



A CAUTIONARY TALE OF SNAKES AND WARTHOGS

Lourenço Pinto

Researchers have argued that natural modelling can elucidate aspects of rock art that are based in the natural world. In this article I review two examples of natural modelling in southern African rock art before presenting a specific case study of my own.

David Whitley (2005: 81) argues that among traditional peoples natural models form the basis of many symbols, such as 'natural phenomena, like animal behaviour, that served to structure the logic of underlying aspects of religious symbolism and ritual, usually by some form of analogical reasoning'. Natural modelling refers to the inclusion of certain features and behaviours of animals in belief systems in order to elucidate a variety of social and spiritual phenomena. San speakers, it is argued, would have incorporated their keen observations of animal behaviour and attributes into their cosmology and rock art (Mallen 2005: 5). Following this argument, the art is said to make reference to details of animal behaviour that can still be observed today, and offers a link to the past. However, the subtext in such cases is that symbolism is highly empirical (Whitley 2005: 82).

Thus, what are seen as salient 'characteristics and behavioural traits in the biological sciences of the present, will not necessarily correlate with the past observations of the San-speaking people' (Mallen 2005: 5). The borrowing from Western biology thus would be akin to creating our own ethnography (ibid.). It is for this reason that 'ethology and ethnography need to be closely interwoven in order for natural models to be employed as a means of insight into San rock art' (ibid.). Natural modelling should be used with caution.

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Fig. 1: Photograph of a serpent-like creature at LAB X, Nomansland, with a redrawing of the image below (Mallen 2005)



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I argue that many rock art researchers have used natural modelling to direct their research and that reliance on natural modelling can be problematic, especially in cases where very little relevant ethnographic information is used. I cite two examples, those of Lara Mallen (2005) and Jeremy Hollmann (2005). Based on a panel in Nomansland, Mallen uses ethnology and ethology to identify characteristics of a serpent-like creature painted in LAB X rock shelter (Fig. 1). Although she admits that the imagery is clearly supernatural, she argues that the serpent-like animal is modelled on a 'real' snake, citing examples of cobra species such as the rinkhals (*Hemachatus haemachatus*) identified by David Lewis-Williams (1988: 7).

However, these species were deduced from secondary characteristics, such as the behaviour of a rinkhals acting dead (Lewis-Williams 1988). In Mallen's case, she observes that one of the primary morphological features of the serpent-like creature is a tapering tail that is short and narrow in relation to the rest of the body, which, she argues, is a characteristic of a female adder (Mallen 2005). Furthermore, according to her, the white stripe that rises at an angle near the snake's head is a feature displayed on puff adders (*Bitis arctans arctans*). Having consulted an expert on snakes, she confidently also identifies the sex of the creature by the single morphological feature of a tapering tail.

This is not problematic in itself. What is problematic, by her own admission, is the relationship between ethology and ethnography in the case of the puff adder. The ethnography states that the puff adder is one of the 'rain's things'. That is the only reference to a puff adder in the Bleek and Lloyd record (Mallen 2005).

Turning to the second example, Jeremy Hollmann (2005) identifies swifts as having been specifically selected by painters as a natural model for several of their motifs. He argues that this was because the

artists considered the specific arrangement and features of the swifts' flight – 'circulating, wing-clapping, mating, as well as aspects of their habitat – especially significant and meaningful' (Hollmann 2005: 25). The postures and arrangements of swifts can, according to Hollmann, be identified in the art at Ezeljagspoort shelter (Fig. 2). However, his argument, like Mallen's, is based on very little ethnographic detail. The swallow was identified only by Diä!kwain in the Bleek and Lloyd archive as belonging to the rain. Hollmann, however, creates a more convincing argument by linking this ethnographic reference to the G/wi San from the central Kalahari in Botswana, general beliefs surrounding birds, flight and altered states of consciousness.



Fig. 3: Redrawing of panel A of RSA SCR1 showing detail of warthog confluents

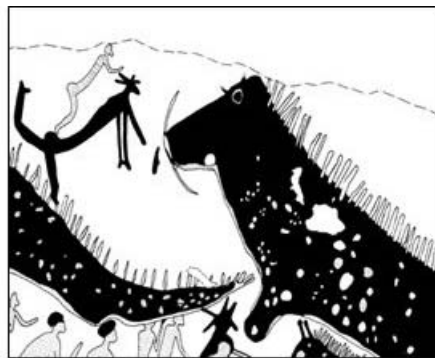
A site, RSA SCR1 in the Eastern Cape, is a case in point. I showed a panel from this site (Fig. 3) to two zoologists at the University of the Witwatersrand in order to establish whether they would be able to identify any specific species or behaviour of species. Dr J Marshall and Professor Norman Owen-Smith identified the three slug-like creatures as having features in common with warthogs. To Dr Marshall the arc across the muzzle suggested tusks and he also pointed out that warthogs have a mane of hair that looks somewhat like the spikes down the spines of the creatures in the panel. According to him, warthogs are frequently seen wallowing in waterholes or sit like dogs, and the absence of hind legs in this representation could be a reflection of this. Prof. Owen-Smith suggested that the largest creature was a female warthog because of a lack of large warts below its eyes.

Fascinatingly, Hall (2000: 141) unearthed the incomplete remains of Burial 6 at Welgeluk nestled in the Cape Fold Belt. The grave goods included the tusk of a desert warthog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*). The inclusion of a warthog tusk with the grave goods is regionally significant and is repeated in burials at the nearby sites of Spitzkop and Middelkop. Hall (2000: 141) is yet to date these burials, but states that a consideration of the behaviour of warthog indicates that this animal provides an apt 'symbol in the context of death'. Warthogs prefer well-watered habitats and they frequent waterholes to drink throughout the day. Warthogs are also found wallowing in mud in waterholes for long periods. Most importantly, warthogs recycle aardvark burrows, where they spend the cold



Fig. 2: 'Mermaid scene' at Ezeljagspoort, Western Cape. Redrawn by Thomas Dowson (courtesy of the SARADA website).

nights and where they rear their young. In winter, warthogs stay underground until midday and when they emerge they move straight to the waterhole to drink. Warthogs are constantly moving between diverse contexts; from the subterranean realm, across open terrain and into waterholes (Hall 2000: 141-142). Their inhabitation of these liminal zones correlates with the spirit realm and shamans, who are said to enter the spirit realm through water holes and termite hills.



Figs 4 and 5: Left: seated common warthog (*Phacochoerus africanus*). Lower right: Head of rain-animal.

At RSA SCR1 the slug-like creatures have no hind legs. This image may have stemmed from the way warthogs sit in these aardvark burrows with their fronts facing outwards from the hole (Figs 4 and 5). In line with Hall (2000), in a three-tiered cosmos, ritual practitioners or shamans in altered states of consciousness may envision the aardvark burrow as a portal into the spirit realm and see the warthog as a creature that encompasses terrestrial and aquatic or underworld activities. Thus, the warthog transgresses these two tiers. The warthog with its front out of the burrow would take the form of an actual warthog with its hind legs hidden. In trance the underworld elements and abilities of the warthog could be conflated with subterranean or aquatic imagery, such as a serpentine tail.

It is possible that warthog symbolism is particular to the Cathcart area and surrounds. In fact, desert warthogs inhabited the south-eastern parts of the former Cape Province and also, apparently, the adjacent parts of KwaZulu-Natal, but are now long extinct in the regions (d'Huart & Grubb 2001). Their extinction is possibly the result of the population succumbing to the rinderpest outbreak of the 1860s (d'Huart & Grubb 2001: 157).

What is significant, however, is that there is no record of warthogs in the Bleek and Lloyd ethnography. This could be the result of a regional disparity between warthog habitats in the Western and Northern Cape, and the occurrence of warthog in the Eastern Cape. It would thus be interesting to establish if local Bantu-speaking peoples or descendants of Khoe-San-speakers from the area under study have any insights

into warthog symbolism. The knowledge of desert warthogs might have been passed down and filtered into the symbolism of rain-animals prior to or around 1860, but until ethnography is obtained on warthogs we can only wonder.

I do not reject natural modelling as an approach to directing researchers towards ethnography on a certain creature or rock art motif (see, for instance, Mguni 2006 for an argument using natural modelling and the 'formlings' motif). However, when used

uncritically when there is a paucity of ethnography, we are making our own ethnography from a Western perspective. In such instances we could be diverging into directions that are not delineated by ethnography but speculation.

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ARCHAEOLOGY IN BRIEF

Prehistoric Europeans cooked with spices.

Archaeologists have found evidence of garlic mustard seed in cooking residues in the form of microscopic specks of plant-based silica, known as phytoliths, on fire-scorched pottery sherds collected from three campsites in north central Europe that ranged between 5 800 and 6 150 years old. Older examples of spices in the archaeological record are known, but none have been so clearly linked to cooking as in this case. Along with the garlic mustard phytoliths, the team also found remnants of fish and animal fat – probably deer – on the sherds.

PLOS One/ National Geographic, 23/08/2013

BOOK REVIEW

The Travel Chronicles of Mrs J Theodore Bent. Volume II: The African Journeys. G Brisch (ed.). 2012. Oxford: 3rd Guides. Approx. R795 (ArchFox Books, fox@boers.org.za)

'I must begin my Chronicle somewhere if I am to write one at all, and as in this matter I am selfish enough to consider myself of the first consideration, because I write to remind myself in my old age of pleasant things (or the contrary), I will begin now.' – Chronicles Vol. I: 132.

With these modest words an extraordinary woman dismisses her voluminous writings that have come to be of great value to archaeologists, ethnographers, historians and geographers on two continents. Mabel Bent accompanied her more famous husband, Theo-

dore Bent, on several journeys for over 20 years. She was an able and gifted partner to Theodore. Her writings formed the basis of many publications and although often acknowledged, her name almost never appeared as co-author. Gerald Brisch and his team are thus to be commended for publishing her diaries and placing her name alongside that of her husband.

As a Zimbabwean archaeologist, the first thing I did was to search the book for her first sighting of Great Zimbabwe. Her breathless anticipation is well captured in this passage (p. 84-85):

At last we reached a circular enclosure among the grass and scanty trees. We rushed in and it was like getting into a tropical greenhouse with the roof off ... I should [have] liked to stop and stare at the vegetation but on we rushed, over walls and to the tower we had heard of,

which is close to the outer wall. We did not stay even to walk round the tower but out we rushed again, like people who were taking a stolen look into an enchanted garden and were afraid of being bewitched if we remained.

