FIRST PHASE CULTURAL HERITAGE IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF THE PROPOSED P236 ROAD UPGRADES FROM KM14 TO KM32, UBOMBU, KWAZULU-NATAL.



ACTIVE HERITAGE cc.

For: Royal Haskoning (Pty) Ltd

Frans Prins MA (Archaeology)

> P.O. Box 947 Howick 3290

Activeheritage@gmail.com Fax: 0867636380 www.activeheritage.webs.com 10 November 2017

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE PROJECT	1
	1.1. Details of the area surveyed:	2
B	ACKGROUND TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF AREA	2
2	BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF THE SURVEY	7
	2.1 Methodology	7
	2.2 Restrictions encountered during the survey	
	2.2.1 Visibility	7
	2.2.2 Disturbance	7
	2.3 Details of equipment used in the survey	8
3	DESCRIPTION OF SITES AND MATERIAL OBSERVED	8
	3.1 Locational data	8
	3.2 Description of heritage resources located during the survey	8
4	STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE (HERITAGE VALUE)	10
	4.1 Field Rating	
5	RECOMMENDATIONS	11
6	RISK PREVENTATIVE MEASURES ASSOCIATED WITH CONSTRUCTION	11
7	MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS	12
8	REFERENCES	18

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Background information	1
Table2. Heritage sites identified	5
Table 3. Evaluation and statement of significance	7
Table 4. Field rating and recommended grading of sites (SAHRA 2005)	8

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

EIA	Early Iron Age	
ESA	Early Stone Age	
HISTORIC PERIOD	Since the arrival of the white settlers - c. AD 1820 in this part of the country	
IRON AGE	Early Iron Age AD 200 - AD 1000 Late Iron Age AD 1000 - AD 1830	
IIA	Intermediate Iron Age	
ISA	Intermediate Stone Age	
LIA	Late Iron Age	
LSA	Late Stone Age	
MSA	Middle Stone Age	
NEMA	National Environmental Management Act, 1998 (Act No. 107 of 1998 and associated regulations (2006).	
NHRA	associated regulations (2000)	
SAHRA		
STONE AGE	Early Stone Age 2 000 000 - 250 000 BP Middle Stone Age 250 000 - 25 000 BP Late Stone Age 30 000 - until c. AD 200	

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A cultural heritage survey of the proposed P236 road upgrades from km14 to km32 produced two graves sites adjacent to the road. However, these graves are situated outside of the 50m corridor zone and there is no need for mitigation. Although the KZN Museum archaeological data base indicates two localities, with a surface scatter of Early Stone Age tools, adjacent to the road no evidence could be find thereof during the ground survey. The project area is also not part of any known cultural landscape. There is no reason from a heritage perspective why further development may not proceed as planned. However, attention is drawn to the South African Heritage Resources Act, 1999 (Act No. 25 of 1999) and the KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Act (Act no 4 of 2008) which, requires that operations that expose archaeological or historical remains should cease immediately, pending evaluation by the provincial heritage agency.

1 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE PROJECT

Consultant:	Frans Prins (Active Heritage cc) for Royal Haskoning DHV (Pty) Ltd
Type of development:	Royal Haskoning DHV have been appointed by the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport (KZN DoT) to design the upgrades to the P236 from km14 to km32. The scope of work includes the centre line alignment and a 25 m servitude on either side of the centreline. Any heritage features within 50 m on either side of the road centre line fall within the scope of the work.
Rezoning or subdivision:	Rezoning
Terms of reference	To carry out a Heritage Impact Assessment as subcontracted by Royal Haskoning DHV (Pty) Ltd.
Legislative requirements:	The Heritage Impact Assessment was carried out in terms of the National Environmental Management Act, 1998 (Act No. 107 of 1998) (NEMA) and following the requirements of the National Heritage Resources Act, 1999 (Act No. 25 of 1999) (NHRA) and the KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Act, 1997 (Act No. 4 of 2008)

Table 1. Background information

1.1. Details of the area surveyed:

The P236 is the road that connects the little village of Ubombo with the Jozini in the Umkhanyakude District Municipality, KwaZulu-Natal. The road starts at the town of Ubombo in the south and ends at intersection of the P449 in the north (Figs 1 & 2). The proposed road upgrade is approximately 18km long. The GPs Coordinates of the P236 road upgrade are:

