

Athens Institute for Education and Research

ATINER



ATINER's Conference Paper Series

ART2014-1146

**Art and Cultural Practices:
Environmental Dilemmas and *Difala*
Vessels Production in Capricorn
District Municipality, Limpopo
Province**

**Methodi Freddie Motsamayi
PhD Candidate/Researcher
University of KwaZulu-Natal
South Africa**

An Introduction to
ATINER's Conference Paper Series

ATINER started to publish this conference papers series in 2012. It includes only the papers submitted for publication after they were presented at one of the conferences organized by our Institute every year. The papers published in the series have not been refereed and are published as they were submitted by the author. The series serves two purposes. First, we want to disseminate the information as fast as possible. Second, by doing so, the authors can receive comments useful to revise their papers before they are considered for publication in one of ATINER's books, following our standard procedures of a blind review.

Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos
President
Athens Institute for Education and Research

This paper should be cited as follows:

Motsamayi, M. F., (2014) "Art and Cultural Practices: Environmental Dilemmas in Capricorn District Municipality", Athens: ATINER'S Conference Paper Series, No: ART2014-1146.

Athens Institute for Education and Research
8 Valaoritou Street, Kolonaki, 10671 Athens, Greece
Tel: + 30 210 3634210 Fax: + 30 210 3634209 Email: info@atiner.gr
URL: www.atiner.gr

URL Conference Papers Series: www.atiner.gr/papers.htm

Printed in Athens, Greece by the Athens Institute for Education and Research. All rights reserved. Reproduction is allowed for non-commercial purposes if the source is fully acknowledged.

ISSN: **2241-2891**

7/08/2014

**Art and Cultural Practices: Environmental Dilemmas and
Difala Vessels Production in Capricorn District Municipality,
Limpopo Province**

**Methodi Freddie Motsamayi
PhD Candidate/Researcher
University of KwaZulu-Natal
South Africa**

Abstract

This paper discusses the interconnection between the changing natural environment and indigenous cultural practices, with special reference to the production of traditional and contemporary vessels known as *Difala* in the Capricorn District Municipality of Limpopo Province, South Africa. I argue that *Difala* vessels represent a classic example of the dynamic interface between indigenous African cultural expressions and the use of materials based in a local ecosystem.

Vernacular terms used in this paper are in the Northern Sotho language of South Africa and are italicised.

Keywords: *Difala* vessels, Polokwane, South African indigenous art and craft, African cultures and traditions, cattle, natural environment.

Acknowledgments: I would like to thank Polokwane Museums officials in Limpopo Province for granting access to their museums and creating a conducive environment for me to collect data for this article. I am grateful to my fieldwork associates and University of KwaZulu-Natal colleagues who encouraged me to write this article.

Introduction

Environmental issues have a significant impact in supporting or hindering cultural practices and the production of art. In the past natural resources in South African were worked by indigenous people for various reasons (Jordaan 1992: 22) and, as Odora-Hoppers emphasises (2002: 10), an awareness of indigenous knowledge systems is important in understanding local societies.

Pottier (2003: 7) also argues that local knowledge is substantially rooted in cultural contexts. It is important to examine indigenous cultural practices with specific regard to the natural environment in which these practices are embedded. Studies often ignore the interconnections of art and cultural practices with local ecosystems. This paper situates the production of contemporary *Difala* vessels within the natural environment of Capricorn District Municipality of Limpopo Province, South Africa.

Recent fieldwork with women in the Municipality reveals that their use of specific environmental resources harmoniously synthesises cultural practices and the ecosystem. Cattle by-products, specifically cattle-dung (*Boloko bja Kgomo*), are used extensively in African domestic indigenous cultural practices. My study considers ‘granary’ vessels known as *Difala* (plural - the singular is *Sefala* or *Sefalana* for larger or smaller vessel respectively) amongst the Sotho-Tswana language groups of north-eastern South Africa. Made by women and closely associated with domesticity, the production of *Difala* vessels depends on eco-resources and materials dependent on seasonal factors. I argue that *Difala* vessels represent a classic example of the dynamic interface between indigenous African cultural expressions and the use of materials based in a local ecosystem.

