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ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE INDIAN IMAGINATION

Dilip M Menon

When we think about archaeology, the discipline as much as the practice brings up images of time out of mind as well as the more proximate question of recorded history. Geology, palaeontology, history: each of these is associated with the idea of the past, and of what is over. However, recent developments, including the growth of industrial and urban archaeology, suggest a method of dealing with material remains in relation to questions of time alone. We are reminded that the discipline has a deep relation to the contemporary and to our understanding of the present as much as to the philosophical questions of History and Memory. Moreover, despite claims to scientific method and the rigours of objective enquiry, the fact remains that archaeology is located within political projects of nationhood, narratives of conquest, and claims to antiquity and classicism ('we have been around longer than you').

Great bath and citadel, Mohenjodaro

A striking example of this came up in 2001 when a young American scholar, Nadia Abu El Haj, published *Facts on the Ground: archaeological practice and territorial self-fashioning in Israeli society*. Using the discipline of Israeli archaeology as the subject of her study, she argued that the facts generated by archaeological practice influence 'cultural understandings, political possibilities and "common-sense" assumptions'. She argued that in the case of Israel archaeological practice worked in the service of the 'formation and enactment of its colonial-nation historical imagination and ... the substantiation of its territorial claims'. Her arguments led to an academic controversy and attempts to deny her tenure in her job, even as the book went on to win awards for scholarship.

Archaeology sits at the heart of the Indian nation's imagination of itself as the inheritor of an ancient civilisation. This statement is objectively true. It also addresses the subjective need of an independent nation to have a narrative that is not about the civilis-

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ing mission of an imperial power alone. Colonialism everywhere damaged the self-perception of subjugated peoples. As the world came to be conceived in terms of the political categories of the modern and modernity, nations and peoples were characterised as being on one or the other side of the divide. Modernity was presented as being characterised by reason, secularism and individualism, and each of these was given a short and special history of origins within the European space dating back to the Enlightenment.

Concepts of time

One of the first conflicts that arose in the colonial encounter was over conceptions of time within societies like India and China in contrast to European Christian notions of the origin of the universe and the time of history. In the classical Hindu system of knowledge, the universe had gone through four *yugas* or ages. The four ages were named after four possible throws of a dice (the Indian dice was of an oblong shape with four sides) and the notion of time was both cyclical and degenerationist; from a golden age to the degraded present. One of the *yugas,* the *Kritayuga,* was believed to have lasted 1 728 million years and the present age of *Kali* would run for 432 000 years. These philosophical conceptions made of time an eternity, as opposed to the then Biblical culture of human time, which was short, to say the least. St Augustine in his *Civitas Dei* (*c.* 5th century CE) believed that 'not 6 000 years have passed' since the creation of the world. Moreover, this notion of time in addition to its brevity was directional, teleological and progressive in contrast to ancient Indian notions. This contrast between too-much time and measured time seemed to sit at the heart of the primitiveness of Indian thought in the eyes of the British colonisers.

This 'eastern obsession' with vast swathes of time drew the condescension as much as the ire of European scholars. James Mill in *History of British India* (1817) wrote that, 'Rude nations seem to derive a peculiar gratification from pretensions to a remote antiquity. As a boastful and turgid vanity distinguishes remarkably the Oriental nations, they have in most instances carried their claims extravagantly high.' Karl Marx wrote, not without a tinge of regret, that, 'Indian society has no history at all, at least no known history. What we call its history is but the history of successive intruders who founded their empires on the passive basis of that unresisting and unchanging society.' He went on to add that, 'England has to fulfil a double mission in India: one, destructive, the other, regenerative – the annihilation of old Asiatic society and the laying of the material foundation of Western society in Asia'.

Within Europe, the struggle between Biblical time and historical time came to a head in the 18th century. Ideas of 'deep time' were being articulated in the 1780s and the Comte de Buffon (1707–1788) estimated the age of the world to be about 75 000 years in 1774. He jettisoned the Christian calendar for a new, secular chronology. James Hutton, in his *Theory of the Earth* (1788) went a step further beyond this imagination of a definite beginning (and thus of Creation), when he wrote that, 'from the top of the mountains to the shore of the sea … everything is in a state of change … a succession of worlds … we find no vestige of a beginning, no prospect of an end'. The late 18th and early 19th centuries in Europe teemed with ideas of illimitable time, strata, lost species and catastrophism. George Cuvier, in his *Discourse on the Revolutionary Upheavals on the Surface of the Earth and on the Changes Which They Have Produced in the Animal Kingdom* (1812), argued that 'numberless living things were victims of … catastrophes: some, inhabitants of the dry land, were engulfed in deluges; others, living in the heart of the seas, were left stranded when the ocean floor was suddenly raised up again; and whole races were destroyed forever; leaving only a few relics which the naturalist can hardly recognise'. By the late 19th century Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* and Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* had almost displaced the Christian view based on the Biblical chronology. However, the views of prominent churchmen like Bishop James Ussher, Primate of All Ireland, with a dating of the origin of the universe to 6 pm on 22 October 4004 BC were a long time dying!

Shore Temple, Mahabalipuram

Recovering the Indian past

Arguably, archaeology could only arise as a discipline once Europe moved beyond its inherited Christian temporality. Moreover, the emergence of geology and the Darwinian idea of evolution meant that Indian conceptions of time began to seem less outlandish.

After the 'savage wars of peace' (Kipling) in India between 1757 and 1830, when most of India came under the control of the East India Company and laws and revenue settlements were in place, scholars and administrators began to come to terms with Indian civilisation. Much of the knowledge of India's past was gained during strategic campaigns and route marches as military men and doctors, influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment, began to think about comparative civilisations. James Ferguson, itinerating intellectual, decided to put together his travel diaries of 1837–39 and published *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindoostan* (1848). His record of what he termed 'ancient architecture' – mostly temples and ruins dating to what we would now call the early medieval period – was based on the diary, draftsman's pad and the *camera lucida*. The very idea of the picturesque provided a civilised standpoint from which to view the wilderness that was India; it was a viewing of the past in the present. British rule was India's present and future; what India had to offer and what she had achieved could only be represented as past and 'ancient' glory.

Ferguson's representation of India was of a land of ruins without people; a metaphorical depiction of a *tabula rasa* on which the history of empire could be written. This vision was not an empirical vision of what lay before the eye, it was the presentation of the idea of India – an inherited vision of classical civilisation. It is interesting that Ferguson sought out monuments that had already been made familiar to the English imagination through literature. One of his famous illustrations was of the Shore Temple in Mahabalipuram in southern India, made famous in Britain through Robert Southey's overwrought bestselling poem, *The Curse of Kehama* (1810), familiar even to an Englishman who may have never travelled beyond his borough. Ferguson's representation seemed to evoke the famous lines, 'Their golden summits in the noonday light/Shone o'er the dark green deep that roll'd between/For domes and pinnacles and spires were seen/Peering above the sea…a mournful sight'. The account of architecture in India in the picturesque mode was pushed to another time, that of the ancient, and presented with pathos as a set of ruins. Hence the story of architecture became one of decline from ancient times: the story of decay.

The Dhamek stupa

There was another intention that lay behind Ferguson's venture. It was to move an account of India away from what he saw as myth, fable and legend (ironic considering his admiration for Southey) and what Mill had termed the 'ungoverned imaginings' of Indians to fact. His 1866 manifesto posited architecture as a more reliable index of the past than literature. The 'great stone book' would prove a better guide than the late 18th century recovery of India's classical literature, which had swayed even the German imagination and had sparked off Indophilia among figures like Schlegel, Schopenhauer and Goethe.

Archaeology fuelled by textual evidence

It is an interesting, and less explored story, that most of the pioneers of the recovery of the Indian past came from the Celtic fringe in Britain and were influenced by the scholarship of the Scottish Enlightenment from Adam Smith to Adam Ferguson, philosopher and historian. Alexander Cunningham, followed in Ferguson's trail, bringing together the study of architecture, material remains and archaeology. In 1834, he opened up the Dhamek *stupa* at Sarnath, and in 1843 excavated the ruins of the Buddhist site of Sankisa, bringing to light a long-forgotten Buddhist chapter in the history of India. We can sight here the beginnings of an archaeological method of some complexity. Cunningham integrated ground surveys of height and extent with a study of the layout of structural features and architecture. Unlike Ferguson, he was not dismissive of literary evidence and moved towards a creat-I've reading of references from literary texts, identifying many structures from allusions by Chinese pilgrims to northern India in travel accounts. He took notice of coins, inscriptions and other forms of material remains that could be 'read' as historical evidence. This hard-headed synthesis came to underlie the archaeological imagination of the 19th century.

By 1861, the outlines of Indian history were far clearer than when the East India Company won its first major war in Bengal in 1757. In 1857, the Great Indian Rebellion had shaken the foundations of company power in India and India passed under the control of the Queen a year later. India was politically united under *pax Britannica* and the Archaeological Survey was established as part of the commencement of another historical era: from the rule of commerce to the rule of law. The age of the first 'closet or scholastic Archaeologists' working with literary sources (like

William Jones and HW Colebrooke) had given way in the early 19th century to the 'travelling antiquarians' and 'field archaeologists' as the art historian Tapati Guha-Thakurta has put it. The reaction against an Indophilia fuelled by textual evidence had given way to a more rugged approach in which archaeology was the new method. It was felt that, 'the discovery and publication of all the existing remains of architecture and sculpture, with coins and inscriptions, would throw more light on the ancient history of India … than the printing of *all the rubbish contained in the 18 Puranas*'.

Cunningham's Buddhist focus led to what might be termed as the English 'discovery of Buddhism' in the 19th century and an obsession with Buddhist remains. Allied with this was the establishment through literary and material evidence of the first firm date in India's history, namely 326 BCE and Alexander the Great's invasion of north-west India. The discovery of the Gandhara school of sculpture with its exquisite statues of the Buddha in elegant drapery and with calm refined features, allowed for an alignment of India's classical past with that of Greece. Underlying this was the preference of the English for what Buddhism entailed: a spare, rational religion; the first unified empire under the Mauryan Buddhist king Ashoka; and a classic style in statuary that was far from the decorative excess and gargoyles of Hindu art. The Protestant rulers of India distanced themselves from the Catholic excess of Hinduism with its priesthood, temples and 'smells and bells', and gravitated towards the leaner, meaner religion of Buddhism. Here too, archaeology was influenced by a paradigm that lay outside it.