This aura of mystery was to spur much speculation on the origins and function of the site. Theodore Bent's writings have formed the cornerstone for many theories refuting the indigenous origin of the culture. This is a shame, since Bent's work, for its time, was relatively solid, although he allowed himself to be swayed by the socio-political concerns of his sponsor, Cecil Rhodes. This debate is briefly covered in an appendix by Innocent Pikirayi, which together with an article on the stone Zimbabwe Birds by William J Dewey form a modern counternarrative to the ideas expressed by Mabel.

Mabel's diaries are an invaluable companion to walks round much of the Zimbabwe Ruins. The detailed description of successes, trials and tribulations working at the site form a rich narrative that, read together with Theodore Bent's *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, provides one of the most comprehensive descriptions of the early days of archaeological and ethnological research in Zimbabwe.

Paul Hubbard, Bulawayo



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INTERACTIVE LAYERS

Palmiet archaeological educational programmes

Mary Lange and Sertanya Reddy

In 2013 the Trans-Vaal Branch of the SA Archaeological Society (ArchSoc) funded ARROWSA's* Palmiet Nature Reserve Archaeological Educational Programme (PAEP) pilot study in Durban. The successful study drew on several individuals and organisations, and built on previous local archaeological educational programmes to pave the way for outreach to Durban schools, specifically schools in underprivileged areas.

The main objective of the PAEP study was to make school learners aware of the presence and significance of the archaeological heritage of the Palmiet Gwalagwala cliff and surrounds in association with the finds housed at the Bergtheil Museum. Specific objectives were to market the programme to township schools; transfer skills to youth; promote critical thinking about the use of the site by cultures over the ages; update the archaeological content of the programme; implement the programme to as many schools as possible; build knowledge capacity; and promote nation-building (Lange 2012).

The study built on previous work conducted in the area. An archaeological excavation was conducted at the Gwalagwala Cliff site in the Palmiet Nature Reserve (PNR) between 2003 and 2006 by Themba Zwane of Amafa, the heritage agency for KwaZulu-Natal.

In the early 2000s, a non-profit organisation, The Circle Connection, identified a need for archaeology-focused school excursions in the Highway Durban area. This resulted in the creation in affiliation with Bergtheil Museum of interactive programmes that focused on hunter-gatherers for Grade 5 learners and early African farmers for Grade 6s.

ARROWSA merged with The Circle Connection and conducted a survey on archaeology and heritage amongst Durban schools in 2011, identifying a need for educational archaeological programmes within the greater Durban area. This finding and a need for structured marketing for the general project was supported by further research (see Evans 2012).

Implementation and facilitation

Marketing: Various marketing methods promoted the PAEP pilot project. Schools approached were primarily those that responded positively to the 2011 survey. Facilitators also contacted schools in the areas where they lived or worked, and a flier was distributed. Marketing was also aimed at the broader public. An article appeared in the *Highway Mail* newspaper on the need for a bridge to help cross the Palmiet River to the Gwalagwala archaeological site.



Ashley Primary School learners crossing the Palmiet River

Well-advertised community activities, such as an ARROWSA Envirowalk fundraiser, were linked to the PAEP by including a tour to the site. The once-a-semester PNR committee walk was also used as a marketing opportunity with Mary Lange leading the walk to the site. An exhibit on the PNR, which included visuals and text of the Gwalagwala cliff, was held at the Westville Village shopping centre.

Programme content: Two programme options were available to schools. The first included two hours at

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* ARROWSA is a non-profit organisation that works on issues related to the creative arts, youth, heritage and reconciliation

the PNR and 90 minutes at Bergtheil Museum. The second was a three hour programme at the PNR. Both options started with an interactive demonstration at which artefacts representative of the Early Stone Age to Indian settlers were discussed. Emphasis was placed on artefacts as clues to sustainable living within the environment. Artefacts linked to the Gwalagwala cliff, such as grinding stones, pottery and charcoal, were featured. Zulu interpretation was provided for predominantly Zulu-speaking learners.



Gwalagwala cliff ledge herringbone pottery surface find

For the first programme option, learners were divided into groups that were taken on a tour of the PNR by facilitators who emphasised the use of fauna and flora by different historical groups. At the Bergtheil Museum, learners undertook two activities, namely a museum tour and participation in an interactive mock dig, which was the favourite part for many.

For the second programme option, learners participated in three activities: a fauna and flora walk, a geology walk and a walk to the Gwalagwala cliff archaeological site. Mary Lange guided the archaeological aspect of the Gwalagwala tour, speaking about the archaeological methods used at the site, the artefacts found and how they and the cultural layers were dated. Questionnaires aimed at assessing whether the study's objectives were met were handed out to a random sample of learners at the end of each programme.

Training and transference of skills: For the youth who worked or volunteered on this project, knowledge on archaeology and interpretation of artefacts was provided by visits to the Bergtheil and KwaZulu-Natal museums. The latter was facilitated by archaeologist Gavin Whitelaw, who led a museum tour of archaeology exhibits. Training was provided in the facilitation of aspects of the programmes presented at PNR and Bergtheil.

A participatory approach

From the outset, we sought to create a participatory archaeological educational programme. Youth participation can have many different meanings (Fleming 2012; Sinclair 2004). Our vision was to conduct interactive programmes for learners to actively engage in learning about archaeology and its relationship to cultural and natural heritage. A key tenet of the approach is to create projects that are relevant to the beneficiary community. The survey conducted by ARROWSA in 2011 highlighted that many government schools, including township schools, were interested in learners experiencing archaeological education but that they had never had the opportunity to do so. The PNR and Bergtheil Museum also expressed a need for their sites to be used. From the beginning, then, this project has fulfilled the participatory aim of meeting a need of the local community.

Unlike traditional school lessons, where teachers tell students what to do and how to do it, this outdoor programme relied upon students engaging with the artefacts and responding to the natural environment of the PNR in an active manner, encouraging direct experiential learning and requiring students to engage actively with knowledge creation and sharing. Most students who completed the surveys enjoyed the programme, with many writing that the active, outdoors aspects, such as crossing the river or being at the Gwalagwala site, were the best parts.



ARROWSA Envirowalk 2013 at Palmiet Nature Reserve with eThekwin and CCMS, UKZN staff

Layers of involvement and heritage

People who are unfamiliar with archaeological excavation are surprised to discover how clearly the various strata are differentiated. The Gwalagwala site consists of such clearly visible layers, each preserving a different cultural period. We could not help but feel that these strata became metaphorical for the 'layered' approach of our work. Two main types of 'layers' became clear to us, namely layers of involvement and layers of heritage.

Layers of involvement: The participatory project con-

sisted of interactive layers of individuals, government departments, NGOs, and primary, secondary and tertiary institutions. The lead organisation was ARROWSA, with Mary Lange as the overall leader of the project, while volunteer Luthando Ngema played a central role in visiting schools and assisting with the implementation of the programme. Other volunteers, Nandi Hlatshwayo and Khanyi Mfayela, also helped. The PNR Management Committee contributed to facilitation, with Jean Senogles and Warren Friedman leading students through the reserve, as did several rangers from eThekweni Natural Resources. Bergtheil Museum staff also became involved as a few schools visited the museum to see where archaeological artefacts are archived and exhibited.

ARROWSA's Nomusa Mabaso assisted with report-writing on the project. Dr Lauren Dyll-Myklebust of the Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal coordinated the supervision of CCMS post-graduate students who researched the project for degree essays, while Sertanya Reddy, a CCMS researcher in 2013, assisted with research and with school visits and workshops.

The layers of people involved in the project were broadly representative of Durban's diversity in terms of race, culture, age and socio-economic background. These layers are closely intertwined. For example, while the beneficiaries of the project were clearly those learners who attended the programme, the project also added value to university students and youth who worked as facilitators or researchers and gained skills in writing, editing, reporting, research and facilitation.

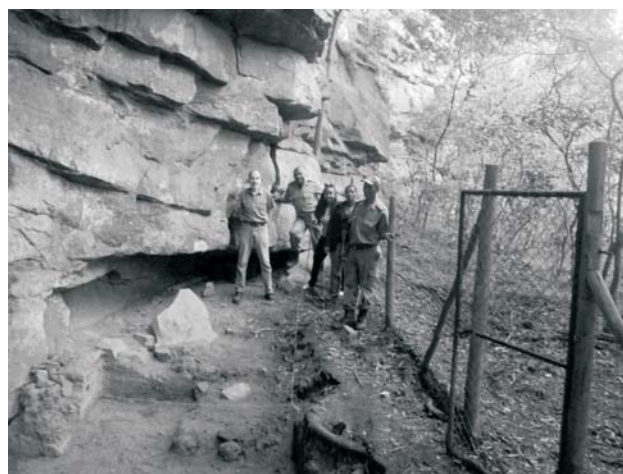
Layers of heritage: The project also had different 'layers' of heritage. Clearest of these was cultural heritage, as learners were educated about different cultures that occupied the Gwalagwala site through the ages. Another layer was natural heritage. Our natural heritage is what allows cultural heritage to be preserved. The learners were taught how our cultural histories are often embedded in the physical environment and they learnt about environmental protection. It was emphasised that previous cultures who occupied the Gwalagwala area had all their basic needs sustainably met by the natural environment. Today, however, people would be unable to survive in the area because of environmental degradation.

Successes and challenges

The project succeeded in marketing the presence and relevance of the PAEP to schools and the broader public. The initial objectives of the pilot study resulted in a build-up of publicity and interest that had not been foreseen in the initial proposal. Similarly, the transference of skills and capacity building was greater than anticipated. Not only was knowledge about archaeology and cultural heritage able to be passed on to

primary, secondary and tertiary learners, but so was knowledge about natural heritage and environmental awareness. Survey feedback reflected that the programme fulfilled a curriculum need. The method of teaching and guiding was appreciated as being pertinent to the different age groups and relevant for school excursions.

The inclusion of multicultural facilitators added personal experience in the interpretation of artefacts and the use of other languages when necessary. The learners identified with the diverse facilitators as role models and this, combined with a stimulating programme, resulted in several learners asking how they could become archaeologists or nature conservationists.