Figure 1. *Ovoid Vessel (Sefala).* Measurements in Centimetres: Height 72 , Width 42, Mouth 23, Base 23. (Photographer: M. F. Motsamayi, 2013)

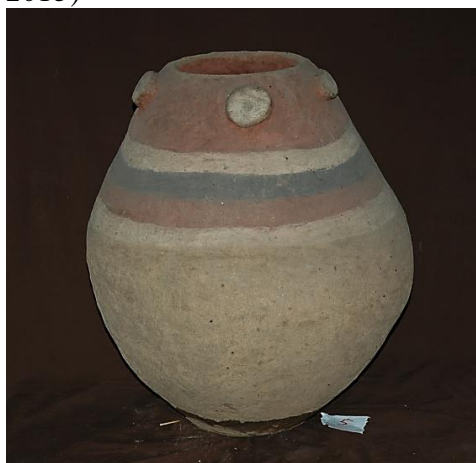


Figure 2. *Ovoid Vessel (Sefala)* Measurements in Centimetres Height 75, Width 52, Mouth 26, Base 23. (Photographer: M. F. Motsamayi, 2013)



This practice of making *Difala* vessels is thought to be extinct in villages within the region as whole; though some revival is evident in the Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum in Polokwane Local Municipality – a contemporary ‘living museum’ of the Northern Sotho people (Jordaan,1992). I contend that *Difala* productions were discontinued in the rural villages because the eco-environment, once supportive, has become unsustainable and degraded and is no longer conducive to maintaining the production of these types of vessels. The quality of contemporary vessels has changed dramatically. As can be seen in the illustrations (**Figure 6**) contemporary vessels are not as well-honed as in the past (**Figure 1 and 2**).

Socio-historical and Contextual Overview: Capricorn District, Limpopo Province

Capricorn District Municipality is located in the middle of Limpopo Province. In my study I have photographed *Difala* vessel-making traditions in the province, and continue interviewing women involved in contemporary practices.

The *Difala* vessels found in the Polokwane Cultural History Museum collections (**Figure 1, 2**) makers are not known; these vessels encompass a multiplicity of local cultures in area. This is evident in the different forms and motifs which are linked to various indigenous African ethnic groups in the Capricorn District Municipality, namely the Bakoni, Batlokwa, Bapedi (all Northern Sotho who are in the majority in the area), and the Northern Ndebele, Shangaan and Venda. Many of these groups are known through their colourful domestic mural paintings.

Figure 3. *Mma Francinah Mathekga from the Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum Demonstrating her Indigenous Knowledge in a Vessel Construction. (Photographer: M. F. Motsamayi, 2013)*



In South Africa there are elements of gender-based craft production as observed by Shaw (1974: 116). This is the case with the Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum craft practitioners, all women who come from heterogeneous Northern Sotho groups in the Municipality to demonstrate vessel making traditions to museum visitors. The women often incorporate specific visual signifiers identified with their respective cultural backgrounds, which include other groups than the Bakoni people from Ga-Matlala (nearby Polokwane) for whom the museum was originally created (Jordaan, 1992: 1). “The most important characteristic of such a situation is the change that results in the cultures concerned due to the contact. Another characteristic is that this process is always reciprocal, that is, there is mutual influence and change and both cultures are affected” (De Jager, 1973: 17). I deduce that the motifs used to decorate contemporary *Difala* represent intercultural fusions of various ethnic groups in the Capricorn District Municipality, rather than any specific ethnic group. Thus, due to constant innovation, the contemporary vessel-making process at the Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum can no longer be used to determine the ethnic identity and origin of individual groups, as was argued by cultural observers in the past (Lawton, 1967).

Historically these vessels were produced by Batswana groups, for example Bakgatla (Mokgatle, 1971: 13), various Northern Sotho - ie, Bakoni (Lawton, 1967: 183), and Northern Ndebele as granaries to store and preserve grain (*Peule Mabele*). Unlike modern vessels, in the past vessels were not decorated since they were meant to be filled with grains buried until needed for food or planting. The literature on *Difala* was limited to archaeological exploration (Lombard and Parsons, 2003, Moifatswana, 1993 and Huffman, 2007: 8) which paid little attention to the dynamic relationships that exist between the contemporary material and the environment and traditions existing within this area.