Statue of Buddha, Gandhara style

Discovering India's past

Even before the assumption of India by the Crown, indigenous intellectuals – 'the natives' – had begun to participate in the enterprise of discovering India's past. Given their knowledge of languages, these individuals maintained the dialectic between text and monument. Ram Raz, in his *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus* (1834), identified treatises on architecture, in particular the *Manasara* on temple buildings in southern India. Influenced by the dominant mood of fact over fancy, Ram Raz's text dwelt on heights, proportions and ornamental styles. Rajendralala Mitra began a detailed cataloguing of Sanskrit manuscripts, preparing bibliographies and publishing lists of museum holdings as in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Curiosities in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1849). By 1879 he had located and purchased over 1 500 manuscripts and prepared over 5 000 lists and notices.

With the work of these Hindu intellectuals we begin to see a distinct shift emerging from the earlier paradigm of affection for Buddhism. The British account of an ancient past, sullied by a Muslim medieval period which colonialism had triumphed over, found its resonances in the new works. Mitra's *The Antiquities of Orissa* dwelt on Hindu architectural remains that had survived Muslim onslaughts. This 'classicist nostalgia' of the Hindu intellectual was a parallel to the picturesque imagination of the English scholar who had dwelt upon the ruin as a site for reflection. Mitra's narratives were undergirded by pride as much as a sense of loss. 'These are some of the Relics of the Past weeping over a lost civilisation and extinguished greatness,' he wrote, 'where oblivion has gloriously triumphed over all ancient records, making puzzles of Cyclopean erections and turning old glories into dreams …' Mitra, and those who followed him, sought to create a national Hindu imagination, undercutting Greek influence. An Indo-Aryan obsession was to be the basis of a new pedigree for Indian art and architecture.

Indian versus colonial archaeologists

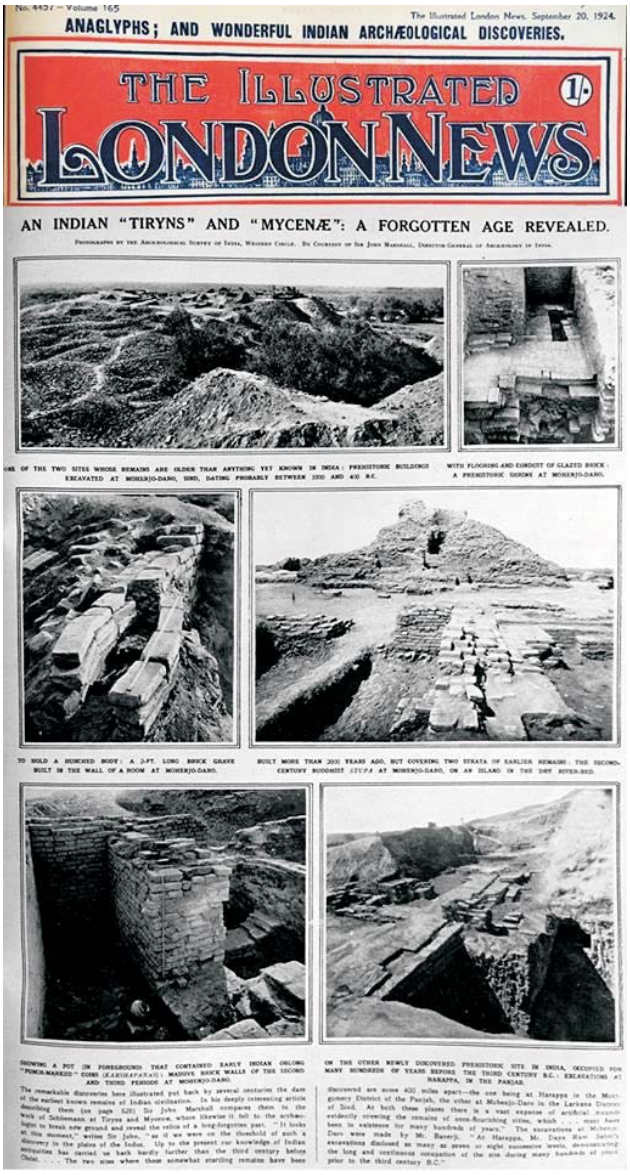
The story of the first Indian archaeologist, Rakhaldas Bannerjee (1885–1930), is also a cautionary tale of sorts. His brief career, from early fame to an early death, reveals some of the structural constraints of Indian intellectual activity within a colonial framework. Rakhaldas had training in languages, inscriptions and art like those of an earlier generation, but with the added qualification of museology. The museum had become the standard repository of artefacts, both for display as well as research, and had emerged as a

training ground for aspirants to the new profession. In 1906 the Archaeological Survey of India was placed on a permanent footing under Lord Curzon, but one of the unintended consequences was the institutionalisation of the imperial disdain for Muslim rule. A new breed of archaeological experts led excavations in southern, western, central and eastern India, and began to construct a political chronology of Hindu kingdoms that had pre-existed or ruled alongside the presence of Muslim rulers in India from the 11th century CE.

In 1921–22, Rakhaldas, while digging around a Buddhist *stupa* in Larkana in Sind, north-west India, stumbled upon the remains of the city of Mohenjodaro (see photo on page 1). This was the first sign of an urban civilisation dating back to 2500 BC and dramatically pushed back the chronology of settled agriculture in India. Meanwhile, Sir John Marshall and his assistant Daya Ram Sahni were excavating Harappa, another site in what would come to be known as the Indus Valley Civilisation. These two cities placed the origins of civilisation in India on par with those in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt. Though these two discoveries were made almost simultaneously, Rakhaldas published in Bengali journals while Sir John Marshall's find was reported in the *Illustrated London News*. Moreover, Rakhaldas's report on Mohenjodaro lay with Marshall for four years before seeing the light of day. Marshall was kind enough to return the report after four years with negative comments on the importance of the discoveries. The Indian's career went downhill thereafter; he was dismissed from employment for malpractice and alleged theft, and the removal of an idol (which was never proved). Embittered and alone, Rakhaldas turned to 'historical romance' and attempted to 'flesh the skeleton entity of Indian history' through literature and imagination. Underlying his work was the by now common strain of the theme of Muslim conquest and the ruins of Hindu civilisation. He died at the young age of 45 and was largely forgotten, but the story of the Indus Valley Civilisation went on to fuel the nationalist imagination and its belief in the wonder that was India.'

The inflation of ancientness

By the 1930s the Indian nationalist movement under the leadership of the Indian National Congress and Gandhi had attained maturity and had embarked upon carefully calibrated agitations resulting in negotiations with the British government for political concessions. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was to become free India's first Prime Minister, was to spend many stints in prison for his agitations, which allowed him to complete the trilogy that could be regarded as foundational to the conception of independent India: *Discovery of India, An Autobiography* and *Glimpses of World History*. News of the archaeological discoveries filtered through into prison and helped shape the narrative of Indian civilisation laid waste by colonialism. On 14 June 1932, Nehru wrote to his daughter Indira from the District Jail at Dehra Dun, saying that, 'we find that in the Indus Valley we go back not only 5 000 years but many more thousands, till we are lost in the dim mists of antiquity when man first settled down.'


ANAGLYPHS; AND WONDERFUL INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

AN INDIAN "TIRYNS" AND "MYCENÆ": A FORGOTTEN AGE REVEALED.

The Illustrated London News *announces the discovery of the Indus Valley Civilisation*

This inflation of ancientness was to be a characteristic move of nationalist history. Much of the early interpretations of the Indus Valley Civilisation tended to emphasise the Mesopotamian connection for dating and also concentrated on the urban settlements in order to argue that India had had urbanity even before the coming of the Muslim and then British conquerors. The existence of street planning, great granaries, dockyards on the coast at Lothal and an extensive water-harvesting system have all subsequently been questioned by archaeologists. However, excavations are ongoing, and the count of sites now stands at 1 022, of which 406 are in Pakistan and 616 in India.

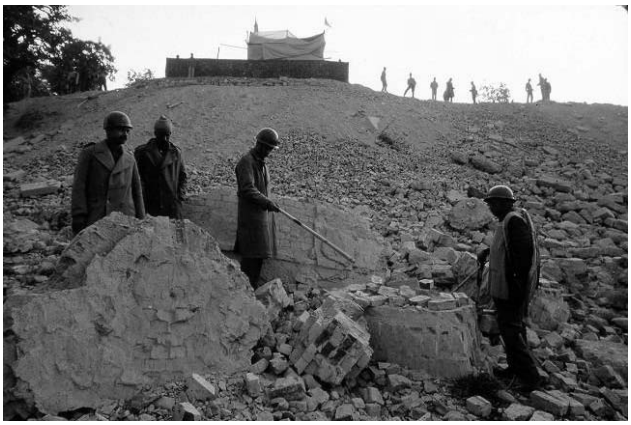
Only 97 sites have been fully excavated, which is not surprising given that the area covered by the Harappan culture (the new name for the Indus Valley Civilisation) is between 680 000 and 800 000 km^2.

Some of the sites show a continuation with excavations done in Baluchistan that are dated at 7000 BC. There exists a script recorded on seals, but it has yet to be deciphered conclusively. There have been doubts raised as to whether the characters on the seals amount to writing and scholars have argued that these are non-linguistic symbols. In the absence of a Rosetta Stone, we are left with a welter of speculation as to whether the characters are related to Aramaic, Brahmi, Sanskrit, Elamite or Mesopotamian.

Indian archaeology: prisoner of imaginations

In independent India, the museum was to become the site for archaeological display as Nehru conceived of museums and art galleries as the means through which a largely illiterate population would discover India. The story of the *yaksi* (celestial creatures) sculpture from Didarganj offers another cautionary tale. The statue, voluptuous and sensual, was recovered from a site of public worship and transferred to what was seen as its 'proper' home in a museum. The past of the nation was thus appropriated from the people for national museums and this dis-embedding for a higher cause became the leitmotif of archaeological endeavours. More important was the creation of a canonical Indian art, which was, by default, Hindu as well. Examples of Mauryan art, from the first centralised empire in India in the 3rd century BCE, were conceived as the exemplars: Indo-Aryan, free of Greek or Achaemenid influence and pre-Muslim. Statuary, however sensual in nature as the Didarganj *yaksi* undoubtedly was, came to be absorbed into a spiritual understanding of Indian civilisation. Art critics like Ananda Coomaraswamy. among others, created a tradition of stressing 'inner significance' over 'outward appearance'. A century of Victorian morality came together with an Indian fetish for the spiritual to render null a sensual, earthy, popular tradition of statuary.