Start: S 27° 33' 48.61" E 32° 04' 56.70" Middle: S 27° 30' 15.28" E 32° 05' 56.52" End: S 27° 26' 11.46" E 32° 06' 34.86"

BACKGROUND TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF AREA

The greater Maputaland is endowed with heritage sites of various traditions and periods spanning the Stone Ages, Iron Ages and the historical period. However, the majority of these occur to the west of the Phongola River in the foothills of the Lebombo Mountains. A second large concentration occurs adjacent to and on the dune gordon along the coastline. The coastal plain, by contrast to the rest of Maputaland, is devoid of known archaeological sites. Oliver Davies, an archaeologist who conducted pioneered research and surveys in northern KwaZulu Natal in the 1960's and 1970's, commented that the coastal plain was unpromising for archaeological research due to its being covered by superficial sands and bush coverage which affect preservation and visibility (Avery 1980). By contrast, the foothills of the Lebombo in the vicinity of Jozini, in the near environs to the project area, is well endowed with archaeological sites. The provincial heritage data base of the KwaZulu-Natal Museum lists twenty nine sites in the greater Jozini area. These include Early Stone Age, Middle Stone Age, Later Stone Age and Later Iron Age sites.

Based on typological criteria it can be speculated that the known Early Stone Age sites in the greater Jozini area most probably dates back to between 300 000 and 1.7 million years ago. Some of the stone tools have been identified as belonging to the Acheulian tradition and it is therefore possible that these sites were occupied by an early hominin such as *Homo erectus* or *Homo ergaster*. Middle Stone Age Sites dates back to ca. 40 000 - 200 000 BP. These sites relate to the first anatomically modern people in the world namely *Homo sapiens sapiens*. Most of the Middle Stone Age sites in the greater Maputaland are open air stone tool scatters with little archaeological context. However, some notable cave deposits do occur. The world renowned Border Cave Site, situated approximately 65km to the north of the town of Ingwavuma, is a good example. Humans lived at Border Cave over a period of 200 000 years. The human skeletal remains found in the cave are believed to be some of the oldest evidence of anatomically modern human beings. Various radiometric-dating techniques suggest that Middle Stone Age people were living at Border Cave more than 110 000 years ago. More than a million stone artefacts have been excavated in the cave and an enormous amount if animal material has been recovered from the site as well (Derwent 2006).

Only a handful of Later Stone Age sites have been recorded in the greater Maputaland. These relate to San hunter-gatherers or their immediate ancestors. The stone tool technology are smaller and more diverse and specialised than those made during the Middle Stone Age.

The Early Iron Age of the coastal zone in Maputaland contains ceramic fragments identified as belonging to the Matola phase. The Matola phase sites can be identified with the very first Bantu-speaking agriculturists that entered KwaZulu-Natal approximately 1 600 years ago from Eastern Africa (Maggs 1989). Although oral history indicate that the area was occupied in more recent centuries times by the Thembe-Thonga or their immediate ancestors. Archaeological sites belonging to this period have not yet been identified. Nevertheless the present African inhabitants of the area, the Thembe-Thonga and some Swazi, have a rich oral history and culture relating to their intimate relationship with the environment spanning many centuries. Aspects of their cultural heritage identified by community representatives as being important include the following:

- Relationship of the local community with the physical environment
- Traditional fishing practises (fonya basket fishing)
- The Indawo spirit possession cult
- Wild fruit utilisation
- The significance of the mother's brother in Thembe-Thonga social organisation
- Settlement rules and history
- Thonga language
- Issues relating to cross border identities

Active Heritage cc for Royal Haskoning (Pty) Ltd

- Trade across the border
- History of various traditional authorities in the area
- Occupation of some areas by refugees of the Zulu wars
- The grave site of King Dingane
- Influence on local customs by refugees of the Mozambican War of 1975-1990

