28"S: 27°38'21.49"E	1802	Discrete double-walled circular stone structure
<b>MJV024</b>	30°27'29.35"S: 27°38'21.05"E	1803	Pottery scatter, 2 m E-W x 2.4 m N-S, n=34
<b>MJV025</b>	30°27'29.31"S: 27°38'20.44"E	1809	Pottery scatter, 3.35 m NW-SE x 1.95 m SW-NE, n=36
<b>MJV026</b>	30°27'27.17"S: 27°38'20.96"E	1800	Discrete double-walled circular stone structure possibly associated with 023
<b>MJV027</b>	30°27'27.56"S: 27°38'20.53"E	1801	Pair of double-walled circular stone structures, possibly connected by buried wall
<b>MJV028</b>	30°27'24.24"S: 27°38'19.92"E	1788	Discrete double-walled circular stone structure
<b>MJV029</b>	30°27'31.02"S: 27°38'19.35"E	1812	Pottery scatter, .9 m NW-SE x .86 m SW-NE, n=16
<b>MJV030</b>	30°27'23.44"S: 27°38'20.25"E	1777	Discrete single-walled circular stone structure
<b>MJV031</b>	30°27'15.97"S: 27°38'43.83"E	1549	Rock shelter in lee of boulder; rock art visible
<b>MJV032</b>	30°26'50.82"S: 27°38'33.04"E	1537	Pottery scatter, possible midden, 2.2 m E-W x 2.14 m N-S, n=18
<b>MJV033</b>	30°26'50.61"S: 27°38'32.22"E	1543	Pottery scatter, 1.04 m E-W x .88 m N-S, n=5
<b>MJV034</b>	30°26'49.93"S: 27°38'32.43"E	1544	Pottery scatter, 1.65 m E-W x 1.42 m N-S, n=5

<b>MJV035</b>	30°26'50.76"S: 27°38'31.33"E	1540	Pottery scatter, 3.2 m E-W x 2 m N-S, n=9
<b>MJV036</b>	30°26'51.10"S: 27°38'31.85"E	1543	Burnt baked clay circular platform
<b>MJV037</b>	30°26'15.50"S: 27°36'32.50"E	1461	Rock shelter with painted antelope
<b>MJV039</b>	30°26'15.39"S: 27°36'37.25"E	N/A	Aggregate reference for Ha Phinzi
<b>MJV040</b>	30°27'30.3"S: 27°38'31.5"E	1704	Discrete single-walled circular structure
<b>MJV041</b>	30°27'33.0"S: 27°38'31.1"E	1707	Discrete circular structure with double course of walling
<b>MJV042</b>	30°26'04.3"S: 27°37'18.0"E	1514	Discrete circular single-walled structure with extant lintels
<b>MJV043</b>	30°26'04.3"S: 27°37'18.5"E	1503	Discrete circular single-walled structure with hut platform visible
<b>MJV044</b>	30°26'04.3"S: 27°37'19.5"E	1518	Discrete circular structure with double course of walling
<b>MJV045</b>	30°26'04.6"S: 27°37'20.1"E	1511	Bilobial single-walled circular structure with possible associated midden
<b>MJV046</b>	30°26'03.9"S: 27°37'18.9"E	1513	Discrete circular structure with double course of walling
<b>MJV047</b>	30°26'03.7"S: 27°37'19.6"E	1511	Rectangular, early twentieth century structure
<b>MJV048</b>	30°26'02.2"S: 27°37'19.5"E	1510	Discrete circular single-walled structure
<b>MJV049</b>	30°26'02.0"S: 27°37'19.9"E	1513	Bilobial circular structure with double course of walling
<b>MJV050</b>	30°26'01.9"S: 27°37'20.2"E	1514	Discrete circular structure with double course of walling

