Heritage impact assessment for the PROPOSED UPGRADING OF A SECTION OF THE N8 NATIONAL ROUTE, LADYBRAND TO TWEESPRUIT, FREE STATE PROVINCE



#### THE PROJECT:

Upgrading of a section of the N8 motorway.

#### THIS REPORT:

HERITAGE IMPACT ASSESSMENT FOR THE PROPOSED UPGRADING OF A SECTION OF THE N8 NATIONAL ROUTE, LADYBRAND TO TWEESPRUIT, FREE STATE PROVINCE

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#### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

# HERITAGE IMPACT ASSESSMENT FOR THE PROPOSED UPGRADING OF A SECTION OF THE N8 NATIONAL ROUTE, LADYBRAND TO TWEESPRUIT, FREE STATE PROVINCE

A survey was conducted to locate, identify, evaluate and document sites, features and objects of cultural significance found within the boundaries of an area in which it is planned to upgrade a section of the N8 national road. This section is located east of Bloemfontein, from Tweespruit eastwards towards Ladybrand.

Some heritage sites are known to exist in the larger region, but only one, and informal cemetery (see Appendix 3), is located in close proximity of the road. Fortunately, this feature is large enough not to miss and it is also sufficiently far away from the road not to be impacted on by the proposed upgrading. Therefore, based on what was found and its evaluation, it is recommended that the proposed development can continue, on condition of acceptance of the following recommendation:

• If construction takes place and archaeological sites are exposed, it should immediately be reported to a museum, preferably one at which an archaeologist is available, so that an investigation and evaluation of the finds can be made.

J A van Schalkwyk Heritage Consultant

### **TECHNICAL SUMMARY**

Property details						
Province	Free	Free State				
Magisterial district	Exc	Excelsior & Ladybrand				
Topo-cadastral map	292	2927AA, 2927AB				
Closest town	Lad	Ladybrand				
Farm name	Vari	Various				
Portions/Holdings						
Coordinates	Linear					
	No	Latitude	Longitude	No	Latitude	Longitude
	1	S 29.21533	E 27.02583	2	S 29.21316	S 27.45286

Development criteria in terms of Section 38(1) of the NHR Act	Yes/No
Construction of road, wall, power line, pipeline, canal or other linear	Yes
form of development or barrier exceeding 300m in length	
Construction of bridge or similar structure exceeding 50m in length	
Development exceeding 5000 sq m	
Development involving three or more existing erven or subdivisions	
Development involving three or more erven or divisions that have been	
consolidated within past five years	
Rezoning of site exceeding 10 000 sq m	
Any other development category, public open space, squares, parks,	
recreation grounds	

Development	
Description	Upgrading of a section of the N8
Project name	N8 Ladybrand to Tweefontein

Land use	
Previous land use	Agriculture
Current land use	Agriculture

Heritage sites as	ssessment	
Site type	Site significance	Site grading (Section 7 of NHRA)
None		
Impact assessm	ient	
Impact	Mitigation	Permits required
None		

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#### **GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

**Study area:** Refers to the entire study area as indicated by the client in the accompanying Fig. 1 - 2.

**Stone Age:** The first and longest part of human history is the Stone Age, which began with the appearance of early humans between 3-2 million years ago. Stone Age people were hunters, gatherers and scavengers who did not live in permanently settled communities. Their stone tools preserve well and are found in most places in South Africa and elsewhere.

Early Stone Age	2 000 000 - 150 000 Before Present
Middle Stone Age	150 000 - 30 000 BP
Late Stone Age	30 000 - until c. AD 200

**Iron Age:** Period covering the last 1800 years, when new people brought a new way of life to southern Africa. They established settled villages, cultivated domestic crops such as sorghum, millet and beans, and they herded cattle as well as sheep and goats. These people, according to archaeological evidence, spoke early variations of the Bantu Language. Because they produced their own iron tools, archaeologists call this the Iron Age.