PAEP facilitators at the Gwalagwala cliff site

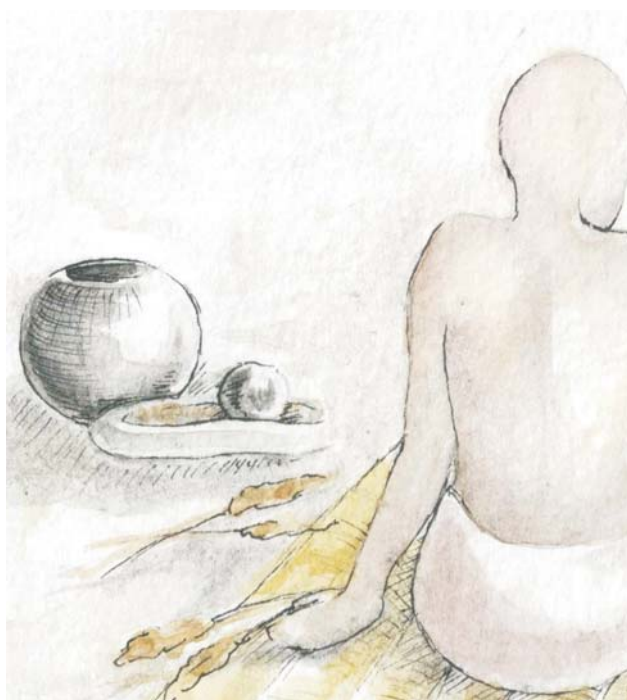
While the project was an overall success, there were some challenges. A main difficulty experienced by schools was how to cover the transport cost for the excursion. Township schools serve a community where unemployment is rife and asking parents to pay extra for transport for an excursion is often not possible. For this reason, funding proposals for future programmes of this nature should include a budget to cover transport costs for learners participating in the programme.

Another problem was a new policy requiring schools to obtain permission from the Department of Education before students are allowed to participate in an excursion. Receiving such permission can take a long time and some schools felt they would not be able to liaise with the department in time. Going forward, schools must be approached as early as possible to give them adequate time to fulfil departmental requirements.

In terms of the programme, the emphasis on correct archaeological information resulted in having to deal with contradictory opinions with regard to terminology and dating, e.g. whether to use the term Iron Age or Early African Farmers, and whether the start of the Late Stone Age should be 60 000 years ago or 25 000

years ago. Other challenges related to unpredictable weather and the difficulty of managing large school groups outdoors. A big school visit had to be cancelled because of rain, but could be rescheduled. The problem of some of the learners not being able to hear the guide was resolved by changing the route and facilitator methodology.

Finally, there were challenges in terms of staff turnover. One of the main ARROWSA facilitators had to leave the programme mid-way to take up a job opportunity in Gauteng. A situation such as this highlights the paradox of capacity-building. One of the aims of the PAEP pilot project was to transfer skills to young facilitators. So we viewed this particular facilitator's job opportunity as an accomplishment, since the skills she gained on PAEP are already benefitting her career.



Artist's impression of second-phase Nguni use of Gwalagwala cliff with sorghum and grinding stone for Bergtheil Museum display by K Lange

Conclusion

The funding provided by the Trans-Vaal Branch of ArchSoc resulted in the achievement of a number of objectives and a commitment by the individuals, NGOs, educational institutions and government organisations involved in the PAEP to continue, even if in a voluntary capacity, with the archaeological educational programmes at the PNR.

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South African Archaeological Society

Notice is hereby given in terms of section 8(a)(i) and (ii) of the Constitution that the Annual General Meeting of the Society will be hosted by the KwaZulu-Natal Branch on Tuesday 13 May 2014 at 18:15 at the KwaZulu-Natal Museum, 237 Jabu Ndlovu St, Pietermaritzburg. The speaker and topic for the lecture that will follow will be announced later.

Members should submit items for the Agenda in writing to the Secretary, PO Box 15700, Vlaeberg, 8018, or , before 1 March 2014. Proposals must state in specific terms the resolution to be put to the meeting and the reasons therefore. Proposed changes to the Constitution will be circulated for comment by email two months before the meeting.

*Janette Deacon, Honorary Secretary
20 December 2013*

NEW ZIMBABWE ASSOCIATION OF PROFESSIONAL ARCHAEOLOGISTS

There have been several attempts since 1980 to create a professional society for archaeologists who work in Zimbabwe. It was thus with a real sense of anticipation that colleagues from all over Zimbabwe travelled to Masvingo on 28 September 2013 for a meeting aimed solely at establishing such a society using a constitution, a code of ethics and a code of conduct crafted already in 2007.

Hosted by the Great Zimbabwe University, the meeting was attended by 24 colleagues, sufficient for a quorum to create the Zimbabwe Association of Professional Archaeologists and Related Disciplines (ZAPARD). The council for the period 2013-2015 includes Gilbert Pwiti (Chairman), Paul Mupira (Vice-Chairman), Paul Hubbard (Secretary), Munyaradzi Manyanga (Treasurer), Genius Tevera and Petronella Katekwe. ZAPARD aims to foster a greater role for archaeology in present and future Zimbabwean society through research, publication and the integration of a wider audience with archaeological activities and knowledge.

CONNECTING THE DOTS IN THE KNERSVLAKTE LANDSCAPE

A commentary on CRM practice in the drier areas of the Western Cape

Andrew B Smith

A major problem in archaeological assessment for Cultural Resource Management (CRM) in the drier areas of the Western Cape is the evaluation of surface stone scatters over much of this area. Invariably, a report will describe lithics found sparsely dotted across the countryside and conclude that the heritage component is of low value and that there are no impediments to development or mining activities. This assessment will not include important features such as geological strata where prehistoric quarrying of stone took place and the consequent debitage that was strewn around the area, or water points that were attractive to hunters and game, all of which would have been heavily utilised.

In the Western Cape there are CRM specialists who have been practising for the past 25 years, and some groups that have a combined expertise in the field of more than 70 years. Seldom is their work published in peer-reviewed journals, and when it is, it is part of a major academic research programme (e.g. Halkett et al. 2003) or for thesis purposes (e.g. Dewar 2007; Orton et al. 2011). This means that their collective accumulation of expertise is usually not available to colleagues, except as individual CRM reports. In conversation with these experienced assessors, one can glean the valuable insights they have in landscape usage and predictability of where sites are located across space. This is seldom written into archaeological impact assessment (AIA) reports.

There is a wealth of data in individual reports, but this can only become part of the larger picture by 'connecting the dots' of the individual reports. This applies in particular to the drier areas of the Western Cape and the Karoo. That the wider picture can yield important results was demonstrated by the work of Beaumont et al. (1995), who showed that the accumulated knowledge from surface sites in Bushmanland could offer a wider picture of material-culture differences that was capable of being fed into the debate on the archaeological differences between hunters and herders (Smith et al. 1991; Sadr 2003; Parsons 2007). It can also be seen in the attempt by Sadr (2005) to separate out the different assemblages on the Vredenburg Peninsula.

It has become obvious that landscape features across these vast plains may have more importance in informing us about past human activities than limited stone scatters that are not only difficult to date, but may actually be lag deposits, with mixture as a result

of wind and water erosion. To illustrate my point, I will give an example of an AIA done in the Knersvlakte for a proposed gypsum mining operation just north of Vanrhynsdorp (see figure overleaf).

The Knersvlakte

The Knersvlakte is broken country of the Northern Cape, with huge vistas from the top of hills. The region has the Olifants River as its southern boundary, is hedged on the east by the Bokkeveld Escarpment and runs some 100 km north to the Kliprand. It is generally waterless and its summer harshness may be the reason for the implication of its name*, the gnashing of teeth, referring to the misery of early travellers slowly crossing the area in ox-wagons. Botanically, however, it is part of the Succulent Karoo, a unique area amongst the arid lands of the world. The vast majority of the perennial plants are relatively short-lived succulents found in the unusual rock strata of quartzites and weathered quartz veins.

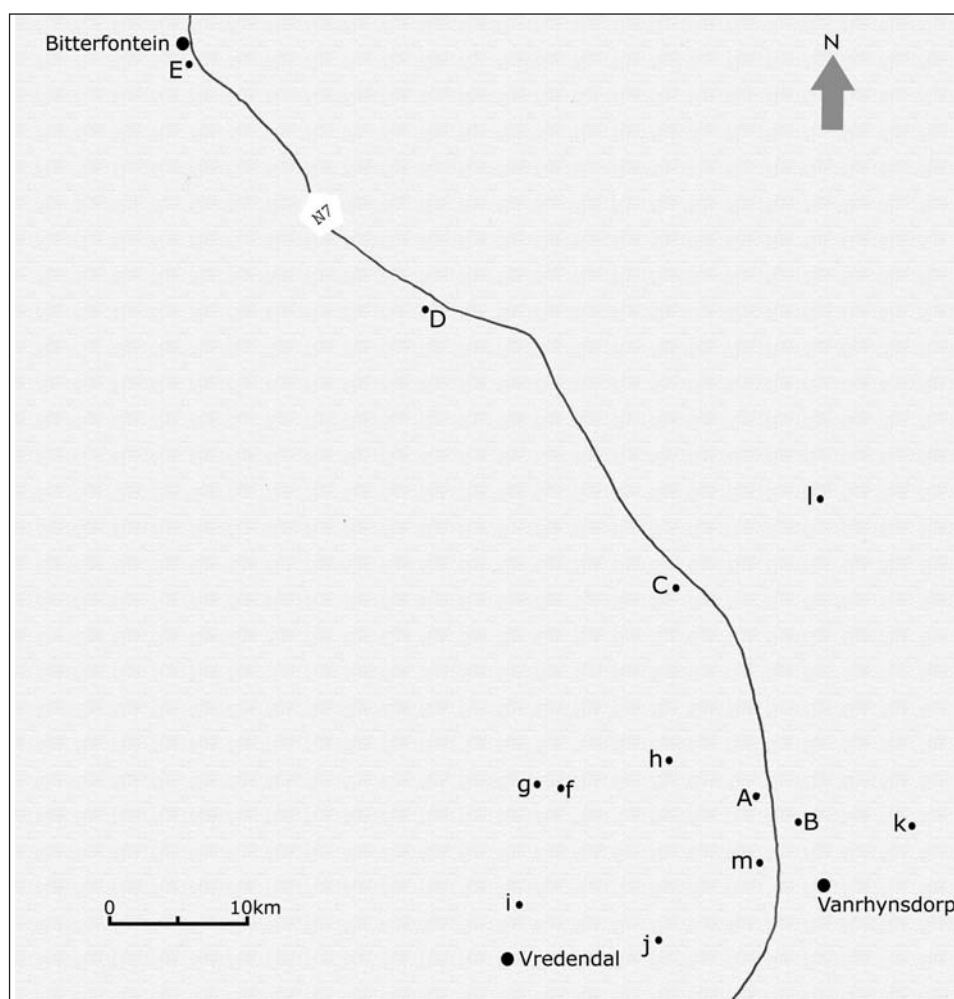
Results of the gypsum mining AIA

A GPS foot survey was conducted, targeting areas such as roads and open areas devoid of the relatively dense plant cover that made the surface of the ground hard to see (Smith 2010). Quartz stone artefacts were found in low numbers across the field. Near the top of a low rise at the northern end of the study area was a site with a few more flakes among other raw materials, apparently just on the surface, as well as a fine view across the plains to the east (see figure, Site A).