As we have seen, archaeology, even as it acquired scientific protocols and methods, remained the prisoner of the imaginations and aspirations of its practitioners and of the higher causes of empire and nation. Rajendralala Mitra had very early on emphasised that government was the arbiter of history, as excavator and preserver. He stated unequivocally, 'all such monuments belong to the government, and government has every right to see to their preservation'. In independent India, the politics of the religious reinvention of sites has always contended with the idea of the archaeological jurisdiction of the government. Was a site or object religious, therefore belonging to the 'people', or was it 'heritage' with the government having first rights? The Babri Masjid, built in 1528 AD and an archaeological 'monument' in the dispensation of modern India, came to be caught up in this discourse in 1992. With the rise of Hindu fundamentalism in the 1990s and the growing critique of a secular nationalist consensus, a movement arose around the idea of the Babri Masjid being built on the site of the birthplace of the legendary figure Lord Rama. The Hindu nationalist party and its cohorts tried to reclaim the structure both from its Muslim associations and its secular status as an archaeological monument. A national movement of the Hindu right mobilised people from all over India to demolish the Babri Masjid, an event that finally occurred on 6 December 1992.



Babri Masjid before (above) and after (below) Hindu mobs demolished it

To no avail archaeologists, historians and academics argued against popular Hindu sentiment by marshalling evidence and historical fact. The lines were drawn between science and irrationality, history and myth, and evidence and belief. The only hard fact left standing at the end was the ruin of the mosque. The words of India's eminent historian Romila Thapar regarding the movement to reclaim the mosque as the birthplace of a god reflect the ongoing tussle between archaeology and politics, history and sentiment within which its practice is located. 'What is at issue is the attempt to give historicity to what began as a belief … Archaeology is not a magic wand, which in *a matter of moments* conjures up the required evidence. Such 'instant' archaeology may be useful as a *political gambit* [alone].' However, it would require a fine filter indeed to separate archaeology from the politics of the world.

WALTER BATTISS AND SOUTH AFRICAN ROCK ART

David G Pearce, Lara Mallen and Catherine Namono

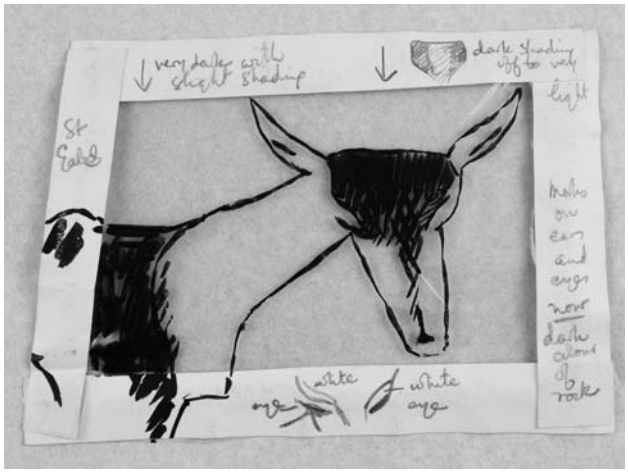
The well-known South African artist Walter Battiss (1906–1982) was influenced and inspired by the form and colouring of the San rock art of South Africa. To study these paintings, Battiss travelled widely around South Africa, keeping detailed notes and recording paintings from numerous rock shelters, painting-in the colours of the images on cellophane as he went along. Many of these copies he subsequently redrew in pencil, ink or watercolour

The collection of rock art materials amassed during Battiss's nearly three decades of recording was donated to the Rock Art Research Institute (RARI) of the University of the Witwatersrand in 2008 by Battiss's son, Giles, who believed that this was the best South African institution to curate his father's work. The Battiss collection consists of some 700 pieces comprising a variety of materials, including tracings and drawings in paint on cellophane, copies and drawings on paper, photographs, prints, notebooks and a variety of other items.

The cellophane copies, which comprise the bulk of the collection, have become extremely brittle and have torn in many cases. Some of the pieces were stuck together with paper tape, which, on drying out, has stretched or torn the tracings. These pieces were too fragile to handle or scan, which made access for public viewing, educational purposes and even research very difficult. Several of the sites that Battiss documented are now damaged, which makes his work ever more critical to rock art researchers and art historians. The recordings are vital for current and future research, and the reconstruction of the panels.

RARI is fortunate to have received a grant from the Bank of America Merrill Lynch 2014 Global Art Conservation Project (http://museums.bankofamerica.com/arts/Conservation) to undertake conservation work on the collection. The primary aim of this work was to conserve the cellophane copies, although work was also done on other materials. Conservation consisted primarily of stabilising and safely housing the materials, as well as preparing some items for exhibition. J Claire Dean of Dean and Associates Conservation Services, USA, undertook the conservation work over two month-long sessions in 2015 and 2016. The work proved tricky because of the intrinsically unstable nature of the material and a lack of established practice in conserving cellophane.

The conservation work will help to 'open up' the collection to research. Graduate students in the university are already using the material as the basis of their research. Further research is envisaged now that the collection is catalogued and conserved. Another result was that, in partnership with the Origins Centre, part of the Battiss collection formed the basis of a public exhibition. About 80 items were exhibited. It was the first time that any of these items were placed before the public. The exhibition allowed for deeper consideration of Battiss's relationship with the rock art. Access to the wealth of information and insight afforded by his notebooks meant that a fuller picture of his motivations could be expounded.



Several of Battiss's smaller tracings were mounted in card borders on which he made additional notes about the painting

Battiss first became interested in archaeology and rock art as a young boy after moving to Koffiefontein, a small town in the Free State, in 1917. Said Battiss: 'William Fowler [a family friend] led me by the hand to the ancient stones and only very much later did I realise how my creative subconscious had been affected by this revelation of early art' (Scully 1963:13). Particularly during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, Battiss spent a great deal of time making copies, as well as removing original panels of rock art from various sites across southern Africa. A number of these panels now reside in the collection of RARI.

His interest in rock art came mostly from the San's use of colour to denote movement and life while flattening the form on the rock surface. He often remarked on the great skill that would have been needed to paint such fine detail by using natural earth tones to create such life-like creatures (Battiss notebook WBC/08/010, 1945). In his redrawing of the rock art his own artistic eye came to life as he played with vivid blues and greens where there would have been ochres only. In the process of redrawing he was already alter-

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ing the colour in the first step of a process that finished with his own painted work (Skawran 1985).

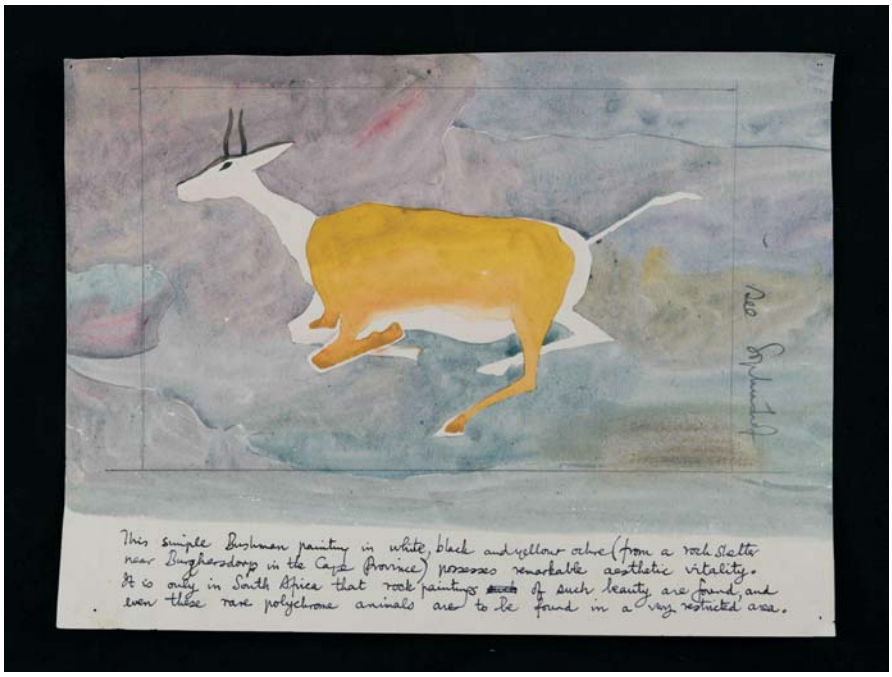
Battiss only began his formal art education in 1929, but by this time he had already started to explore his style as an aesthetic that aligns characteristics of San with Modernist art. He was heavily influenced by Cezanne's use of vivid abstract and unnatural colour. His work from the 1930s to the 1960s was most directly influenced by rock art. It is clear that the acid-coloured forms enmeshed in hyper-abstracted colour-field backgrounds are taken from the rock art he so loved to document (Schoonraad 1985).

Ultimately, Battiss settled on the use of cellophane to make direct tracings of rock art. This is clear from the tracings themselves, as well as from anecdotes such as: 'It was so windy that my cellophane had to be held and then it tore' (WBC/08/010, 1945), which suggests that the cellophane was applied directly to the rock surface. He used fairly small, irregular pieces of cellophane, probably to allow for accuracy on a rough rock surface. These could later be assembled into painted panels. He used various kinds of cellophane; some was bought new and some were remnants from packaging. The tracings were working documents from which ink drawings, water colours or prints could subsequently be made. Battiss rarely included information such as dates or locations on the tracings. It is possible that he recorded this information separately but it is now lost, or that these details were not particularly important to him. He did, however, pay close attention to colour, layers of paintings and the rock surface, and experimented with a range of methods to annotate these. He then used a brush and paint to carefully outline and sometimes fill the images. Over time he experimented with different ways of representing colour.

Battiss's tracing in watercolour on cellophane of a well-known Eastern Cape painted site

Looking at rock art is easy, but seeing the fine detail of the at times faded imagery requires experience, patience and a practised eye. Battiss was exceptionally good at seeing the art and derived great pleasure from his ability. He frequently expressed wonder at details of the imagery – '… *they are shaded !!*' – and paid close attention to things such as episodes of repainting in which extra legs were added to antelope (WBC/08/007, 1947).

Unusually for the time, Battiss discerned an underlying spiritual significance to the paintings, which later research would find to be of central importance. He was keenly aware of a responsibility to preserve this heritage and was instrumental in attracting public attention to and encouraging appreciation of the art: 'But in Bushman art one has tangible evidence of a lovely spiritual effort; the most beautiful gift of theirs to us, and so callous have we been in its preservation that we hardly deserve the heritage' (WBC/08/002, 1944).