<b>MJV051</b>	30°26'02.2"S: 27°37'21.5"E	1509	Discrete circular structure with double course of walling and possible associated midden
<b>MJV052</b>	30°26'03.5"S: 27°37'21.7"E	1505	Structure comprised of adjoining rectangular and circular components, single-walled
<b>MJV053</b>	30°26'22.7"S: 27°36'16.2"E	1689	Pottery scatter, 1 m E-W x 1.5 m N-S, n=10
<b>MJV054</b>	30°26'22.9"S: 27°36'15.5"E	1671	Pottery scatter, 1.8 m E-W x 1.19 m N-S, n=5
<b>MJV056</b>	30°26'22.4"S: 27°36'16.1"E	1673	Pottery scatter, 1.2 m E-W x .93 m N-S, n=12
<b>MJV057</b>	30°26'21.9"S: 27°36'16.5"E	1680	Discrete circular structure with double course of walling
<b>MJV058</b>	30°26'22.3"S: 27°36'15.8"E	1680	Pottery scatter representing deflated midden, 1.68 m E-W x 1.98 m N-S, n=15
<b>MJV059</b>	30°26'20.8"S: 27°36'17.7"E	1671	Discrete circular structure with double course of walling
<b>MJV060</b>	30°26'20.6"S: 27°36'17.4"E	1673	Heavily deconstructed but based on nearby structures was single-coursed and circular
<b>MJV061</b>	30°26'21.0"S: 27°36'17.5"E	1674	Discrete single-walled circular structure
<b>X1</b>	30°27'29.78"S: 27°38'19.45"E	1817	Decorated sherd
<b>X2</b>	30°27'29.00"S: 27°38'17.61"E	1810	Decorated sherd
<b>X3</b>	30°27'34.73"S: 27°38'20.15"E	1807	Rim sherd and assoc. fragments

<b>X4</b>	30°27'28.38"S: 27°38'20.54"E	1800	Lower grindstone
<b>X5</b>	30°27'28.22"S: 27°38'21.07"E	1803	Lower grindstone
<b>X6</b>	30°27'27.98"S: 27°38'21.15"E	1802	Decorated sherds
<b>X7</b>	30°26'50.83"S: 27°38'32.97"E	1535	Upper grindstone
<b>X8</b>	30°26'50.52"S: 27°38'32.69"E	1538	Upper grindstone

# **APPENDIX E**

## **SAMPLE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND EXCAVATION RECORD SHEETS**

**Rock Shelter Record Sheet**

Site Number	Name	Date	Recorded By	Nearest Village
MJN013	—	20.5.12	RSE	NKOBOLONG

Latitude	Longitude	Altitude	GPS Accuracy
S30° 27' 15.6"	E27° 38' 45.4"	1568 M	3.8 M

Width	Depth	Roof Height	Habitable Area
~ 3 M	~ 3 M	~ 1-2.5 M	< 1 M

Setting (position, access, landmarks, water sources, associated sites, soil and geology)

Shelter is lee of lg. sandstone boulder found on N slope of mtn. between Nkobolong - Lerene. Access is by animal track up slope behind current road. No nearby water sources but reports of water coming from higher up mountain. Stone is local sandstone, evidence displayed downslope from ~~higher~~ higher elevation.

Site Description (Platform in front of site, talus slope, stone walling, daga, dung bedding, recent fires)

Shelter has been / is still used as kraal. Platform in front of site is grassy w/ possible buried deposit (likely layers of dung). Kraal is walled on several sides but boulders form natural walls. Man-made walls are single course w/ one ornamentary. No evidence of recent fires but area w/in shelter has been used recently by small stock.

Artefacts (Pottery: decorations, shape; Beads; Grindstones; Glass; Flaked stone: raw materials, formal tools)

EXC. (2) FRAGS CES, CEMENTY RE-TOUNED FLAKES + QUARTZITE FLAKES, NO VISIBLE RETOUCH, NO FORMAL FINISHED TOOLS  
 NB: RSE + MM RETURNED 24/5/12 + FOUND ONE NON-DIAG. POTSHERO

Date	MSA	LSA	IA	HIST	MIXED
		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		

Assoc. Oral History (NB: Do not record informant information without consent):

