

# **Interaction, integration, and innovation at the 17<sup>th</sup> century *feira* of Dambarare, northern Zimbabwe**

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## Plagiarism Declaration

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## Abstract

Several *feiras* (or trading towns) were established north and south of the Zambezi River towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Those *feiras* south of the Zambezi were mercantile and domestic settlements built by the Mutapa state and the Portuguese, and acted as points of contact between foreign and local traders. Dambarare, one of the more important *feiras* of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, was excavated in 1967 and the archive subsequently grew due to development activities in the region. In nearly fifty years, no-one has considered this archive as a whole, and few questions have been asked about the nature of the relationships between its inhabitants, and between them and their neighbours. The archival records are considered to better understand the site, and the objects are approached by considering their ability to show multivocality and entanglement at a site where various people were converging. The themes of interaction, integration, and innovation at this contact site are put to the fore in this dissertation. The results of the study point to a much more complex settlement and manner of interaction than previously understood. It does not seem as though changes and adaptations were brought on by force from one group at the site, but rather choices were deliberate, whether by choice or necessity. These interactions indicate a complex negotiation and creolisation that occurred between the various identities at the *feira*. These interpretations then fit into a larger attempt in the archaeology of the region to better understand the role of hinterland communities in the Indian Ocean Trade System, and to change existing opinions of such sites and their peopling. This dissertation attempts, therefore, to show that at a Zambezian hinterland site such as Dambarare, people were not merely passive receptors, but rather active agents in the changes that occurred, as well as causing their foreign counterparts to adapt to them.

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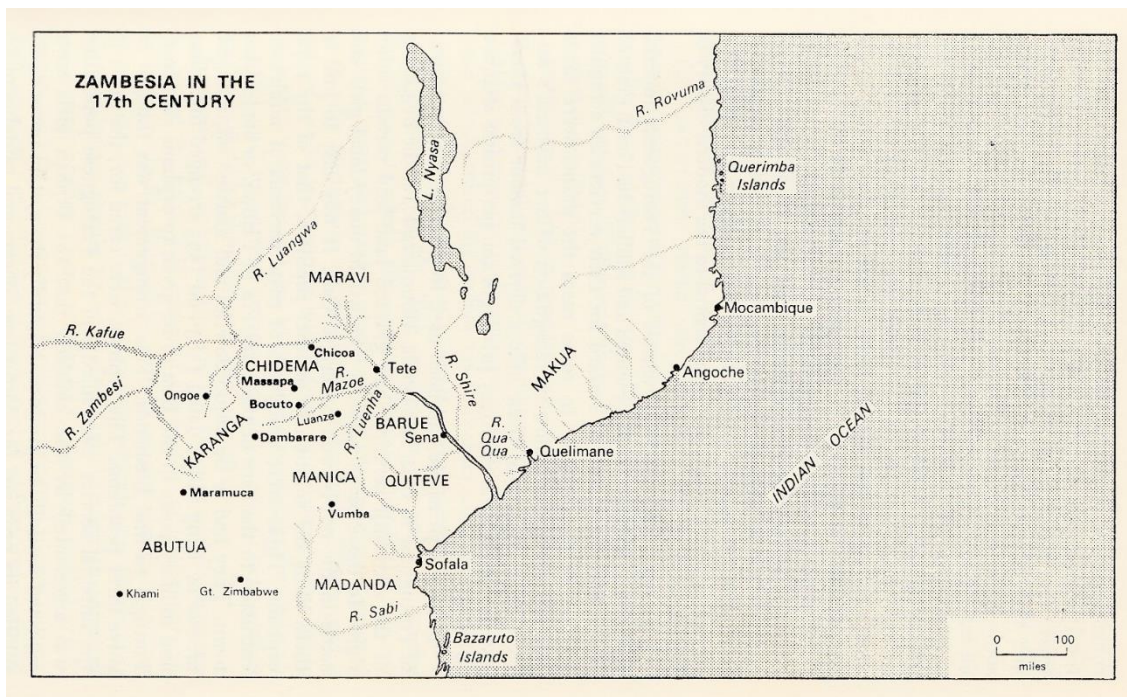
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# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

## Introduction

Interaction and its consequences have been a hallmark of human societies throughout the ages. This generalisation also applies to southern Zambezia, a region that for more than a millennium had technological, social, and cultural contact within itself and with the Indian Ocean trade network. In general, archaeological studies of interaction often focus on material proxies of interaction, such as goods that are known to have been produced in one area but are found in another. This dissertation explores the issue of interaction between Portuguese and African identities, as well as between various African identities, in a situation of culture contact by considering the archaeological site of Dambarare (figure 1.1), situated in northern Zimbabwe. Dambarare was one of the settlements built by Portuguese traders and the Mutapa state during the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries CE in their attempt to gain control over trade in the southern Zambezan interior, and which was frequented by foreigners and locals alike (Garlake 1969a; Newitt, 2001a).



**Figure 1.1. The location of Dambarare within the 17th century Zambezia. Source: Newitt, 1973:65.**

## A Brief Overview

Southern Zambezia, and the regions further south from it extending to below the Limpopo valley, have been populated by farming communities since the first millennium CE (Huffman, 2007; Phillipson, 2005; Pikirayi, 2001). These communities practised agriculture and herded livestock, although at various points some supplemented their diets through gathering and hunting (Pwiti, 1996a; Mitchell, 2002). (Semi-)permanent dwellings served as long-term housing, and the material culture of these communities are mainly (though not solely) represented through faunal remains, pottery, and products of (and waste from) metal working and other craft practises (Huffman, 2007).

Around 600 to 900 CE evidence of external trade appear on the cultural landscape of these farming communities (Huffman, 2007; Wood, 2005; Pikirayi, 2001). The archaeological record of sites of this time period holds imported glass beads, cowries, and bronze items, and perishable materials such as cloth were also included (Sinclair et al., 2012; Thondhlana & Martinon-Torres, 2009; Wood, 2012). The geographic reach of these objects is vast: they appear from the Moçambican coast to the Limpopo valley, the eastern peripheries of the Kalahari to south-central and northern Zimbabwe (Sinclair et al., 2012; Thondhlana & Martinon-Torres, 2009; Wood, 2012). Objects believed to be intended for export were also found at many sites, and the assumption is that worked bone, ivory and other animal products, live cattle, and gold were intended for not only local but also foreign commerce (Mudenge, 1988). It is also during this period that farming communities relocated to auriferous soils to exploit the gold resources (Sinclair, 1987). This is traced through material culture, such as pottery traditions, which shows increased interactions between various contemporary identities (Sinclair, 1987).

At the cusp between the first and second millennia CE, there is an increase in the amount of southern African inland sites that bear evidence of long-distance trade (Huffman, 2007; Mitchell, 2002). Additionally, a move towards social complexity is visible amongst a large portion of these farming communities where unequal economic

and social situations are widespread (Pikirayi, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). Whether there is a connection between external trade and state formation is a subject of much debate, but nowadays many archaeologists choose to understand that there would have been several factors contributing to this situation (Garlake, 1982; Huffman, 2007; Moffett & Chirikure, 2016; Pikirayi, 2001).

During the subsequent centuries there is not only evidence of the import and export of goods, but also of the integration of new techniques, and of innovation. For example, spindle whorls become ubiquitous from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards, meaning that the spinning and weaving of cotton (at the time probably a foreign concept) had been adopted (Antonites, 2012; Chirikure, 2014). Innovation is visible in the melting and (re)casting of imported glass beads (to form “garden-roller” beads) at sites such as K2/Bambandyanalo, Mapungubwe (1050-1270 CE), and Great Zimbabwe (1270-1550 CE) (Chirikure, 2014; Pikirayi, 2001).

Sites (especially those of capitals of large political units) dating to and past that of Great Zimbabwe (13<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries CE) start appearing in historic records by itinerant merchants travelling from the East African coast (Pikirayi, 2001). Additionally, these sites bear foreign goods, providing physical evidence to support the documents (Pikirayi, 2001). From the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards Portuguese records mention increased contact between such communities, and Shona oral traditions remember these societies and their interactions (Chirikure, 2014; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001). This includes political units associated with the Torwa state (1450-1680 CE), the Rozvi-Changamire kingdoms (1680-1830 CE), and the Mutapa state (1450-1900 CE) (Pikirayi, 2001).

During the period of Portuguese contact (the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards), traces of complex interactions and relationships are visible not only in historical records, but also in the archaeology of southern Zambezia (Beach, 1994; Garlake, 1967a, 1968a,b, 1969a; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1992, 1993, 2001, 2009). Portuguese merchants had settled on the East African coastline during the 16<sup>th</sup>

century CE (Beach, 1994; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001). By the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Portuguese had decided to migrate to the Zimbabwe plateau to be near the sources of gold and ivory (Beach, 1994; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001). They ventured up the Zambezi River and down its tributaries towards the south, where they established *feiras* with the people of the Mutapa kingdom (Newitt, 2001a). These *feiras* were permanent settlements where foreign and local traders could live and/or meet and exchange goods (Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1993; 2009). As part of a plan to expand and support Portuguese settlement in this area, the Portuguese created estates (known as *prazos da coroa*, or just *prazos*) where Portuguese families would settle and farm (Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, b). These various long-term settlements were the incubators of contact, and they provide material evidence of interactions (Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1993, 2009). Similar information can also be excavated from records and oral traditions (Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1993, 2009).

### The Research Site: Dambarare

One such contact site is the *feira* of Dambarare (figure 1.1), which is situated along the banks of the Mazoe and Marodzi rivers (Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1997). It lies 40 km north of present-day Harare, in Zimbabwe (Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a). According to Portuguese accounts, Dambarare was one of the largest and most popular trading towns of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1993, 2001). Dambarare is one of the few *feiras* that has been located (and of which there is general consensus that the archaeological site has been identified correctly) (Garlake, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001). Moreover, it is one of the few *feiras* that has been excavated (Garlake, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993, 2001). The site consists of many components, and only some of these have been properly investigated.