The conventional view is that that the historical occupants of Maputaland, the Thembe-Thonga, migrated from Karanga in the present day Zimbabwe in the middle of the seventeenth century Junod (1962:23). However, the theory that the African societies of south-east Africa migrated there in fixed ethnic units, as in the case of the Thembe-Thonga, has been questioned by archaeological research and recent research on oral traditions of Zululand and Natal (Maggs 1989). Instead of migrating there in fixed ethnic groups, it is now argued that the African societies of south-east Africa emerged locally from long established communities of diverse origins and diverse cultures and languages. Nevertheless, whether the Thembe came from Karanga to establish their authority over the people of south-east Africa, or whether they emerged locally, reports from Portuguese sailors indicate that a chief Thembe was in control of the ruling chiefdom in the Delagoa Bay hinterland in the mid-1600s (Wright & C. Hamilton 1989:46-64 and Kuper 1997:74). Thembe and his followers gradually established their authority over the people who lived in this hinterland including the area to the immediate east of the study area. Due to the abilities of their strong and charismatic leaders, the Thembe-Thonga remained a unified chiefdom and gradually extended their influence. This unity was upset in the middle of the eighteenth century when a split in the ruling lineage led to the fragmentation of the chiefdom. The division came after the death of Silamboya in 1746. The descendants of Silamboya's oldest son, Muhali, settled west of the Maputo River and north of the Usuthu River. This group, the senior branch of the Thembe-Thonga, became known as the Mututwen-Tembe. The other part of the Thembe-Thonga followed a junior son of Silamboya, Mangobe, and settled east of the Maputo River. This branch would later become known as the Mabudu or Maputo (Bryant 1965:290). The imposed international border of 1875 bisected the area where the Mabudu branch settled. Being unable to control the vast area under his control, the chief of the junior branch, Mangobe, placed his sons in strategic positions so as to ensure his control. When Mangobe died, his first son, Nkupo, was named chief. However, his younger son, Mabudu, soon established himself as the stronger leader and took the chieftainship from his older brother (Hedges 1978:137). With the army now at his disposal Mabudu was able to dominate

all trade between Europeans who landed at Delagoa Bay and local people living in the hinterland. Through this domination the Mabudu became, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the strongest political and economic unit in south-east Africa (Smith 1972:178-184). The people under his authority, which gradually increased, became known as the *abakwaMabudu* or the people of Mabudu's land (Webb and Wright 1979:157). By the early 1800s the Mabudu chiefdom stretched from the Maputo River in the west to the Indian Ocean in the east, and from Delagoa (Maputo) Bay in the north to as far south as Lake St. Lucia (Felgate 1982:1). This extensive area included the present-day Jozini.

During the early 1800s similar processes of political centralisation were taking place amongst the Mthetwa, Ndwandwe and later the Zulu chiefdoms to the immediate south east of Ingwavuma. The Zulu eventually defeated the other groups and established themselves as the dominant power in south-east Africa (Wright & Hamilton 1989:67 and Laband 1995). The Mabudu were never attacked by, nor directly involved in any war with the Zulu. They were, however indirectly affected by wars of conquest the Zulu waged in the northern part of Zululand in the first half of the nineteenth century (Omer-Cooper 1975:57). Various groups of refugees passed through the Mabudu chiefdom during the reign of Shaka. Many of them settled among the Mabudu. The people who crossed the southern boundary of the Mabudu chiefdom brought with them languages and customs foreign to the Mabudu. Over time, Mabudu identity became less distinctive as people adopted many customs of those living south of them (Bryant 1964:292). As more and more people from the southern chiefdoms crossed into the Mabudu chiefdom, an increasing amount of prestige was attached to being Zulu and speaking isiZulu, since the Zulu were the dominant political force. The Zulu cultural influence in the greater Jozini area was however not complete. People who fled the onslaught of the Zulu only stayed in the area for a short period before they moved on (Felgate 1982:11). Furthermore, in exchange for tribute paid, the Zulu recognised the Mabudu as leaders of a vast territory. This, to an extent, secured their sovereignty (Bradley 1974). The relationship between the Mabudu and the Zulu differed markedly from that which the Zulu instituted with other chiefdoms. Ballard (1978) states that although the Mabudu 'paid tribute to the Zulu kings and cooperated on a military and economic level, they enjoyed much greater independence than the chiefdoms south of St. Lucia. Despite the Zulu influence, Maputaland, remained politically and culturally distinct from areas to the north, south and west. The people of the area spoke a unified language - xiRonga (Thonga). With some exceptions, notably the Ngubane and

