

## Cultural Protocols and Behavioural Patterns in the Sacred Sites in the Free State Province

Mohlomi Masooa and Chitja Twala<sup>1</sup>

*Department of History, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa*

<sup>1</sup>*E-mail: twalacm@ufs.ac.za*

**KEYWORDS** Culture. South Sothos. Ethnic Groups. Motouleng. Mautse. Nkokomohi. Pilgrimage

**ABSTRACT** The main focus of this study is to investigate cultural protocols and behavioural patterns in the sacred sites with specific reference to the Free State Province. Emphasis is on the adherence to such cultural protocol and behavioural patterns and the necessity of their observance. Consequently, in most cases these provisions lead to misunderstandings of cultural performances by the different ethnic groups in South Africa. This is due to the fact that the South African population has been ethnically and racially divided over a period of time. Such divisions led certain cultures be undermined while others were promoted by the then governing National Party (NP). Historically and anthropologically, the Free State has many sacred sites, particularly in the eastern part of the province but little is known about their importance. The best known sacred sites in the eastern Free State are Motouleng (between Fouriesburg and Clarens), Mautse (between Rosendal and Ficksburg) and Mantsopa (at Modderpoort near Ladybrand). The findings of this study show that there are cultural protocols and behavioural patterns which should be observed during the visits to these sites. In most cases, these protocols and behavioural patterns are not known by those visiting the sites. Although there are many of such observances, for the purpose of this study, few are identified and discussed.

### INTRODUCTION

The study examines the cultural protocols and behavioural patterns during the visits to the sacred sites. However, there are debates concerning such observances. There are some arguments that the question of observance has a long historical and anthropological origin in the life-styles of the South Sotho speaking people in the Free State. These people are believed to have been the original inhabitants of these sacred sites. These South Sotho speaking people are said to have respected the sites, hence question of cultural protocol and behavioural patterns are key to on-site observances. A counter argument was that due to the transformed and diverse nature of these sites as well as the different people visiting them through pilgrimages, currently the question of respect should not be entertained. These people argue that the question of observance should supersede that of showing respect. In order to arrive at an informed decision on why these cultural protocols and behavioural patterns are important, an anthropological explanation of the sacredness of these sites will be highlighted.

Furthermore, the study is also interested in unpacking the question of how cultural protocols and behavioural patterns were initially conceptualised as both material and spiritual by the

original inhabitants of these sites. It is argued in this study that the lack of knowledge about the observances in the sacred sites can create a breakdown in relationship between those visiting the sites and 'residents'. In this study the authors distinguishes the similarities and dissimilarities of cultural protocols as observed in the aforementioned sacred sites of Motouleng, Mautse and Mantsopa. Focusing on these three sites within the Free State Province cultural landscape allows one to identify their sacredness and worth of cultural protocols. Therefore, in order to understand what is happening on these sites, the meaning of sacred sites and identifying their locality could prove important for this study.

### What is a Sacred Site?

A sacred site can be defined as a place with possesses some special religious and cultural spaces depicting the history of indigenous people. In such sites, burial grounds and holy springs are found. Hence they are recorded as sacred spaces by the people who stay there or who visit them for different reasons. KJ Molebatsi defined sacred sites as places that have a symbolic attachment towards a particular region and the roots of people who visit the sites and those who live at the sites. He went further and described sacred sites as 'places that may be natu-

ral beauties or historic landmarks left by ages past which are in some form essential' (Molebatsi 2007: 33). However, indigenous societies in South Africa, such as the Basotho, Tswana, Pedi, Zulu, Xhosa, Venda and Tsonga, have in most instances recognised the importance of these places. Their importance has been recognised because of the events that took place at them and the healing properties that these sites possess (Maholela 2013: 13). Sometimes, sacred sites can be mountains or forests. According to Mughando (2005: 229), ancestors often find their resting places in forests, many wandering in various states of unease and spitefulness.