Peter Garlake (1969a) excavated an earthwork (known as Earthwork 1) in 1967 and published a site report in 1969. Earthworks are rectangular stone buildings that surround other structures; one could say they are enclosing outer walls (Garlake,

1967a; 1969a). Further investigations were conducted by staff of the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare. Most of their find(ing)s have gone unpublished. Dambarare is located on a goldfield, and there are several precolonial and modern mines surrounding it (Summers, 1969). Various developments (notably a mine dam) were brought on here, necessitating archaeologists to salvage materials from parts of the site that were affected by construction. The Dambarare collection is housed in the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare, Zimbabwe.

The Dambarare material collection includes European objects (ceramics, jewellery and accessories, building materials, etc.), Asian and Middle Eastern objects (ceramics, beads), East African artefacts (shells and coral beads), and of course, local goods (pottery, metals and alloys, architectural materials and features) (Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1993; Swanepoel, 2015). These objects serve as the means by which this research project hopes to address the themes of interaction, integration, and innovation.

## Research Aims

Building on inquiries into what the interactions that occurred between local and foreign communities may have looked like in the interior region of southern Africa, three main aims are set for this research project.

The aims are

1. To understand the nature of interaction between Portuguese and Zambesian African communities through the objects found at the site of Dambarare.
2. To explore the degree to which the people of the Mutapa state and Portuguese settlers may have integrated as it is reflected through objects.

3. To reconstruct innovations that may have stemmed from Portuguese-African interactions and integrations through the objects found at the research site.

These themes will be considered by studying the artefacts from Dambarare housed in the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare using standard artefact studies, approaches and theories. Archives stored in the same museum will be consulted. These archives include photographs, excavation and site visit reports, correspondences, and hand-drawn maps that all pertain to the site of Dambarare. There are also published archives, such as Garlake's (1969a) site report. Since objects are seen as witnesses to the past, it is hoped that a clearer picture of the nature of African-Portuguese interactions will come to light.

### Dissertation Layout

This dissertation is organised in the following fashion. Chapter Two gives a background to the archaeology of northern Zimbabwe and of the current understanding of African-Portuguese interactions in this region based on historical research as well as archaeology. Chapter Three briefly discusses the theoretical notions used in this study: the framework of the approach, and the theories of interaction, integration, and innovation at sites of culture contact. Chapter Four considers the study and use of archaeological archives. The results of the documentary (both published and unpublished) archives will be presented, which will update our current understanding of the site of Dambarare. The subsequent three chapters then focus on the artefactual archive of Dambarare, where Chapter Five concerns itself with the theories, methods and results of the pottery analyses from the site of Dambarare. Chapter Six focuses on the imported ceramics, and Chapter Seven includes the results from the studies on the materials that pertain to craft specialisation and production at the site of Dambarare. In the Eighth Chapter a discussion is presented of the results of the artefactual and archival studies, and how they influence

our understanding of interaction, integration, and innovation at Dambarare. It mentions avenues for future studies, and concludes the dissertation.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

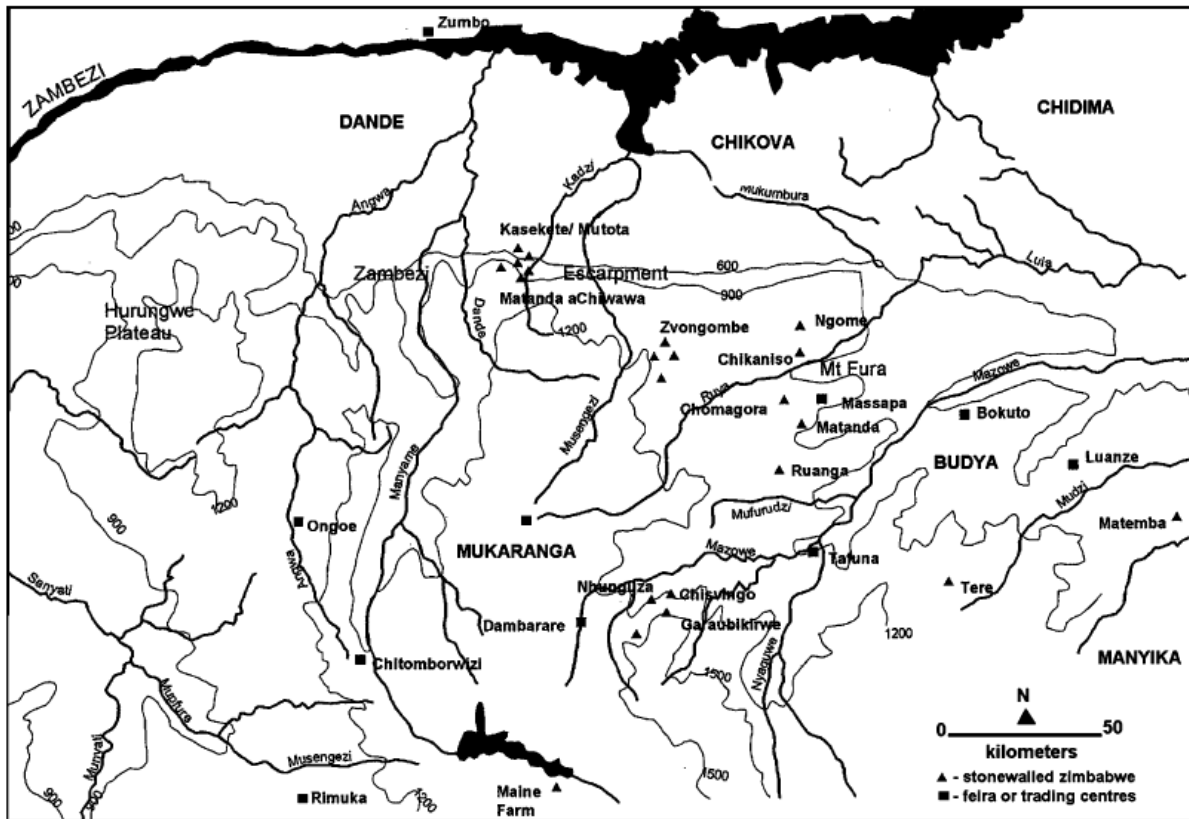
### Introduction

Northern Zimbabwe has played host to agricultural communities since the first millennium CE, and has evidence of participation in external trade since the 7<sup>th</sup> century (Pikirayi, 1993, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). As such, it has been the stage for situations of culture contact and change. Archaeological remains, oral traditions, and historic documents paint a picture of what the northern Zimbabwean past might have looked like. Northern Zimbabwe has its own distinct successive cultural traditions when compared to the southern and central reaches of what is today called Zimbabwe (Pwiti, 1996a). This will be discussed first, along with an overview of the archaeology of the Mutapa state, the main political unit in question in this dissertation. Thereafter, a review will be made of the known oral and documentary histories concerning the Mutapa and their interactions with Portuguese communities around and during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Lastly, we will take a look at the archaeology conducted at south Zambebian *feiras*, and what types of questions have been asked in the study of these sites. This is done in the hope that a better understanding of the context of Luso-African *feiras* would be obtained. Dambarare, the case study for this project, is one such *feira*, but it will be discussed separately in Chapter Four.

### A Summary of Northern Zimbabwean Archaeology

Until relatively recently, northern Zimbabwe (figure 2.1) had been neglected in terms of archaeological and historical research (Manyanga & Shenjere, 2012; Pikirayi, 1993, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). Instead, the focus was on more (monumental) sites further south (Pikirayi, 1993, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). This has been remedied to a certain extent in the past thirty odd years (Pikirayi, 1993, 1996; Pwiti, 1996a, 1996b). Although much work still needs to be done, investigations conducted to date provide a background for understanding cultural succession in the region (e.g. Abraham 1959, 1961; Axelson,

1960, 1961; Beach 1994; Bent 1892, Chanaiwa, 1972; Garlake, 1967a, 1967b, 1969a, 1969b, 1982; Huffman, 1971; Manyanga & Shenjere, 2012; Mudenge 1988, Newitt 1973, 2001a, 2001b ; Pikirayi 1993, 1996, 1997, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2012; Pwiti 1996a, 1996b; Robinson 1965; Sinamai, 2008).

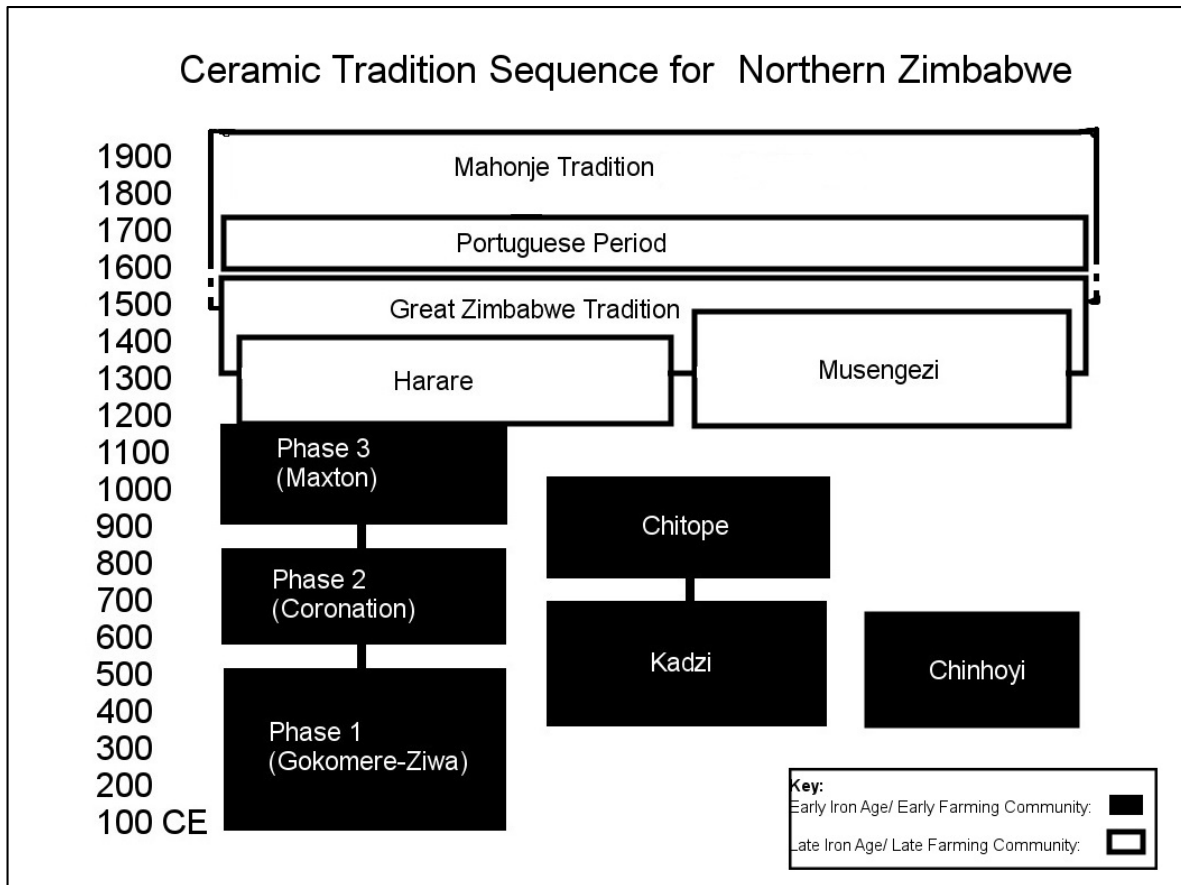


**Figure 2.1. Map of northern Zimbabwe displaying some stone walled Mutapa capitals and feiras. Source: Pikirayi, 2009:171.**