Khumalo, they accepted the rule of Mabudu chiefs (Felgate 1982:11). They practised customs that were unique to the area and differed from those of their Zulu, Swazi and Tsonga neighbours (Webster 1991:250). Nevertheless, many siSwati-speaking people crossed the nearby border and settled at Ingwavuma. Today a large percentage of the inhabitants in the immediate vicinity of Ingwavuma are Swazi people, or people with strong cultural and historical links with the Swazi such as the Nyawo Chiefdom. The footprint is situated near traditional Nyawo territory. The Nyawo also played a significant part in the history of the Zulu state situated further south during the reign of King Dingane.

After the defeat of the Zulu by the Voortrekkers during the battle of Blood River in 1838 King Dingane fled to the north and established a new homestead in the Hluhluwe River Valley. From this new location he launched an attack into Swaziland but this attack was repulsed. It was, however, to become be a prime cause of his death. Mpande, the king's half-brother, fled southward in September 1839 with his followers to claim protection from the Voortrekker, fearing that Dingane was intending to have him killed. Mpande and the Boers eventually agreed to attack the king's forces and this led to the battle of Maguonggo, in which Dingane's forces were defeated. King Dingane then fled into the Lebombo mountains, in the close environs of the study area, where he built a homestead, called Esankoleni on the slopes of Hlatikulu hill. This hill was located in the territory of Silevana who was acting as regent for Sambane, heir to the Nyawo chieftainship. Silevana saw King Dingane's presence as a threat and notified a Swazi patrol, under Sonyezane Dlamini. In 1840 the Swazi, with Nyawo help, surrounded the homestead and King Dingane was stabbed by Silevana when he came out of his hut. He was buried at Esankoleni, but the Nyawo were fearful of the possible consequences of killing Zulu Royalty, and tried to brush over their part in the deed by keeping the location of the grave a closely-guarded secret for many years. Today King Dingane's grave is a provincial monument. . A small commemorative plaque, which was unveiled by Dr Buthelezi of the Inkhatha Freedom Party, has been placed close to the actual site.

During the colonial period the greater Maputaland area was frequented by hunters, traders, and later missionaries (Bruton et al 1980). However, sites and structures associated with these activities need to be identified and placed in an inventory. Likewise during the more recent past many refugees of Mozambique crossed the international border and settled in the area (Klopper 2004). Sites belonging to this

more recent "struggle era history" are also protected by national heritage legislation and needs to be surveyed and placed in an inventory.

Apart from human history the greater Maputaland also has extensive fossil deposits and geomorphology dating back to the Cretaceous, Tertiary and Quaternary periods. The Cretaceous fauna yielded by sequences includes ammonites, bivalves, gastropods, and nautiloids in abundance. Vertebrates are uncommon, only fish and reptiles being noted so far. Plant remains are relatively abundant in the form of logs and lignite chips. The Tertiary limestone deposits contain marine macro-fossils, calcareous nanno-fossils and planktic foraminifers (Avery 1980). Shell imprints have been found imprinted in concretions to the immediate south of Thembe Elephant Park and may therefore palaeontological significance (Anderson 2008).

2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF THE SURVEY

2.1 Methodology

A desktop study was conducted of the archaeological databases housed in the KwaZulu-Natal Museum. The SAHRIS website was consulted to obtain information on past heritage surveys in the area and on heritage site particulars. In addition, the available archaeological literature covering the greater Jozini and Ubombo areas was also consulted. A ground survey of the P236, following standard and accepted archaeological procedures, was conducted on 2 November 2017. An area of 50m on either side of the P236 was covered during the survey.

2.2 Restrictions encountered during the survey

2.2.1 Visibility

Visibility may have been compromised by heavy mist conditions during the ground survey.

2.2.2 Disturbance

No disturbance of any potential heritage features was noted. However, various borrow pits and excavations occur adjacent to the P236. It is possible that potential archaeological sites have been masked by these activities.

2.3 Details of equipment used in the survey

GPS: Garmin Etrek Digital cameras: Canon Powershot A460 All readings were taken using the GPS. Accuracy was to a level of 5 m.