### **The Location and Description of the Sacred Sites in the Free State Province**

#### ***Motouleng or Fertility Cave***

Motouleng or Fertility Cave is a cave with an enormous sandstone overhang and is situated alongside a stream in a ravine in the mountainous area of the Eastern Free State between the towns of Fouriesburg and Clarens. The site and entry to it is on private land, albeit on different farms and pilgrimage to this site come and go in relative freedom. Access to the site is semi-controlled and an entry fee is charged. Permanent and semi-permanent dwellings have proliferated in the past few years and the cave is rapidly undergoing a change in character (NHC Project Document 2009: 7).

#### ***Mautse/Sangoma Valley***

The Mautse (Sangoma Valley, Badimong or Nkokomohi) site is situated between Rosendal and Ficksburg in a farm called Moolmanshoek. Driving from Ficksburg to Rosendal on the R70, the turn-off onto the dirt road is on the right-hand side almost exactly 20km since turning onto the R70. The site is on private land and by and large the pilgrims visiting it are left in peace. Like in Motouleng, access is semi-controlled and visitors are required to pay a toll. This site is the largest of the three and stretches the entire length of the valley. The valley continues into a ravine between the mountains and onto and over the mountains until reaching the spring of the Basotho King Moshoeshe I (NHC Project Document 2009: 16). The valley is between ranges of mountains starting with a pyramid-like peak called Thaba Telle. This is the largest of the three

caves discussed in this article. The site is said to have had its beginnings in the 1920s, when Basotho farm workers noticed columns of smoke rising from the spontaneous combustion of decaying reeds lying in sinkholes beneath the surface surrounding a living reed bed (Coplan 2003: 981).

#### ***Mantsopa's Cave***

Mantsopa's Cave (*Lekhalong laboTau*) site is situated approximately 20 km past Ladybrand on the R26 towards Clocolan. Mantsopa's Cave is part of the Anglican Church Mission Station of Modderpoort and access to the site is governed by the Anglican Church. The cave has structurally been converted into a small church and can no longer be considered a pristine source of intangible heritage (NHC Project Document 2009: 17). Modderpoort was settled by the Bataung, a tribe of the Basotho, who named this piece of land, wedged between the Platberg and Viervoet mountains, *Lekhalong laboTau*. Mantsopa Anna Makhetha (1793-1905) was a daughter of Makhetha, half-brother of the famous Bakoena chief and seer, Mohlomi.

According to Coplan (2003: 988-989), it was at Modderpoort where the Anglican mission claimed her allegiance and was converted on 13 March 1870, the day after the death of King Moshoeshe I. She was then baptised there and regarded as a convert by the newly settled Anglicans, who saw her as the 'prophetess' of the new Christian covenant with the South Sothos (Phohlo 2011: 164-165). The water-spring in Modderpoort is associated with Mantsopa as she was believed to be the source of 'sacred' water by the ancestors. It is believed that Mantsopa bathed at that water-spring, from which she also drew water for healing and rainmaking purposes.

These sacred sites were earmarked to unpack the issue of cultural protocols and observances because they are places of pilgrimage for the purpose of performing various rituals and are repositories of vast resources of living heritage, including undocumented oral histories and indigenous knowledge (Vos and Cawood: 2010: 185).

#### **Aims and Objectives**

The main aim is to show that in spite of numerous research projects undertaken on these

sites, the question of cultural protocol and behavioural patterns has not been thoroughly investigated. The visits to these sites created excitement within the authors. This was because the authors had no baseline information about the sacred sites and what they had to offer to both pilgrims and 'residents'. The euphoria created from what one prematurely celebrated as ground-breaking discoveries gradually diminished in attempts to verify oral evidence gathered of the cultural protocols and observances performed in these sites.

In spite of the above mentioned challenges, the study traces both the anthropological and historical significance of the following identified cultural protocols and behavioural patterns and the contestations thereof: taking shoes off; debarment of access to certain individuals; the lighting of candles; recitations accompanying greetings; offering coins; and the offering of animals as sacrifices. Therefore, the arguments presented in this study are directed at promoting flexible, yet conceptually integrated, approach for developing an understanding of cultural protocols. While it is recognised that many of the issues related to protocol, consultation, and maintaining good relationships amongst the diverse cultural groups in South Africa, an application of cultural awareness, sensitivity, and respect is a cornerstone of such an understanding.