Watercolour copies were made from the tracings in preparation for publication

Acknowledgements

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BORED STONES AND A STONE RING

Ansie Hoff

Bored stones are represented widely in southern Africa, especially in relation to the Later Stone Age (LSA) material culture, which was manufactured over the last 12 000 years and probably the last 21 000 years (Ouzman 1997:74; Lombard 2002:17). Foragers and agriculturalists continued to make stone artefacts into historic times (Ouzman 1997:74). According to him, the current perception is that the bored stone is a 'central' rather than a 'marginal' item of LSA lithic culture.

The /Xam were among the groups who used bored stones. Although some researchers believed that the /Xam had died out, I realised as early as 1976 when I began anthropological research on the Khoesan that some of the informants were of /Xam descent. Although the latter's culture had undergone substantial changes in the preceding centuries (cf. Kent 1996:16) and the band organisation disintegrated long ago, much information could still be obtained from /Xam descendants still living in Bushmanland and the Upper Karoo (Hoff 2007:7).

Eight elderly male and nine female /Xam descendants from the above areas, as well as one *Strandloper* female descendant from the Richtersveld, contributed information for this article. In addition, a Nama man from Kenhardt provided information about a stone ring he had heard of from a /Xam man. With this information, I continue here the presentation of ethnographic information on the /Xam I collected primarily in the 1990s. Some of the informants were born before 1910, which means that their grandparents and parents, from whom they claim to have derived most of their cultural knowledge, could have been born around 1870, the time when Bleek and Lloyd interviewed their informants, and that some of the information could date back to that time (Hoff 2011a:10).

The information presented was collected mostly between other research projects and for this reason the data is not comprehensive. Some of the details were given in response to seeing a bored stone from a farm near Vanwyksvlei in the Northern Cape (Fig. 1). My interviews were held in Afrikaans, the lingua franca spoken by the informants, which diminished the chance of misinterpretation.

The purpose of this article is to add to the existing data on bored stones collected by researchers such as Goodwin, Ouzman and Lombard. The information was collected mostly from San and descendants of the San. As far as the reference to Macdonald is concerned, at least until the 1940s Macdonald was in contact with the Kalahari San, while my informants were descendants of the /Xam San. As far as I could establish, Macdonald's data was not included previously in specific studies on bored stones.

Fig. 1: The bored stone shown to the informants

Some larger bored stones

Several of my informants indicated the use of a larger bored stones as weights on digging sticks. This is in accordance with published ethnographical data and rock art regarding some specimens of the medium-sized, spherical type of bored stone (Bleek 1956:7, 361 etc.; Ouzman 1997:71-105; Lombard 2002:17). According to Bleek, a digging stick could be used unweighted or stuck through a bored stone (Bleek 1956:94, 335; Dunn in Robinson 1978:53). My informants indicated that a digging stick could be a stick (in which case a strong knob 'as thick as a person's thumb' could be left on the stick to prevent the stone from slipping out) (cf. Dunn in Robinson, 1978:19), sometimes pointed with a horn (cf. Bleek & Lloyd 1911:361) such as that of a springbok (Dunn in Robinson 1978:53) or, according to the informant of the Richtersveld, a gemsbok horn (cf. Bleek & Lloyd 1911:361). It could also be a piece of iron in which case the digging stick is also referred to as a 'graafyster' (lit. digging iron). The term 'iron' does not necessarily mean that it was made of iron, but that it was as strong as iron. To strengthen the stick, it was tempered in hot ash and then smeared with gemsbok

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fat. The informant from the Richtersveld put it as follows: 'A branch was chopped from a tree, baked under warm ash and smeared with gemsbok fat: [it was] made like hard iron'.

Depending on the job and the soil, a weighted or unweighted digging stick could be used to dig for water and food in the form of tubers such as *kambro* (*Fockea comaru*), bulbs such as wild onions or *uintjies*[1] and the larvae of termites, and for burrowing after animals (cf. Ouzman 1997:79, 80). Furthermore, it was used to dig for medicinal roots, and to dig holes for erecting a *matjieshuis* (a house made of *restio*) and graves (cf. Dunn in Robinson 1978:56), etc. According to Macdonald (1943:29), a bored stone was not used in the Kalahari to dig for *uintjies.*

Nine informants mentioned that a bored stone was used to sharpen arrowheads. According to one, this information was given to him by his grandfather. Two informants explained that the stone was held and turned with the feet. Unfortunately, they could not indicate the method. The informants said that arrowheads were made of iron, often wire, which was sharpened when manufactured and again when it needed sharpening. According to one informant a bored stone with a tapered opening was used for this purpose.

Three informants said that a fire could be made in the opening of a bored stone. Dry material with a stick inserted in the middle was placed in the hole. The dry material was ignited by rubbing the stick between the hands so that the friction caused a spark. In more recent times a tinderbox was used (cf. Macdonald 1943:29, 30; Cornelissen 1981:3). According to Macdonald, the stone was bored only half-way through. It was used in conjunction with a round, oblong stone roughly the thickness of *boerewors* and 230 mm to 260 mm in length. One end was thrust into the tinder while the other was rubbed between the hands until smoke emerged from the hole. In the 1980s a farmer found a bored stone near Loxton that had an oblong stone placed in an upright position. Apart from the association with fire, the upright stone may have been a borer.

Two informants mentioned bored stones in relation to the extraction of moisture from geophytes, such as *kalmoes* or *Avorus calamus* (Nortje 2011:80), a medicinal plant, and *uintjies*. One bored stone was placed on top of another and the upper stone was swung to and fro by hand. Thereafter the plant material to be used as medicine or food was dried in the sun and then ground by means of lower and upper grindstones consisting of a round stone (*ronde klip*) positioned on a flat one (*plat klip*).

A bored stone could also be used to grind medicine or plant food such as *uintjies* and wheat, the latter having been introduced by the European settlers. Four methods were mentioned. Firstly, a bored stone with a stick through the hole was rolled back and forth by placing one's hands on the stick on both sides of the stone. One informant from Sutherland and three from Vanwyksvlei mentioned this method. Someone in the Wodehouse district, Eastern Cape, told Ouzman (1997:85) of the same method in 1995. Second, a bored stone without a stick through it could be used for grinding by putting one's fingers through the hole and pushing the stone forward and backward. An informant demonstrated this method to me in 1993, using her own bored stone, which at that stage also served as a doorstop. From the skilful way she used it, it was clear that this method was well known to her. The continual use of the bored stone in this way resulted in one section of the circumference being ground to a flat surface (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Bored stone with section of surface flattened by grinding

Third, according to two informants, a bored stone could be used as a mortar. A stick serving as a pestle was used for stamping and grinding material such as pieces of wild onion placed in the opening. The bored stone would stand on a flat stone. Finally, three informants claimed that wheat or *uintjies* could be ground to flour by stacking two bored stones, placing the substance between the stones and vertically inserting a tight-fitting stick though the two holes. The upper stone was then turned by swinging it to and fro. The flour was boiled in water to make porridge. According to an informant, her great grandmother's mother used bored stones in this way, implying that it was an old custom. She was adamant that this was not the hand mill or *gatskuur* used by Europeans, Basters and Nama (cf. Van der Waal-Braaksma 1986:101; Van Niekerk 1987:19). There were sug-

1 *Uintjies* are from several genera of bulbs such as the Moraea sp. and the Babiana sp. (Dr Janneke Nortje, botanist, pers. comm. 17/11/2016).

gestions that the two stones differed in height and that the bottom stone had not been bored.

Another method of preparing raw food was by crushing it. Four informants referred to the preparation of *stampkoring* (crushed wheat). A hole was made in the ground and lined with a skin. Wheat was placed in the hole and then stamped with a round stone. An informant from Sutherland added that a perforated stone could be used by attaching a string to it and repeatedly bouncing it on the seeds (cf. Lombard 2002:18). One person said that this method was used for seeds with tough husks. The informant from Sutherland also indicated this method was used for crushing wild rye or *Secale strictum subsp. africanum* (Pretorius 2015:94-98) found in the area. However, I could not obtain confirmation that wild rye was used by humans.

Any stone, including a bored stone, could be placed in a fire and then in a pot of water to heat the water (cf. Ouzman 1979:90). Two authors mentioned the use of bored stones for the manufacture of ostrich eggshell beads (Macdonald 1943:28, 29; Cornelissen 1985a: 27; Cornelissen 1985b:129). Three of my informants confirmed this, but could not describe the precise method. However, CF Macdonald (1943:28, 29) was present when a group of 'Kalahari' Bushmen used several stone implements. According to him, old women used bored stones to make beads from ostrich eggshell. Two round stones more or less the size of an ostrich egg were used in the process. A hole was made in each stone; in the one it was about the size of a shilling or larger, while in the other stone the hole tapered from the size of a shilling to the diameter required for the beads. Pieces of ostrich eggshell were perforated by a tool made of a sharpened animal tooth fixed to a wooden handle. By means of these small holes the pieces of eggshell were threaded with *seninggare* (thread made of animal sinew) into a tightly packed string of about 300 mm to 380 mm long. Sitting on the ground, an old woman held the bored stone with the shilling-sized hole between her feet, put the string through the hole and, taking each end in a hand, pulled the string to and fro through the hole until the eggshell pieces were round and of even size. Hereafter, the beads were finished off by being ground through the opening of the tapered bored stone. One of my informants indicated that the diameter of the hole in a bored stone increased with use.

Cornelissen (1985b:129) confirmed this process but referred to small holes being bored in a piece of eggshell that had been prepared with the teeth or a stone flake to a roughly rounded shape. The tightly gathered and thread beads were then ground together as a solid 'bar' on a grinding stone (*slypklip*).

A lithic ring

In 1984, Abraham Berend, a /Xam descendant from Swartkop in Bushmanland, still remembered how to make a bow and arrow. He had received the knowledge from his father, who had been captured at Strontberg (cf. Deacon, 1986:138). According to Abraham, bows were made of *driedoring* wood or *Rhigozum trichotomum* (Van der Walt & Le Riche 1999:73),[2] inter alia by bending the wood over a fire and smearing it with fat to prevent cracking. Two other informants related that arrow shafts were also made of *driedoring* (cf. Van der Walt & Le Riche 1999:73). Abraham further indicated that a feather was inserted in the back of the arrow to move it and to help it to maintain a straight course. Macdonald (1943:30) referred to a *grootwildpyl* (large game arrow) that was made of heavy wood indicating that such an arrow was used to hunt big game. Arrowheads were made of stone or iron obtained in the form of wire (cf. Bleek 1911:227; Bleek 1956:38, 213; Dunn in Robinson 1978:55; Deacon 1986:151). According to Abraham, the head was fixed to the shaft by splitting the latter and securing the head with thread made of sinew and the guts of a springbok. Unfortunately, Abraham did not comment on the sharpening or shooting of arrows, nor on the use of different bows and arrows for large game.