In order to make sense of past farming communities in southern Africa, archaeologists have classified traits observable in material culture at different points in time; most notably into categories of ceramics and of spatial layout (Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 1996, 1997, 2007; Pwiti, 1996a). These categories have been classified spatially and temporally and provide a culture-history framework widely utilised in archaeological research in the region. In Zimbabwe these farmers are divided into two chronological groups (Pikirayi, 1996; Pwiti, 1996a). From the first century CE to the turn of the

millennium groups are identified as Early Farming Communities (EFC), at times also known as Early Iron Age communities (Manyanga & Shenjere, 2012; Pwiti, 1996a). Ceramic decorations during the EFC are “predominantly comb-stamped” (Pikirayi, 1996:629). Changes in material culture persuaded archaeologists to understand that from the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE onwards archaeological groups known as Late Farming Communities (LFC), or as belonging to the Late Iron Age, made northern Zimbabwe their home (Pwiti, 1996a). In the Late Farming Community period, ceramic decoration became “simpler with a strong frequency of “new techniques” such as, “wrapped fibre or bead” impressed” techniques (Pikirayi, 1996:629) (Figure 2.2). Although other names have been suggested in past debates (Pwiti, 1996a), the terms “Early” (EFC) and “Late Farming Communities” (LFC) will be utilised for ease of understanding and comparison, and since these are the least contested terms.

The reason why a distinction between Early and Late Farming Communities has been made is that there is a shift in economy, settlement styles, and ideology that are all traceable through material cultural expressions (Huffman, 1971, 2007; Pikirayi, 1993, 1996, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). It is still uncertain what the precise reasons for these changes are; whether (or not) LFCs are a development from the EFCs, or whether there was a new wave of migrants into southern Africa (Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 1996, 2001, 2007; Pwiti, 1996a:155, 156). Whatever the case may or may not be, change can be observed in material culture and lifestyles – hence the division.



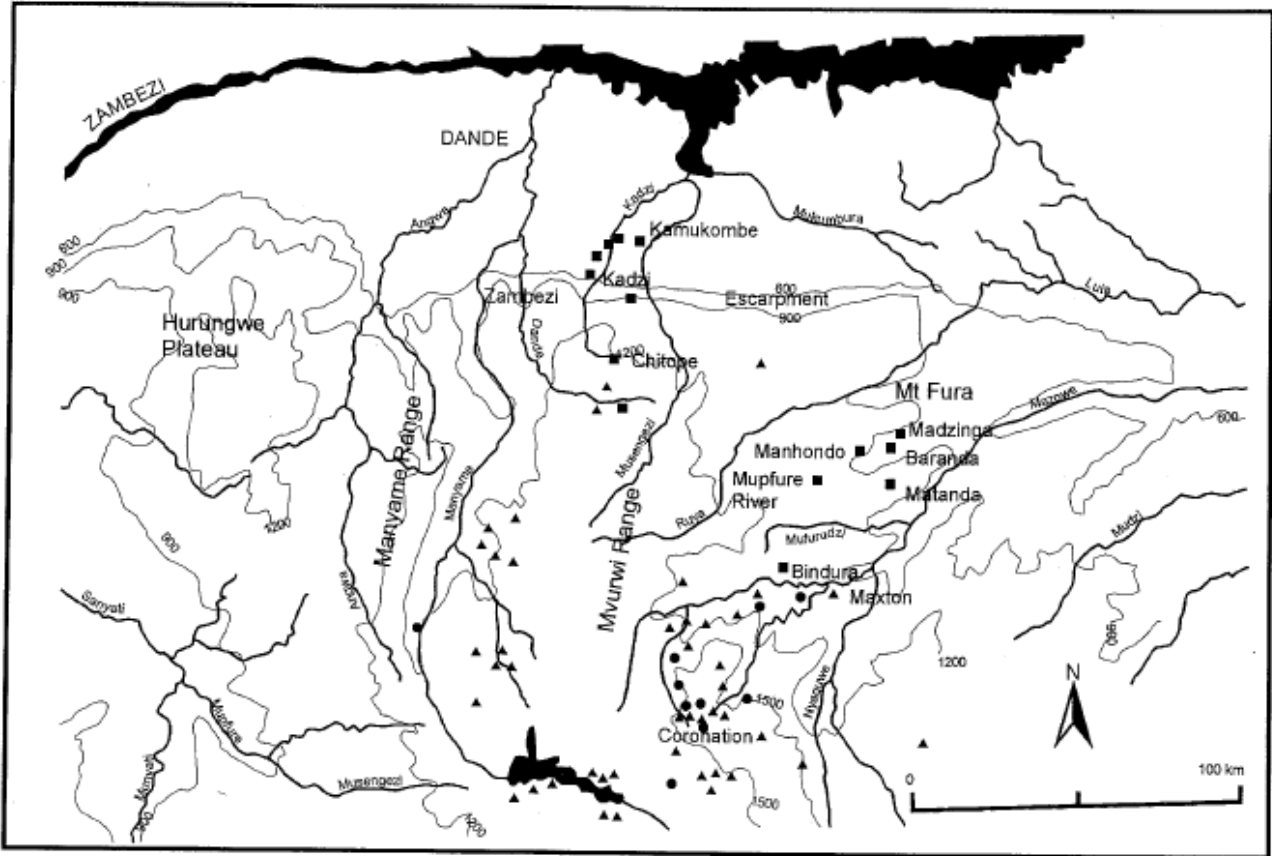
**Figure 2.2. Ceramic tradition sequence for northern Zimbabwe. Sources: adapted from the formulations by Pwiti, 1996a:154 and Huffman, 1971.**

### Early Farming Communities

The main economy of northern Zimbabwean EFCs was agriculture and the rearing of livestock (Pwiti, 1996a:149; Pikirayi, 2001). It seems, however, as though cattle numbers were relatively low compared to coeval sites in neighbouring regions, possibly due to environmental factors such as tsetse fly (Pwiti, 1996a:149; Pikirayi, 2001). Diets were therefore supplemented through foraging, fishing, and hunting (Pwiti, 1996a:149). As was the case with other Early Iron Age communities living further south in (what is now) Zimbabwe, Botswana, and South Africa, metalworking was a prominent craft specialisation of these communities (Pwiti, 1996a:149). Though it was initially mostly intended for domestic use, these products were soon to be

exported (Pwiti, 1996a:149). From the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE onwards glass beads enter the material culture of EFC type sites, indicating external mercantile links (Garlake, 1967a; Pikirayi, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a:150). This suggests that foreign trade was not isolated to the Shashe-Limpopo basin as was previously thought, but occurred across the landscape, including the northern Zimbabwean region (Pikirayi, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a:150).

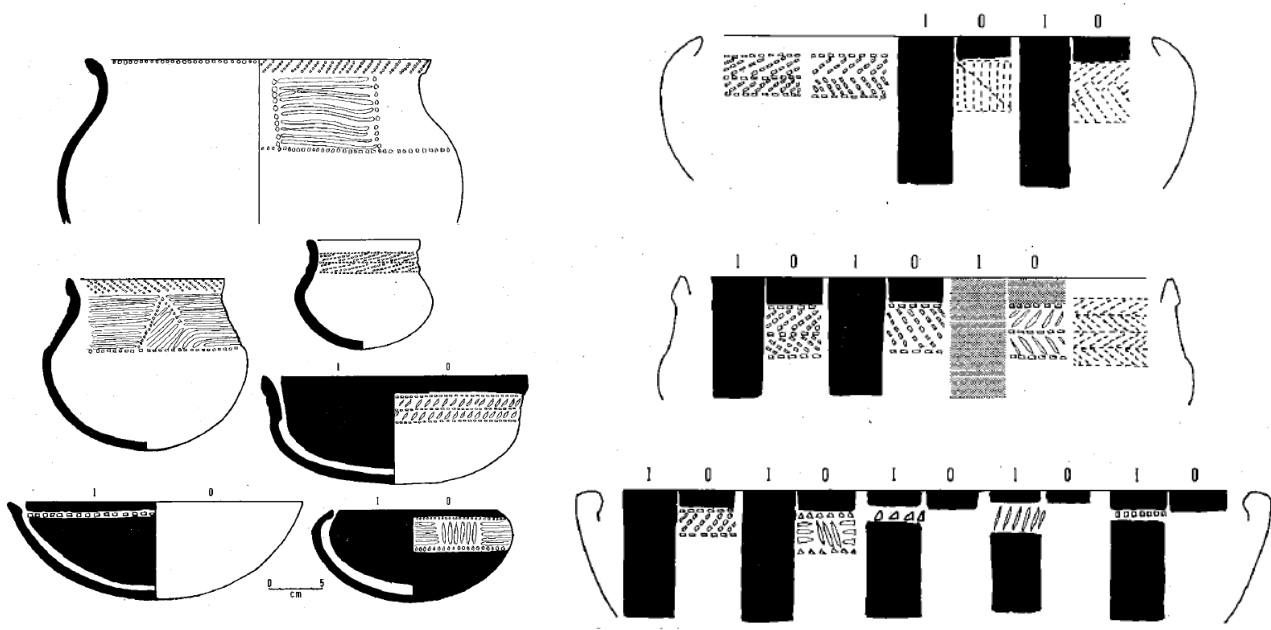
Cultural succession in northern Zimbabwe (figure 2.2) has taken a somewhat different trajectory to that in southern and eastern Zimbabwe (Manyanga & Shenjere, 2012; Pikirayi, 2007; Pwiti, 1996a). Not only does one find Gokomere-Ziwa type ceramics, but there are two other distinct traditions that appear on the landscape, namely the Kadzi-Chitope ceramic sequence, and the Chinhoyi tradition (Huffman, 1971; Pikirayi, 2007; Pwiti, 1996a).