N/A

Sampling/Collections: ~~N/A~~ 20 MIN. COLLECTION RECOVERED 100% SURFACE

FINDS

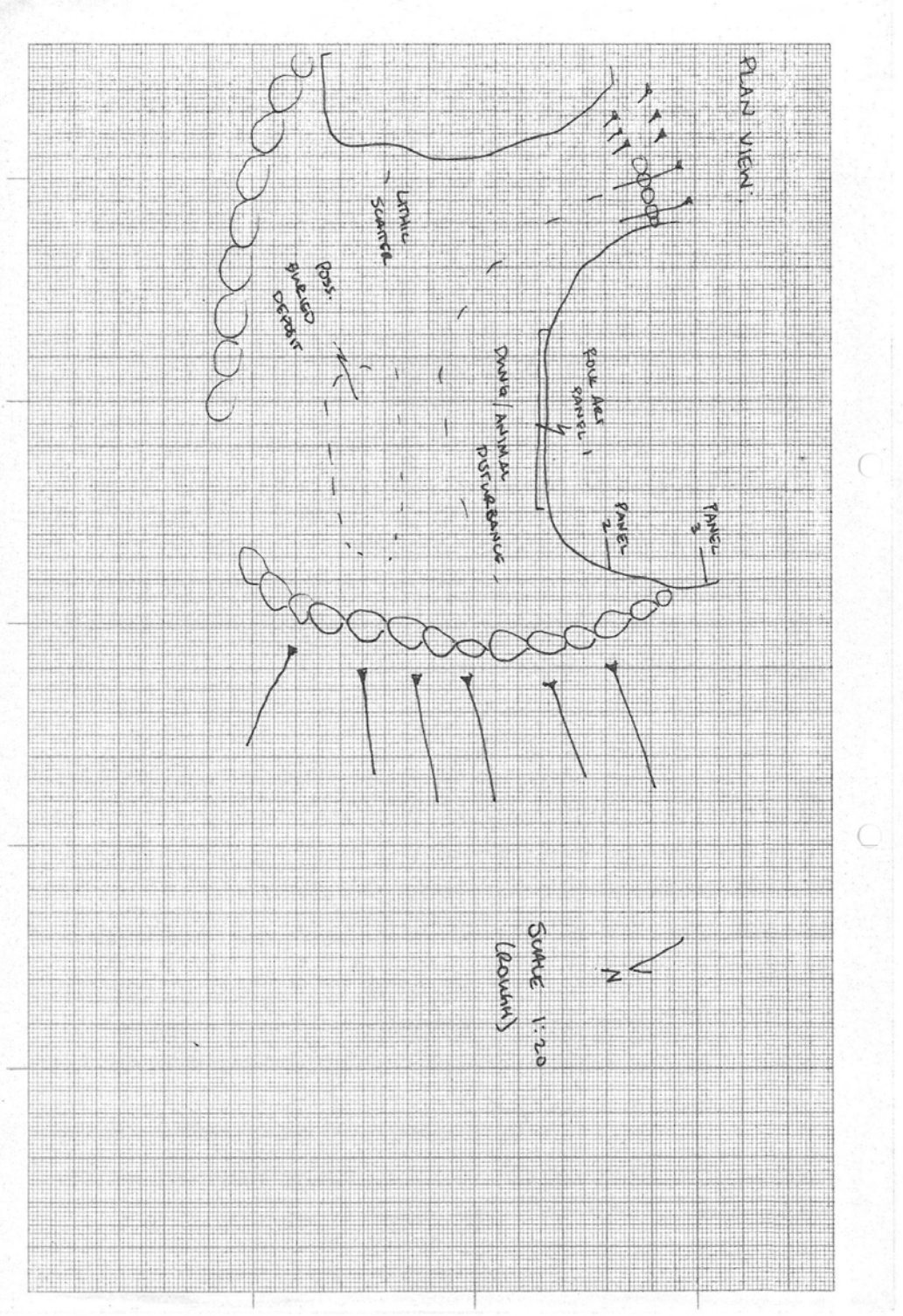
Comments/Suggestions for further investigation: POSS. DEPOSIT IN CENTRE OF AREA

(UNDER DUNG DEPO.), BUT NO TALUS SLOPE OF SILTST. SURFACE FINDS

Photo Numbers	Drawing Numbers
202 4182 - 4225	—
205 4393 - 4419	

Cross-references
ROLL A4C PAND. SHEETS FOR 013

202 4182 - 4225  
 205 4393 - 4419  
 NB: 202 4225 IS FILM

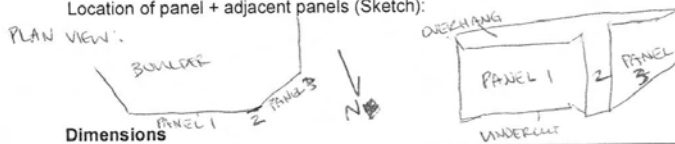


**Rock Art Panel Record Sheet**

Site Name/No.	Panel	Adjacent Panel	Recorded By	Date	Nearest Village
MJV013	1	2	BSK	20.5.12	NKOBELONG