There is evidence of cultural fusions in *Difala* vessels whereby women incorporated cultural elements which are not necessarily linked to storage but to contemporary art. These vessels have been transformed from storage granaries (*Difala*) to small decorative art vessels (*Difalana*). Usually local people make these vessels without classifying them as granaries or artworks, and current conditions determine whether these vessels are decorated and displayed as art.

To understand the dynamic process that contributed to current artistic styles in this area, it is important to explore the concept of tradition in this locality, and how traditions shaped the societies. In the past there have been many ways of defining tradition, depending on the context, but in my opinion it is difficult to separate vessel-making traditions from changes occurring in art making in general. I have centred my arguments regarding tradition on Acton's (1952: 3) definition, that a tradition is ‘a belief or practice transmitted from one generation to another and accepted as authoritative, or deferred to, without argument’. *Difala* vessels found in Polokwane museums are manifestations of both old and contemporary traditions, linked to cultural practices around Polokwane area in the past and present. As Miles (1997: 7) indicated, the history of black South African art is shaped by the production of art which is

influenced by social conditions, and this is the case with *Difala* vessels. Shaw (1974: 120) wrote that most artworks made by African artists are now produced for sale in curio shops, and this is also prevalent to the Capricorn District Municipality, although while these vessels are eco-friendly they are not yet profitable.

Socio-Cultural Context: ‘Granary’ Vessel Traditions

Stewart and Giannachi (2005: 20) indicate that nature has always been associated with art. There is a mutual link between art, material culture and environment (Hammond Tooke, 1993: 46). In the context of South Africa, most studies about art and cultural practices paid little attention to the environmental influence on the production of art. In documenting *Difala* making practices, cultural practices and the environment are fundamental to understanding how the decorations and construction techniques are linked to other vessel-making traditions within the societies, like African beer pots. The way these traditions are transmitted, preserved and revitalised can also be seen on contemporary *Difala* vessels linked to house paintings.

Figure 4. *Traditional Northern Sotho House and Wall Painting at the Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum. (Photographer: M. F. Motsamayi, 2014)*



The Capricorn region is well known for traditional house decoration and wall painting, although this tradition is no longer evident in all villages due to urbanisation and modern houses which do not rely heavily on natural

resources. Schapera and Goodwin (1959: 145) indicate that the floor of the country yard is made and decorated by natural resources like cattle-dung and soils as can be seen on the huts (**Figure 4**); and the walls of both are often ornamented with broad geometric patterns with ochre. Hammond Tooke (1993: 203), states that mixtures of cattle-dung (*Boloko*) and clay (*letsopa*) were used in traditional households.

Keesing (1976: 139) notes that culture is ‘systems of shared ideas, to the conceptual designs, the shared systems of meaning, that underlie the ways in which a people live...’. In relation to *Difala* vessel-making practices, certain practices of culture productions could be passed from one ethnic group to another depending on their relevance to that group. As previously argued by (Sack, 1994: 15), in the context of South African visual arts, the introduction of materials and techniques associated with the western traditions were contributing factors that shaped South African art. This is evident in *Difala* vessels which have western vessel shapes.

In Capricorn District Municipality villages there is no formal education that vessel makers go through. Most learned these crafts by observing elderly women in their area. It is a tradition that is passed from one generation to another. Artistic skill in vessel making is considered to be a rare and high specialisation often associated with specific women in this locality.

Difala Vessels and Local Environmental Factors

Figure 5. *Polokwane Environment next to the Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum. (Photographer: M. F. Motsamayi, 2014)*



Women use their local eco-friendly natural resources to make different various kinds of art. They excavate colourful soils and gather cattle-dung to use for decorative symbols painted on homestead walls and to plaster floors. More importantly cattle-dung is mixed with wood ashes to construct vessels. For the

decoration of vessels made for artistic purposes colourful soils and gridded charcoal are collected. An understanding of ecology is vital to understand the factors contributing the production of these vessels. Stewart and Giannachi (2005: 29) state that 'Ecology, deals with animals and plants, our habitat and environment, as well as the analysis of the inter-relationships between us all, is therefore not only one of the most interesting and crucial tools for the interpretation of nature but also an important model for cultural observation'. This tradition of vessel-making is more informed by environmental conditions than previously believed, for instance if there is no grass and cattle are emaciated it is not possible to produce these vessels since the quality and quantity of cattle-dung determines the production.