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research for this study was carried out in different stages, which included: participatory research method whereby the authors took part in some of the activities and performances happening on the sites; and surveying the historical and cultural value of the sites. Through personal interviews as part of oral testimonies, information was gathered about the cultural protocols and behavioural patterns taking place on the above mentioned sites. In conducting research, the authors listened to the voices of those permanently residing on the sites, of the pilgrims and traditional healers who undergo training there. In spite of the above on site kind of research, furthermore, the authors consulted secondary sources to share some light on this topic.

The documentation was done in the form of photographs as well as recordings of the people visiting or 'residing' on such sites narrating their

experiences, existing myths, beliefs, folklore and knowledge of the sites. The study shows that traditional rules, which have passed down from earlier generations through myths and folklores, still govern the management of some of these sites.

### OBSERVATIONS

This study provides information and guidelines on cultural protocols and behavioural patterns for anyone seeking to foster constructive interactions when visiting the sacred sites. Academics and heritage practitioners attempted to give a cultural and historical significance of the sites without really tackling the issue of observances such as the impact of cultural protocols and behavioural patterns. Some scholars and researchers have pointed out some of the positive impacts of respecting the sacred sites (Coplan 2003; Trabold 2008; Twala 2009; Mensele 2011; Maholela 2013), but without really concentrating on the meaning and importance of the cultural protocols, behavioural patterns and performances on such sites. It is interesting to note that from a South African perspective, little has been documented on the cultural protocols and behavioural patterns taking place in the sacred sites. In the main, the Asian countries are at the forefront in historicising the importance of sacred sites (Stoddard 1987: 96-104; Stoddard 1997: ix-xi; Stoddard 2009: 163-177; Shen et al. 2012).

The first study, 'Scared site, sacred places', published in 1994 and edited by David Carmichael and his colleagues, was a major effort by anthropologists and archaeologists to recognise the importance of sacred sites and sacred landscapes in the lives of contemporary indigenous peoples. The second study, 'Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives' published in 1999, edited by Wendy Ashmore and Bernard Knapp, surveyed the many ways that modern archaeology was confronted by different accounts, models and experiences of landscape by ancient and contemporary peoples (Thorley and Gunn 2007: 23).

Without doubt, the issue of cultural protocols and behavioural patterns can play a role in the understanding of some of the cultural backgrounds of the other tribes in South Africa. Consequently, it is envisaged that with such an understanding the racial divide which was perpetrated by the apartheid government could be

bridged. Therefore, understanding the dynamics of these cultural differences as highlighted by the cultural protocols and behavioural patterns in the sacred sites can in one way or the other contribute to racial integration in South Africa. The lack of scientific literature to justify the cultural protocols and behavioural patterns on the sacred sites precipitated the authors of this article to attempt breaking some new ground on the topic discussed using both history and anthropology as intertwined disciplines.

## DISCUSSION

### A Brief Anthropological and Historical Significance of the Sacred Sites

The South Sotho speaking people in the Free State have for centuries deemed certain places to be 'sacred' and deserving of special treatment. In most cases such sites are religious sites including temples, churches, burial grounds, holy springs or wells. Sometimes sacred sites may encompass diverse places, from a small field where sacred herbs grow to an entire mountain range (Twala 2009: 120).

Sacred sites are unusual places that inspire awe in human beings and command respect from all around them. In the Free State, different people from diverse cultural backgrounds usually perform the ceremonies in these sites, and the dead with their supernatural powers are believed to reside in and around these places in the form of inanimate objects, snakes and other animals. They believe that God and the ancestral spirits dwell in such places and in uninhabited places. It is in such places where ancestral support is sought in the form of dreams and sacrifices through spiritual specialists (Twala 2009: 120).