Early Iron Age	Ĩ	٩D	200 - AD 900
Middle Iron Age	ŀ	٩D	900 - AD 1300
Late Iron Age	ŀ	۹D ۲	1300 - AD 1830

**Historical Period**: Since the arrival of the white settlers - c. AD 1840 - in this part of the country

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADRC	Archaeological Data Recording Centre
ASAPA	Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists
EIA	Early Iron Age
ESA	Early Stone Age
LIA	Late Iron Age
LSA	Later Stone Age
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment
MSA	Middle Stone Age
NASA	National Archives of South Africa
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act
PHRA	Provincial Heritage Resources Agency
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency

### HERITAGE IMPACT ASSESSMENT FOR THE PROPOSED UPGRADING OF A SECTION OF THE N8 NATIONAL ROUTE, LADYBRAND TO TWEESPRUIT, FREE STATE PROVINCE

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

Due to an increased traffic volumes and natural degradation, it is proposed to upgrade a section of the N8 national route. This section is located east of Bloemfontein, from Tweespruit eastwards towards Ladybrand.

South Africa's heritage resources, also described as the 'national estate', comprise a wide range of sites, features, objects and believes. However, according to Section 27(18) of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA), Act 25 of 1999, no person may destroy, damage, deface, excavate, alter, remove from its original position, subdivide or change the planning status of any heritage site without a permit issued by the heritage resources authority responsible for the protection of such site.

In accordance with Section 38 of the NHRA, an independent heritage consultant was appointed by **Bohlweki SSI** to conduct a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) to determine if any sites, features or objects of cultural heritage significance occur within the boundaries of the area where it is planned to upgrade the road.

#### 2. TERMS OF REFERENCE

The scope of work for this study consisted of:

- Conducting of a desk-top investigation of the area, in which all available literature, reports, databases and maps were studied;
- A visit to the proposed development area.

The objectives were to

- Identify possible archaeological, cultural and historic sites within the proposed development area;
- Evaluate the potential impacts of construction, operation and maintenance of the proposed development on archaeological, cultural and historical resources;
- Recommend mitigation measures to ameliorate any negative impacts on areas of archaeological, cultural or historical importance.

#### 3. HERITAGE RESOURCES

#### 3.1 The National Estate

The National Heritage Resources Act (Act No. 25 of 1999) defines the heritage resources of South Africa which are of cultural significance or other special value for the present community and for future generations that must be considered part of the national estate to include:

- places, buildings, structures and equipment of cultural significance;
- places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage;
- historical settlements and townscapes;
- landscapes and natural features of cultural significance;
- geological sites of scientific or cultural importance;
- archaeological and palaeontological sites;
- graves and burial grounds, including
  - o ancestral graves;
  - o royal graves and graves of traditional leaders;
  - o graves of victims of conflict;
  - o graves of individuals designated by the Minister by notice in the Gazette;
  - historical graves and cemeteries; and
  - other human remains which are not covered in terms of the Human Tissue Act, 1983 (Act No. 65 of 1983);
- sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa;
- movable objects, including-
  - objects recovered from the soil or waters of South Africa, including archaeological and palaeontological objects and material, meteorites and rare geological specimens;
  - objects to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage;
  - o ethnographic art and objects;
  - o military objects;
  - o objects of decorative or fine art;
  - o objects of scientific or technological interest; and
  - books, records, documents, photographic positives and negatives, graphic, film or video material or sound recordings, excluding those that are public records as defined in section 1(xiv) of the National Archives of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act No. 43 of 1996).

#### 3.2 Cultural significance

In the NHRA, Section 2 (vi), it is stated that "cultural significance" means aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance. This is determined in relation to a site or feature's uniqueness, condition of preservation and research potential.

According to Section 3(3) of the NHRA, a place or object is to be considered part of the national estate if it has cultural significance or other special value because of

- its importance in the community, or pattern of South Africa's history;
- its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;
- its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;
- its importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of South Africa's natural or cultural places or objects;
- its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group;
- its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period;
- its strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;
- its strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in the history of South Africa; and
- sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa.

#### 4. STUDY APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1 Extent of the Study

This survey and impact assessment covers the area as presented in Section 5 and as illustrated in Figures 1 - 2.

#### 4.2 Methodology

#### 4.2.1 Preliminary investigation

#### 4.2.1.1 Survey of the literature

A survey of the relevant literature was conducted with the aim of reviewing the previous research done and determining the potential of the area. In this regard, various anthropological, archaeological and historical sources were consulted.

• A few publications detailing historical and archaeological investigations in the region were identified, e.g. Maggs (1976) and Richardson (2001).

#### 4.2.1.2 Data bases

The Heritage Atlas Database, the Environmental Potential Atlas, the Chief Surveyor General and the National Archives of South Africa were consulted.