Occasionally, a small stone ring was used when shooting an arrow, but apparently only when a large bow was used, even though, apart from Macdonald's, I could find no reference to large bows being used by the San (Schapera 1930:128; Speth 2010:90–93). Manhire et al. (1985:167, 170–171) speculated that larger bows, namely fully recurved bows, may have been used by the San, as indicated in rock art. However, Kerneels Prins,[3] a Nama who lived at Kenhardt in 2003, recalled obtaining the following information from the then deceased Koos Nam, a 'Bushman' from the area. Kerneels had also seen this type of ring being used by 'Bushmen' in the Kalahari, where it was made of 'stone from the Aob and Nossob'. Three other informants confirmed the use of such a ring in Bushmanland. Finally, I saw a stone ring in the collection of a woman who had found it in her backyard at Williston.

The stone ring was used when hunters wished to kill big game using large bows. The inside diameter of the ring was the same as the outer diameter of the arrow and it would therefore fit tightly around the shaft, staying in position. The ring was placed on the front section of the arrow, behind the head. The aim was to give weight and momentum to the arrow so that it would penetrate the *taai vel* (tough skin)[4] of the *groot goed* (large things) such as gemsbok, blue wildebeest, kudu or lion. The hunter took a recumbent pos-

2 In contrast, Dunn (in Robinson, 1978:56) referred to the *Karee* (*Rhus lancea*).

3 Unfortunately, the informant did not describe the form of the bow.

4 According to a Nama informant, the skin of a gemsbok is thicker than that of a kudu.

ition (*sit-lê*) while holding the bow with his feet (*vasgetrap*). He would pull the string tight with one hand while holding the arrow with the other. The arrow was placed to point towards the target, the back of the arrow rested against the bow-string and the arrow point with the stone ring rested on the bow, at the archer's toes. When the arrow hit the target, the arrowhead with the ring entered the target while the shaft detached itself. The meat surrounding the ring was cut out.

Discussion

The /Xam used bored stones in a number of applications, many of which may be confirmed by microscopy. Some of the uses may be secondary. The form and diameter of the openings, as well as the weight and thickness of the stones, were important factors. Often the operator's feet played an important tool in using a bored stone. A flat stone without a hole may have been placed underneath a bored stone or stones. The informants mentioned functions that apparently have been unknown previously, such as the processing of food, the extraction of moisture, the manufacture of beads and, in the case of an arrow ring, giving weight to an arrow to obtain momentum.

According to my informants, bored stones with tapered holes were used for the sharpening of arrow heads and the shaping of beads made of ostrich eggshell. Furthermore, two flat bored stones on top of each other may have been used for grinding. Published information (e.g. Dunn in Robinson 1978: 54; Du Pisani 1967:154; Hoff 1981:40; Jacobson 2016:185–186; Nic Eoin 2016:36–45; Paterson 1789: 17; Peter 2008:11; Schultze 1907:200; Wikar [1935]: 59) confirms my informants' data that not only geophytes such as *uintjies* and *kambro* were ground to flour, but also the seeds of certain grasses (e.g. *Aristida* and wheat), as well as the seeds of other plants such as *rabas* (*Monsonia umbellato*). There were suggestions that, apart from a flat and a round stone, or a single bored stone, two stacked bored stones were used for the grinding of seeds, but factors such as the size and height of the stones would have been important.

The /Xam believed in an underworld (Hoff 2011a:79–85). I have established previously that, for example, graves, as well as the act of digging graves (with weighted or unweighted digging sticks), or the digging for certain food and medicinal roots or bulbs, were connected to the underworld (Hoff 2011a:51, 56, 79; Hoff 2011b:4), and that ochre was used in connection with graves (Wadley 1996:114; Hoff 2011a:51). Some data suggests that particular bored stones may have had a link with the underworld (Hoff 2011a:51, 56; Hoff 2011b:44). Possibly, the underworld connection may also have applied to the act of digging for water (cf. Alexander 1838:125). Ochre on a bored stone or a digging stick may indicate a connection with a grave or with the act of digging a grave, and thus the underworld (cf. Rudner 1982:235; Ouzman 1997:89).

My informants (Hoff 2011a:58), as well as those of Bleek (1935 (9):35–43), indicated that spirits could be called by hitting the ground with a stone, bored or unbored. A bored stone or a digging stick may have been placed in a grave to end the connection with death (cf. Hoff 1990:270, 273, 280, 281, 297).

Finally, the use of a stone ring implies larger bows and arrows. If a /Xam man wanted to kill big game, he weighted his arrow by means of a stone ring and took a recumbent position before shooting. The use of larger bows confirms suggestions published by Manhire et al. (1985:167, 170–171) about large bows portrayed in rock art.

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ARCHAEOLOGY IN BRIEF

Ancient sesame seeds to be resurrected

Wheat and sesame seeds dating back 2 800 years taken from an excavation in Cavustepe Castle in the eastern Van province of Turkey will soon be regenerated in a laboratory environment. The castle was built in the 8th century BC by Urartian King Sarduri II and has survived along with cisterns, city walls, temples and palace structures. Three cereal storages were found during the excavations. Van Yuzuncii Yil University Archaeology Department Prof. Rafet Cavusoglu said that if the seeds had carbonised by themselves, the possibility of regenerating them would be quite high. However, if it was because of a fire, there was less chance of resurrecting them.

Anadolu Agency, Turkey

NORTHERN BRANCH

CALL FOR 2018 FUNDING PROPOSALS

The Northern Branch of the South African Archaeological Society invites applications for funding by researchers and educators in the field of archaeology for 2017. South African archaeological research projects and educational programmes that promote knowledge about and an understanding of archaeology will be considered.

The deadline for applications is **31 December 2017**.

Funding by the Northern Branch may be split over more than one project and the branch committee's awards decision will be final.

Information to be included with applications:

1. The archaeological research or education proposal and the anticipated results or benefits, the project implementation schedule, the total budget estimate and the grant amount being applied for.
2. Should the project or programme for which funding is being requested form part of a larger project, information on how the part that needs to be funded relates to the whole.
3. Resources and facilities available for implementing the project or programme.
4. A breakdown of the amount applied for into discrete expenditure categories to permit an award to be made for specific cost items.
5. Biographical details of the applicant(s), including professional qualifications and experience.
6. Two references attesting to the quality and success of previous archaeological or educational project work.
7. Plans to publish the research results.

Successful applicants will be required to provide six-monthly progress reports and a final project report. On completion of the project, an article on the project may be requested for publication in *The Digging Stick*.

Applications should be forwarded to the Secretary, Northern Branch, SA Archaeological Society, PO Box 41050, Craighall, 2024, or by e-mail to secretary@archaeology.org.za.

Enquiries may be directed to Reinoud Boers, fox@boers.org.za, tel. 011 803 2681.

THE GREAT THULAMELA GOLD HEIST

Experts are calling the theft of gold artefacts from the Thulamela collection at the Kruger National Park (KNP) 'colossal', 'a travesty' and a 'serious breach of security on the part of South African National Parks (SANParks)'. The archaeological, heritage and museum fraternity is asking why the theft, which occurred in December last year but only came to light recently, remains shrouded in secrecy. Reticence on the part of the authorities may be hampering the recovery of the items, while it is standard practice to report heritage crimes to Interpol and the industry as soon as possible.

It appears that the South African Police Services and the Hawks are not close to making arrests despite strong suspicions that the theft was an inside job, or was at least aided by someone internally. The artefacts were found missing from a locked display case of tempered glass that only employees of SANParks had keys to.

In December last year, staff at the Stevenson-Hamilton Knowledge Resource Centre in Skukuza discovered a locked but partially empty glass display case. The case had contained gold coins and jewellery items from royal graves of Thulamela in the north of the park. Other items from archaeological excavations at the site, including pottery and an important piece of blue Chinese porcelain, were left in the display case.

The discovery of Thulamela in 1997 made news headlines around the world. The burial site of a man and a woman showed that Thulamela, a stone-walled, hilltop site in the Soutpansberg range, formed part of the Great Zimbabwe culture. As at Mapungubwe, it was home to a wealthy elite – suggestive of a complex and highly stratified society. Carbon dating indicated that the site had been occupied between the 13th and 17th centuries and that Thulamela and Mapungubwe had much in common. Tests conducted on gold artefacts from the two sites show that some of the gold came from possibly the same source. These are the only two archaeological gold collections in South Africa.

After the discovery, the collection was moved to what is now the Ditsong National Museum of Cultural History in Pretoria. In 2013, Ditsong agreed to a loan request from SANParks to display the collection at the newly revamped Skukuza Museum. SANParks made a similar request to the University of Pretoria for the Mapungubwe collection with the intention of displaying the two gold collections side-by-side. It is believed that this request was declined on the grounds of security concerns.

A private contractor was appointed by SANParks to transfer the items from Ditsong to Skukuza and to oversee the final design and construction of the exhibition. However, reports in the *Beeld* newspaper suggest that experts now believe that standard conservation and museological practices were not followed by SANParks, and that the park authorities were negligent. What is also disturbing is that SANParks did not inform Ditsong of the theft. According to staff at Ditsong, SANParks is the owner of the collection, but Ditsong remains the official repository in terms of a permit issued by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA).

In another twist, *Beeld* reports that SANParks management believes that not all of the gold artefacts from the collection actually made it from Ditsong to Skukuza, but Ditsong maintains that SANParks signed the loan agreement confirming that all artefacts arrived safely at the destination. According to them, SANParks has never raised any issues regarding missing artefacts. Should the SANParks allegations be true, this would raise serious concerns about conservation and collections management measures taken at the time of the loan transfer as it is standard practice for museum staff to be present at the packing and unpacking of collections to ensure that all items are properly recorded and accounted for. What is equally troubling is that professionals apparently advised SANParks against the simultaneous display of so many gold items from the collection.

Asked for comment as to why SANParks did not issue a statement regarding the theft in December, the general manager for communications and marketing at the KNP, William Mabasa, says that the park had hoped that the perpetrators would have been apprehended much sooner. SAHRA confirmed that SANParks only informed SAHRA about the theft in June this year. In terms of the National Heritage Resources Act, the theft of declared heritage objects must be reported to SAHRA immediately.