Furthermore, Twala (2009: 120) argues the following about the significance of the sacred sites, particularly those found in the Eastern Free State:

*... mountains are associated with ancestral spirits and at times are regarded as a 'haven' for ancestral activities. Most people are called to the mountains which are sacred for performing rituals. To the South Sothos in the area, the ancestral spirits are deemed responsible for their well being. To say that a specific place is a sacred site is not simply to describe a piece of land, or just locate it in a whole range of rules and regulations regarding people's behaviour*

*in relation to it, and implies a set of beliefs, often in relation to the spirits of the ancestors, as well or powerful gods or spirits. The power of a sacred site is an invisible field of energy permeating the area of the sacred site. Myths and legends of the sacred places tell of certain sites that have the miraculous ability to heal the body, enlighten the mind, increase creativity, develop psychic abilities and awaken the soul to a knowing of its true purpose in life.*

Upon entering the vicinity of the sacred sites, one encounters two distinct 'personalities', namely, those of the spirits of the site and those of the humans who perform priestly and religious and/or administrative functions at the site. The human personalities are usually, but not always welcoming. Occasionally the religious and/or administrative personnel may be uncommunicative, authoritarian or prejudices towards visitors.

In historicising the importance of the sacred sites in the Eastern Free State, Mensele (2011: 14) contends:

*Although the spiritual power of God is everywhere, there are some places that are recognised as more sacred, places where rituals are often performed. The importance of mountains, graves, cattle kraals, the main hut, shrines, certain rivers and forests as sacred places, depends largely on the particular ethnic group. By nature, all space is created by God, including natural caves. Artificial caves dug into mountains are considered man-made and not respected reverence.*

### Why do People Visit the Sacred Sites?

According to Coplan (2003: 977), pilgrims to the sacred sites practice every form of African religion from pre-Christian Basotho ritual and medicine to independent Apostolic Churches. It is interesting to note in these sites, there are contestations of space and dominance of the area. An interview with ML Mangengenene (2009) at Mautse reveals the following:

*I think the sacred sites are for all of us, irrespective of our religious and cultural differences. In this site you get people coming to train as traditional healers, herbalists as well as those pro-Christianity. To be honest, Christianity came at the later stages. Sometimes we don't see eye to eye with some people here, but our conflicts can be easily managed because we treat each other with respect. We don't bother*

*ourselves as to what others are doing here, provided we are also not disturbed.*

In Mautse, for example there is what is referred to as the King Moshoeshoe I (founding father of the Basotho nation) well or spring. Most of the South Sotho speaking people residing on the site still believes that the spirit of King Moshoeshoe I hovers over the area. It was also believed that King Moshoeshoe I, while a young man, bathed in a small well at the top of the Mautse valley. This well, modestly concealed beneath low trees, is known as the Well of Moshoeshoe (*Sedibeng sa Moshoeshoe*) and regarded as one of the most sacred sites for individual prayer and meditation in the area. The place is the most respected site in the area. A Tsoetsi (2009) states:

*People come here and visit King Moshoeshoe's well. They believe that by going into that well they will get the blessings. Water from that well is believed to be of spiritual significance. In most cases, people who usual frequent the well are the sickly ones. Really, I have seen people after visiting King Moshoeshoe's well they recover from any sickness. Perhaps it is because of the fact that they believe in that.*

However, it is interesting to note that these sites as sacred ritual shrine to miracles made visible by the ancestors, located in a high shallow cave or overhang near a stream, well-spring or reed bed. It should be noted that prior to the advent of major world religions in Africa, especially Christianity and Islam, there were indigenous religious beliefs and practices, which expressed something of the traditional African way of understanding the world. In most cases, traditional healers and their erstwhile competitors, the Afro-Christian 'prophetic' healing churches called Zionist in South Africa conducted rituals of healing, fertility and cult initiation on the sites, particularly Mautse and Motouleng.