Latitude	Longitude	Altitude	GPS Accuracy
S30°27'15.6"	E27°38'45.4"	1568 M	3.8 M

Location of panel + adjacent panels (Sketch):



**Dimensions**

Vertical: 1 - 1.25 M	Horizontal: 2.5 M	Area:
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**Painting Traditions**

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Fine line	<input type="checkbox"/> Finger	<input type="checkbox"/> Colonial	<input type="checkbox"/> Charcoal	<input type="checkbox"/> Other
---	---------------------------------	-----------------------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------------------

Panel (Sketch):



Description of each image/group of images: image type (prompts below), colour, direction facing, clarity (2)  
 Human figures (male, female, indeterminate, possible male/female, archers, riders, procession, therianthropes)  
 Equipment (bags, bows, arrows, quivers, sticks, digging sticks, flywhisks, shields, assegais, karosses, other)  
 Animals (small antelope, med./lg. antelope, elephant, eland, rhebuck, zebra, ostrich, bird, feline, wildebeest, buffalo, rhino, horse, cow, sheep, bovid, fish, snakes, other)  
 Non-representational pattern (dots, lines, grids, u-shapes, zigzags, nets, circles, paint patches, smears, crenellations, other)

RED LINE MOSTLY MAKE FIGURES ALL FACING RIGHT. SOME APPEAR TO BE IN TRANCE LEANING ON STICKS. FACE QUIVERS, ARROWS, BOWS, SHIELDS - GOWDS AS WELL AS POSS. CLOAKS + CAPS VISIBLE. ALL ANIMALS APPEAR TO BE ELAND EXCEPT 4-LEGGED FIGURES @ LOWER RIGHT - POSS. ANTELOPE? NB: 2 PAINTING PHASES: RED FIGURES PAINTED OVER LATE/RE ELAND + DETAILED ELAND TO RIGHT PAINTED OVER DL RED IMAGE. SM. RED SMUDGES/PATCHES BELOW OVERHANG TO RT.

Assoc. Oral History (NB: Do not record informant information without consent):

N/A

Damage (water, exfoliation, scratches, removal, graffiti, smoke, animals):

DAMAGE FROM WATER, SCRATCHING, + SMEARING DUNG. SUBSTANTIAL EFFECT ON LOWER PORTIONS OF PANEL

Assessment (preservation, research potential, non-research potential):

BEAUTIFULLY PRESERVED  
 EXAMPLE OF FINE-LINE PAINTING + UNIQUE FIGURES @ BOTTOM. REAL THREAT FROM DEFAECMENT + HUMAN DAMAGE

Photo Numbers	Drawing Numbers
202 - 4183 - 4211	—

4225 - FILM

Cross-references
ROCK SHELTER SHEET FOR 013

PANEL SHEETS FOR 013, PANEL 2 + 3

**Surface Site Record Sheet**

Site Number	Name	Date	Recorded By	Nearest Village
MJVOIS	—	21.5.12	RCK	NEKORONG

Latitude	Longitude	Altitude	GPS Accuracy
S 30° 27' 35.1"	E 27° 38' 21.0"	1810M	2.6M

Setting (position, access, landmarks, water sources, associated sites)

SITE IS A POTTERY SCATTER ON E. SLOPE OF 'ROBINSHEANE'. ACCESS IS EASY FROM TOP OF MTN. NO VISIBLE LANDMARKS. LIKELY ASSOC. W/ NEARBY SCATTERS & SOME STRUCTURE POSS. DISPLACED FROM FARTHER-UP SLOPE. NO VISIBLE WATER SOURCES.