To the south of the rise the stone flakes were conspicuously absent, except for rolled pieces of quartz where sheet wash was behind their distribution. Indeed, in other areas, the recent rains had produced runoff over the slight drop in elevation. In the Droërivier crossing the property, a donga offered a clue to the source of the quartz: a bed, some 15 cm below the surface. Along the river banks were a few Middle Stone Age and Later Stone Age tools and flakes (Site m).

* The derivation of the name 'Knersvlakte' is unclear. While some people believe that it reflects the harshness of the environment, and the resultant gnashing of teeth by early travellers, others think that it has to do with the quartz stones that litter the countryside, and a wagon passing over them sounded like the gnashing of teeth. The area has also been known as the 'troostelose Kneagsvlakte', or even as the Knechtsvlakte, referring to someone of that name. A more rational explanation may be that the traditional leader of the Griquas, Andrew Abraham Stockenstroom Le Fleur I, was known as the Kneg (the servant of God) when he moved to Ratelgat in July 1933. Thus the name Knersvlakte may derive from his presence there.

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Site locations in the Knersvlakte mentioned in the text

(overlooking the plain to the east) were a handful of quartzite flakes. These were the only non-quartz stone pieces found on the entire hill. The hypothesis was further strengthened by the observation of flaked quartz implements in a similar location on Farm 47 Bitterfontein (Site E), which lies just south of the town of that name. No non-quartz was noted on this site, although silcrete and quartzite tools were found in the lee of a large boulder on the summit of a hill 2 km away (Smith 2011).

Kaplan (2000), reporting on sites 35 km north of Vanrhynsdorp (Site D), noted large numbers of ostrich eggshell fragments, as well as stone flakes, chunks and hammerstones, on an eroded

As the N7 cuts through the property, it was necessary to see what was on the other side of the road. Access was through an existing mining operation, which was fortuitous, as getting to the subject field meant crossing areas where strip mining had already taken place. On a shelf above the area being excavated was another site that extended for 50 m around the rim (Site B). Like Site A, it had a splendid view of the plains to the east and down into the Droërvier. The surface stone artefacts were simple flakes in a diverse range of raw materials: quartz, quartzite, silcrete, hornfels and others. As is the case with Site A, there was no real clue to the age or length of occupation.

From these two observations a working hypothesis was created, namely that prehistoric people in this landscape consciously chose to occupy a strategic location on hillsides. Not on the top of the hill, but on the edge of the slope break just below the summit. To test this hypothesis, opportunity arose for more observation on locales with similar aspects. Just north of the Sishen-Saldanha railway bridge across the N7 (25 km north of Vanrhynsdorp) is a road running west. Two kilometres along this road is a hill designated by its height, 165 m on the 1:50 000 map 3118BC (Site C). The surface of the hill comprises a pavement of natural quartz pebbles. In one place, however, with an identical aspect to sites A and B to the south

slope, suggesting that they were originally further up the slope in a similar position to those noted further south. He also describes tools and ostrich eggshell in a series of shallow overhangs above a steep slope. In all these cases, visibility could be suggested as having been the dominant reason for site occupation.

Landscape

Landscape is memory. It is '... the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its spaces and journey along the paths connecting them' (Ingold 2000: 193). Landscape transforms individual spaces into tracks, events and stories. Even in the most bleak (and to the uninitiated, 'featureless' areas) there are signs that the hunter/traveller/storyteller can use to describe where he or she went. The Inuit use snow types as spatial referents and a traditional hunter will seldom get lost. This is in direct contrast to today's generation using GPS, who, although they will not get lost, are unable to move freely over the difficult terrain because they do not know the snow and do not have the same skill in 'reading' the environment (Aporta & Higgs 2005).

In my experience with the Tuareg in the 'featureless', low Acacia-tree Sahelian environment, they know exactly where they are at any moment in time, and how to find their way. The sand of the plains may be

similar to the snow of the Inuit. The Tuareg also know where prehistoric sites are, not because they know archaeology, but because the sites are the source of *tifarrassen* (flint for their strike-a-lights).

The landscape is more than just a backdrop staging the play of life, it became the accumulated experience of the individual and his history, all the more so for hunters whose relationship with the world around them, in particular their prey animals, constituted the central theme of tales of the hunt and people they visited. These people could be 'real', such as family, or spiritual, visited in dreams or trance and depicted in rock art. Tilley (1994:31) noted that: 'The metaphor of the path is a common one in many small-scale societies, and refers beyond itself to patterns of activity and social organisation'. This is also true among pastoralists. 'The track is the song,' say Joëlle Chesselet and Craig Matthew in their 2001 film on the Himba: 'Ochre and Water'. Jill Kinahan (2004: 2) describes how, among the Himba, 'The path that the elder takes from his house to the *okuruwo* (sacred fire) links his people with their ancestors and is sacred; it is an insult for outsiders to cross it'.

People of the sub-Arctic forests of Alaska are linked to a series of locales through patrilineal descent, but rather than 'owning' the space, they see themselves as custodians (Tilley 1994). This is also true of Australian Aborigines, where a 'path' is a mythological space in dreamtime and links living people with the ancestors. 'The landscape is thus filled with meaning and memories, redolent with the actions of the past ... Through day-to-day activities individuals learn of this ordered world of ancestral activity, which becomes part and parcel of their experience of place' (Tilley 1994:41).

Discussion

It is obvious that thin scatters of stone tools across the landscape have little meaning unless they can be seen as spatially discrete. More important, however, is the actual location where the scatters are found.

Tilley (1994: 113) notes the common features of most flint scatters denoting Mesolithic sites of mid-Wales as '... a situation chosen to command extensive views in two or more cardinal directions across river valleys, and their positioning on natural routes, track-ways or paths through the landscape that would have been followed both by people and migrating animals'.

Even in open terrain as in the Knersvlakte, the position of sites tells us something about how the former occupants used the area. It also hints at the close interrelationship between location and hunting skills that defines the knowledgeable hunter. 'He can tell things from subtle indications that you or I, unskilled in the hunter's art, might not even notice. Called upon to explicate his knowledge, he may do so in a form that (appears) as a corpus of myths or stories.' (Ingold 2000: 190). All of this would be closely tied into a reading of the landscape.

In the past, migratory animals, such as springbok (*Antidorcas marsupialis*), were to be found in large numbers on the open plains of southern Africa. Describing a trip through Bushmanland in 1873, Dunn (1873) relates how he drove his wagon through them over a distance of 35 miles for six hours. Vantage points to observe game would often be rare in open country, so the sites on rises, like those to the north of Vanrhynsdorp, would have given hunters a strategic edge over their prey in deciding how to approach the herd, and even where they might funnel the herd for easier kills. This would perhaps have limited the need for camouflage.

In the sparse open country of the Knersvlakte, with its dry river beds and limited underlying geology to hold water at or near the surface, the human population was perhaps small and dispersed. This may be one reason for a distinct lack of pottery on the surface and a restricted range of stone implements at sites. Stone tools in open areas of the Knersvlakte are the only visible clues to prehistoric occupation, but these offer very little information about the age of manufacture, or tell us much more than that there were people there in the past and that hunters seemed to be strategic about where sites were located. Landscape indicators, like those on rises above the plain, give us better clues to the mind of the hunter and how he used the environment.

Where 'landscape' is referred to in some works, it is not in the sense of Tilley (1994) to get beyond the archaeology and into the mind of people in the past. A case in point is work based on CRM surveys across the Knersvlakte by Orton et al (2011b) in which they plot seven farms (Sites f-l on the figure). They say: 'We demonstrate the variety of contexts in which artefacts have been recorded and identify factors governing their distribution on the landscape'. In fact, each site is an isolated point in the terrain and there is no attempt to connect these points. They conclude: 'People appear to have largely avoided the spiny grasslands, preferring to occupy harder substrates'. This assessment seems to be incomplete and says little about the strategic use of the landscape as indicated by the site locations on the hill slopes. It also underlines my earlier observation that more can be read about past landscape use than a simple recording of stone tools scatters in isolated places.

To put oneself into the world of the hunter and his approach to the landscape we would probably have to look closely at aspects such as surface hydrology and water points, prevailing winds and surface features such as heuweltjies, hummocks, dunes or even channels in ephemeral stream beds. Orton et al. (2011b) refer to the 'featureless plains' of the Knersvlakte, but little is featureless to traditional hunters who use every opportunity to use any variation in the topography to get within arrowshot of their prey, before camouflage becomes a requirement.

The location of the hill-slope sites identified in the Knersvlakte was not accidental. Their vantage points over the plains would have been part of the landscape memory of hunters using this open environment. From what we know about how hunters see landscape as visual and metaphorical space, we can perhaps envision the sites as part of a continuous trail of connecting points. The Knersvlakte 'trail' could have included the rock shelters reported by Orton et al. (2011a) in the Vars River to the west of the N7 some 15 km north of the town of Vredendal (Site f).

It is interesting, however, that the excavation of this rock shelter only produced the bones of more solitary species of antelope, such as hartebeest, steenbok, grey duiker and klipspringer, and not those of the more gregarious species like springbok. Only one bone of an equid came from the excavations. Robert Gordon, on his travels through the area, noted in his journal on 15 July 1779 (Raper & Boucher 1988: 244) that 'This is very bad country'. He was mostly referring to the difficulty of travelling through it owing to the structure of the terrain, but he could also have meant that hunting was difficult, as twice he states that on hunting forays they had seen no game. Ultimately his camp helpers shot an eland near Meerhof's Casteel, some 15 km SSW of present-day Bitterfontein. This success and the equid bone from the excavations are hints that herd animals were to be found in the area.

Conclusions

The individual CRM reports from the drier areas of the Western Cape usually conclude from the scattered stone tools found across the terrain that there is low heritage value. However, by collating the data collected by these reports it is possible to say something meaningful about the use of space and landscape mentality of prehistoric people.