Muhandu (2005: 230) wrote that for example in Kenya, people would gather around the tree where they found healing, wisdom, power and security for their community. Thus the life of the tree is the life of the people, and if they turn against the tree and destroy it, great sorrow and punishment will befall the community.

### **Cultural Protocols and Behavioural Patterns**

According to Hubert (1994: 11), the concomitant concepts of separateness, respect and rules of behaviour seem to be common to sacred sites

in different cultures, but the nature of the spots themselves may be very different, and thus difficult for those outside the culture to recognise, except by observance of the rules of behaviour that pertain to them. Therefore, cultural protocols aim at providing a guide for visitors and 'residents' to effective connection and communication. Furthermore, it promotes respectful communication, because lack of knowledge on these matters can create breakdown in communication and ultimately leading to offensive behaviour.

The indigenous cultures of communities living in the Free State are complex and diverse. In the majority like the Basotho, the groups believe in supernatural forces and in the power of ancestors who resides in hills, huge rocks, big snakes and animals. Ancestral support was sought in all aspects of life in the form of dreams and sacrifices through spiritual specialists. To many ethnic groups, the ancestral spirits owned humankind and were responsible for their well-being (Muhandu 2005: 230). Underneath is a discussion of some of the behavioural patterns undertaken in the sacred sites. Although they are not fully enforced by the 'residents' of these sites, it is argued that failure to adhere to them might bring the acts of bad luck to the family or an individual who visited the sites.

### ***Symbolism in Ancestral Worship and Ritual Performance***

Alexander (2004: 527) contends that "rituals are episodes of repeated and simplified cultural communication in which the direct partners to a social interaction, and those observing it, share a mutual belief in the descriptive and prescriptive validity of the communication's symbolic contents and accepts the authenticity of one another's intentions. Therefore, it is because of this shared understanding of intention and content, and in the intrinsic validity of the interaction, that rituals have their effect and affect. In fact ritual effectiveness energizes the participants and attaches them to each other, increases their identification with the symbolic objects of communication, and intensifies the connection of the participants and the symbolic objects with the observing audience, the relevant 'community' at large.

It is a way of life for the Basotho people to hold ancestral worship ceremonies. Due to the

beliefs that the ancestral spirits rest in the mountains or sacred sites, believers come there to perform some rituals like slaughtering goats as a sign of appeasing the ancestors. Goats are mainly preferred because when they are being slaughtered, they bellow and that is an indication that that animal has been accepted by the ancestors. When an animal is being slaughtered, a whole is dug on the ground for the oozing blood to go through it. That symbolises the connection with the ancestors (Twala and Hlalele 2012: 383-396). It is therefore, not surprising to see people visiting these sacred sites carrying live goats, chickens and to a lesser extent sheep because those are usually used as sacrificial offerings.

After the slaughtering process, African home-made beer is poured on the ground. In an African context, meat from the slaughtered animal should always be accompanied with brewed sorghum beer. Such brewed beer is taken along to the sacred sites as part and parcel of the offerings to the ancestors. During the offering, beer is poured on a sacrificial animal or sometimes given it to drink before being slaughtered (Khoza 2009: 56-57). While this continues, an elderly person in the family will give renditions to their ancestors mentioning their names one by one and thereafter tell them the purpose of the sacrifice. In most cases such performances are made to seek blessings and the rejection of illnesses. It is interesting to note that after eating the meat of an animal that has been slaughtered for sacrifice, all bones and remnants are burnt to ashes. No meat was taken home. The above mentioned offerings serve to alert the ancestors to one's presence.