- Database surveys produced a number of sites located in the region of the proposed development.
- Deeds of Transfer for some of the farms were found in the records of the Chief Surveyor General's records, but contributed little with regard to heritage sites.

#### 4.2.1.3 Other sources

Aerial photographs and topocadastral and other maps were also studied - see the list of references below.

• Information of a very general nature were obtained from these sources

#### 4.2.2 Field survey

The area that had to be investigated, was identified by **Bohlweki SSI** by means of maps. As this is a linear development, the field survey was done by travelling the route in both directions.

#### 4.2 Limitations

In some sections, the survey was affected by tall grass, that limited archaeological visibility to some extent.

#### 5. DESCRIPTION OF THE AFFECTED ENVIRONMENT

#### 5.1 Site location and description

The site is confined to a section of the N8 national route, located east of Bloemfontein, from Tweespruit eastwards towards Ladybrand. For more detail, please see the Technical

Summary presented above. The geology is made up of mudstone in the west and arenite in the west. These two formations are separated from each other by a narrow band of dolorite. The original vegetation is classified as Moist Cool Highveld Grassland, but much of this has been replaced due to farming activities.

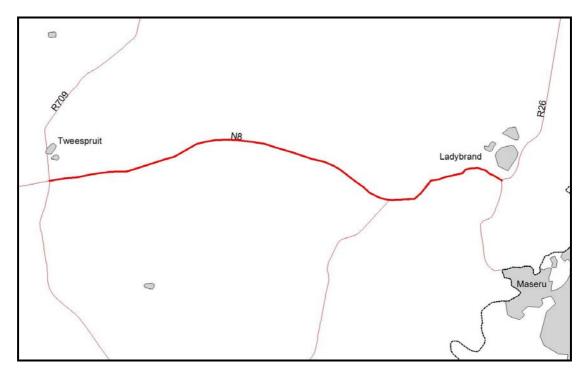


Fig. 1. Location of the study area (red line) in regional context.

#### 5.2 Regional overview

#### 5.2.1 Stone Age

Occupation of the larger region has taken place since at least the Later Stone Age times, as is evidenced by the occurrence of such sites as Rose Cottage east of Lady Brand and at Modderpoort to the north of Ladybrand.

#### 5.2.2 Iron Age

Iron Age people started to settle in southern Africa c. AD 300, with one of the oldest known sites at Broederstroom south of Hartebeespoort Dam dating to AD 470. Having only had cereals (sorghum, millet) that need summer rainfall, Early Iron Age (EIA) people did not move outside this rainfall zone, and neither did they occupy the central interior highveld area. Because of their specific technology and economy, Iron Age people preferred to settle on the alluvial soils near rivers for agricultural purposes, but also for firewood and water.

The occupation of the larger geographical area (including the study area) did not start much before the 1500s. By the 16th century things changed, with the climate becoming warmer and wetter, creating conditions that allowed Late Iron Age (LIA) farmers to occupy areas previously unsuitable, for example the treeless plains of the Free State.

#### 5.2.3 Historic period

White settlers moved into the area during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They were largely self-sufficient, basing their survival on cattle/sheep farming and hunting. Ladybrand was founded in 1867 and achieved municipal status in 1904. Tweefontein was established after the Anglo-Boer War as a settlement for British soldier that took part in the war (Raper 2004).

#### 5.3 Identified sites

The following cultural heritage resources are known to exists or are expected to exist in the study area:

#### 5.3.1 Stone Age

A few sites dating to the Stone Age are known to exist in the larger region, e.g. Rose Cottage and Modderpoort and Tandjiesberg.

# • No sites, features or objects dating to the Stone Age are known from the route that is to be upgraded.

#### 5.3 2 Iron Age

During the Late Iron Age, due to unstable conditions, people feared for their lives and congregated in towns that were developed in areas that could be better defended, e.g. on top of hills. These sites are usually distinguished by extensive stone walling. Some sites are known to exist to the north in the larger region, e.g. at Winburg and Clocolan.

# • No sites features or objects dating to the Iron Age are known from any of the alternative routes for the proposed power lines.

#### 5.3.3 Historic period

The land use in the area can be classified as agricultural use. As a result, few features of heritage significance exist in the area. Some informal cemeteries are known to exist, as well as a few buildings, most of them located in towns, e.g. Ladybrand. One other feature identified, are entrance gates to the farms, some of which are possibly quite old. However, all of them are set beck from the road and would therefore not be impacted on by the proposed development.