There is an urgent need for experienced CRM practitioners to make their collective wealth of knowledge available to the wider research community. As these people have to work on CRM projects to make a living, and they do not benefit from the luxury of the sabbaticals, a way should be found to allow time off for such people to write up and publish their experiences. Since the production of reports is required by permitting authorities (South African Heritage Resources Association, Heritage Western Cape, etc.) and a combination of information about these, as well as access to them, are not a simple matter, we might suggest that these bodies tap appropriate funding sources to find money for short term 'sabbaticals' for people who can demonstrate the ability to pull together the experience in their reports, and then expect them to publish the wider picture of their work.

It may be too much to hope to connect points to recreate prehistoric 'paths', but only by good reporting, recording and comparisons by sharing the data with the wider academic community would this be possible.

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PROPHET ABRAHAM'S CITY FOUND IN KILIS

An ancient city has been unearthed at Oylum tumulus, one of the largest in Turkey, in the south-eastern province of Kilis. It contains evidence that Prophet Abraham was once one of its residents. Cuneiform documents and seal stamps of Hittite kings discovered in the excavations indicate that the tumulus is that of the ancient city of Ullis, a name mentioned in 3 000-year-old Akat documents. Ullis also matches the name mentioned in Hittite papyrus documents. Archaeologists also claimed to have reached the world's oldest glass atelier in the excavations.

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Public archaeology

REINVIGORATING PUBLIC PARTICIPATION ARCHAEOLOGY Reflections on the 2013 East Fort Archaeological Project, Pretoria

Karin Scott, Mariette Harcombe and Anton van Vollenhoven

Public engagement archaeology as a concept calls for some clarification as in South Africa it is generally defined as civic involvement during the various public phases of cultural resource management (CRM). However, it seldom extends towards public participation in archaeological activities and/or the production of knowledge. Within the context of the East Fort Archaeological Project (EFAP), a joint initiative between HeritageworX and Archaetnos, public archaeology constituted active participation by the public in the archaeological excavation and documentation of East Fort (see next article for historical overview).

Although interaction between professionals and the public is desired, physical public participation in archaeological activities is often ignored. Mick Aston (2012: 447) reminds us that 'members of the public do not have the expertise to become involved in brain surgery. There are aspects of archaeology which are too complex for involvement without extensive expertise.' Yet, 'just as the public are capable of applying plasters and are involved in basic first aid, they can also be involved in some of the less complicated practical aspects of archaeology'. Time Team producer, Jeremy Cross states: 'professionalism does not mean – should not mean – that all archaeology can only be done by professionals' (Kennedy 2003).

Dialogue and knowledge production

According to Levine, Britt and Delle (2006: 399), 'Historic sites serve as windows into the past that rely on material culture to narrate the past to the public. This narration serves as a dialogue between archaeologists and the public, creating a relationship that shapes community and individual awareness of heritage.' This represents the ideal scenario, yet the existing dialogue between archaeologists and the public focuses on the narrative being told by the archaeologist to the public. A power relationship exists 'in which archaeologists are producers of knowledge and the public are consumers of that same knowledge' (Bartoy 2012: 557), and where innovations and ideas are seen as originating solely from academics (Little 2005: 284).

The existence of enthusiast bodies, such as the South



Completing context sheets and making plan-view drawings

African Archaeological Society, highlights public interest. Unfortunately, society members are rarely seen as possible contributors to the production of archaeological knowledge. Although it is understandable that these individuals cannot be given 'free reign' to act as professionals, archaeologists must provide them with the necessary guidance to empower them to create academically sound narratives. If channelled correctly, their contribution to knowledge production will be 'more meaningful if they have a grasp of how archaeological research is conducted, and are given greater access to existing archaeological knowledge' (Franklin & Moe 2012: 570). Professionals should 'guide public understanding around essential archaeological concepts, knowledge, processes and beliefs, with the goal of developing an archaeologically literate citizenry' (Franklin & Moe 2012: 570), and must therefore aim for participatory action research (PAR), in which members of the public actively engage in research alongside academics, within an environment that inspires joint decision-making in terms of research aims and goals (Baugher 2007: 188).

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Problem statement

The lack of public participation initiatives creates frustration among those who are interested in participating in archaeological projects. These individuals are often knowledgeable enthusiasts, yet cannot find any opportunities to live out their passion. The same can be said for high school learners, especially those who are considering archaeology as a career. The latter group may suffer most from a lack of involvement as informative practical experiences that may guide career choices are almost wholly absent from the public sphere.

It was therefore decided that HeritageworX and Archaetnos should join forces. Archaetnos would contribute many years of public participation experience through the Steinaecker's Horse archaeological project in the Kruger National Park, while the HeritageworX team would apply their educational and logistic skills, honed during the planning, execution and presentation of heritage-related sandwich courses.



Dr van Vollenhoven teaching site drawings

Reflections on the project

The EFAP began with a two-day orientation course, the objective of which was to introduce the participants to the discipline of archaeology. It provided a chance to clarify the differences between the pop culture portrayal of archaeology and real-life archaeology. It explained the basics of archaeological theory and practice and explained those terms that people hear but do not understand. An overview of the different kinds of sites, artefact types, various dating methods and the legal aspects of field work and CRM were discussed. Archaeology as a career was also discussed, with attention being paid to the various sub-disciplines that offer specialisation and employment possibilities.

A garbology¹ exercise was then held during which participants created narratives for each household/

¹ Garbage represents a valuable source of information since 'the disposal of refuse is one of our most unconscious acts' and 'it is unlikely that in removing food remains, broken dishes and other debris from a household, people were making any conscious statement about themselves or others'. (Deetz 1977: 125).

individual, reconstructing their daily habits based purely on the physical and documentary evidence revealed by ordinary household objects. With feedback came a variety of theories surrounding the reconstructed life-ways of each garbage profile. Lateral thinking was encouraged to fuel the synthesis of information.

The second day covered the practical aspects of archaeology such as setting up an excavation grid, completing context sheets and making plan-view drawings. Benjamin Sagacci (University of Pretoria) presented a talk on the fortifications of Pretoria and introduced the audience to heritage-related issues surrounding West Fort. Although the project leaders and trench commanders were fascinated by aspects of archaeology and the law, the actual layout and architecture of the fortifications were of greater interest to newcomers. They were surprised by the diversity of issues that professionals are confronted with.

As we did not want to create false impressions of what to expect at East Fort, we decided to take the team on a tour of the dilapidated Fort Daspoortrand, also known as West Fort. Although larger and structurally more impressive than East Fort, its crumbling state highlighted the natural degradation of structures in the archaeological record. Members of ArchSoc provided valuable insights and the learners also surprised with logical ideas and sensible arguments. The value of fresh, unbiased input from individuals outside the professional realm made it clear that members of the public could produce viable interpretations of archaeological evidence.

Issues surrounding the conservation of historical buildings were highlighted by a site visit to the West Fort community, where a mixed community now occupies the buildings and grounds of the old Pretoria Leper Hospital. Questions relating to the continued civic use of historical buildings after their official abandonment were asked and concerns about the impending destruction of the neighbourhood were raised. The visit provided an excellent opportunity to educate the general public about archaeology and heritage as a whole (Van Vollenhoven 1995).

The East Fort excavations

The first day of excavations kicked off with great enthusiasm. Although there was some initial uncertainty, this soon transformed into understanding and confidence under the skilled guidance of the trench commanders.

By day two, everyone had adjusted to the routine. Participants were well-aware of the time constraints and did their best to achieve the daily targets. Trench commanders utilised the strengths and weaknesses of their individual team members and focused on creating cohesive and productive units. Physically strong individuals were commandeered to assist groups where muscle was needed, while those less

physically able took charge of sorting and documentation. Where the soil was exceptionally hard or compacted with small stones (owing to collapsed Rice pattern² walling), the experienced excavators were brought in to assist. In more than one instance, the subject knowledge and logical reasoning skills of older participants greatly outweighed their contributions in terms of the physical excavation.

Interpreting feedback

Since having a good time does not necessarily result in actual learning, we applied Bartoy's (2012: 558) recommendation that course programmes should be evaluated to assess whether or not educational objectives have been reached. Each team member was requested to complete a feedback form and the feedback was overwhelmingly positive. The critique was constructive and helped to identify and address problem areas. Participants compiled brief summaries of their experiences, a few of which are highlighted below.

Theoretical background and course content

Trench commanders with prior experience as educators felt that the content of the orientation course could be restructured to suite the requirements of younger participants. More examples from international archaeology, which act as drawing cards for the discipline, should be incorporated. These examples should as far as possible be complimented with local examples.

Expectations of field work

It was envisaged that this first excavation season would take the form of a structural dig in which a comparison would be drawn between the 1979 site map, compiled by Mervin Emms, and the remaining physical features. The material record was not rich in terms of artefact quantities, but a number of unique items did emerge, which ignited great enthusiasm. While the objects found were of an everyday nature, it was clear that the participants held realistic expectations of the artefact record. It became apparent that no one was disappointed by the lack of jade masks, golden rhinos or crystal skulls. Bullet casings, glass shards with makers' marks and partial smoking pipe stems proved just as exciting, which indicates that, despite an interest fuelled by pop-culture archaeology and romanticised documentaries, members of the public have more realistic expectations of archaeology than thought.

Career guidance

Sending prospective future archaeology students into the field can have one of two consequences. They can

2 The Rice pattern refers to a type of blockhouse invented by Major SR Rice of the Royal Artillery. The fortifications usually had a wooden frame to which inner and outer galvanised corrugated iron sheets were attached. The hollow space was filled with small stones (see Van Vollenhoven 1999: 81).