3 DESCRIPTION OF SITES AND MATERIAL OBSERVED

3.1 Locational data

Province: KwaZulu-Natal Towns: Jozini and Ubombo Municipality: uMkhanyakude District Municipality.

3.2 Description of heritage resources located during the survey.

The extreme southern and northern sections of the P236 is situated in a built-up area with numerous formal and informal developments adjacent to the road (Figs 6 & 7). It is unlikely that any heritage sites or features would have survived the ongoing developments and peri-urban pressure on the land.

However, the KZN-Museum archaeological data base indicate the existence of two Early Stone Age scatters in the near vicinity of the P236 (Figs 3 & 4). These sites were located by the late professor Oliver Davies in the late 1960's. However, the GPS locales as indicated by the KZN-Museum records was revisited by the consultant in this study and no stone tools or archaeological residues were visible (Figs 8 & 9). It is possible that these sites occur beyond the 50m corridor or that the GPS coordinates are incorrect. It also appears that the few stone artefacts that were visible on the surface had been collected and are presently stored in the KZN Museum. The ground survey also did not locate any additional archaeological sites adjacent to the P236.

Two modern grave sites were recorded (Figs 3, 5, 10 & 11). However, these sites fall outside the 50m corridor and no mitigation is necessary. A more detailed description of these is given in Table 2 (below). The area is not part of any known cultural landscape and no 'living heritage' sites occur directly adjacent to the P236 (Table 3).

Site no	Site description	GPS	Rating	Mitigation per
		Coordinates		individual site
Graveyard 1 (Fig 3)	A graveyard consisting of 3 individual graves occurs approximately 60m from the side of the road (western bank). The individual graves are situated directly adjacent to each other. These graves are unmarked and indicated by informal stone heaps. They appear to be younger than 60 years old. The graveyard is situated approximately 60m from the side of the road (P236) and is therefore located outside of the 50m cordon. No mitigation will be necessary	S 27° 30' 6.45" E 32° 5' 52.41"	Locally high (Table 3) as these graves are still visited by relatives of the deceased.	Respect a buffer zone of 20m around the site. However, no mitigation is necessary as the site is located more than 50m from the proposed road reserve.
Graveyard 2 (Fig 5)	A single formal grave situated adjacent to the P236 (western bank). The grave is indicated by a formal head stone and it is younger than 60 years old. The graveyard is situated approximately 55m from the side of the road (P236) and is therefore located outside of the 50m corridor. No mitigation will be necessary	S 27° 29' 25.57" E 32° 5' 36.61"	Locally high (Table 3). The graves are still visited by family members of the deceased.	Respect a buffer zone of 20 m around the site. However, no mitigation is necessary as the grave is situated more than 50m from the edge of the proposed road reserve.

 Table 2. Heritage site description and context.

4 STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE (HERITAGE VALUE)

4.1 Field Rating

Not applicable, as no heritage sites or features occur on the footprint or within the 50m corridor area (Tables 3 & 4).

Table 3. Evaluation and statement of significance.

	Significance criteria in terms of Section 3(3) of the NHRA			
	Rating			
1.	Historic and political significance - The importance of the cultural heritage in the community or pattern of South Africa's history.	None.		
2.	Scientific significance – Possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa's cultural heritage.	None.		
3.	Research/scientific significance – Potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage.	None.		
4.	Scientific significance – Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of South Africa's cultural places/objects.	None.		
5.	Aesthetic significance – Importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group.	None.		
6. Scientific significance – Importance in demonstrating a high degree of No creative or technical achievement at a particular period.		None.		
7.	Social significance – Strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultu-ral or spiritual reasons.	None.		
8.	Historic significance – Strong or special association with the life and work of a person, group or organization of importance in the history of South Africa.	None.		
9.	The significance of the site relating to the history of slavery in South Africa.	None.		

Level	Details	Action
National (Grade I)	The site is considered to be of National Significance	Nominated to be declared by SAHRA
Provincial (Grade II)	This site is considered to be of Provincial significance	Nominated to be declared by Provincial Heritage Authority
Local Grade IIIA	This site is considered to be of HIGH significance locally	The site should be retained as a heritage site
Local Grade IIIB	This site is considered to be of HIGH significance locally	The site should be mitigated, and part retained as a heritage site
Generally Protected A	High to medium significance	Mitigation necessary before destruction
Generally Protected B	Medium significance	The site needs to be recorded before destruction
Generally Protected C	Low significance	No further recording is required before destruction

Table 4. Field rating and recommended grading of sites (SAHRA 2005)

5 RECOMMENDATIONS

The proposed development may proceed from a heritage perspective. There is no archaeological reason why the proposed developments of the P236 and associated culverts may not proceed as planned. The area is also not part of any known cultural landscape.