The theft of the Thulamela gold collection has turned attention to the temporary loan of the Mapungubwe collection to SANParks by the University of Pretoria, which has raised ongoing concerns about the safety and security of original material in the Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre. According to Sian Tiley-Nel, manager of the University of Pretoria Museums and the chief curator of the Mapungubwe Collection, 'the University of Pretoria is deeply concerned about the growing risks to the safety, security and care of the loan to Mapungubwe National Park'. Mapungubwe was declared a Unesco World Heritage Site in 2003.

The Council of the SA Archaeological Society agreed at its September meeting to request its president, Prof. Jan Boeyens, to write a letter to the Department of Arts and Culture, copied to SANParks and the Ditsong Museum, pointing out the significance of the stolen items and the need to improve security for irreplaceable heritage objects in SANParks museums.

Published with thanks to the Heritage Monitoring Project

WHAT HAPPENED TO GQAWUKILE

Elwyn Jenkins

Historians have described the last interactions in the Drakensberg between San, African and white people. A postscript can be added that provides an unexpected view of one young San survivor.

In *People of the Eland,* Patricia Vinnicombe (1976: 85) recounts the capture of 'a young Bushgirl' in the Drakensberg in 1868. She reports that the child was handed over to the missionary Dr Callaway, and concludes: 'No further mention of her can be found in the records'. What Vinnicombe did not know was that the girl's entire subsequent life story was written up in an obscure little volume published in England in 1874.

Vinnicombe describes the events surrounding the girl's capture: 'Then one night in December, 1868, the Bushmen found an opportunity to sneak down to a kraal between the Mzimkhulu and Mkhomazi rivers belonging to Mfongoswana, a headman under chief Sakhayedwa, son of Dumisa, and to retreat with seventy head of cattle'. Mfongoswana and four men pursued the Bushmen but were repulsed. She continues: 'Sakhayedwa assembled a larger party of about fifteen men, at least some of whom were mounted, who resumed the chase up the pass. After following the trail across the high plateau for six days, they came across a deserted Bushman kraal, and a day's journey beyond this, they saw a new kraal which had been built on a hill overlooking the Orange river. Here they found three of the stolen cows and a young Bushgirl, whom they captured. [….]

'The captive Bushgirl was duly delivered to the magistrate at Richmond who in turn put her in the care of Dr Callaway at Springfield mission.[1] Although her age was judged to be about ten or eleven years, she was very small, "not larger than a white child of three or four years old". It was requested that the child be kept at the disposal of the Government because she could possibly prove useful in "opening up communications with her relations," but no further mention of her can be found in the records. According to oral tradition among the descendants of Dumisa's adherents, the name of the girl was Gqawukile.'

John Wright, in *Bushman Raiders of the Drakensberg 1840–1870* (1971:178), provides no further information about the girl. Whereas Vinnicombe went back to the original records, he quotes a vague report published nearly four years later in the *Natal Mercury* of 17 August 1872: 'I believe Dr Callaway very kindly took charge of one or more Bush-children'.

The story was taken up by Dr Callaway's adopted daughter, Jane Eliza Button (1838–1914). She was the daughter of James Button who immigrated with his family in the party of Bishop Colenso, apparently as a tenant farmer (Spencer 1985:107–109). The family broke up on the death of the father in 1855, when Jane was 17, and the Callaways adopted her. Dr Callaway returned to England to be consecrated Bishop of Kaffraria in 1873 and Jane accompanied his party. She was back in South Africa in 1875, when she married Revd John Oxley Oxland.

In 1874 the Christian publishing house SPCK published *May, the Little Bush Girl* by 'Miss Button'. The introduction announces: 'We will tell it exactly as she herself told the greater part of it to a Sunday-school'. The rest is written in the first person by Jane Button. The little book of 32 pages tells how the 'wretched little Bush girl' was handed over to Dr Callaway, who named her May. At first she would not bath and would not wear a frock, but after playing with other children asked for one. After eight months she asked to be baptised. When the family were leaving for England she begged to go with them and so they took her.

Fig.1: Portrait of May c. 1873 (Grey Collection, National Library of South Africa, Cape Town)

'She thought England was a nice country, far nicer than Africa' (22), Button writes. 'She learnt to talk English very quickly' (23) and she went to school and learned to read and write English. Dr Callaway had a studio portrait of her taken in Croydon for a carte-de-visite that he later donated to Sir George Grey. It is housed in the Grey Collection in the National Library in Cape Town (Fig. 1). At the first snow, May caught a 'feverish attack' and was never well again, suffering

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1. The correct name of the mission station is Springvale.

from 'coughing and short breathing'. Now Button's account changes: 'She was always longing for her dear African home' (27). May's illness was fatal. Button concludes: 'On returning, I went immediately to her, when I found her, to my distress, much worse, evidently dying. We gave her a little brandy, but she was too far gone; she just swallowed it, then, recognising me, said, "Turn me". I did so. She immediately said it again three times. The last time, I said "This way dear?" She looked at me sweetly, and said "Yes dear". She put her little cold hand in mine and gently fell asleep, like a tired child, without the least apparent suffering. I felt that the loving Jesus was very near, and committed the soul of the little one to His tender care [….]

'On the day of the funeral, I made a large cross of pure white roses to place upon the coffin. We all followed her to the grave, where all her little school-fellows, with their schoolmistress, had assembled, dressed in their best frocks, each holding a bouquet of flowers, which they threw upon the coffin, all weeping most bitterly for the loss of their little African sister. She had found a way into their hearts in a most wonderful way' (30–31). Gqawukile, or May, would have been about 15 or 16 years old.

Miss Button's book was typical of its time. In the 19th century, English publishing houses printed a number of edifying tales for children set in South Africa, some of which featured true stories of little Christian converts. In *Far Off, or Africa and America Described*, Lee Favell Mortimer [Mrs Bevan] (1856) relates the conversion of Jejana, a little Khoi girl, and the story ('taken from a very little book entitled *Mr. Moffatt's Visit to the Children of Manchester*') of a little San boy who came to Moffatt's mission station to see the baby Jesus.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, mawkish scenes of the deathbeds of children were a common theme in children's literature, and May was not the only indigenous child to provide this material. Another was Paul Dikkop (Fig. 2), son of the widow of a Khoi chief who persuaded Revd John Campbell to take him to England to give him a better life. Campbell (1840:6) had already resolved to take a black child to England 'to try what effect might be produced by an European education', and Paul provided the opportunity. He was sent to school and progressed well, but after developing a pain in his side he died at the age of 13. In Campbell's account for children, *Hottentot Children, With a Particular Account of Paul Dikkop, the Son of a Hottentot Chief, Who Died in England, Sept. 14, 1824* (1840), he regrets that the experiment could not be concluded, while praising Paul, saying he never told a lie.

Also well documented is the story of Hinza Marossi, a five-year-old Bechuana refugee orphan, who was taken as an indentured servant by Thomas and Margaret Pringle in 1825. Pringle relates in his poem

Fig. 2: Paul Dikkop (Frontispiece, Campbell 1840)

'The Bechuana Boy' (reprinted 1989:7) how Hinza had been orphaned and captured in a raid, and fled from his Boer master when he heard Pringle was in the vicinity:

> Because they say, O English Chief,
> Thou scornest not the Captive's grief.
> Then let me serve thee, as thine own –
> For I am in the world alone.

The Pringles obtained permission to take him to England with the intention of educating him before returning him to South Africa. Pringle described him (Meiring 1968:138): 'He was indeed a remarkable child. With great flow of animal spirits and natural hilarity, he was at the same time docile, observant, reflective and always unselfishly considerate of others. He was of a singularly ingenuous and affectionate disposition.'

Hinza died in England at the age of nine from pneumonia or tuberculosis.

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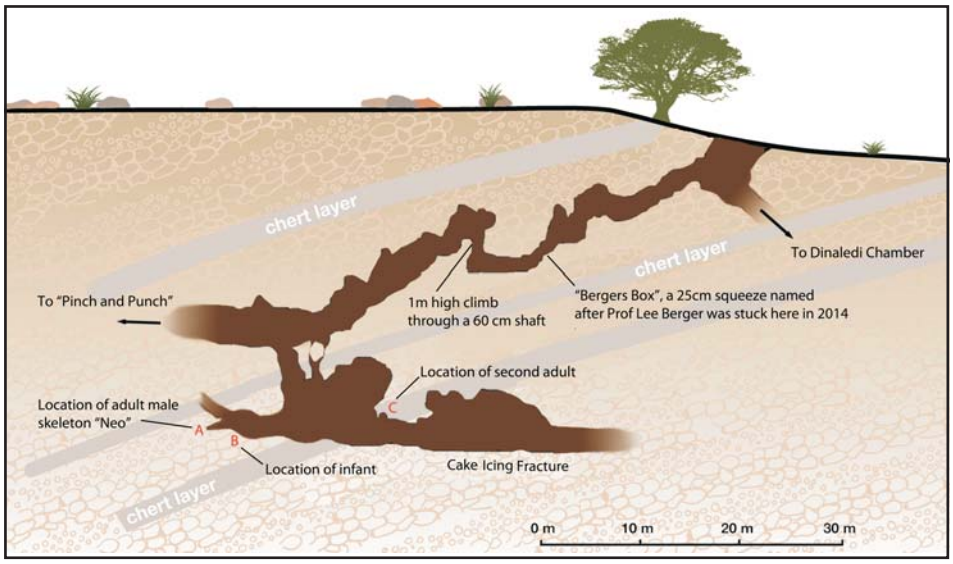
HOMO NALEDI'S SURPRISINGLY YOUNG AGE OPENS UP NEW QUESTIONS

The announcement in May that the Rising Star Cave system has revealed yet more important discoveries only 18 months after the find of the richest fossil hominin site in Africa was greeted with great interest. Startling news, however, was that the age of the *Homo naledi* remains from the original Dinaledi Chamber were far younger in age than claimed initially. *Homo naledi* was alive about 335 000 years ago, not around two million years as thought originally. The younger age places these primitive, small-brained hominins alongside that of very early *Homo sapiens*. This is the first time that it has been demonstrated that another species of hominin lived alongside the first humans in Africa.