What the participants said

'The East Fort project was absolutely incredible for me and the experience has enforced my decision of going into archaeology. The whole week just kept getting more exciting and each day we found something more awesome than the previous day. The first day my group found a 1930 three-pence coin; from that moment I knew that archaeology had me. All I wanted to do was dig and dig. Many people would find a piece of glass and would just throw it away, but there you were able to ask questions and find out facts about it. You are able to clearly see the difference between a 2013 and an 1890s piece of glass; it was amazing to be able to identify it.' — **Kagen Wrede**

'This was what I really enjoyed about this experience, interpreting the evidence, and having experts in their field made it all the more worthwhile.' - **John Bird**

'During the theoretical sessions we learnt about the different tools and equipment. I never knew there were certain clues that we needed to look out for to see if people lived in an area. That you can look at aerial photos to see where the foundations were or where there were unnatural areas of tree growth.' – **Nicky Lemmer**

I have learned a lot from going on a real dig. You get a pretty good idea of what an archaeologist's everyday life is like, you learn from others, and you can make a decision on whether archaeology is really what you want to do' – **Marissa Swart**

'I even taught my parents a thing or two; you can't just go and "dig", there are rules and laws. My parents say that after day two, I was talking non-stop about the worthiness and preciousness of our heritage.' – **Rynhardt Truter**

'Before I started excavating I only liked it, hearing everyone's perspectives and watching Indian Jones and Lara Croft. Now that this dig is done I want to learn more about archaeology because I am now in love with the whole idea.' – **Kasia Kaliszka**

'It was very satisfying to witness how the team's interest and excitement grew as the excavation progressed. Excavation proved to be powerful learning tool. Enabling learning through practical experience: learning through doing, thinking and feeling.' – **Rina Faria**

'Physically strenuous and painstaking, the joy and excitement of finding an artefact is a unique experience. Once experienced, the die is cast and one is bitten by the "digging bug".' – **Noni Vardi**

'On the first day I took a pillow with me to sleep in the car during the lunch break; it didn't happen then or later as there were too many interesting conversations going and I wasn't going to miss any of it.' – **Deanna Kirby**

either recognise that their expectations were misguided and decide to follow another career path, or confirm their interest in archaeology. Both outcomes result from being involved in public archaeology.



Fig. 3: Rina Faria (back ground) and team members Marisa Swart, Kasia Kaliszka and Tilly Naransamy

Conclusion

In our view the EFAP was a success. It proved that the public can participate in and assist with the production of archaeological knowledge. We believe that as long as projects adhere to the fundamental principles of proper orientation, pre-fieldwork education, on-site training, as well as consistent supervision, guidance and the maintenance of site ethics, no reason can be identified why the public should not be involved in archaeological projects.

As the EFAP evolves, we expect some revision to occur, but the fundamentals by which success can be measured have been established. We managed to follow Lewis's (2007: 305) model, in which there is movement away from the populist view that archaeology is a 'fun digging activity' towards a more realistic vision of archaeology as 'a way to study and learn about the past'. Participants derived enjoyment and learning from the experience, while making a positive contribution to the archaeological record by participating in a real excavation. The project succeeded in fostering the much needed dialogue between archaeologists and the public.

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WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY

Mystery settlers reached Faroes before Vikings

One of the first stepping stones for Europeans as they explored across the Atlantic was colonised much earlier than previously thought, and not by the Vikings. The Faroe Islands, located about halfway between Norway and Iceland, were the first stepping stones beyond the Scottish archipelago of the Shetlands for the Viking diaspora that culminated in the European discovery of North America in the 11th century, about 400 or 500 years before Christopher Columbus. Until now, archaeologists thought the Vikings undertook the first major settlement of the Faroes in the 9th century, even though there were hints of earlier arrivals there.

Now firm archaeological evidence has been found for the human colonisation of the Faroes by people some 300 to 500 years before large-scale Viking colonisation. The research, at an archaeological site of Á Sondum on the island of Sandoy, revealed an extensive windblown sand deposit containing patches of burnt peat ash from human activity. The ash contained barley grains burnt in domestic hearths, which carbon dating showed was pre-Viking. Barley is not indigenous to the Faroes. Humans would have spread these ashes onto the sands during the 4th to 6th centuries and 6th to 8th centuries. This practice was often seen in the North Atlantic region in this period to stabilise the dunes. It remains unknown who these early settlers were. Possibilities may include religious hermits from Ireland, late-Iron Age colonists from Scotland or pre-Viking explorers from Scandinavia. What is now clear is that they prepared peat for use by cutting, drying and burning, indicating a longer stay.

21/08/2013

Public archaeology

A SHORT HISTORY OF EAST FORT, PRETORIA

Anton C van Vollenhoven

The remains of East Fort on Strubenkop in Pretoria, a British fort constructed during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), have been known for many years. Until fairly recently it was believed that only a few of its stone walls remained standing, but a visit there in September 2011 to write a management plan showed that although the fort is in ruins, much of the stone walling is still in place and that the site would benefit from archaeological investigation.

Today, Strubenkop is a nature reserve managed by the City of Tshwane. It is situated on a portion of the original farm Hartebeestpoort 362 JR in the central eastern part of the City of Tshwane known as Lynnwood. In the north the property is bounded by the farm Koedoespoort 299 JR, the experimental farm of the University of Pretoria. A tar road, Old Fort Road, ends on the south-western edge of the reserve. Apart from the remains of the fort, there is little else of archaeological interest on the hill and it is therefore believed that the reserve was proclaimed to preserve the fort, even though no information could be obtained in this regard.

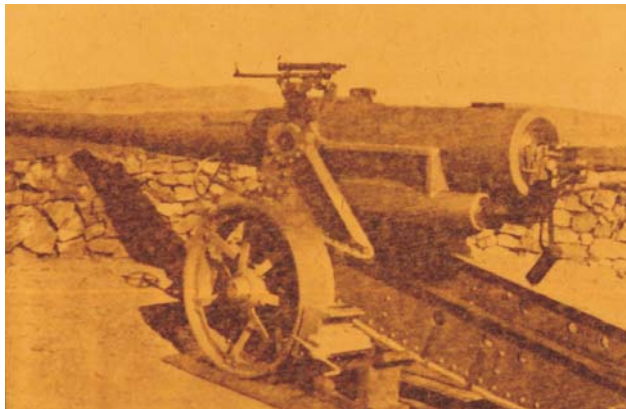


Fig. 1: A canon in the canon emplacement at East Fort during the Anglo-Boer War (courtesy: Stan Cantor)

The 2011 survey resulted in the launch of the East Fort Archaeological Project, a joint initiative by Archaeon Archaeologists, Heritageworx and the City of Tshwane. The main aims of the project, namely to conduct an archaeological excavation and document the structure to obtain information on the building materials used, the method of construction and the purpose of different areas within the fort, and to put in place a schools education programme to provide learners interested in archaeology the oppor-

tunity to get first-hand field experience, were covered in the preceding article.



Fig. 2: Part of East Fort during the 1950s (courtesy: Stan Cantor)

Construction and post-war history

The history of the Anglo-Boer War in Pretoria has been quite well documented. After the fall of Pretoria on 5 June 1900, the British erected fortified posts at strategic position all over South Africa to protect railway lines and other routes, and to limit the movement of the Boer commando's (Van Vollenhoven 1992: 176). The blockhouse lines, comprising as many as 8 000 blockhouses stretching over a distance of about 6 000 km (Hattingh & Wessels 1999: 41; Van Vollenhoven 1999a: 81), were completed by January 1902.

For the British it was of particular importance to protect Pretoria. For this reason they built additional fortifications around the city (Van Vollenhoven 1992: 180). Pretoria already had four forts – Klapperkop, Schanskop, Wonderboompoort and Daspoortrand, which had been erected by the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek prior to the war (Van Vollenhoven 1995: 54-61). As far as can be determined, 36 stone-and-masonry blockhouses and 25 corrugated iron ones (Rice style) were erected in and around Pretoria. Most of these did not survive (Van Vollenhoven 1992: 180-181).

The fortification built on Strubenkop was one of those erected. It is sometimes also called the Eastern Redoubt. Strubenkop was strategically important to safeguarding the town on its east side. Even Boer strategy before the war had included a plan to build a fort here, while at the time of the British occupation of Pretoria during the Anglo-Transvaal War (1880-1881) the site was used by them as a signal station and

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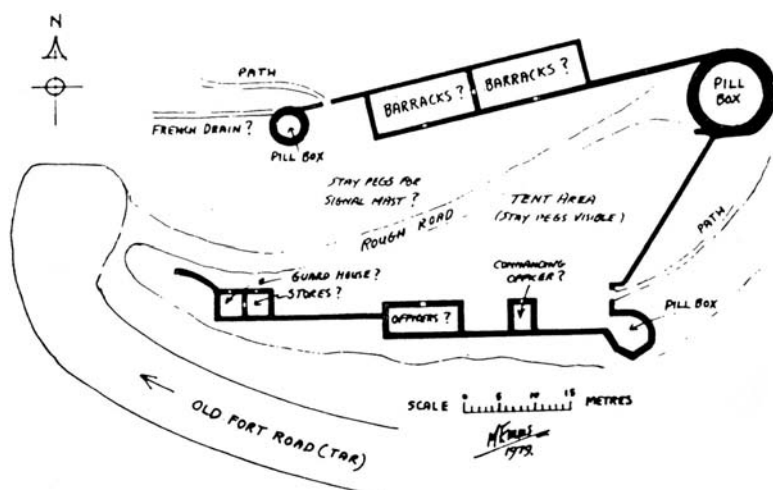


Fig. 3: Plan of East Fort drawn by Mervyn Emms in 1979 (Van Vollenhoven 1992: 205).

months when the vegetation cover is high.

These differences from the plan and the lack of information on the fort are what make this such a good site for research purposes. The uniqueness of the site, being the only large British fort built during that time in Pretoria, also makes it a good research topic. In the end, the study could be used for comparative studies with excavated blockhouses, the Boer forts and other military sites from the period.

lookout point (Van Vollenhoven 1992: 182).

East Fort was the largest fortification to be built by the British in Pretoria (Fig. 1). It was a stone structure with a corrugated iron roof, but parts of the walls were also of corrugated iron construction with loopholes (Van Vollenhoven 1994: 71). The fort is indicated on a sketched diagram of Pretoria during the war indicating the communication lines between fortifications (Van Vollenhoven 1992: 210). It shows East Fort to the south-east of a military camp. Unfortunately nothing else is known of the fort or the role it played. Only one photo from that time has been found (Fig. 2).

The fort was vacated shortly after the war and just a few bits of information of the post-war period were found. This includes a photo dating to 1958 showing part of the walling at one of the pill-boxes at the fort (Fig. 2). There is information that the fort was still in a good condition in 1963. The second photo dates to the early 1970s and shows the same section of walling in virtually a similar condition as in 1958. But a visit to the site in 1992 showed that this wall had broken down almost completely and that only a few remnants remained (Van Vollenhoven 1992: 182).

In 1979 Mervyn Emms drew a plan of the fort (Fig. 3). As the fort has by then already deteriorated, much the plan may not be correct, but at least it does give a fair indication of the layout.