### ***Defining the Cultural Space for Both the Living and the Dead***

Hubert (1994: 9) points out those specific sites are defined or recognised as cultural spaces for both the living and the dead. It is in the sacred sites where the living claims to be connecting with the ancestors. Therefore, these sites become cultural spaces for the interconnectedness between the living and the dead. Justifying the above, W Mazibuko (2010) stated:

*In most cases through dreams, the ancestors would direct and individual to come to the sacred sites because these are cultural spaces whereby one connects with them. There is that connection between the sites themselves and the*

*dead people who are our ancestors. That is why when one receives a calling to become a traditional healer, a cultural space like the sacred sites are earmarked for such training.*

### ***The Question of the Removal of Shoes When Entering Some of the Spots***

The issue of respect and observances of certain behaviours is non-negotiable when entering some of the spots in the sacred sites. By walking bare footed and touching the ground with feet symbolises the connectivity with the ancestors because by so doing human flesh connects with the ground. Perhaps this could be aligned with Biblical events of Moses when he was instructed to remove his sandals because he had toughed the holy ground. Therefore, the sacred sites are regarded by those who believe in ancestral worship as the holy grounds. The holiness of the sacred site grounds is therefore respected by a sign of removing shoes. Another argument is that when an individual comes to the sacred sites, the shoes is wearing had passes through many and unholy places, therefore, bringing 'bad luck' to the sites. By removing them was a sign of rejecting that 'bad luck'. It is against this background that the wearing of shoes in some of the sacred sites is considered unwanted.

Ironically, this practice is also taking place in the urban areas, particularly when one consults the so-called prophets and traditional healers. Mokoena (2011), a traditional healer explains:

*It is important to indicate that our forefathers never wore shoes. Now as ancestors, we should respect them as such. With shoes on, one tramples on everything at anytime. I think that is why shoes should be removed when arriving at such sites. This is just a sign of respect and nothing else.*

As to why the traditional healers would prefer to walk bare-footed if after completing their training in the sacred sites and practising in their respective locations, Mokoena (2011) further adds:

*We get used to walk bare-footed. I would go anywhere without wearing shoes. You know, if I not really comfortable with wearing shoes anymore. Even if I wear them, on arrival to my place I take them off. Perhaps, I am one of the so-called out-dated and traditional healers who despite being in the urban areas, still adhere to the initial instructions as given by my ancestors.*

### ***The Lighting of Candles***

In all these sacred sites, the issue of lighting candles is visible when visiting them. For example, in the Mantsopa Cave, there is a small pulpit and candles usually lit there. In his arguments, Coplan (2003: 989) never explains the importance of lighting candles. He wrote the following:

*Visitors to the site enjoy the picturesque grounds and old mission buildings, have a look inside the cave, light a candle and sign the visitor's book. The Zion Christian Church (ZCC) has, in recent years, held services in the cave and erected a pulpit at the far end.*

It is interesting to note that there no clear cut explanation is given by those 'residing' as to the symbolism of lighting the candles. In most cases, the same argument as the one advanced by the Coplan is put forth. Mazibuko (2010) explains it as follows:

*By lighting a candle, one is actually liaising with the ancestors and asking to have a brighter future for whatever is lying ahead. The issue of lighting a candle is not only applicable to the 'residents' of the sites, but visitors coming here should also do the same. Firstly, this is done to request for luck from the ancestors. Secondly, it is done to ask for forgiveness from them for any wrongdoing. Although nowadays people come with colourful candles, in most cases white candles are used as a sign of future prosperity.*

In all the three sites discussed in this article, the candles are a notable symbolic feature. Interestingly, at the entrance of Mautse site, there is heap which serve as a table for the lighting of candles, long before entering the sacred sites. Inside the Mantsopa's Cave, the pulpit is full of the remains of the candles used lit by the pilgrims. As part of the gifts brought by the visitors on the sites, usually the candles forms part and parcel of the whole package.

### ***The Sign of Clapping Hands When Crossing a Fountain or Entering a Sacred Site***

During their many visits to the sacred sites, the authors noted that whenever a fountain was to be crossed a symbol of clapping hands was done by people intending to cross with the utterances such as '*Siyathokoza Makhosi*' (We are pleased with you our ancestors). This is done by both visitors as well as the 'residents'. The

clapping of hands is a sign of requesting 'peace and way forward' to enter the site. When the process of clapping the hands continues, one should chant his/her clan names as a sign of spiritual connection with the ancestors. However, it was not clear to the researchers as to the consequences of avoiding to abide by the behavioural pattern, but there were stories that the ancestors could be upset if these performances were not followed to the latter and bad luck like death, illness in the family could be there end product.