6 RISK PREVENTATIVE MEASURES ASSOCIATED WITH CONSTRUCTION

Maputaland has a rich archaeological history and isolated stone tools have been recorded in in the near environs of the P236 in the past. Construction work and excavations may yield archaeological and/or cultural material. If any heritage features are exposed by construction work then all work should stop immediately and the provincial heritage agency, Amafa, should be contacted for further evaluation. Attention is drawn to the South African Heritage Resources Act, 1999 (Act No. 25 of 1999) and the KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Act (Act no 4 of 2008) which, requires that operations that expose archaeological or historical remains should cease immediately, pending evaluation by the provincial heritage agent.

7 MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

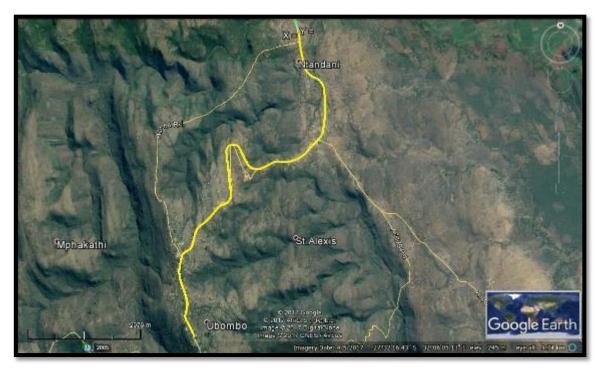


Figure 1. Google Earth Imagery showing the location of the southern section of the P236 near Ubombo in northern KwaZulu-Natal.

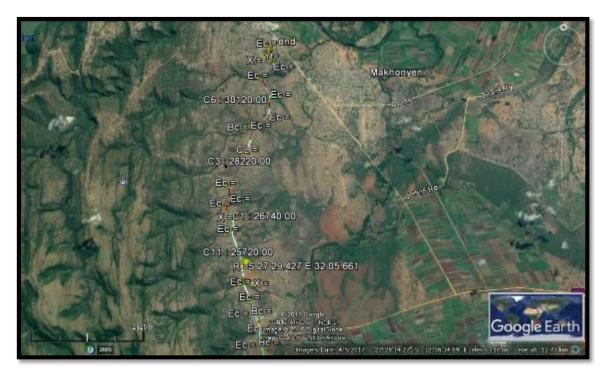


Figure 2. Google Earth Imagery showing the location of the northern section of the P236 near Jozini in northern KwaZulu-Natal.



Figure 3. Google Earth Imagery showing the location of Grave Site 1 and the potential Early Stone Age Tool scatter at S 27° 32' 0.03" E 32° 5' 58.12".

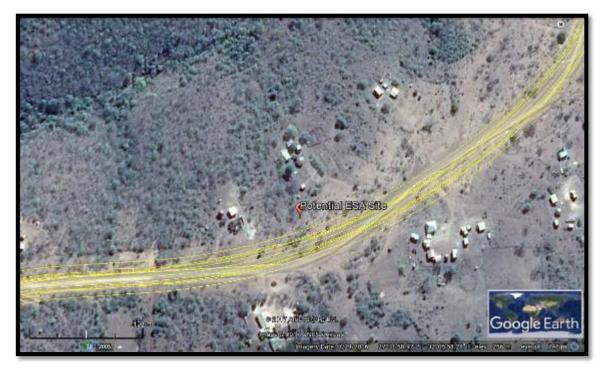


Figure 4. Google Aerial Imagery showing the location of a potential Early Stone Age tool scatter adjacent to the P236 at S 27° 29 59.91 E 32° 5' 58.94".



Figure 5. Google Aerial Imagery showing the location of Grave site 2 adjacent to the P236.



Figure 6. Southern section of the P236 near Ubombo.