Conclusions

It seems that the fort was built less solidly than the Boer forts around Pretoria and that mortar was not used throughout. There appears to have been a surrounding wall and an inner courtyard. It may have had three blockhouses and at least two canon positions, and was armed by a five-inch canon (Van Vollenhoven 1999b: 27). Blockhouses may have been placed at strategic positions inside or on the walls of the fort, most likely serving as pill-boxes.

Site visits from 2011 to 2013 indicated that the Emms plan was not that far off, but that a few details may have been omitted, most likely because the features are not always visible, especially during the summer

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL BRIEFS

European hunter-gatherers had pigs 4600 BC

Domesticated pigs were present in northern Germany around 4600 BC, some 500 years earlier than previously thought, new fossil and DNA evidence shows.

The finding is significant because the people living in that part of Europe at the time were Mesolithic hunter-gatherers who primarily lived off wild game.

Known as the Ertebølle culture, they kept domesticated dogs but it would be several hundreds of years before they began raising animals and crops for food. One hypothesis for how the Ertebølle came to acquire the pigs is that they traded for them with their farmer neighbours to the south.

However the Ertebølle people acquired the pigs, there's no evidence that having the animals inspired them to try their hand at pig breeding themselves at that time.

Nature Communications/National Geographic, 27/08/2013

Discussion

CONTEXTUALISING QING

Peter Mitchell

The last two issues of *The Digging Stick* have drawn renewed attention to the late 19th century Bushman Qing and his unique contribution to understanding the southern African past. As is well known, Qing was employed to guide two British officials, James Murray Grant and Joseph Orpen, during their expedition across Lesotho in December 1873. In the course of that journey, Orpen conversed with Qing on multiple occasions, obtaining from him a series of myths that he later published (Orpen 1874). In addition, he sketched scenes from rock paintings at three of the shelters they visited (Melikane, Sehonghong and 'Upper Mangolong', almost certainly Pitsaneng just 1 km upstream from Sehonghong), providing in his paper brief, probably verbatim, descriptions given him by Qing of what those paintings meant (Fig. 1). That information has been crucial in the development of contemporary understandings of Bushman rock art by David Lewis-Williams and his students and associates (Lewis-Williams 2003; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004). At the same time, Qing's comments have been central to alternative understandings of those same paintings – and of Bushman rock art more generally – by Pieter Jolly (1995), Ann Solomon (1997) and others.

The establishment of the Qing and Orpen Project (QOP) (Wright and José de Prada-Samper 2013) therefore marks a welcome demonstration of the continuing importance for southern African history and archaeology of both Qing and of Orpen's record of his remarks. While Challis et al. (2013a) have already pointed out that it is incorrect for Wright and de Prada-Samper (2013: 6) to state that Orpen's article 'has so far been given little by way of ... intensive critical scrutiny and historical contextualisation', three areas still require comment. Two directly address how that contextualisation can be achieved. The third concerns the context of the QOP itself.

Absent from Wright and de Prada-Samper's (2013) article is any serious discussion of the contribution that archaeological excavation might make to understanding the historical context within which Qing lived; certainly, no indication is given of what, either theoretically or methodologically, might be meant by writing 'on the archaeological research that has been done at Melikane and Sehonghong, particularly as it relates to understanding the physical landscape' (Wright and de Prada-Samper 2013: 6). Landscape,

though important, is far from being everything, and archaeology informs us about much more than just past climates and ecologies. Indeed, if it teaches anything, it is that one cannot understand either the present or any one moment in the past without the benefit of a long-term perspective.

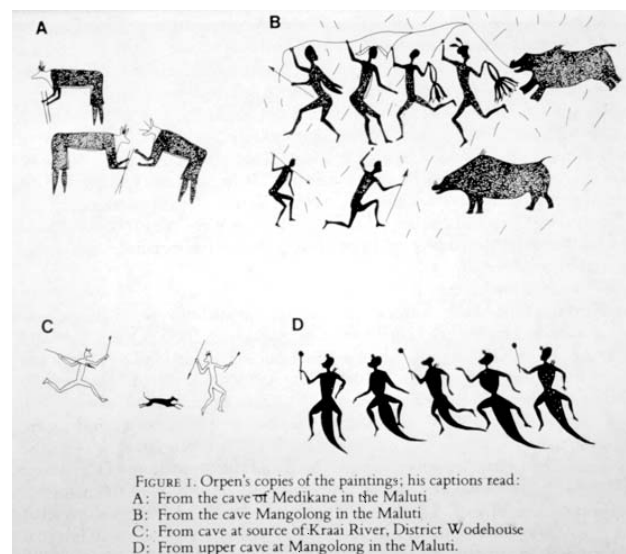


Fig. 1: The four sketches made by Orpen (1874) of Bushman paintings at Melikane (top left), Sehonghong (top right), an unidentified fourth rock shelter (bottom left) and 'Upper Mangolong' (Pitsaneng) (bottom right). After Lewis-Williams (1981: Fig. 9).

In the case of Lesotho's Maloti Mountains, excavations at Sehonghong, Pitsaneng and the nearby open-air site of Likoaeng bear directly upon the prior history of the region's 19th century Bushman inhabitants. In particular, these excavations show that up to a millennium before Orpen set foot in the Maloti, people there were herding domestic sheep and cattle (Hobart 2004; Mitchell et al. 2008; Plug and Mitchell 2008). We do not yet know whether this was a short-lived 'event' or part of a much longer, ongoing trajectory of livestock-keeping that found its end point in the animals kept by the mid-19th century AmaTola whom Sam Challis has studied (Challis 2012). However, along with many other finds from sites across the Maloti-Drakensberg region, it unequivocally shows that the two millennia or so preceding Orpen's encounter with Qing were a time of very considerable cultural change (see table; Mitchell 2009). Understanding what those changes entailed and how far they may have influenced what Qing thought and said is essential if we are to use his remarks to help comprehend Bushman rock art.

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No one should underestimate the difficulties of undertaking archaeological excavation in highland Lesotho even today. Those difficulties are not just logistical but also derive from the disturbed nature of the uppermost archaeological deposits in many rock-shelter situations. Nevertheless, archaeological materials relevant to the 19th century do survive. Rachel King's ongoing doctoral fieldwork in the Quthing District of south-western Lesotho, for example, is investigating sites directly related to the agriculturalist colonisation and settlement of the Maloti, with particular focus on the Phuthi chiefdom, led by Moorosi, within which Qing was living in 1873.

Near Sehonghong itself, two tiny and as yet unpublished rock-shelters excavated under my direction in 1998 just across the Senqu (Orange) River from the Sehonghong Valley have also yielded the bones of domestic animals. The size, context and location of these sites imply that these finds may be associated not with the Basotho farmers who began colonising the area in 1878, but with Bushmen living there either before or after that date (cf. Vinnicombe 2009). Other such sites probably exist undiscovered elsewhere given that most archaeological work in highland Lesotho has so far emphasised only the largest shelters.

Rock art needs contextualising as much as excavated evidence. To date, the images that Orpen recorded have principally been placed within the wider comparative context of the Maloti-Drakensberg region as a whole (e.g. Lewis-Williams 2003), although in the case of the rain-making scene at Sehonghong (Fig. 2), such comparisons have now also been developed at the local level to another site only a few kilometres away (Challis et al. 2013b). *Within* Sehonghong, however, discussion of Qing's comments has remained quite narrowly focused upon those images alone.

Innovations in the hunter-gatherer record of the Maloti-Drakensberg region over the past 1800 years

Subsistence
Domestic dogs (for hunting)
Domestic sheep and cattle (for food; documented in the 9 th /10 th centuries and the 19 th century, and perhaps in between)
Domestic horses (for hunting, transport and raiding, but restricted to the middle half of the 19 th century)
Access to domesticated cereals and other cultivated foodstuffs, but probably only on a small scale
Technology
Pottery for use in cooking and storage
Iron as a partial substitute for stone and bone in tools and weapons
Symbolism and belief
Incorporation of horses, cattle, dogs and sheep into rock paintings (also Black people and Europeans)
Evidence for sequential change in the representation of other imagery in rock art (eland, rhebuck, therianthropes, etc.)
New forms of personal decoration and identity-creation (glass beads, new forms of ostrich eggshell beadwork)
Regional networks of interaction
Availability of new narcotics (cannabis, tobacco)
Possible reorientation of hunter-gatherers downslope of the Drakensberg escarpment toward incoming farmers from the mid-1 st millennium AD (pressure-flaked arrowheads and backed microliths)
Substantial reorientation of hunter-gatherers in the Lesotho highlands toward the west (as shown by increased frequencies of ostrich eggshell beads and adoption of new regional identity markers)

And yet anyone familiar with this site, or with Melikane and Pitsaneng, will be aware that all three shelters are full of paintings. Moreover, they will know that the images Orpen drew were clearly selected from a much more complex set (cf. Fig. 3). To attempt a

thorough understanding of Qing's comments about Bushman rock art surely therefore requires us to consider not just the few 'sentences' that Orpen recorded, but the whole 'book' from which they derive. In short, and this is the second topic I wish to raise, we cannot understand the Orpen paintings without considering their context within the *totality* of the rock art at Melikane, Sehonghong and Pitsaneng.

And this task is urgent. The paintings at all three sites are rapidly deteriorating, to the point that the Orpen scene at Pitsaneng, a fragment of which was still visible in 1973 (Smits 1973: Fig. 1 inset), had already disappeared by the



Fig. 2: Patricia Vinnicombe's 1971 tracing of the Orpen scene at Sehonghong with one of the 'lizard-tailed' men described by Qing to Orpen (1874) at 'Upper Mangolong' and traced at the same time at Pitsaneng shelter. This inset image is no longer extant. (Courtesy KwaZulu-Natal Museum)



Fig. 3: Patricia Vinnicombe's 1958 tracing of the Orpen scene at Melikane compared to Orpen's original sketch (after Vinnicombe 1976: 315) (Courtesy KwaZulu-Natal Museum)

time of my first visit there in 1985. At none of the sites are the paintings protected from human or animal visitors, nor can they be. The opportunity to 'ground-truth' Patricia Vinnicombe's tracings or the ARAL Project's later (1985) photographs, informed by Bushman ethnography and several decades of rock art research, is one that will soon be gone forever. It is therefore to be hoped that Wright and de Prada-Samper's (2013: 7) mention of Kevin Crause in their account of their field trip to Sehonghong and Melikane means that his vitally important new digital recording and enhancement technology will be deployed in this cause.