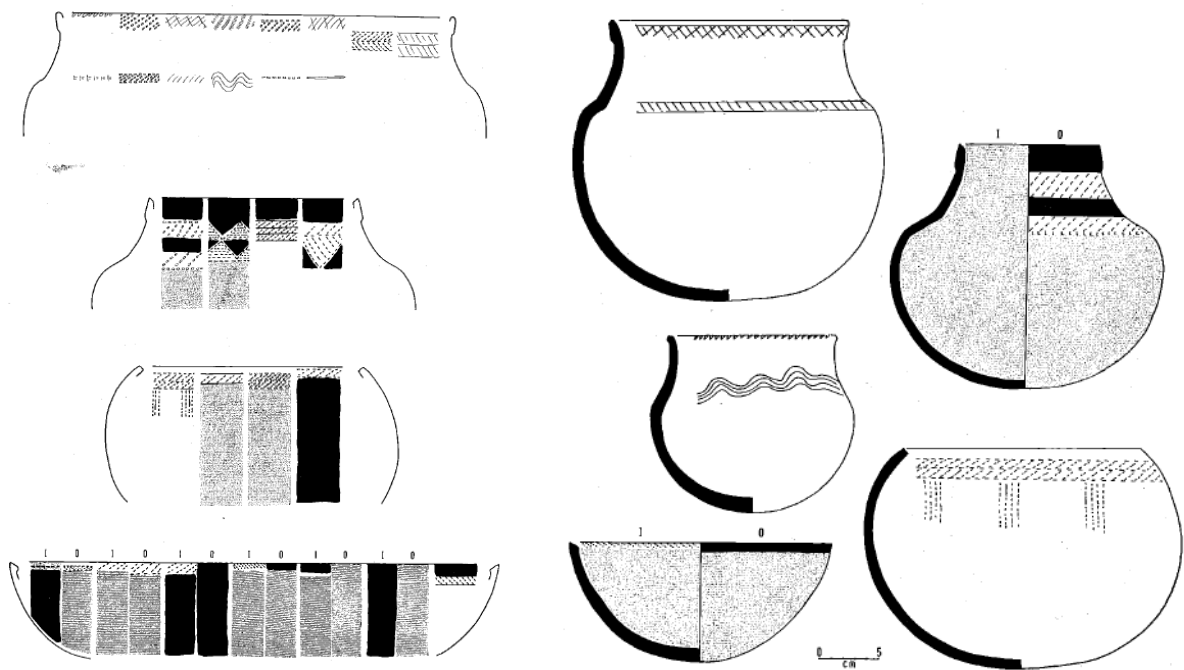
**Figure 2.3: Map showing Early Farming Community settlements in northern Zimbabwe where squares represent Kadzi sites, circles represent Coronation type sites, and triangles represent Maxton sites. Source: Pikirayi, 2001:160.**

### The Gokomere-Ziwa traditions (100 – 1200 CE)

The Gokomere-Ziwa tradition appears in a large part of southern, central, and northern Zimbabwe, excluding the mid-Zambezi valley (Huffman, 1971, 2007; Pikirayi, 1996; Pwiti, 1996a) (figure 2.3). Three phases of this tradition are present, namely Gokomere-Ziwa Phase 1 (100 – 500 CE); Coronation (or Phase 2; 600 – 800 CE); and Maxton (or Phase 3; 900 – 1200 CE) (figure 2.2) (Garlake, 1967a; Pwiti, 1996a). The Gokomere-Ziwa Phase 1 (figure 2.4) tradition contains jars, bowls, and pots, often with thickened rims, and they display comb-stamping, incisions, incised lines, and graphite burnishing in various (and frequently elaborate) combinations (Huffman, 1971, 2007).



**Figure 2.4. Gokomere-Ziwa Phase 1 type ceramics. Source: Huffman, 1971:24,25.**



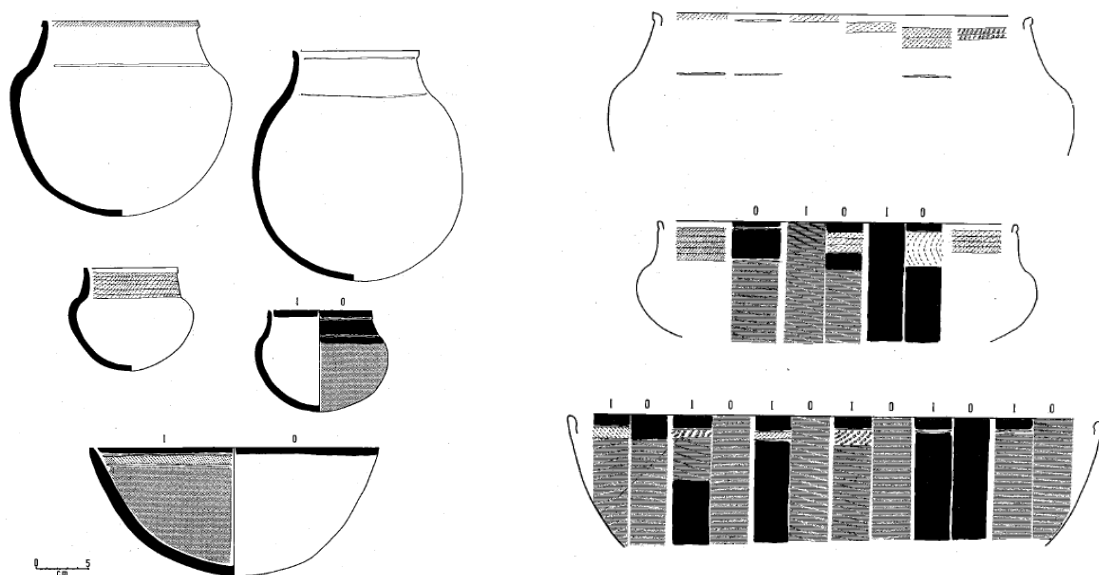
**Figure 2.5. Coronation phase ceramics. Source: Huffman, 1971:26, 27.**

### Coronation phase (600 – 800 CE)

Coronation phase pottery (figure 2.5) is named after the site Coronation Park (figure 2.3) and consists of jars with thickened rims, pots, and bowls (Whitty, 1958; Huffman, 1971). Decorations normally include incisions, nicks, comb-stamping, impressions from beads and bangles, and burnishing (Huffman, 1971: 26, 27).

### Maxton phase (900 – 1200 CE)

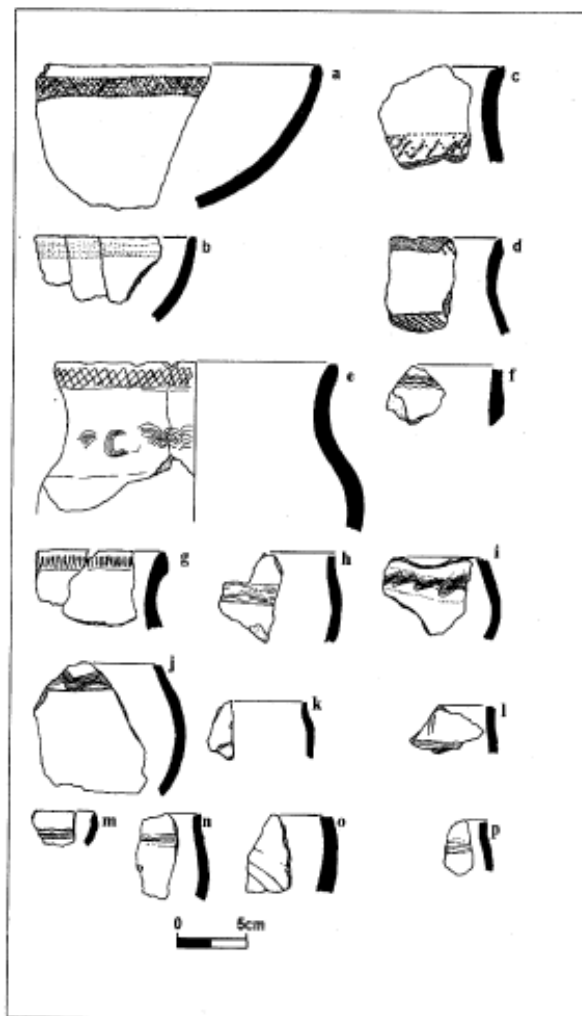
Maxton phase pottery (figure 2.6) conclude the Gokomere-Ziwa tradition. They are named after the site of Maxton Farm at Shamva Hill (Garlake, 1967a; Huffman, 1971:28) (figure 2.3). Jars, pots and bowls make up this collection, and they are decorated mostly on the rims, necks, and shoulders (Garlake, 1967a; Huffman, 1971:28). Designs include comb-stamping and incised lines, and tend to display burnishing (Garlake, 1967a; Huffman, 1971:28).