Schematic of the Lesedi Chamber within the Rising Star cave system (picture Marina Elliott/Wits)

The research on the new discovery of a second chamber in the Rising Star cave system and the long-awaited age of the *naledi* fossils from the Dinaledi Chamber was published in three papers in the journal *eLife* (elifesciences.org). The research involved 52 scientists from 35 university departments and institutions world-wide. The team was led by Wits' Prof. Lee Berger.

The second chamber includes one of the most complete skeletons of a hominin ever discovered, as well as the remains of at least one child and a partial skeleton of an adult male with a remarkably well-preserved skull. The discovery of a second chamber has led the team to argue that there is more support for the controversial hypothesis that *Homo naledi* deliberately disposed of its dead in these remote, hard-to-reach caverns.

The dating of *Homo naledi* is the conclusion of a research team led by Prof. Paul Dirks of James Cook and Wits universities. The fossil remains have primitive features that are shared with some of the earliest known fossil members of our genus, such as *Homo rudolfensis* and *Homo habilis*, species that lived nearly two million years ago. On the other hand, the fossil remains also share some features with modern humans. 'The dating of *naledi* was extremely challenging,' noted Dirks, who worked with 19 other scientists. 'Eventually, six independent dating methods allowed us to constrain the age of this population of *Homo naledi* to a period known as the late Middle Pleistocene.'

The dating game

The team used a combination of optically stimulated luminescence dating of sediments with uranium-thorium dating and palaeomagnetic analyses of flowstones to establish how the sediments relate to the geological timescale in the Dinaledi Chamber. Direct dating of the teeth of *Homo naledi,* using uranium-series dating (U-series) and electron-spin resonance dating (ESR), provided the final age range. 'We used double blinds wherever possible,' says Prof. Jan Kramers of the University of Johannesburg, a uranium-dating specialist. Dr Hannah Hilbert-Wolf, a geologist from James Cook University, noted that it was crucial to figure out how the sediments within the Dinaledi Chamber are layered in order to build a framework for understanding all the dates obtained.

Homo naledi (right: the 'Neo' skull) was very different from the archaic humans (left: Kabwe skull from Zambia) that lived around the same time (photo: Wits/John Hawks)

The ± 250 000-year-old 'Neo' Homo naledi *skull on the right compared with that of the 3,2-million-year-old* Australopithecus afarensis *(Lucy) skull on the left (photo Wits/John Hawks)*

'Of course we were surprised at the young age, but as we realised that all the geological formations in the chamber are young, the U-series and ESR results were perhaps less of a surprise in the end,' added Prof. Eric Roberts from James Cook and Wits universities.

***Homo naledi's* significant impact**

In an accompanying paper, led by Berger, the team discusses the importance of finding such a primitive species at such a time and place. They noted that the discovery will have a significant impact on the interpretation of archaeological assemblages and understanding of which species made them. 'We can no longer assume that we know which species made which tools, or even assume that it was modern humans that were the innovators of some of these critical technological and behavioural breakthroughs in the archaeological record of Africa,' says Berger. 'If there is one other species out there that shared the world with 'modern humans' in Africa, it is very likely there are others. We just need to find them.'

John Hawks of the universities of Wisconsin-Madison and Wits said: 'I think some scientists assumed they knew how human evolution happened, but these new fossil discoveries, plus what we know from genetics, tell us that the southern half of Africa was home to a diversity that we've never seen anywhere else'.

Lesedi chamber and skeleton

The second chamber within the Rising Star cave system has been named the Lesedi Chamber, which means 'light' in Setswana. The cave is more than a 100 m from the Dinaledi Chamber. Fossil remains were first recognised in the chamber by Rick Hunter and Steven Tucker in 2013, as fieldwork was underway in the Dinaledi Chamber. To access the Lesedi Chamber is only slightly easier than the Dinaledi Chamber. After passing through a squeeze of about 25 cm, one has to descend along vertical shafts before reaching the chamber. While slightly easier to get to, the Lesedi Chamber is, if anything, more difficult to work in owing to the tight spaces involved.

So far, the scientists have uncovered more than 130 hominin specimens from the Lesedi Chamber. The bones belong to at least three individuals, but researchers believe that there are more fossils yet to be discovered. The skull of one fossil is 'spectacularly complete'. 'We finally get a look at the face of *Homo naledi*,' says Peter Schmid of Wits and the University of Zurich, who spent hundreds of hours painstakingly reconstructing the fragile bones to complete the reconstruction. The skeleton has been nicknamed 'Neo', chosen for the Sesotho word meaning 'a gift'. 'The skeleton of Neo is one the most complete ever discovered, technically even more complete than the famous Lucy fossil, given the preservation of the skull and mandible,' says Berger.

Frontal view of the 'Neo' Homo naledi *skull from the Lesedi Chamber (photo: Wits/John Hawks)*

The specimens from the Lesedi Chamber are nearly identical in every way to those from the Dinaledi Chamber and there is thus no doubt that they belong to the same species. The Lesedi Chamber fossils have not yet been dated, as dating would require the destruction of some of the hominin material. Berger believes that with thousands of fossils likely remaining in both the Lesedi and Dinaledi Chambers, there are decades of research potential.

Wits Vice-Chancellor and Principal, Prof. Adam Habib, said: 'The search for human origins on the continent of Africa began at Wits and it is wonderful to see this legacy continue with such important discoveries'.

Wits University, 9 May 2017

TRANSFORMING THE DISCIPLINE: EDUCATION SYLLABUS AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN TOWNSHIP SCHOOLS

Mpho Maripane

Community involvement in archaeology is not a new practice. As such, we have seen many definitions of this concept. At the core of these definitions is the variety of ways in which the community is defined. I define community according to Chirikure and Pwiti (2008: 468) as 'a body of people inhabiting the same locality'. Community archaeology has been practised for many years in countries such as Australia and New Zealand (Marshall 2002), where communities have been closely involved in the development and evolution of archaeological programmes (Greer et. al. 2002). Community archaeology is therefore defined as the inclusion of local community and indigenous people in the practice and interpretation of archaeology (Marshall 2002).

The development of community archaeology came about during the transition from processual to post-processual archaeology in the 1960s (Marshall 2002). It became widespread as a growing number of archaeological projects began to emphasise the role of communities (Simpson and Williams 2008). Community-based archaeology involves negotiation during which archaeologists usually introduce projects to the community and the community is given a chance to voice their opinions (Greer et al. 2002). This interaction provides archaeologists with important knowledge and is also seen as enhancing archaeological practice (Marshall 2002).

Why involve local communities in archaeology?

The involvement of local communities in archaeology helps to shape people's views about archaeology. Community involvement is way of 'achieving broader-based and multi-vocal pasts' (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). This means that people who previously had no say because of the effects of colonialism (Ndlovu 2009), are now given a voice and are included in some of the decision-making processes, especially concerning projects in their community (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008).

Most archaeologists who involve the community do so because they believe that such involvement is the ethical thing to do. Some are of the opinion that by involving communities, archaeologists are giving them a 'voice' (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). While this may be true, community involvement should not only be about ethical considerations as it may then seem as if the involvement is engaged in for the archaeologists' own benefits. This situation could arise when information is extorted from a community without that community really understanding what it is all about. It is probably true that most community members do not understand the intensity of archaeology, but it can also be argued that they are able to contribute to information and get involved in archaeological projects. The question is whether we are giving them knowledge, or vice versa? And who is empowering who?

The involvement of communities in archaeology can also be seen as a much-needed opportunity for the discipline. Not because it is politically correct, as Marshall (2002) and Ndlovu (2009, 2011) mention, but because it is a way of making the different communities aware of the discipline and increasing their understanding. As a result, archaeologists also learn more about the communities they are working with. Community members are not just being used to acquire knowledge but actually participate in producing knowledge.

LESSON WEEKS	DATES	ACTIVITIES
Lesson week 1	3/ August/2013	what is archaeology fun quiz
Lesson week 2	10/ August/ 2013	Excavation & artefact interpretation
Lesson week 3	7/ September/ 2013	The artefact story
Lesson week 4	13 September/ 2013	Excursion to the University of Pretoria for practical activities and museum visit.
Lesson week 5	21/ September/ 2013	The archaeology laboratory & closure

Fig. 1: Lessons and practical activities plan

Although in some cases community archaeology has worked well, it has failed in others. The main difficulties that arise when working with communities is that most have not received background education regarding this discipline. To most, archaeology is just a lie and a way of exploiting the land for the archaeologists' benefit. Another issue is that archaeology is being complicated and conducted in a manner that makes it difficult to understand by members of the public. This may be difficult to change, but at least schools should work towards introducing basic archaeology as part of the syllabus, just as accounting and physics are being taught at basic levels without the expectation that learners will be experts.

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The knowledge gap in the school syllabus

Although many people, especially those living in black African townships, have no idea that there is such a thing as archaeology, the government has tried to incorporate archaeology into the school syllabus. The decision to do so is part of a post-colonial endeavour to move away from the apartheid government's educational oppression. Archaeology in the classroom was excluded by past politics, especially in schools for learners of colour (Esterhuysen 2000). The Bantu Education Act introduced in 1953 meant that black learners received education that was of a lower standard than that of other racial groups. The decision to deny black people a proper or equal education with whites was apparently the result of a fear that blacks would compete in the job market, politics and the economy (Esterhuysen 2000).

Archaeology was previously only taught in the white universities (Ndlovu 2009). Black universities did not offer this study direction. The exclusion became so widespread that even today in the new South Africa archaeology still lacks support in the black African communities, despite the government having in some way tried to undo the damage by introducing basic knowledge about palaeoscience (Ndlovu 2009). Unfortunately, this initiative has not been very successful, especially in the black township schools. Archaeology has been viewed as a discipline for whites (Ndlovu 2009), even by those black people who knew of this study direction. Most considered archaeology to be part of colonialism and as an oppression of people's cultures, mainly because it was practised mostly by the whites in Africa without any African involvement (Ndlovu 2009). Religious people even regarded it as being anti-Christ.

The introduction to and teaching of basic archaeology in schools should be considered a good way of sustaining and encouraging the discipline (Clarke 2005). But support from the Department of Education is vital in this regard, even if it outside the classroom. Having realised the existence of this gap, I started an initiative to work with local schools in Mamelodi and surrounding townships to introduce archaeology.

Strategies to implement archaeology at schools

Short archaeology lessons

Archaeology lessons and practical activities (see Fig. 1) were introduced to a school in Mamelodi and took place on Saturdays over a period of five weeks in 2013. Fig. 2 shows some of the learners taking part in activities. After each lesson, the learners discussed and gave feedback on what they had learned during the day's lesson. A survey was also conducted at the end of the period to determine the learners' take on archaeology. The graphs in Fig. 3 highlight the data obtained.