'Cattle Culture': Cattle by-Products and Difala Vessels

Figure 6. *Mma Francinah Mathekga Collecting Dung in the Cattle Enclosure (kraal) Adjoining the Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum. (Photographer: M. F. Motsamayi, 2013)*



In African farming communities cattle culture is very important (Shaw, 1974: 94, 95) and its products play a major role in every aspect of life. Cattle have communal ties with communities culturally and artistically, equally. Artefacts like cattle-dung vessels were associated with people who own cattle, and cattle are associated with wealth. Cattle culture is rooted in many African traditions (Hammond-Tooke, 1974: 352). Generally in African cultures, most cowherds are men, whilst women cultivate and process crops in the field. *Difala*-makers are women. In the past after marriage women were expected to

prove their worth through demonstrating artistic capability to affirm their authority in their households using resources including cattle-dung and soil.

Environmental aspects and cultural practices are keys to the production of these vessels, unlike the other forms of art produced in the province which do not require any environmental influences or cultural beliefs. Overgrazing and lack of pasturage is common in rural lands; the shortage of grass to feed cattle consequently affects the production of *Difala* vessels. Sometimes cultural practices like harvesting grass for house thatching also left cattle emaciated in the rural areas. Variable weather patterns are also a significant factor in these productions.

Historically, in the villages of the Capricorn District Municipality and outside these vessels were produced in the places where there is plenty of grass, as opposed to drought-prone areas. Cattle-dung collected from the cattle kraal was used in the household and in making these vessels. If cattle are scarce there is not enough dung or if they lack plenty of grass and water and are starved they are more likely to produce liquefied cattle-dung which will make it impossible for vessel makers to make vessels according to local tradition.

Cattle dung for the *Difala* vessels must have the fibres found in the dry grass in the Bushveld. Cattle that feed on leaves do not produce suitable dung, and these vessels are not made in a drought-stricken areas where there is no water or pasturage, nor in the rainy regions. If there are not many cattle or they do not have enough grass and are starved there will not be enough dung to make vessels.

The availability of dry grass in Polokwane area makes it possible for cows to produce dung with fibres. Here the plateau has false grassland, Polokwane Plateau Bushveld (Jessop, 1974:50, 46), that make it an ideal place for productions of *Difala* since there is abundant of grass for the cattle to feed and produce fibred cattle-dung to make *Difala* vessels.

Women at the Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum depend on cattle-dung produced by cattle in the nearby plot next to the Museum, as there is enough grass in the area as compared with unregulated grazing places in the rural areas. According to vessel-makers winter is perfect for production since the grass is dry and in abundance, as compared to summer and autumn when there are occasional rainfalls and the vegetation is green.

There are prohibitions associated with these practices. For example these vessels cannot be made when people are in mourning since the soil cannot be excavated during this period. Traditionally it appears that middle aged women are ones who make these vessels. Ironically these women do not go into the cattle kraal as they do today. Shaw (1974: 96), indicates that it is a taboo, because of avoidance norms associated with the impurity of the menstruating cycle and pregnancy that could affect cattle breeding, thus the kraal is a male space. Young girls can go into the kraal to collect cattle-dung before reaching menstruation age.

Figure 7. Processes and Materials of Difala Vesselmaking



Key to Illustration. Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum. (Photographer: M. F. Motsamayi, 2013)
Item (A). Fresh cattle-dung (*Boloko*) inside an Aluminium bowl
Item (B). Open clay bowl (*lesapelo/ lehlapelo*) filled with water
Item (C). Aluminium vessel filled with wood ashes (*melora*)

Steps in Sefala Making (details itemised in Figure 7)

Step 1. After cattle-dung is mixed with wood-ashes, the construction of the base of the vessel begins: the mixture of moist cattle-dung is patted into a flat 'disk'.

Step 2. After the base disk is dry, small pats of moist material (a mix of dung and water squeezed between the palms of hands) are added to create the vertical walls.

Step 3. The unfinished vessel will be left to dry in a secure open place.