**Figure 2.6. Maxton phase ceramics. Source: Huffman, 1971:28.**

## Kadzi phase (400 – 700 CE)

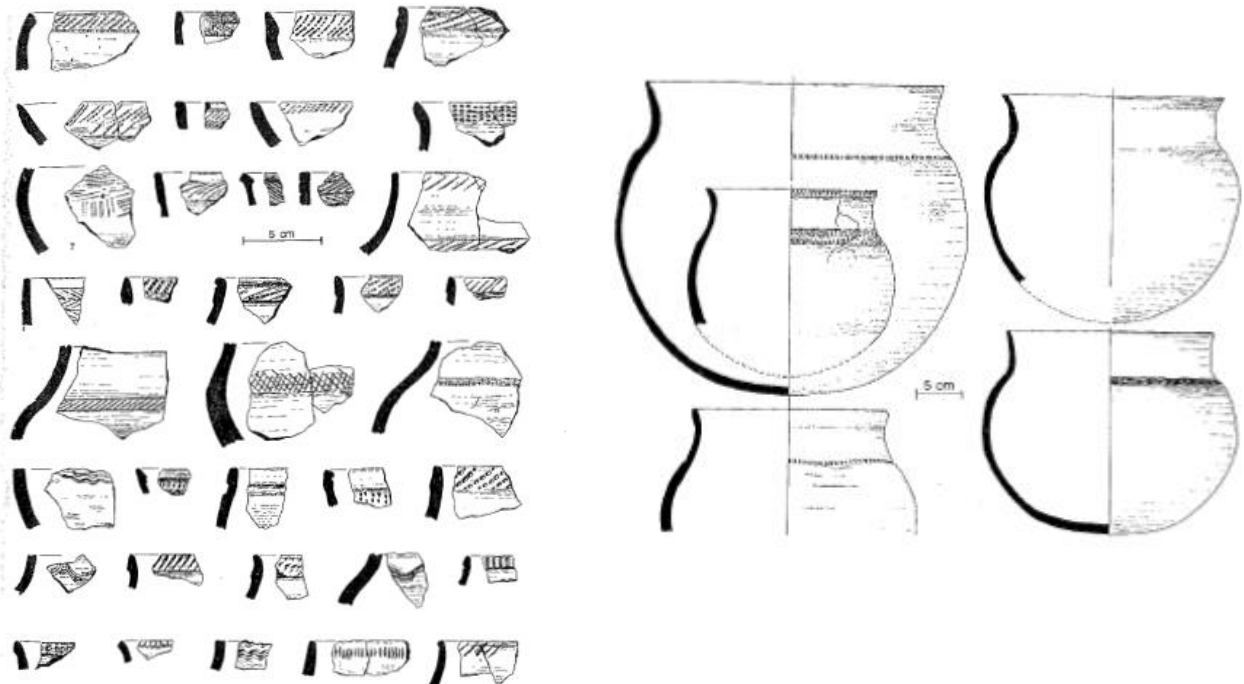
The archaeological site of Kadzi gives its name to the ceramic tradition found there (Pwiti, 1996a). Kadzi type sites are contemporaneous with Gokomere-Ziwa phase 1 and Coronation (phase 2) of the Gokomere-Ziwa tradition sites (figure 2.2) (Pwiti, 1996a:148). It has been suggested that Kadzi may be a regional variant of Gokomere-Ziwa types (Pwiti, 1996a:148). Kadzi type ceramics (figure 2.7) generally consist of pots and bowls, and comb-stamping appears on the majority of the assemblage (Pwiti, 1996a:101). Other design elements include “meandering lines,” bands of cross-hatching, incisions and punctates, and wrapped fibre impressions, which all appear on the lip/rim, neck, and shoulders of the vessels (Pwiti, 1996a:101).



**Figure 2.7. Kadzi type pottery. Source: Pikirayi, 2001:82.**

Chitope phase (700 – 900 CE)

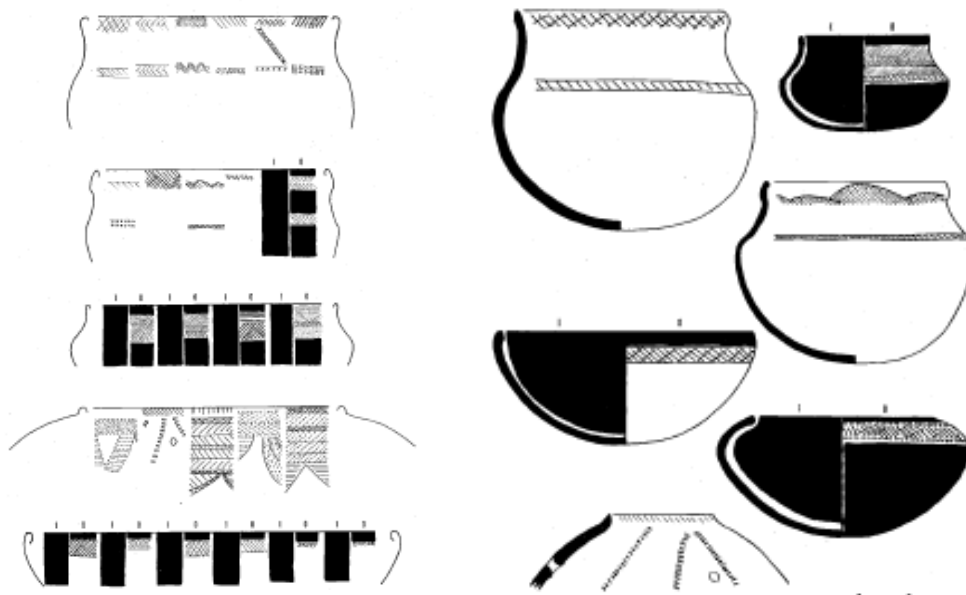
The status of Chitope ceramics as a separate unit is disputed, but it is commonly accepted as a successor to the Kadzi tradition (Pwiti, 1996a:154). It is moreover considered to be contemporary with (instead of succeeding) the Coronation and Maxton phases (Pwiti, 1996a:154). This type was originally identified and defined by Peter Garlake (1969b) but it has been revised and expanded on by Gilbert Pwiti (1996a). Pots and bowls are the dominant forms (Garlake, 1969b; Pwiti, 1996a). Characteristic decoration traits of these vessels include comb-stamping, incised hatches, and narrow bands of stab-and-drag decoration usually placed on the shoulders of pots (figure 2.8) (Pwiti, 1996a:114; Garlake, 1969b).



**Figure 2.8: Chitope ceramics. Source: Pwiti, 1996a: 121,122.**

## Chinhoyi Phase (c. 400 – 600 CE)

Dating to c. 400 to 600 CE, a separate ceramic tradition is visible in northern Zimbabwe (Pwiti, 1996a; Huffman, 1971). This is the Chinhoyi (formerly Sinoia) (figure 2.2) tradition and it appears in the Hurungwe district in northern Zimbabwe (Huffman, 1971; Pwiti, 1996a). These ceramics (jars, bowl-necked jars, bowls, and pots) display decorations of cross-hatching, combinations of incisions, comb-stamping, punctates, and burnishing (figure 2.9) (Huffman, 1971:29).

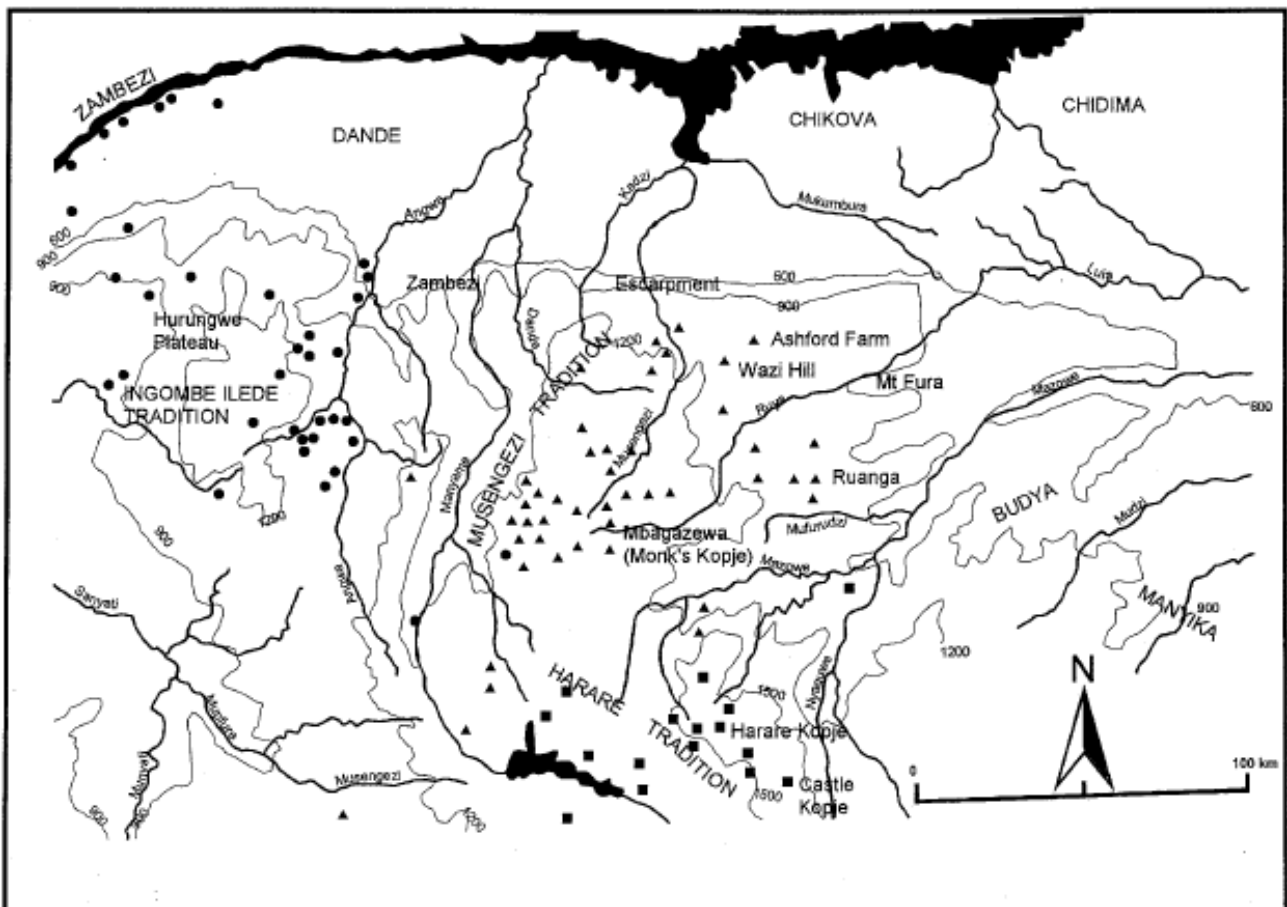


**Figure 2.9. Chinhoyi tradition pottery Source: Huffman, 1971:29.**

## Late Farming Communities

From the late first millennium CE onwards, a change in settlement styles, ceramic traditions and economy is observable across the southern African landscape (including northern Zimbabwe) (Pikirayi, 2001). Archaeological evidence from this time period point to an increase in the numbers and importance of cattle and other livestock, continued agriculture, a retention and augmentation of foreign trade networks, more pronounced social stratification (reflected in burials and settlement patterns), metal