The survey results indicate that 20 per cent of the learners could at least define archaeology in their own way, 50 per cent had never heard the word archaeology before, 10 per cent had read about it somewhere but did not really understand what archaeology entailed and 20 per cent had learnt a bit about archaeology in primary school, but still had no clear understanding what it was all about. In the second part of the survey, I asked if they thought archaeology was significant. Sixty per cent of the learners commented that they had enjoyed the classes and had understood the significance of archaeology and how it is applied to their daily lives, 20 per cent considered archaeology to be important up to a certain level only. This group had a difficulty with some of the methods archaeologists use to study artefacts. Twenty per cent of the learners said they would never become archaeologists, arguing that it was not very relevant to dig and study materials that were long buried.

Fig. 2: Learners taking part in an artefact analysis activity after mock excavation

The Pretoria Archaeology Club for Schools

In early 2016, I established an archaeological club called PACS – Pretoria Archaeology Club for Schools. The club, which has been in the planning process since 2014, is currently run by a committee of nine archaeology students. The main goal of the club is to change the mindset of young people and other community members about archaeology. We aim to teach people that archaeology is not as boring as it has been stereotyped to be. This should ultimately result in our communities learning to appreciate their heritage and have an open mind about this discipline. Some of the core activities initiated by PACS include: educational seminars, introductory workshops to archaeology, archaeological fieldwork excursions, heritage tours and fun educational activities (e.g. mock excavations, archaeology Olympics). The idea is also to continue with the Saturday lessons with the support of the Department of Basic Education.

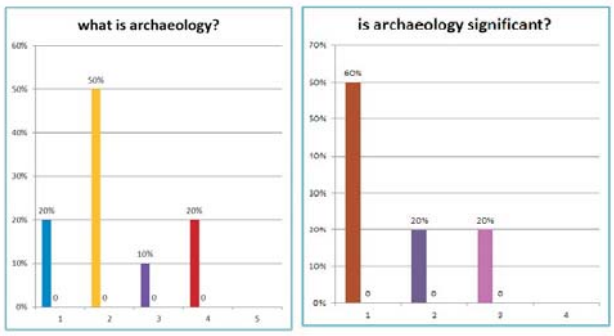

Fig 3: Feedback results from the school lessons

One of our recent successful initiatives among township schools was an archaeology open day (see Fig. 4). Grade nine to 12 learners and teachers from a range of local schools were invited to participate and were introduced to different archaeological themes. The response indicated that learners are eager to know more about archaeology, while schools acknowledged that some things were not being taught. They agreed that learners from the so-called Model C schools knew more than their learners did. They welcomed the PACS initiative as a way of enhancing knowledge.

Conclusion

Although it remains unclear if projects aimed at involving communities do actually fulfil the values they are designed to fulfil (Simpson and Williams 2008), it serves both the archaeologists and local communities to work together. Their involvement in archaeology is not about giving them detailed archaeological knowledge, but to introduce the discipline and get people to think about it. It is all about building an open-minded larger public.

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Fig. 4. Different exhibitions and practical activities at the archaeology open day in Mamelodi

A 1903 TRANSVAAL COLONY DOG TAG

Rob Burrett

While not precisely an archaeological matter, I thought that a short note on a metal item found in Haenertsburg in the Limpopo province might both interest readers and encourage feedback. Recently a new dirt track was graded to provide access to a plot being developed just outside Haenertsburg, one of the original gold mining centres of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR). My sister lives next door and as I was visiting at the time I went across to see what had been exposed.

I have known for some time that historical debris is present in the area downslope of the original hospital, said to date to the early years of the 20th century. The debris consists in the main of undecorated sherds of local clay vessels, but occasionally items of a European origin have been exposed during farming operations and in mole-rat mounds. This 'exotic' element includes sherds of bone china, glass fragments and the occasional bakelite item. We have even come across a small but broken Bakelite toy car of 1940s vintage that we gave to the custodian of the local village museum.

As expected, the grader had churned up many clay sherds, but there was one item that caught my eye – a flat and weathered metal disc. Careful cleaning revealed hand-stamped text on both sides. One side reads NATIVE DOG 029004, while the other more weathered side reads TRANSVAAL 1903. Its presence seems to confirm my earlier assumption that the debris does not simply represent an old village garbage dump, but marks the old African 'location' for either the hospital or perhaps even the Haenertsburg village as a whole. It is not shown on the old map in the village offices.

I have tried to obtain additional information on the token, but have not been successful. 'Transvaal history' is not my speciality, and sadly I have found little to assist me in my searches on the Internet – I am not interested in 'dog tags' of recent origin intended for human wear!

What I do know is that early government taxation of 'native dogs' was policy in several countries across the region. It brought in revenue, but the practice had far more to do with enforcing colonial control. 'Native dogs' were considered a threat to wildlife because of hunting, and were also a potential source of rabies infection. The ZAR Volksraad Resolution 24 of 1895 required every African male over 21 years to pay, amongst other things, an annual 10s dog tax through the local *veldkornet*.

Under subsequent British rule of the Transvaal Colony (1902–1910), the earlier Volksraad native taxation regime was retained, although British enforcement was more thorough with payment collected and accounted for by local Native Commissioners. The dog regulations were later amended to allow Africans to keep one animal tax-free, but other punitive measures were added. This introduced a breed specification for certain animals, those judged as hunting dogs of a 'greyhound type' attracting a somewhat draconian tax of £5 per dog. Not surprisingly, these changes to the law resulted in the killing of many dogs, both by their owners and Native Department officials in 1909. Revenues from dog tax receipts plummeted and many district officers complained bitterly to Pretoria about this element of falling revenue. How the owners felt is not recorded.

The weathered, thin disk of metal from the dirt in Haenertsburg is a Transvaal Colony receipt for dog tax for the year 1903. It is written in English, which supports the fact that it is a creation of the post-war Milner administration. The small hole is a nail hole as the intent was that, like hut tax tokens of the same era, the disk be nailed to the door or doorpost of each taxable family head. Inspectors could in this way easily identify those who had or had not paid their taxes. Being at the very edge of Haenertsburg village, the dog owner who had paid this tax would have had little choice but to comply.

Having worked with early Native Hut Tax tokens from Bechuanaland and Rhodesia, this item intrigues me. It

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appears informal, having been cut out of thin sheet iron and hand-stamped. Most tax tokens I have dealt with are commercially pressed brass, with different shapes or images for different years. Was this Haenertsburg disk an official Transvaal one or the initiative of a local official, how were they issued and how was the numbering done?

The apparent dearth of information on Transvaal dog tax disks intrigues me. It contrasts with the related matter of native hut tax and the impelling of rural African labour systems. On the Internet I have found, or have received from fellow archaeologists, several interesting papers on rabies in the old Transvaal as well as histories of the Rhodesian Ridgeback breed, but I can find nothing that relates directly to the matter of a Transvaal 'native dog tax', its administration and the controls it sought to implement. Perhaps my interpretations are wrong, and I hope that this short note on an item of historical archaeology will encourage comment from readers. It is remarkable that I have not come across a similar disk for sale on the Internet, not that this item is for sale as my plan is to place it with a public institution together with any relevant paperwork that I can put together. Any reader's assistance in building this story would be much appreciated.

WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY

12 000-year-old Turkish settlement faces obliteration

The destruction of Turkey's 12 000-year-old Hasankeyf settlement and ancient citadel has moved a step closer as authorities have begun to collapse cliff faces around the ruins of the settlement. The move, linked to the construction of a highly controversial dam about 80 km downstream, is also expected to damage the rich ecosystem of the Tigris river basin. ArchSoc members visited Hasankeyf during the tour to south-eastern Turkey last year. The Ilisu dam, part of the Southeast Anatolian Project and one of Turkey's largest hydroelectric projects to date, has been mired in controversy ever since it was first drafted in 1954. The dam will raise the level of the Tigris at Hasankeyf by 60 m, submerging 80 per cent of the ancient city and more than 300 historical sites that have still not been explored.

Germany, Austria and Switzerland withdrew financial support for Ilisu in July 2009, citing concerns about its social, cultural and environmental impact. The Turkish government, arguing that the dam will help produce much-needed energy and irrigation, has secured domestic financing for the €1,1bn project. It is

claimed that Ilisu will also dry up to the Mesopotamian marshes, a wetland area in southern Iraq declared a Unesco world heritage site in 2016.

One of the historical structures being threatened, the tomb of Zenyel Bey at Hasankeyf, is being moved to stave off the risk of flooding. The tomb is a 15th century memorial to one of the key figures in the Ak Koyunlu tribe who controlled much of eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus and vied for supremacy with the emerging Ottomans. *The Guardian, 30/08/2017*

Western contact with China began long ago

China and the West were in contact more than 1 500 years before European explorer Marco Polo arrived in China in the 13th century. Archaeologists say inspiration for the 8 000 Terracotta Warriors found at the Tomb of the First Emperor near today's Xian may have come from Ancient Greece. They further maintain that ancient Greek artisans could have been training Chinese locals in the 3rd century BC.

'We now have evidence that close contact existed between the First Emperor's China and the West far earlier than formerly thought,' said archaeologist Li Xiuzhen from Emperor Qin Shi Huang's Mausoleum Site Museum. A separate study shows European-specific mitochondrial DNA has been found at sites in China's westernmost Xinjiang Province, suggesting that Westerners may have settled and lived there before and during the time of the First Emperor.

There was no tradition of building life-sized human statues in China before the tomb was created. Earlier statues were simple figurines about 20 cm in height. To explain how such an enormous change in skill and style could have happened, Dr Xiuzhen believes that influences must have come from outside China. Prof. Lukas Nickel from the University of Vienna says statues of circus acrobats recently found at the First Emperor's tomb support this theory. He believes the First Emperor was influenced by the arrival of Greek statues in Central Asia in the century following Alexander the Great, who died in 323 BC.

Other discoveries include new evidence that the First Emperor's tomb complex is much bigger than first thought and 200 times bigger than Egypt's Valley of the Kings. They also include the mutilated remains of women, believed to have been high-ranking concubines of the First Emperor, and the skull of a man with a crossbow bolt embedded in it. The skull is believed to have belonged to the First Emperor's eldest son, thought to have been killed along with others during a power struggle after the emperor's death. *BBC News, 12/10/2016*

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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- ☐ ***The Digging Stick,*** the Society's general interest magazine – three issues a year
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