Step 4. After 1 or 2 days the process will continue. Small pats of moist material are added, building up until the vessel reaches the preferred size or shape. Finally it will be narrowed at the mouth using same techniques and materials.

Step 5. It is smoothed with water by hand and left to dry for 1 or 2 days.

Step 6. It is decorated by a brush made of a tree twig.

Figure 8. Materials Used in Decorating Vessels



Decoration procedures. Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum. (Photographer: M. F. Motsamayi, 2013)

Indigenous techniques and tools are used as opposed to western brushes. For example twigs of trees (**Item C**) are used as brushes during the decoration process. Previously for colouring vessels powdered charcoal (**Item B**) from *Motswiri* trees (Leadwood) (Louwrens, 2001: 158) found in the region was used by processing it by means of grinding it until is powder, and eventually applied on their vessels (**Item D**) using specific twigs meant for decoration.

Natural resources used are cattle-dung, ashes sourced from firewood and mixed with water to make these vessels, and aloe ashes locally known as *Sekgopa* (Louwrens, 2001: 155) and charcoal from a local tree vernacularly known as *Mošu*, *Acacia tortilis* (Louwrens, 2001: 156) is also used for pigmentation.

In the Polokwane vicinity there is a plenty of a red ochre (**Item A**) deposit locally known as known as *Letsoku* which they excavate within the area. Natural pigments of clay are used as earth pigments are known as *Terres* or *Ochres* (Ugolini, 2010: 67). These mineral compositions from earth pigments have natural pigments which can be used for decoration, especially the red *Ochres*, used in the past for cultural purposes (Ugolini, 2010: 67). Within the area women still use earth red pigment collected around the area with mixtures of soils and ashes for decorations. Hammond-Tooke (1993: 51), documented that historically Northern Sotho in Limpopo people have had extensive knowledge of soils as a part of natural resources. Various soils of colours are used to decorate these vessels. Mönnig (1967: 5) notes that the soils of South Africa are known to be a complex mixture of different types, thus different

soils are excavated in different sites, Mönnig (1967: 5) further states that types of black, red, white soil only found in a specific region within the province are sought after for artistry.

I emphasise that no clay is used in the *Sefala* making process. According to local knowledge the ashes mixed with cattle-dung make it easy to dry and are applied to prevent decomposing and act as a pesticide when seeds are stored in these vessels. Unlike other forms of ordinary pottery (Lawton, 1967: 182) these vessels just need an open drying atmosphere and do not require any firing process. It is important to note that these vessels are porous. The making process requires dedication and perseverance since it can take a week to construct and subsequently finish vessels. Depending on the size it could be done individually or as a collective effort by two or more people. In the past some of these vessels could be bigger than an adult in height or small like ordinary beer pots.

Figure 9. Contemporary Small Vessel (*Sefalana*). Measurements in Centimetres , Height 24, 5 cm, Mid width 19 cm, Mouth 8,5 and Base 8,5 cm . Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum. (Photographer: M. F. Motsamayi, 2013)



Originally these vessels were used for storing grain but today in the Polokwane areas they appear in small forms that are portable for tourists. Vincentelli, (2003: 188) notes that tourism creates important new markets for artists to produce products for selling.

The shapes of these *Difala* vessels resemble contemporary western flower pots. Modern decorations in most Limpopo province crafts do not have specific meaning. Gyekye explains that human culture is dynamic as a result of encountering other cultures for growth (Gyekye, 1997: 217). Thus today we are witnessing dynamic traditions within the area influenced by diverse situations. The forms and artistry and styles of these vessels are changing dramatically as a result of societal changes and thus the new styles and shapes are emerging as

products of cultural and environmental factors that continue to shape and determine artistic expression.

The Interface between Art, Cultural Practices and Environmental Impacts to the Local Ecosystem

Ongoing traditional practices continue to depend on environmental factors to be produced and sustained. Most contemporary perspectives used to explore the relationships between environments and societies are rooted in foreign notions of environmental understanding (Cotton, 1996: 61), that sometimes downgrade African indigenous knowledge in favour of concepts that are not local but are often considered to be more scientific in addressing environmental issues in related to arts production. Whilst I agree that the western scientific point of view has a place in approaching environmental influences in domestic art, it is not always applicable in all African contexts, particularly since some art production methods are strongly linked to local traditions. Thus today we have to deal with the dilemma of addressing extinct cultural practices using methodologies which are not altogether relevant.