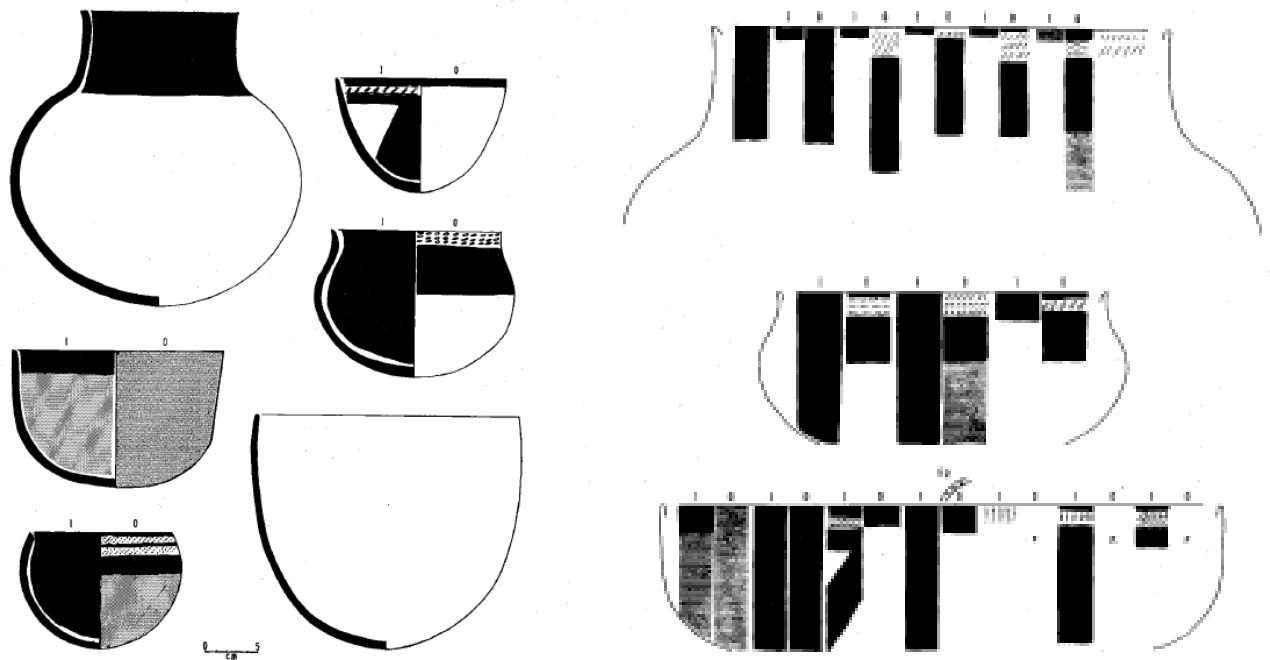
crafts, and spinning and weaving for cloth manufacture (Pikirayi, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). Several ceramic traditions chronicle the changing styles of LFCs, and at times several traditions even appear simultaneously on the northern Zimbabwean landscape (Huffman, 1971; Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a) (figure 2.10).



**Figure 2.10. Map of northern Zimbabwe where squares represent Harare tradition sites, circles are Ingombe Ilede sites, and triangles are the Musengezi tradition sites. Source: Pikirayi, 2001:162.**

## Harare Tradition (1100 – 1500 CE)

The Harare tradition appears at the same time as Musengezi and Ingombe Ilede ceramics (Sinamai, 2008:41). The (often complete) ceramics are mostly found in burials; very few occupation sites bear these ceramics (Sinamai, 2008; Huffman, 1971). Sites with Harare ceramics (figure 2.2) are situated in and around the eponymous current-day Zimbabwean capital, but they are not restricted to this location (Sinamai, 2008) (figure 2.10). In fact, the reason why they seemingly appear only near the city of Harare is because of the amount of construction and subsequent archaeological rescue work that has taken place there (Sinamai, 2008). Sinamai (2008) argues that this area may not even host the majority of Harare type sites, but it is the only area that has been extensively excavated. Current understanding is thus biased (Sinamai, 2008). Since Harare pottery is coeval with, and shares traits with Musengezi ceramics, it has been argued that it may be a variant of the Musengezi type (Sinamai, 2008). Body shapes include various forms of jars, pots, and bowls (Huffman, 1971; Sinamai, 2008). There are even bowls with pedestal-bases (Sinamai, 2008). The pottery is decorated with red ochre and graphite burnishing, bands of comb-stamping, punctates, incisions, wrapped fibre impressions (Huffman, 1971:30; Sinamai, 2008:44). Decoration sometimes occurs on the interior of the pot (Huffman, 1971:30; Sinamai, 2008:44) (Figure 2.11).

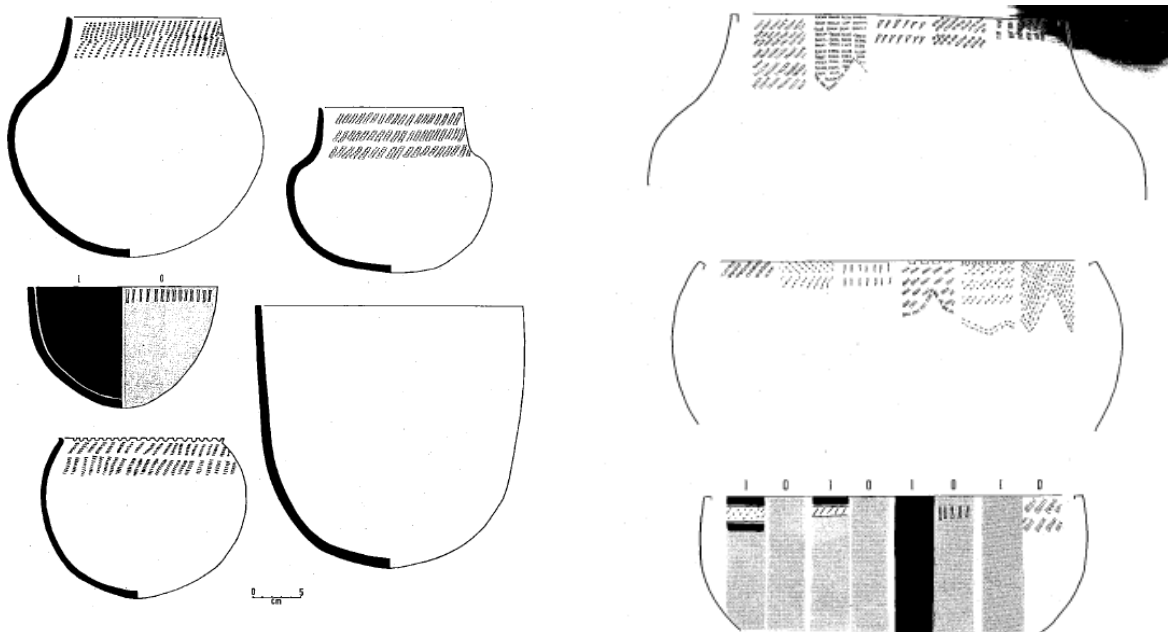


**Figure 2.11: Harare tradition ceramics. Source: Huffman, 1971:32, 33.**

### Musengezi Tradition (1200 – 1500 CE)

Musengezi tradition sites can be found south of the Zambezi escarpment, “east of the Angwa and west of the Mazowe-Nyaguwe rivers,” and at times they overlap geographically with Harare type sites (Pikirayi, 1996:631) (figure 2.10). Musengezi type sites include Musengezi, Ruanga, Mbgazewa, Wazi Hill, and Monk’s Kop (Huffman, 1971; Pikirayi, 1996:631; Pwiti, 1996a:157). These sites are often burial or cave settlement sites (Huffman, 1971:31; Pikirayi, 1996:631). Due to a lack of research and evidence, a settlement pattern for Musengezi type sites have not yet been identified, but its ceramic tradition is what distinguishes it from other contemporary cultures on the landscape (Pwiti, 1996a:157).

Musengezi tradition ceramics (figure 2.12) include “bowls and jars decorated with horizontal bands or panels of wrapped fibre, comb stamping, or edge impressions” (Pikirayi, 1996:631). Musengezi ceramics have similar characteristics to those of the Ingombe Ilede tradition (c.1300 – 1500 CE) found north of the Zambezi River (Pikirayi, 1996:631). This suggests contact between these communities that were separated by the Zambezi River (Pikirayi, 1996:631; Sinamai, 2008). Furthermore, Innocent Pikirayi (1996:629, 633) argues that the Musengezi tradition may be a continuation of the Maxton tradition, can be found at Kadzi-type sites, and is of local origin, thus questioning a migrationist hypothesis. However, Pikirayi (1996:635) mentions that the Musengezi tradition may have been innovated as a response to external changes, reflecting the development of new symbolic markers.