Extent (size, shape in plan, density)

SITE IS ROUGHLY 3.9M E-W x 1.2M N-S. BOUNDARIES ARE ~~IRREGULAR~~ AMBIGUOUS. SCATTER APPEARS FAIRLY DIFFUSE ALTHOUGH SOMEWHAT CONCENT. TO W, & PERIPHERAL

Soil and geology (Soil description: colour, composition, inclusions; Type: alluvium, colluvium, eroded soil, donga, river gravel; Disturbance: animal, human, planting; Geology: basalt, sandstone)

SOIL IS DERIVED FROM LOCAL SANDSTONE - REDDISH CLAYEY SAND OR FRAG. OF QUARTZITE OR COARSE CCS FOUND. SOIL LIKELY FLOODED BY WATER FROM UPSLOPE. NO VISIBLE HUMAN DISTURBANCE - MTN SOIL USED FOR SOIL GRATING

Artefacts (Pottery: decorations, shape; Beads; Grindstones; Glass; Flaked stone: raw materials, formal tools)

POTTERY WAS N. BECLEN - FRAGMENTARY SHOWING DK BLACK TEMPER (RESULT OF HIGH ORG. CONTENT?) - COARSE FRASS W/ PUNCTURES / INCLUSIONS. NO RM SHEDS - ALL BENT.

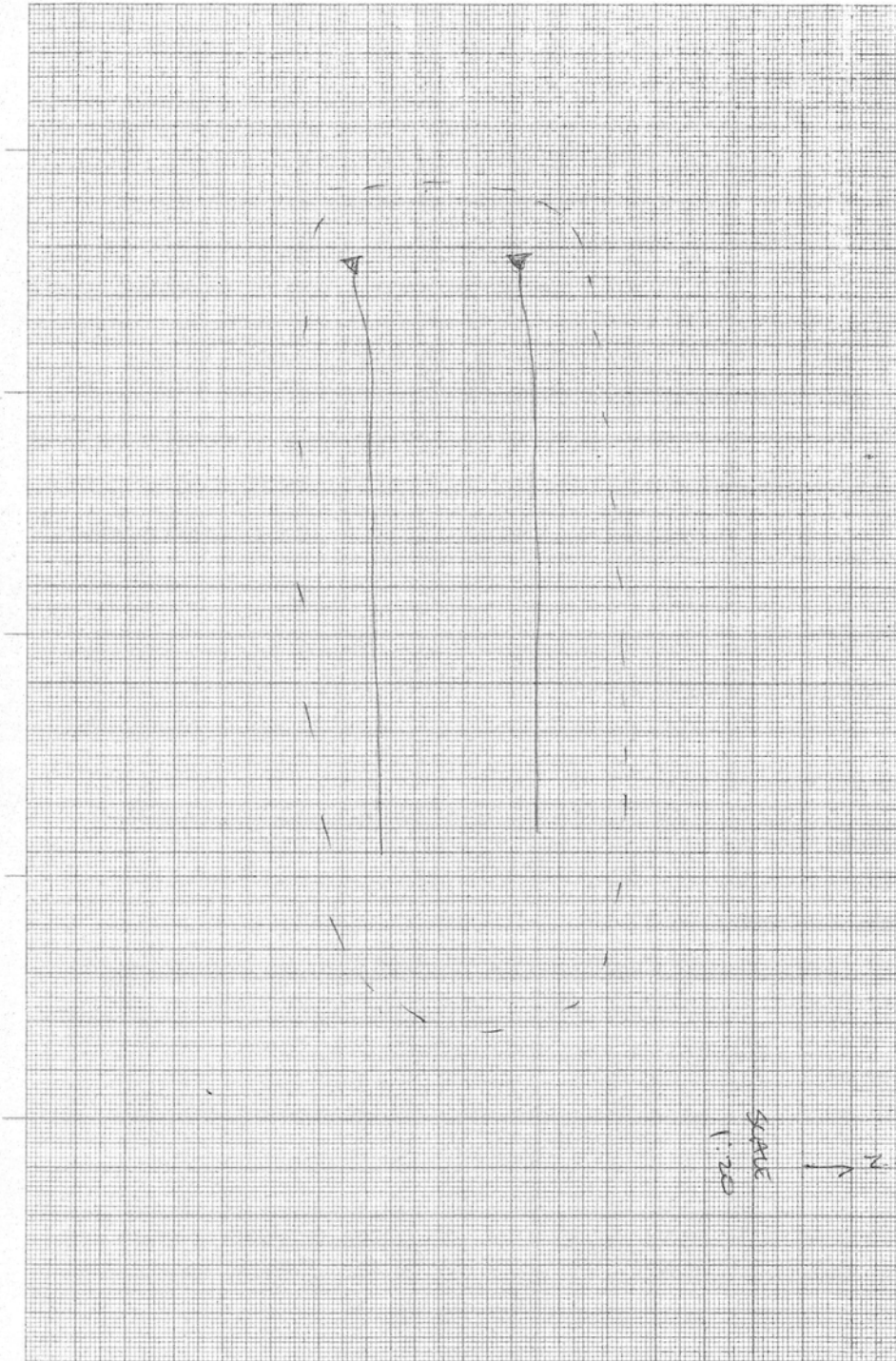
Date	LSA	EIA	LIA	HIST	MIXED
			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