# • An informal cemetery containing an unknown number of graves are located some distance from the road – see Appendix 3.

#### 6. SITE SIGNIFICANCE AND ASSESSMENT

#### 6.1 Heritage assessment criteria and grading

The NHRA stipulates the assessment criteria and grading of archaeological sites. The following categories are distinguished in Section 7 of the Act:

- **Grade I**: Heritage resources with qualities so exceptional that they are of special national significance;
- **Grade II**: Heritage resources which, although forming part of the national estate, can be considered to have special qualities which make them significant within the context of a province or a region; and
- Grade III: Other heritage resources worthy of conservation, on a local authority level.

The occurrence of sites with a Grade I significance will demand that the development activities be drastically altered in order to retain these sites in their original state. For Grade II and Grade III sites, the applicable of mitigation measures would allow the development activities to continue.

#### 6.2 Statement of significance

In terms of Section 7 of the NHRA, all the sites currently known or which are expected to occur in the study area are evaluated to have a

#### • Grade III significance.

#### 6.3 Impact assessment

Impact analysis of cultural heritage resources under threat of the proposed development, are based on the present understanding of the development.

• As no heritage sites occur in the area of the proposed road upgrading, there would be no impact resulting from the proposed development.

#### 7. RECOMMENDED MANAGEMENT MEASURES

Heritage sites are fixed features in the environment, occurring within specific spatial confines. Any impact upon them is permanent and non-reversible. Those resources that cannot be avoided and that are directly impacted by the development can be excavated/recorded and a management plan can be developed for future action. Those sites that are not impacted on can be written into the management plan, whence they can be avoided or cared for in the future.

#### 7.1 Objectives

- Protection of archaeological, historical and any other site or land considered being of cultural value within the project boundary against vandalism, destruction and theft.
- The preservation and appropriate management of new discoveries in accordance with the NHRA, should these be discovered during construction.

The following shall apply:

- Known sites should be clearly marked in order that they can be avoided during construction activities.
- The contractors and workers should be notified that archaeological sites might be exposed during the construction work.

- Should any heritage artefacts be exposed during excavation, work on the area where the artefacts were discovered, shall cease immediately and the Environmental Control Officer shall be notified as soon as possible;
- All discoveries shall be reported immediately to a museum, preferably one at which an archaeologist is available, so that an investigation and evaluation of the finds can be made. Acting upon advice from these specialists, the Environmental Control Officer will advise the necessary actions to be taken;
- Under no circumstances shall any artefacts be removed, destroyed or interfered with by anyone on the site; and
- Contractors and workers shall be advised of the penalties associated with the unlawful removal of cultural, historical, archaeological or palaeontological artefacts, as set out in the National Heritage Resources Act (Act No. 25 of 1999), Section 51. (1).

#### 7.2 Control

In order to achieve this, the following should be in place:

- A person or entity, e.g. the Environmental Control Officer, should be tasked to take responsibility for the heritage sites and should be held accountable for any damage.
- Known sites should be located and isolated, e.g. by fencing them off. All residents and their visitors should be informed that these are no-go areas, unless accompanied by the individual or persons representing the Environmental Control Officer as identified above.
- In areas where the vegetation is threatening the heritage sites, e.g. growing trees pushing walls over, it should be removed, but only after permission for the methods proposed has been granted by SAHRA. A heritage official should be part of the team executing these measures.

#### 8. CONCLUSIONS

A survey was conducted to locate, identify, evaluate and document sites, features and objects of cultural significance found within the boundaries of an area in which it is planned to upgrade a section of the N8 national road.

Some heritage sites are known to exist in the larger region, but only one, and informal cemetery (see Appendix 3), is located in close proximity of the road. Fortunately, this feature is large enough not to miss and it is also sufficiently far away from the road not to be impacted on by the proposed upgrading. Therefore, based on what was found and its evaluation, it is recommended that the proposed development can continue, on condition of acceptance of the following recommendation:

• If construction takes place and archaeological sites are exposed, it should immediately be reported to a museum, preferably one at which an archaeologist is available, so that an investigation and evaluation of the finds can be made.

#### 9. REFERENCES

#### 9.1 Data bases

Chief Surveyor General

Environmental Potential Atlas, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.