This leads me to my third and final point. Nowhere in Wright and de Prada-Samper's (2013) article is there any mention of Basotho archaeologists, historians or heritage managers. Nowhere is there any acknowledgement of the Lesotho Government's Department of Culture, the body that authorises archaeological research within Lesotho, or of a research permit obtained from it. Nowhere is there any recognition that Melikane and Sehonghong are the subject of active research by other colleagues (Brian Stewart, University of Michigan, and Genevieve Dewar, University of Toronto; www.amemsa.com). And yet, we are told that at both Sehonghong and Melikane the participants in their field trip 'spent three days photographing rock paintings, making a measured survey of the cave and examining the landscape round about' (Wright and de Prada-Samper 2013: 7).

Basotho trained in archaeology and resident within Lesotho are few in number, but they exist. Indeed, they have recently taken the initiative of establishing a Lesotho Heritage Network (LHN; www.lesothoheritage.org), something discussed in a previous issue of *The Digging Stick* (Arthur & Mitchell 2012). If the QOP intends to carry out further fieldwork in Lesotho, then providing opportunities for training and collaboration to LHN members, or liaising with Basotho academics, would, at the very least, be highly desirable.

But above and beyond this, and almost 50 years after it regained its independence, it is surely time that South African-based researchers stopped treating Lesotho as if it did not exist or were merely a subordinate adjunct of South Africa, and instead engaged with the relevant authorities of this sovereign state before setting foot there to undertake academic research. To do otherwise is to give Wright and de Prada-Samper's (2013: 7) comment about 'the interaction between colonialism ... and scientific endeavour' a surely unintended, but nevertheless highly disturbing, contemporary twist.

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WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY

Peru's archaeologists turn to drones

Archaeologists in Peru are turning to drones to speed up sluggish survey work and protect sites from squatters, builders and miners. Small drones are helping a growing number of researchers to produce three-dimensional models of sites far quicker than with traditional methods. And speed is now important: with rapid economic growth over the past decade, developmental pressures in Peru have surpassed looting as the main threat to the country's cultural treasures. Researchers are still picking up the pieces after a 5 000-year-old pyramid near Lima in July. In the same month, residents of a town near the pre-Incan ruins of Yanamarca reported that miners digging for quartz were damaging the three-storey stone structures. And squatters and farmers repeatedly try to seize land near important sites such as Chan Chan on the north coast.

Archaeologists say drones can help set boundaries to protect sites, monitor threats and create a digital repository of ruins that can help build awareness and aid in the reconstruction of damage. The Ministry of Culture, which often struggles to protect Peru's more than 13 000 sites of which only 2 500 have been properly surveyed, also wants to use drones to help it comply with a new business-friendly law that has

tightened the deadline for determining whether land slated for development might contain cultural artefacts. Peruvian archaeologist Luis Castillo started using a drone two years ago to explore the San José de Moro site, an ancient burial ground encompassing 150 ha where the discovery of several tombs of priestesses suggests that women played an important role in Moche civilisation. *The Guardian/Reuters, 25/08/2013*

Hidden slave tunnel beneath Hadrian's Villa

A 3 m wide tunnel found at the Tivoli Villa east of Rome was large enough to have taken carts and wagons to ferry food, firewood and other goods from one part of the sprawling complex to another. Tivoli was built by Emperor Hadrian in the 2nd century AD and is the largest villa ever constructed in the Roman period, covering around 100 ha and consisted of more than 30 palaces, libraries, heated baths, theatres, courtyards and landscaped gardens. Tunnels 3 km long would have enabled slaves to move from the basement of one building to another without being seen. The passageway has been dubbed the Great Underground Road, in Italian the Strada Carrabile. Hadrian started building the palace shortly after he became emperor in 117 AD and continued adding to it until his death in 138 AD. *The Telegraph, 20/08/2013*

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'He isn't heavy'



'Mother and child'

(Linocut A/Ps by Hardy Botha – 59 x 42 cm. Price: R1 400 each, unframed)

Hardy Botha was born in Kroonstad in 1947 and studied sculpture. In 1971, he began his involvement with the circus that was to be a seminal influence in his life. The illusions and entertainment of trapeze artists became his metaphor of choice when commenting upon the socio-political circumstances of the apartheid regime. The arrest of the poet/artist Breyten Breytenbach in 1975 resulted in a protest installation at The Space theatre. Other events that influenced him were the independence of Angola and Mozambique, the bush war in Angola, the Soweto uprising and the death of Steve Biko. Hardy has exhibited in Germany, Lisbon and Portugal and was selected as one of four South African artists represented at the Sao Paulo Biennale in 1975. Contact with Vermeiren in Belgium was an important influence in his development as a lithographic artist.

The Cape Gallery deals in fine art work by SA artists and stocks a selection of paintings depicting South African rock art.

ASAPA CONFERENCE 2013

A view from Zimbabwe

Paul Hubbard

Unusually for archaeologists, the spectre of history was very much on everyone's mind at the 2013 conference of the Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists, especially those who had attended the fractious Botswana meeting of 1983. With a resolution calling for the condemnation of apartheid, and discrimination being rejected by the majority of (South African) delegates, the result split the discipline along political and national lines. The members of the Frontline States could not condone the existence of policies they were fighting to overthrow, while the South African archaeologists, most of whom were opposed to the apartheid system, did not care for such an explicit politicisation of the discipline (Hall 1990). That they were sadly mistaken would become clear at the time of the exclusion of South African archaeologists from the inaugural World Archaeological Congress of 1987 (Ucko 1987).

Fast forward to 2013. Little mention was made of this watershed moment in either personal presentations or the plenary sessions, although Aron Mazel in his presentation refuted the idea that SA archaeologists had done little to challenge the apartheid mantra and dominance, pointing to a number of activities and initiatives. Listening to this litany, I thought to myself, did they do enough? They should have taken a bolder stance! And then I caught myself thinking: well, what have we (Zimbabwean) archaeologists done about Patriotic History (Ranger 2004) and the use and abuse of World Heritage Sites like Great Zimbabwe and the shrines in the Matobo Hills for narrow political ends? Such dilemmas are the realities of practising archaeology anywhere in the world.

The spread of papers at the conference can be categorised into a few themes. Human evolution and Stone Age studies are an almost exclusively South African preserve, with 26 of the 31 papers in this field focusing on sites and research problems in that country. A great deal of South African experimental work in the past few years has revealed much about how stone tools were made and used (microwear studies), as well as how raw materials such as plants for bedding and stones for making tools were collected and used. Questions about stratigraphy, dating methods and the classification of fossils kept

the paleoanthropologists busy, while the Stone Age sessions revealed much about the value of micro-studies to discover the faintest traces of materials.

Linked to, but still kept separate from these topics, is the study of rock art. Stimulating discussions were held on the suitability of super-positioning and the Harris Matrix for developing chronological sequences. This was strongly linked to questions of 'style' in rock art, a word that has fallen into disuse because of the contested connotations it has as regards interpretation. Rather than styles simply representing different peoples or even artists, this is a useful word that can refer to the acts behind the creation of the art as well.

David Pearce presented on the examination of pigments in paint, revealing for instance that much of the black pigment analysed was charcoal-based rather than magnetite. The dating of rock art is a hot topic and Pearce and Mazel are among the leaders in this exciting attempt to answer one of the most frequent questions about the art. There were excellent posters on the use of computer imaging to study and record the art, the most interesting of which was the manipulation of the recorded light bands in digital pictures to highlight pigments and reveal previously unknown paintings. Justine Wintjies continues with her fascinating work of interrogating rock art archives and questioning the way archaeologists see rock art today.

Zimbabwe was well represented at the conference, with several presentations highlighting the varied work that is ongoing. Presentation included those by Seke Katsamudanga on the digitisation of the National Sites Database; Gilbert Pwiti on the appropriation of rock art sites by local communities for ceremonial purposes; Henry Chiwaura on indigenous knowledge systems (IKS – the new buzzword amongst NGOs and in the social sciences) and how these could be allied to heritage management; Tawanda Mukwende on the sterling work done to conserve the terraces at Khami; Russell Kapumba on the impact and potential of cultural tourism at Great Zimbabwe; and Dzidzai Muvavarirwa on the heritage outreach programmes of the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ).

A pleasant surprise was the presentations by Isabelle Ribot, Elaine Swanepoel and Maryna Steyn on work on Zimbabwean skeletal materials held in museum collections. A striking example of the value to be found in these dusty relics was the discovery of a possible case of trephination on the skull of a female buried at

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Dambarare, a former Portuguese trading site. This could become the most southerly ancient example of this medical technique in Africa. These authors also presented preliminary results on their work on the various burials at Monk's Kop, Dambarare and Ashford Farm, comparing morphometrics on the skeletons to assign possible race and gender to the remains.

I was left with an overwhelming impression of how much science is deployed by archaeologists in the region. There is a need to build partnerships in the region and beyond, to get down to analysing museum collections and to integrating new techniques in excavations and surveys.

Questions and practices in the sub-discipline of Heritage Management dominated the conference, with over 40 papers dealing with the topic in one way or another. I did not attend many of these presentations, but where I did I once again came to the conclusion that many of the presentations still said what *needs* to be done rather than what *is* done or achieved. A refreshing departure from this trend was Hugo Pinto's discussion on improved keyhole analysis, which showed the importance of clearing large areas of plaster in horizontal strips before assigning an age to a building. The method can be combined with a Harris Matrix to determine the order in which a building was modified. Zoran Markovicz presented a stimulating paper on the preservation of Old Palapye, leading to new ideas about how to conserve old brick buildings.

Any general meeting of a society is bound to pose some difficult questions for both the management and membership, and this year was no different. The formation of the Lewis Mncedisi Matiyela Scholarship, aimed at assisting underprivileged archaeological students financially, was adopted. Transformation, that exclusively South African concept, was a hot topic, with few positive results being publicised since the initiative began over six years ago. A resolution was adopted demanding more concrete achievements from the Transformation sub-committee within two years, or the concept would be dropped as ASAPA-endorsed policy.

Zimbabwe won the right to host the conference in 2015, which will be its first time to do so. This decision affirms ASAPA's commitment to transforming itself into a truly regional organisation, although this is not an easy task given the prevalent factionalism.

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The South African Archaeological Society

This is the society for members of the public and professionals who have an interest in archaeology and related fields such as palaeontology, geology and history. Four branches serve the interests of members. They arrange regular lectures and field excursions guided by experts, annual and occasional symposia, and longer southern African and international archaeological tours.

The Society was founded in 1945 to promote archaeology through research, education and publication. It is a non-profit organization – Registration No. 024-893-NPO.

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