Agricultural Resources and Cultural Practices Used in Production of Vessels in Limpopo Province

Culture is a key to understanding how beliefs within the societies are transmitted and preserved. This is not limited to South Africa. Keesing (1976: 139) noted that culture is shared system of beliefs that underlie the ways in which a people live, meaning that most activities occurring within societies are informed by human beliefs. Social observers in the past have noted that people exist in dynamic relationships with their environment. These interactions with the environment affect them as individuals and social groups (Hunter, 1990: 179). Through this mutualism, each individual society makes use of culturally inherited and newly adopted practices in the production and distribution of resources in its environment (Hunter, 1990: 179).

Difala vessels were previously associated with agriculture, and agricultural practices have been abandoned due to urbanisation (Dubb, 1974: 447) while new methods of preserving grain have been developed. Whereas people once used *Difala* vessels to store their grain after cultivation, now most communities buy food in supermarkets and store in the fridge. Accordingly the vessels have been transformed and adjusted to become art rather than granary.

Detrimental Factors Hindering Culture Production in Relation to the Natural Environment

In South Africa, due to interaction with other cultures, changes have taken place in the material culture of the black people which affect the environment and the way people live (Shaw, 1974: 128), hence the dilemma today. Deforestation also affects livestock in terms of grazing in most rural areas. In some areas in Limpopo Province communities have totally ceased to produce these vessels, not because of their relevance to their communities or need but as a result of environmental dilemmas they are facing since other forms of vessels like clay pottery are being produced. The lack of land for grazing, exacerbated by poor rainfall led people to abandon subsistence farming associated with *Difala* traditions and depend on a cash economy for daily living. Migration is also a contributing factor. The movement of people to urban localities contributes to determining the use of natural resources (Hammond-Tooke, 1993: 216). For example, when people move to urban areas they are likely going to abandoned some cultural practices such as cattle culture and methods of food storage in favour of modern life styles.

Harvey and Hallett (1977: 62) argued that the environmental problem has become a public discourse which needs attention. In relation to South Africa's art fraternity most people are not aware that vital environmental resources are becoming limited (Cotton, 1996: 359). Knight (1996: 221) states that in recent years the status of natural environments has come under greater scrutiny. Sansom, (1974: 168) further indicates that in most areas, with over-use of land, there are elements of the degradation of rural resources by communities. For example, soil erosion and deforestation are evident factors that are contributing to the destruction of natural environment.

Holdgate, (1979: 17) explains that some human actions toward the environment disturb nature and affect human lives. In the context of *Difala* vessels, different natural resources are found in specific areas and because of the demand for traditional artefacts in some areas natural resources are becoming unsustainable in their artistic potentialities thus results in scarcity within their localities and continuity in production of *Difala* vessels.

Conclusion

Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum through production of *Difala* vessels by potters epitomise the cultural practices and innovation that could rescue dying traditions determined by natural resources.

I contend that *Sefala* as an indigenous method of storage and preservation has been transformed into flower vessels and museum art, both in connection with domestic cultural practices and in production for various visitors and tourists. Thus contemporary *Difala* vessels cannot longer be seen as granaries but as vessels with multiple meanings depending on the context. I suggest that this form of vessel need to be encouraged artistically and can be used as an

alternative to pottery (as ‘vases’ as visitor vessels) as they are more eco-friendly than other forms of domestic art, which can be detrimental to soil, cause wildfires and deforestation. In Capricorn area decorated vessels represent the cultural diversity of the area and proper usage of eco-resources. *Difala* form an integral part in the lives of people in relation to their environment as materials used are easy to gather and sustainable. The use of cattle-dung in the production of art and the maintenance of cultural practices is vital.