Heritage Atlas Database, Pretoria.

National Archives of South Africa

#### 9.2 Literature

Acocks, J.P.H. 1975. *Veld Types of South Africa*. Memoirs of the Botanical Survey of South Africa, No. 40. Pretoria: Botanical Research Institute.

Holm, S.E. 1966. *Bibliography of South African Pre- and Protohistoric archaeology*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik.

Maggs, T.M.O'C. 1976. *Iron Age Communities of the southern Highveld*. Occasional Publications No. 2.Pietermaritzburg: Natal Museum.

Oberholzer, J.J. 1972. The historical Monuments of South Africa. Cape Town: Rembrand van Rijn Foundation for Culture.

Richardson, D. 2001. Historic sites of South Africa. Cape Town: Struik Publishers

#### 9.3 Maps and aerial photographs

1: 50 000 Topocadastral maps: 2927AA, 2927AB

Google Earth

# APPENDIX 1: CONVENTIONS USED TO ASSESS THE IMPACT OF PROJECTS ON HERITAGE RESOURCES

#### Significance

According to the NHRA, Section 2(vi) the **significance** of a heritage sites and artefacts is determined by it aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technical value in relation to the uniqueness, condition of preservation and research potential. It must be kept in mind that the various aspects are not mutually exclusive, and that the evaluation of any site is done with reference to any number of these.

Matrix used for assessing the significance of each identified site/feature

1. Historic value			
Is it important in the community, or pattern of history			
Does it have strong or special association with the life or w	ork of a pe	erson,	
group or organisation of importance in history	·		
Does it have significance relating to the history of slavery			
2. Aesthetic value			
It is important in exhibiting particular aesthetic characterist	tics valued	by a	
community or cultural group			
3. Scientific value			
Does it have potential to yield information that will c	ontribute t	o an	
understanding of natural or cultural heritage			
Is it important in demonstrating a high degree of creat	ive or tecl	nnical	
achievement at a			
particular period			
4. Social value			
Does it have strong or special association with a particula	ar commun	ity or	
cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons			
5. Rarity			
Does it possess uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of r	natural or cu	ultural	
heritage			
6. Representivity			
Is it important in demonstrating the principal characteristic	s of a part	icular	
class of natural or cultural places or objects			
Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics	of a rang	ge of	
landscapes or environments, the attributes of which ider	ntify it as	being	
characteristic of its class			
Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of			
(including way of life, philosophy, custom, process, land-use,			
or technique) in the environment of the nation, province, regio			
7. Sphere of Significance	High	Medium	Low
International			
National			
Provincial			
Regional			
Local			
Specific community			
Specific community 8. Significance rating of feature			
Specific community 8. Significance rating of feature 1. Low			
Specific community 8. Significance rating of feature			

#### Significance of impact:

- low where the impact will not have an influence on or require to be significantly accommodated in the project design
- medium where the impact could have an influence which will require modification of the project design or alternative mitigation
- high where it would have a "no-go" implication on the project regardless of any mitigation

#### Certainty of prediction:

- Definite: More than 90% sure of a particular fact. Substantial supportive data to verify assessment
- Probable: More than 70% sure of a particular fact, or of the likelihood of that impact occurring
- Possible: Only more than 40% sure of a particular fact, or of the likelihood of an impact occurring
- Unsure: Less than 40% sure of a particular fact, or the likelihood of an impact occurring

#### Recommended management action:

For each impact, the recommended practically attainable mitigation actions which would result in a measurable reduction of the impact, must be identified. This is expressed according to the following:

1 = no further investigation/action necessary

2 = controlled sampling and/or mapping of the site necessary

3 = preserve site if possible, otherwise extensive salvage excavation and/or mapping necessary

- 4 = preserve site at all costs
- 5 = retain graves

#### Legal requirements:

Identify and list the specific legislation and permit requirements which potentially could be infringed upon by the proposed project, if mitigation is necessary.

#### **APPENDIX 2. RELEVANT LEGISLATION**

All archaeological and palaeontological sites, and meteorites are protected by the National Heritage Resources Act (Act no 25 of 1999) as stated in Section 35:

(1) Subject to the provisions of section 8, the protection of archaeological and palaeontological sites and material and meteorites is the responsibility of a provincial heritage resources authority: Provided that the protection of any wreck in the territorial waters and the maritime cultural zone shall be the responsibility of SAHRA.