### **CONCLUSION**

The paper attempted drawing to the fore intangible heritage and its systems through the sacred sites in the eastern Free State, which were previously marginalised, stigmatised and viewed as backward, into the main stream of both history and archaeology research. This movement is most apparent in former colonies and in post-apartheid South Africa because of the history of colonialism, racial discrimination and oppression. The demand of understanding the cultural protocols and behavioural patterns in the sacred sites should be given an urgent research attention because of the links they carry with the identification of the Basotho nation, not only those residing in the Free State, but also those in Lesotho.

### **REFERENCES**

- Alexander JC 2004. Cultural pragmatics: Social performance between ritual and strategy. *Sociological Theory*, 22(4): 527.
- Coplan DB 2003. Land from the ancestors: Popular religious pilgrimage along the South Africa-Lesotho border. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29(4): 977, 981, 988-989.
- Hubert J 1994. Sacred belief and beliefs of sacredness. In: DL Carmichael, J Hubert, B Reeves: A Schanche (Eds.): *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*. Oxon, London: Routledge.
- Khosa MA 2009. *Symbolism in Xitsonga Cultural Ritual Ceremonies*. MA Dissertation, Unpublished. Polokwane, South Africa: University of Limpopo.
- Maholela K 2013. *Mythology, Practices and Symbolism at the Eastern Free State Sacred Sites: An Historical Explanation*. BA Hons Mini-Dissertation, Unpublished. South Africa: University of the Free State.
- Mensele MS 2011. *A Study of Rituals Performed at Two Sacred Sites in the Eastern Free State*. MA Dissertation, Unpublished. South Africa: University of the Free State.

- Molebatsi JK 2007. *Dingakeng: A Centre for Traditional Health Practitioners, Creating a Link Between Traditional and Modern Medicine*. MA Dissertation, Unpublished. South Africa: University of Pretoria.
- Muhando J 2005. Sacred sites and environmental conservation: A case study of Kenya. *Indilinga: African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 4(1): 230.
- NHC Project Document 2009. Oral Histories and the Cultural Uses of Clay at Sacred Sites in the Free State. Centre for Africa Studies (CAS), University of the Free State.
- Personal Collection 2009. Interview with A Tsotetsi, Mautse.
- Personal Collection 2010. Interview with W Mazibuko, Motouleng.
- Personal Collection 2011. Interview with M Mokoena, Mautse.
- Phohlo TA 2011. *Gendered Consciousness as Watershed of Masculinity: Men's Journeys with Manhood in Lesotho*. Doctor of Theology. Pretoria, South Africa: University of South Africa.
- Stoddard RH 1987. Pilgrimages along sacred paths. *Geography Faculty Publications*, 28: 96-104.
- Stoddard RH 1997. The geographic contribution to studies of pilgrimage: Introduction to sacred places, sacred spaces. *Geography Faculty Publications*, 1: ix-xi.
- Stoddard RH 2009. Pilgrimage places and sacred geometries. *Geography Faculty Publications*, 4: 163-177.
- Thorley A, Gunn CM 2007. *Sacred Sites: An Overview. A Report for the GAIA Foundation 2007*: London: The Gala Foundation.
- Trabold N 2008. *A Survey on the Cultural Meaning of Clay: Origin, Preparation, Colours and Use of Clay*. MA Mini-Dissertation. Bloemfontein, South Africa: University of the Free State.
- Twala C 2009. The historical and cultural significance of sacred sites in the Free State Province, South Africa. *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 23(1): 120.
- Twala C, Hlalele D 2012. Contesting the African ritual of animal slaughtering as intangible cultural heritage: A case of Tony Yengeni in South Africa. *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica*, 57(2): 383-396.
- Vos AT, Cawood S 2010. The impact of water quality on informally-declared heritage sites: A preliminary study. *Young Water Professional Special Edition*.