**Figure 2.12: Musengezi tradition ceramics. Source: Huffman, 1971:34, 35.**

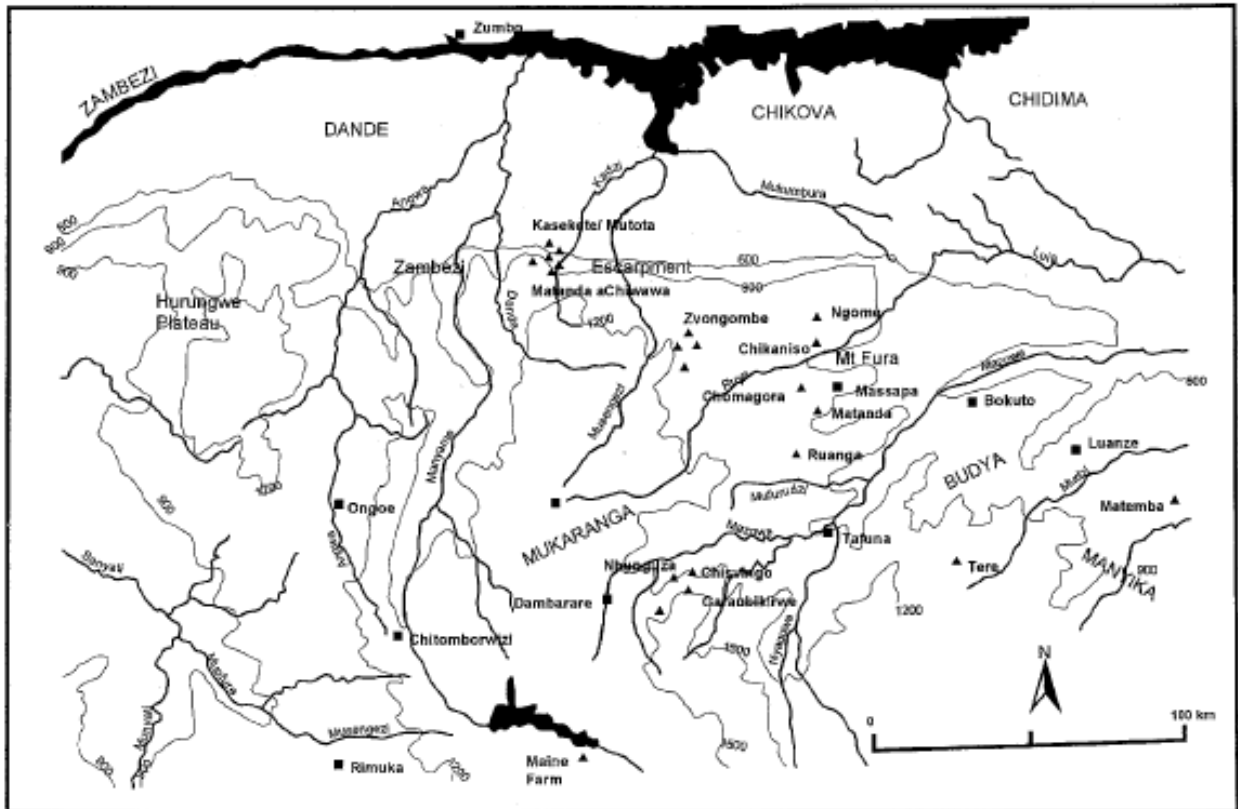


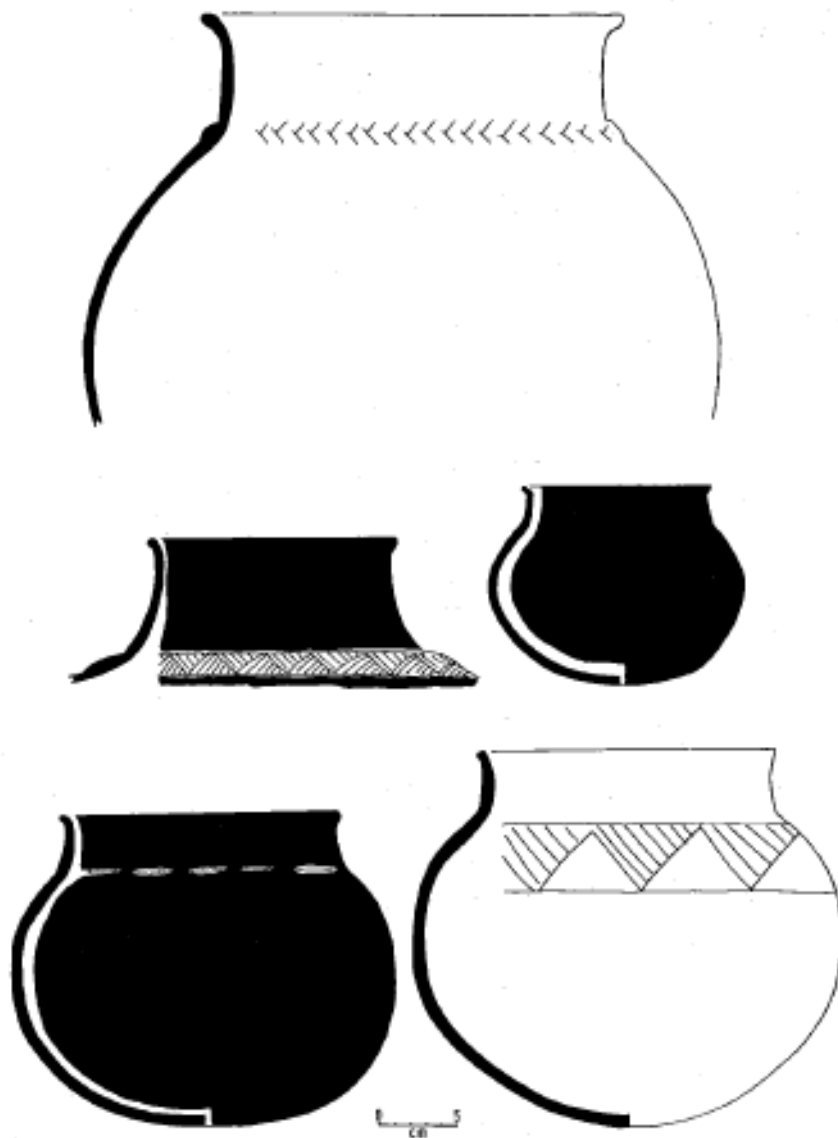
Figure 2.13. Map of Zimbabwe culture sites (represented by triangles) and Portuguese period sites (represented by squares). Source: Pikirayi, 2001:165.

Zimbabwe (or Great Zimbabwe) Tradition (1300 – 1600 CE)

The Zimbabwe tradition (figure 2.2) appears more or less at the same time as the Harare and Musengezi traditions (Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a) (figure 2.13). Though Zimbabwe type artefacts are often accompanied by characteristic stonewalled settlements, in northern Zimbabwe these ceramics may also appear at sites that do not present any walling (Pwiti, 1996a:39, 158). Moreover, in cases where dry stonewalling occur here, it seldom follows the chronological pattern that was identified at Great Zimbabwe itself (Pwiti, 1996a). It was previously thought that Zimbabwe type sites in northern Zimbabwe represent political expansion of the Great Zimbabwe polity to the north, but subsequent research has refuted this idea (Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a). However, at Zimbabwe type sites, one can start tracing increased social stratification, a growing wealth in cattle (compared to Musengezi type sites), and

tighter kinship bonds, displaying an augmentation in wealth and power (Pwiti, 1996a:158).

Zimbabwe type pottery (figure 2.14) in northern Zimbabwe tend to be jars, and bowls are uncommon (Huffman, 1971:33). It seems, however, from evidence at Baranda, a Portuguese-contact site in northern Zimbabwe, that more bowls were incorporated into the northern Zimbabwean Zimbabwe type (Pikirayi, 2001:173). Burnishing of graphite and red ochre is often used, and bands of incisions or triangular patterns are common on the necks and shoulders of vessels (Huffman, 1971:33; Pikirayi, 2001:173).



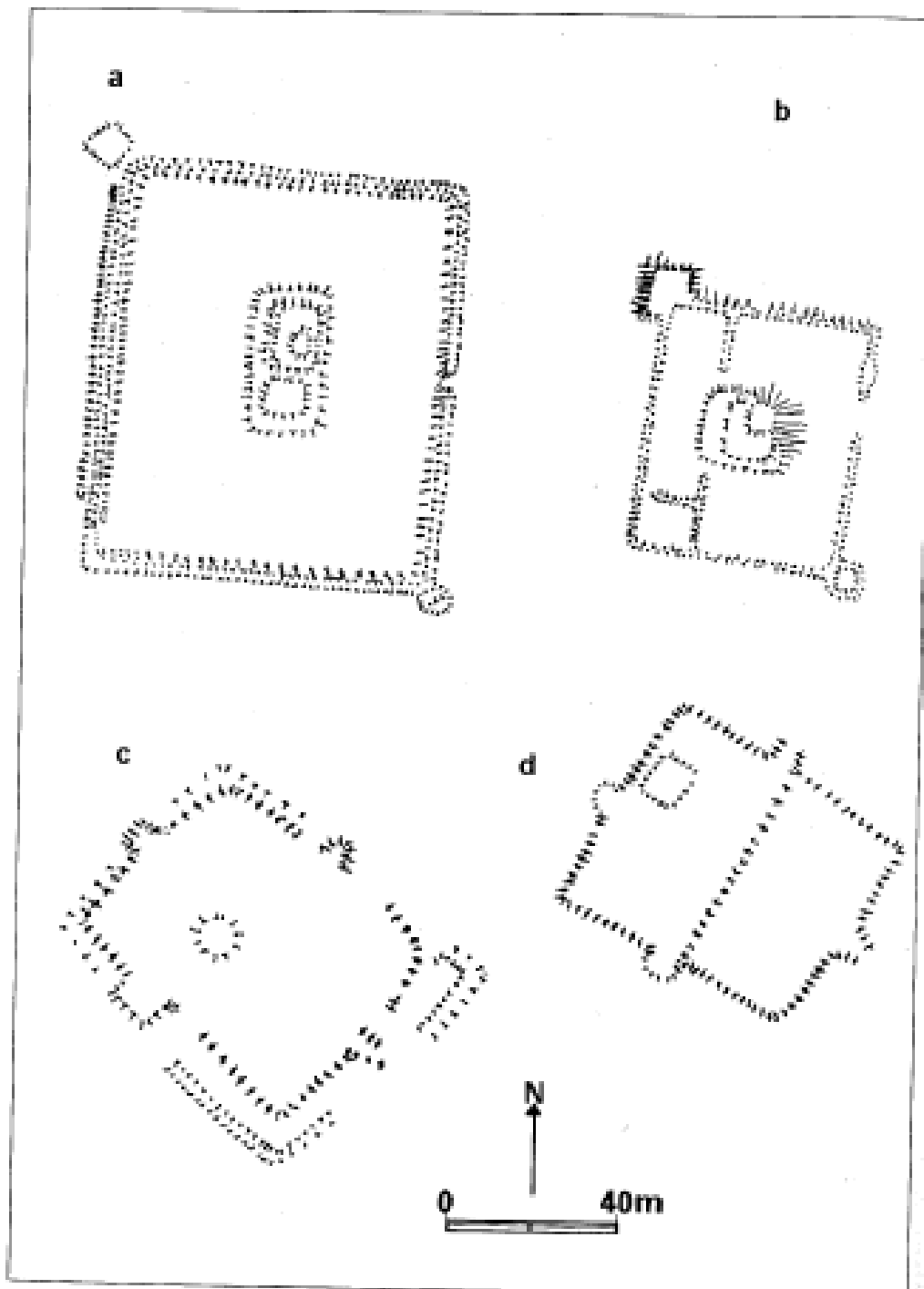
**Figure 2.14. Zimbabwe tradition ceramics. Source: Huffman, 1971:36.**