Sampling/Collections: 20- MIN. COLLECTION RECOVERED 100% SITE, MATERIALS BROKEN & FRAGMENTARY BUT FEW S

Comments/Suggestions for further investigation: V. PERIPHERAL SITE BUT POSS. ASSOC. W/ OTHER NEARBY STRUCTURES / SCATTERS

Photo Numbers	Drawing Numbers
202 4233-7	

Cross-references



**Surface Structure Record Sheet**

Site Number	Name	Date	Recorded By	Nearest Village
MJV 061	BOLEPELETA	23.10.12	RSK	BOLEPELETA

Latitude	Longitude	Altitude	GPS Accuracy
30°26'21.0"	27°36'17.5"	1074	2.9M

Setting (position, access, landmarks, water sources, associated sites, soil and geology)

SITE IS @ W END OF LINE ELEMENT OF BOLEPELETA. STONE-WORKING IS INCOMPLETE @ E EDGE, CONTAINS REFERENCE TO W WHERE IT JOINS W/ BOWLER + FROM THERE STRUCTURE IS AMBIGUOUS. LIKELY ASSOC. W/ M/VN 059 - 060

Structure, Layout and Extent (Walling: single/double/filled, circular or square, breaks; Layout: single or multiple components, associations (lobed, adjacent, discrete); Extent: extent in plan, occupation/use)

WALLING IS UNSHAPED BOWLERS FROM SANDSTONE IN IMMEDIATE VICINITY SINGLE COURSE INFILLED WALLING. EXTENT DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE B/C WALL'S DEGRADATION. MAY HAVE JOINED W/ 059 + 060 TO MAKE LOBBED STRUCTURE OF MAY HAVE <sup>NOT HAD EXTENDED</sup> ~~TERMINATED~~ SO FAR, AS IT CURRENTLY STANDS, BREAK @ E END FACES ONLY USEFUL APPROACH TO IT BREAK TO BREAK IS 17.1M

Preservation	1 Only buried features	2 Scattered building stones	3 Deconstructed but standing	4 Relatively intact
		2	3	

Artefacts (Pottery, decorations, shape; Beads; Grindstones; Glass; Flaked stone: raw materials, formal tools)

POTTERY GROUND OUT AROUND SITE - FUNDS @ LOW DENSITY SO NO SCATTERS WERE RECORDED BUT X24 + X25 IN VICINITY

Date	EIA	(LIA)	HIST	MIXED
		LIA	HIST	

Assoc. Oral History (NB: Do not record informant information without consent):

HAS USED BY MOORESI + IMMEDIATE FAMILY BEFORE RE-LOCATING TO ROOSEKEANE + MT MOORESI (NATE THULELA)

Sampling/Collections: N/A

Comments/Suggestions for further investigation: NO VISIBLE DEPOSITS

Photo Numbers	Drawing Numbers	Cross-references

**Surface Structure Record Sheet**

Site Number	Name	Date	Recorded By	Nearest Village
MJV 061	BOLEPELESA	23.10.12	RSK	BOLEPELESA

Latitude	Longitude	Altitude	GPS Accuracy
30°26'21.0"	27°36'17.5"	1674	2.9m

Setting (position, access, landmarks, water sources, associated sites, soil and geology)

SITE IS @ W END OF LINE ELEMENT OF BOLEPELESA. STONE WORKING IS INCOMPLETE @ E EDGE, CONTAINS WEBSITE TO W WHERE IT JOINS W/ BOWLER + FROM THERE STRUCTURE IS AMBIGUOUS. LIKELY ASSOC. W/ M/JN 059 - 060

Structure, Layout and Extent (Walling: single/double/filled, circular or square, breaks; Layout: single or multiple components, associations (lobed, adjacent, discrete); Extent: extent in plan, occupation/use)