Figure 7. Northern Section of the P236 near Jozini.



Figure 8. Locality of Early Stone Age Tool scatter (1) recorded in the 1960's. No tools or archaeological material was visible on the surface during the present survey.



Figure 9. Potential location of Early Stone Tool scatter recorded in 1960's. No archaeological material was visible on the surface during the present survey.



Figure 10. Unmarked graves (Grave Site 1) situated more than 50m from the P236.



Figure 11. Formal grave (Grave Site 2) situated more than 50m form the edge of the P236.

8 REFERENCES

Anderson, G. 2008. *Heritage survey of the Proposed Thembe Masizwane Lodge, KwaZulu-Natal (for Exigent Environmental)*. Unpublished Report.

Avery, G. 1980. Palaeontology and archaeology of Maputaland. In Bruton, M. N. and Cooper, K. H. (eds). *Studies on the Ecology of Maputaland*. Rhodes University. Pg: 346-357.

Ballard, C. 1978. 'Migrant labour in Natal 1860-1879: with special reference to Zululand and the Delagoa Bay hinterland.' *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, I, 25-42.

Bryant, A. T. 1965. Olden times in Zululand and Natal. Cape Town: C. Struik.

Bruton, M.N, Smith. M, Taylor, R. H. 1980. A Brief History of Human Involvement in Maputaland. In Bruton, M. N. & Cooper, K. H. (eds). *Studies on the Ecology of Maputaland*. Pg 432-459. Rhodes University: Grahamstown.

Derwent, S. 2006. *KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Sites: A Guide to Some Great Places*. David Phillips: Cape Town

Feely, J. 1980. Archaeological survey Mfolozi Park. Unpublished Report.

Felgate, W. S. 1982. The Tembe Thonga of Natal and Mozambique: An Ecological Approach.

Occasional Publications Number 1. Department of African Studies. University of Natal, Durban.

Hall, M. 1980. Field Survey: The Ecology of the Iron Age. Unpublished report

Hedges, D.W. 1978. *Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*. Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London: Department of History.

Junod, H.A. 1962. *The Life of a South Africa Tribe*. New York: Two Volumes, University Books Inc.

Kuper, A. 1997. 'The academic frontier: History and Social Anthropology in South Africa.' In P. McAllister (ed) *Culture and the Commonplace. Anthropological Essays in Honour of David Hammond-Tooke.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 69-84.

Huffman, T. N. 2007. *Handbook to the Iron Age: The Archaeology of Pre-colonial Farming Societies in Southern Africa*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. Pietermaritzburg.

Klopper, R. 2004. *Border Crossings: life in the Mozambique/South African Borderland*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Pretoria: Pretoria.

Maggs, T. The Iron Age farming communities. In Duminy, A. and Guest, B. 1989. *Natal and Zululand: from Earliest Times to 1910. A New History*. Pg. 28-46. University of Natal Press. Pietermaritzburg.

Mitchell, P. 2002. *The Archaeology of Southern Africa*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge

Omer-Cooper, J.D. 1975. *The Zulu Aftermath. A Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Bantu Africa.* Norfolk: Lowe & Brydone Ltd.

Penner, D. 1970. Archaeological Survey in Zululand Game Reserves. Natal Parks Board. Unpublished Report.

SAHRA, 2005. *Minimum Standards for the Archaeological and the Palaeontological Components of Impact Assessment Reports, Draft version 1.4.*

Smith, A. 1972. 'The trade of Delagoa Bay as a factor of Nguni politics 1750-1835.' In L. Thompson (ed) *African Societies in Southern Africa.* London: Heinemann Educational

Books, 171-189.

Webb, C. and J.B. Wright (eds.) 1979. *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples.* Volume 2. University

of Natal (Pietermaritzburg) and Killie Cambell Africana Library (Durban).

Webster, D.J. 1991. '*Abafazi baThonga bafihlakala*. Ethnicity and Gender in a KwaZulu border community.' In A.D. Spiegel and P.A. Mcallister (eds.), *Tradition and transition in Southern Africa: Festschrift for Phillip and Iona Mayer*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 243-271.

Wright, J. & C. Hamilton 1989. 'Tradition and transformations. The Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.' In A. Duminy and BGuest (eds.) *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910. A New History.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, 49-82.