(2) Subject to the provisions of subsection (8)(a), all archaeological objects, palaeontological material and meteorites are the property of the State. The responsible heritage authority must, on behalf of the State, at its discretion ensure that such objects are lodged with a museum or other public institution that has a collection policy acceptable to the heritage resources authority and may in so doing establish such terms and conditions as it sees fit for the conservation of such objects.

(3) Any person who discovers archaeological or palaeontological objects or material or a meteorite in the course of development or agricultural activity must immediately report the find to the responsible heritage resources authority, or to the nearest local authority offices or museum, which must immediately notify such heritage resources authority.

(4) No person may, without a permit issued by the responsible heritage resources authority-

(a) destroy, damage, excavate, alter, deface or otherwise disturb any archaeological or palaeontological site or any meteorite;

(b) destroy, damage, excavate, remove from its original position, collect or own any archaeological or palaeontological material or object or any meteorite;

(c) trade in, sell for private gain, export or attempt to export from the Republic any category of archaeological or palaeontological material or object, or any meteorite; or

(d) bring onto or use at an archaeological or palaeontological site any excavation equipment or any equipment which assist in the detection or recovery of metals or archaeological and palaeontological material or objects, or use such equipment for the recovery of meteorites.

In terms of cemeteries and graves the following (Section 36):

(1) Where it is not the responsibility of any other authority, SAHRA must conserve and generally care for burial grounds and graves protected in terms of this section, and it may make such arrangements for their conservation as it sees fit.

(2) SAHRA must identify and record the graves of victims of conflict and any other graves which it deems to be of cultural significance and may erect memorials associated with the grave referred to in subsection (1), and must maintain such memorials.

(3) No person may, without a permit issued by SAHRA or a provincial heritage resources authority-

(a) destroy, damage, alter, exhume or remove from its original position or otherwise disturb the grave of a victim of conflict, or any burial ground or part thereof which contains such graves;

(b) destroy, damage, alter, exhume, remove from its original position or otherwise disturb any grave or burial ground older than 60 years which is situated outside a formal cemetery administered by a local authority; or

(c) bring onto or use at a burial ground or grave referred to in paragraph (a) or (b) any excavation equipment, or any equipment which assists in the detection or recovery of metals.

(4) SAHRA or a provincial heritage resources authority may not issue a permit for the destruction or damage of any burial ground or grave referred to in subsection (3)(a) unless it is satisfied that the applicant has made satisfactory arrangements for the exhumation and reinterment of the contents of such graves, at the cost of the applicant and in accordance with any regulations made by the responsible heritage resources authority.

#### **APPENDIX 3: SURVEY RESULTS**

See Appendix 1 for an explanation of the conventions used in assessing the significance of the cultural remains.

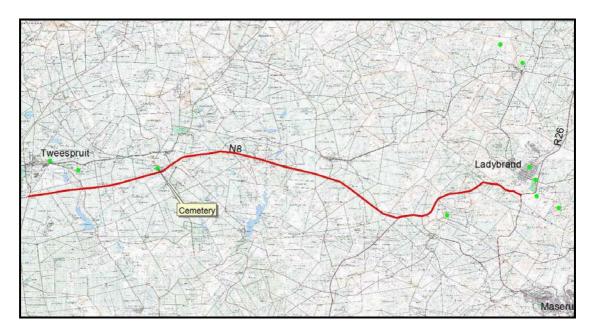


Fig. 2. Location of identified sites. (Maps 2927AA, 2927AB: Chief Surveyor General)

Sites identified:

Location: Beauchamp 8: S 29.19280, E 27.13891

 Description: Informal farm cemetery with an unknown number of graves

 Discussion: This feature is located approximately 50 metres north of the road reserve and
 would therefore not be impacted on by the proposed development.

 Evaluation of significance: High on a local level

 Significance of impact: Low
 Certainty of prediction: Probable

 Recommended management action: 5 = retain graves

 Legal requirements: Consultation, notification, permits form police, Dept of Health.



Fig. 3. The informal cemetery.

# **APPENDIX 4: ILLUSTRATIONS**



Fig. 4. An entrance gate to a farm.



Fig. 5. The study area, looking east.



Fig. 6. The middle section of the study area.



Fig. 7. The study area, looking west.