References

- Acton H. B. 1952-1953. Tradition and. Some Other Forms of Order, Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, *New Series*, 53, pp. 1-28
- Cotton, C. M. 1996. *Ethnobotany: Principles and Applications*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Chichester
- De Jager, E. J. 1973. Contemporary African Art in South Africa. Cape Town: Struik
- Dubb, A, A. 1974. The Impact of the City, in W. D. Hammond-Tooke (ed.), *The Bantu- Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Giannachi, G. and Stewart, N. 2005. *Performing Nature: Explorations in Ecology and the Arts*. Oxford: Bern and New York: Peter Lang
- Goodwin, J, H. 1937. Habitat. Schapera, I. (Ed.) In *The Bantu-speaking peoples of Southern Africa: An Ethnographical Survey*. W.D. Hammond-Tooke. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Gyekye, K. 1997. *Tradition and Modernity: Philosophical Reflections on the African Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Hammond-Tooke , D. 1993. *The Roots of Black South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball
- Hammond-Tooke, W. D. 1974. World-view II: A system of beliefs. In *The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa*. Edited by W. D. Hammond-Tooke. London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Harvey, B, and Hallet J, D. 1977. *Environment and Society: An Introductory Analysis*. London: Macmillan Press Limited
- Holdgate, M. W. 1979. *A Perspective of Environmental Pollution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Huffman, T.N. 2007. *A Handbook to the Iron Age: The Archaeology of Pre-Colonial Farming Societies in Southern Africa*. South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press
- Hunter, D. E. K. Substance strategies and the organization of social life. In Hunter D. E. K and Whitten, P. (Ed.). 1990. *Anthropology: Contemporary Perspective*. New York: Harper Collins Publication
- Jordaan, J. 1992. *The Bakoni Malapa Museum: establishment and management*. Booklet: Commissioned by the town council of Pietersburg (now Polokwane)
- Keesing R.1975. *Kin Groups and Social Structure*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston
- Lawton, A. C. Bantu pottery of Southern Africa. *Annals of the South African Museum*, no. 49, 1, Cape Town, 1967
- Lombard, M. and I. Parsons. 2003. Ritual Practice in a Domestic Space: Evidence from. Melora Hilltop, a Late Iron Age Stone-Walled Settlement in the Waterberg, Limpopo. *South African Archaeological Bulletin*: Vol. 58 No.178

- Louwrens, L. J. 2001. Reduplication in Northern Sotho plant names and the cognitive salience of life forms. *South African Journal of Ethnology* 24 (4): 147–160
- Miles, E. 1997. *Land and Lives- a story of early black artists*. Pretoria. Human & Rousseau
- Moifatswana, S, M. 1993. Some notes on grain storage in the North-Western Transvaal. *Southern African Field Archaeology*. Vol. 2: 85–88
- Mokgatle, N. 1971. *The Autobiography of an Unknown South African*. London: Christopher Hurst company
- Mönnig H, O. 1967. *The Pedi*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Ltd
- Odora-Hoppers, C.A. 2002. Indigenous knowledge and the integration of knowledge systems: towards a conceptual and methodological framework. In: Odora-Hoppers, C. A. (Ed.) *Indigenous knowledge and the integration of knowledge systems: towards a philosophy of articulation*. Claremont, South Africa: New Africa Books (Pty) Ltd
- Pottier, J. 2003. Negotiating Local Knowledge: An Introduction. In Pottier, J. and Sillitoe, P. and Bicker, A., (Eds.). *Negotiating local knowledge: power and identity in development*. London: Pluto Press
- Sack, S. 1988. *The Neglected Tradition: Towards a New History of Southern African Art (1930-1988)*. Johannesburg: Johannesburg Art Gallery
- Sansom, B. 1974. Traditional economic systems. In *The Bantu Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa*, Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (Ed.). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Schapera, I. & Goodwin, A. J. H. 1959. Work and wealth. In Schapera, I. (Ed.) *The Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa: An Ethnographical Survey*, 131–171. Cape Town: Maskew Miller
- Shaw, M. 1974. Material Culture. In *The Bantu-speaking peoples of Southern Africa: An Ethnographical Survey*, W.D. Hammond-Tooke, (Ed). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Ugolini, F. 2010. Soil Colors, Pigments and Clays in Paintings. In Landa, E, R. and Feller, C (Ed). *Soil and Culture*. New York: Springer
- Vincentelli, M. 2003. *Women Potters: Transforming Traditions*, London: A, C & Black