WALLING IS UNSHAPED BOWLERS FROM SANDSTONE IN IMMEDIATE VICINITY SINGLE COURSE INFILLED WALLING. EXTENT DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE B/C WALL'S DEGRADATION. MAY HAVE JOINED W/ 059 + 060 TO MAKE LOBBED STRUCTURE OF MAY HAVE EXTENDED SO FAR, AS IT CURRENTLY STANDS. BREAK @ E END FACES ONLY USEFUL APPROACH TO IT BREAK TO BREAK IS 17.1M

Preservation	1 Only buried features	2 Scattered building stones	3 Deconstructed but standing	4 Relatively intact
		2	3	

Artefacts (Pottery: decorations, shape; Beads; Grindstones; Glass; Flaked stone: raw materials, formal tools)

POTTERY ERODED OUT AROUND SITE - FUNDS @ LOW DENSITY SO NO SCATTERS WERE RECORDED BUT X24 + X25 IN VICINITY

Date	EIA	(LIA)	HIST	MIXED
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Assoc. Oral History (NB: Do not record informant information without consent):

HITS USED BY MOORESI + IMMEDIATE FAMILY BEFORE RE-LOCATING TO BOBOSHEANE + MT MOORESI (NEAR THULELA)

Sampling/Collections: N/A

Comments/Suggestions for further investigation: NO VISIBLE DEPOSITS

Photo Numbers	Drawing Numbers

Cross-references

**Surface Structure Record Sheet**

Site Number	Name	Date	Recorded By	Nearest Village
MJV 061	BOLEPELETA	23.10.12	RSK	BOLEPELETA

Latitude	Longitude	Altitude	GPS Accuracy
30°26'21.0"	27°36'17.5"	1674	2.9M

Setting (position, access, landmarks, water sources, associated sites, soil and geology)

SITE IS @ W END OF LINE ELEMENT OF BOLEPELETA. STONE-WORKING IS INCOMPLETE @ E EDGE, CONTAINS REFERENCE TO W WHERE IT JOINS W/ BOWLER + FROM THERE STRUCTURE IS AMBIGUOUS. LIKELY ASSOC. W/ M/JN 059 - 060

Structure, Layout and Extent (Walling: single/double/filled, circular or square, breaks; Layout: single or multiple components, associations (lobed, adjacent, discrete); Extent: extent in plan, occupation/use)

WALLING IS UNSHAPED BOWLERS FROM SANDSTONE IN IMMEDIATE VICINITY SINGLE COURSE INFILLED WALLING. EXTENT DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE B/C WALL'S DEGRADATION. MAY HAVE JOINED W/ 059 + 060 TO MAKE LOBBED STRUCTURE OF MAY HAVE <sup>NOT HAD EXTENDED</sup> ~~TERMINATED~~ SO FAR, AS IT CURRENTLY STANDS, BREAK @ E END FACES ONLY USEFUL APPROACH TO IT BREAK TO BREAK IS 17.1M

Preservation	1 Only buried features	2 Scattered building stones	3 Deconstructed but standing	4 Relatively intact
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Artefacts (Pottery: decorations, shape; Beads; Grindstones; Glass; Flaked stone: raw materials, formal tools)

POTTERY GROUND OUT AROUND SITE - FUNDS @ LOW DENSITY SO NO SCATTERS WERE RECORDED BUT X24 + X25 IN VICINITY

Date	EIA	(LIA)	HIST	MIXED
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Assoc. Oral History (NB: Do not record informant information without consent):

HAS USED BY MOORCSI + IMMEDIATE FAMILY BEFORE RE-LOCATING TO ROOSHEANE + MT MOORCSI (NATE THULELA)

Sampling/Collections: N/A

Comments/Suggestions for further investigation: NO VISIBLE DEPOSITS

Photo Numbers	Drawing Numbers	Cross-references

Site		Context Record Sheet		Sheet no. 1	Context No.
H81		Context Type: Deposit / Cut			003
Plan No.		Overlain by: 002	Overlies: 004	Excavated in squares:	
Section No.		Cut by:	Cuts:		
		Filled by:	Fill of:	50, 50	
Same as:					
<b>DEPOSIT CHECK LIST</b> 1. compaction 8. boundary to next context 2. colour 9. variation within context 3. composition 10. associated with 4. inclusions 11. conditions 5. thickness 12. uncertainties 6. extent/shape 7. truncated by		<b>CUT CHECK LIST</b> 1. shape in plan 7. truncated by 2. orientation 8. variation within context 3. dimensions 9. associated with sides/base 10. conditions 4. break-of-slope/ 5. inclination 11. uncertainties 6. truncates		this context is 003 002 004 001 005	
1. V. LOOSE 2. LIGHT BROWNISH GREY 10 YR 6/2 - 3. SILTY SAND 4. 58% SUB-ANGULAR SANDSTONE ABBLES, 5% CHARCOAL FLAKES 2-4MM 5. 6. ENTIRE SR 7. N/A 8. CLEAR BASED ON COLOUR + COMPOSITION 9. INTERLACING OF TWO CONTEXTS TAKEN AS 1 10. 11. OVERCAST 12.					
<b>Interpretation</b> Formation processes: wind-/water-borne deposit, in-situ hearth deposit, organic content, intensity of occupation, rapid/slow deposition, natural erosion, re-working of deposit, roots/insect/animal disturbance, trampling/sweeping (003) CONSISTS OF TWO DIFFERENT CONTEXTS INTERLACING <del>THE</del> : ONE BROWNISH GREY + ONE PINK. SINCE <del>THE</del> SEPARATING THE TWO WAS IMPRESSIBLE AND IT APPEARS THAT CONTEXT WAS FORMED HARDLY IN A FEW DUMPING EPISODES IT MADE SENSE TO TAKE <del>THE</del> THE DEPOSITS AS ONE. (003) REPRESENTS A SERIES OF DUMPS WITH FEW ARTIFACTS AND NO DETECTABLE RE-WORKING. SOME EROSION MAY HAVE MOVED DEPOSITS DOWNLEFT BUT POST- DEPOSITIONAL DISTURBANCE APPEARS MINIMAL.					
Finds (tick): None ( ) Lithics ( ) Pottery ( ) Bone ( ) Shell ( ) OES ( ) Wood ( ) Ochre ( ) other:					
Description (tool types/typology; bone species; concentrations of artefact type/ distribution; etc) BEADS CHARCOAL					
				Photographs: 246 87-92	
				Recorded by: LSL/JR Date: 16/05/13	

Site HP 1		Spit Record Sheet		Sheet no. 1	Context No. 004
Plans		Sections	Spit thickness 7.5 cm	Additional Sheet/s	Square co-ord 50.50
Photographs 247	Folder 93-96	Picture No.			Spit No. 1
Finds: None ( ) Lithics ( ) Pottery ( ) Bone ( ) Shell ( ) OES ( ) Wood ( ) Ochre ( ) other:					Number of buckets
Finds description (retouched flakes/cores; raw materials; condition/size of bone; diagnostic fauna; concentrations/distribution; compare with over- and under-lying spits/other squares)					Quad A
BEADS, POTTERY, BONE, METAL FRAGS					Quad B 0-27.1 m cm
					Quad C
					Quad D
Small find	Description (show location on plan below)			Co-ord.	Level
001 Δ	IN-SITU BURNING			50.15-16 50.29	8.395
002 Δ	IN-SITU BURNING			50.11-50.16 50.21-50.25	8.400
Sample	Description (show location on plan below)			Co-ord.	Level
Description (divergence from original context description; extent in plan; finds density; disturbance/truncation; volume excavated in square & relative to over & underlying spits/adjacent squares; likelihood of contamination)					Levels
LG. # OF BURROWS - ROOTS IN CONTRAST TO OVERLYING CONTEXTS SUGG. THAT THIS IS TOP OF MIDDEN - THAT IT LAY EXPOSED FOR SOME TIME DEP. IS MAINLY FINE MIX OF SANDY SEDIMENTS, OCC. (AS IN SW CORNER) INFLUENCED BY GRASSES. DEP. IS MOST FRABLE + THICKEST IN E. SIDE OF SQ.					no RL
					1 8.448
					2 8.402
					3 8.396
					4 8.390
					5 8.394
					6 8.388
					7
					8
					9
					10

Post-ex levels for spit 1. of context 002	
no RL	8.382

Square Co-ord:

Recorded by: RSE/je Date: 17/5/13 Checked:

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