## The Portuguese Period (c.1600 CE)

The 17<sup>th</sup> century is dubbed the Portuguese period since this is the time that Lusophone merchants, mercenaries, and missionaries settled on the northern Zimbabwean landscape and interacted with locals (Garlake, 1969a; Huffman, 1971; Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a) (figure 2.13). The Portuguese were largely expelled from the region at the end of the century, but many still remained in the region for several centuries to follow, just on a less official basis (or less focussed on officially sanctioned trade) (Newitt, 2001a, 2001b).

This period is in fact not characterised by pottery, but rather it is represented by settlement styles and artefacts associated with Portuguese settlement, such as European imports and other foreign goods (Huffman, 1971). The settlements themselves are rectangular, and enclose vernacular thatch and dhaka or foreign brick structures (or both) (Garlake, 1967a, 1969a; Huffman, 1971; Pikirayi, 1993) (figure 2.15). They are often referred to as “earthworks” in archaeological literature (Garlake, 1967a, 1969a). These rectangular features are thought to be influenced either by Portuguese or Swahili architecture (or both), which makes sense since they are constructed at (and as) contact sites between traders from the East Coast and locals (Pikirayi, 2001:177). These Luso-African earthworks are generally closely linked to the Mutapa both in historical accounts and through archaeological finds (Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001). Whether they were structures to delimit borders, to house other structures, were defensive settlements, or acted as warehouses is still under some discussion (Pikirayi, 2001).

Pottery found at Portuguese period sites show continuations of Musengezi or Zimbabwe types (or both) (Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001) or show ceramics that do not conform to any one known typology (Garlake, 1967a, 1969a; Huffman, 1971; Pikirayi, 1997). Since little research has been done on these sites, there is not yet a clear picture that emerges about the pottery or their function at such sites: rather, there is a combination of ceramic styles present, usually including Zimbabwe and/or Musengezi types (Pikirayi, 1997).

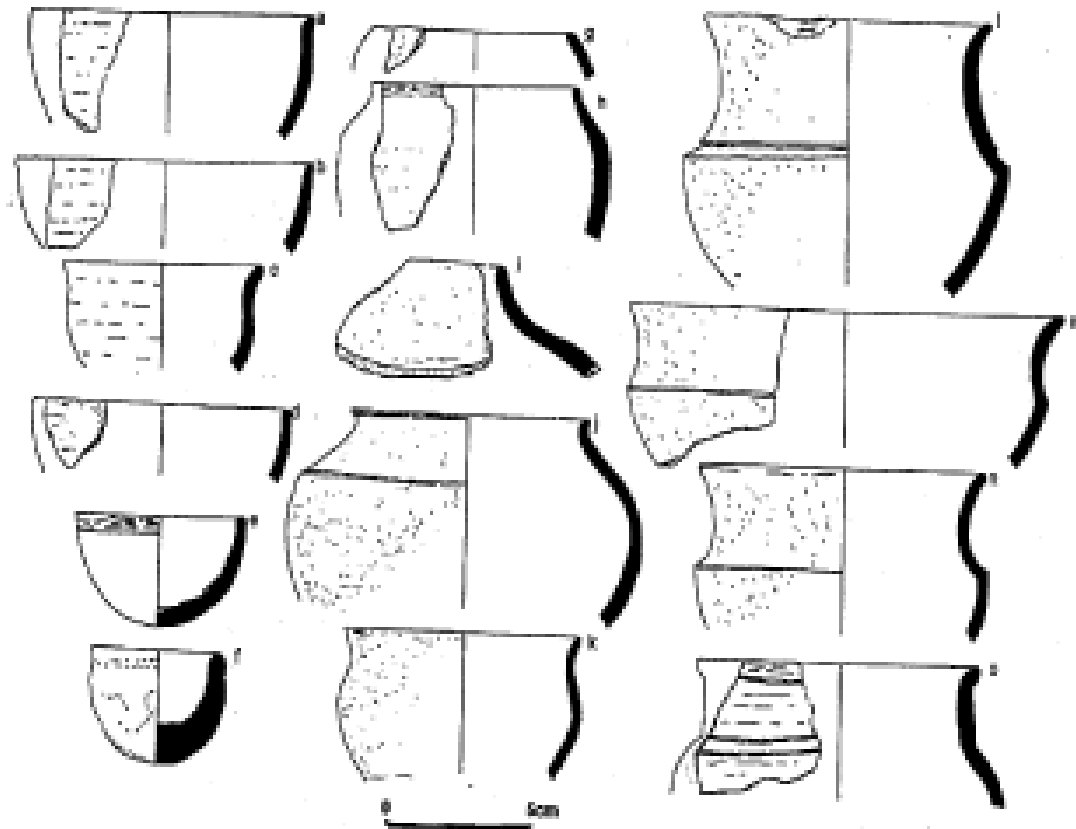


**Figure 2.15: Schemes of the layout of Portuguese-period structures known as earthworks. The structures depicted at the top left and right are from African-Portuguese sites in the Angwa valley, the structure at the bottom left is from Maramuca, and the structure at the bottom right is from Luanze. Source: Pikirayi, 2001:178.**

### Mahonje Tradition (c.1500 or 1600 – 1900 CE)

What is now commonly accepted to be the Mahonje tradition (figure 2.2) was formerly coined the “Refuge” tradition (Huffman, 1971; Pikirayi, 1993:181; Pwiti, 1996a). Initially this tradition was thought to present itself only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a response to political instabilities, but with new research, Mahonje has been dated to around the Portuguese period (late 16<sup>th</sup> or early 17<sup>th</sup> century) and continues up until 1900 (Huffman, 1971; Pikirayi, 1993; 1997; Pwiti, 1996a). It is moreover no longer considered to merely be a reaction towards historical events, but rather as an identity that emerged during this period of intensified contact (Huffman, 1971; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997; Pwiti, 1996a).

Mahonje tradition sites are found towards the “north-eastern region of the plateau, and parts of the mid- and lower- Zambezi valley area,” and seem to replace Zimbabwe tradition sites and ceramics (Pikirayi, 1993:184; 2001:186). There are sites further south that may bear resemblance to these ceramics, and this tradition is believed to be connected to ethnographically present Tonga communities (Pikirayi, 1993, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). Little research has been done on these sites and their ceramics, and thus further information is still needed to clearly delineate typological affinities and geographical reach (Pikirayi, 1992, 1993, 2001). However, some distinctive features of these ceramics show a decrease in the use of graphite burnishing, and an all-round simplification of decorations (Pikirayi, 2001:186). Pots and bowls are present, and the most typical decorations are carinated motifs appearing on the shoulders of pots (Pikirayi, 2001:186) (figure 2.16).



**Figure 2.16. Mahonje tradition ceramics. Source Pikirayi, 2001:186.**

Settlement style at Mahonje sites are unique too (Pikirayi, 1992; 2001). Mahonje ceramics are often related to loopholed stone enclosures, believed to be fortifications (Pikirayi, 1992; 2001). The previous generation of historians (eg Abraham, 1960) and archaeologists (Garlake, 1967a) have considered these loopholed buildings to be defensive settlements constructed specifically for protection by the Portuguese (Pikirayi, 2001:181). However, upon reinvestigating such sites, Pikirayi (2001:181 - 185) has found that their origin was of local authorship, and that the structures could house several dhaka- and thatch buildings inside. They were, according to Pikirayi (1992; 1993; 2001:182), defensive settlements, to protect against the encroaching Portuguese and local factions. He notes that it is difficult to establish which cultural group would have built such sites (especially with a general lack of artefacts to study)

but he does think that these structures belong to the Mahonje tradition, and does not form part of the Zimbabwe pattern as postulated elsewhere (Pikirayi, 2001:184, 185).

Another observation at these loopholed structures is that their inhabitants might not have farmed as intensively and as extensively as those before them – they rather gathered and hunted (Pikirayi, 1993). There are speculations about cultivation in *vleilands*, but there is not yet enough evidence to unequivocally affirm this claim (Pikirayi, 1993). These shifting behaviours might point towards a collapsing state and changing lifestyles (Pikirayi, 1993).

### A Discussion of Northern Zimbabwean Cultural Succession

From this review of northern Zimbabwean cultural succession, it is clear that there was considerable movement and contact happening between people, especially during the LFC period. For example, a current question that archaeologists are considering is why do we find Zimbabwe period ceramics this far north on the landscape? (Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). The consensus at the moment is that although the rise of the Mutapa state is linked to this type, the Zimbabwe culture did not extend this far north to expand the political power of the Great Zimbabwe polity (Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). The Mutapa state is thus not an offshoot of Great Zimbabwe (Pikirayi, 1993, 2001). Instead, people who identified with the Zimbabwe tradition may have settled on the plateau to gain access to gold that is so abundant in northern Zimbabwe (Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). This points to movement across a landscape, and of interaction between different local communities.

Historically, northern Zimbabwe and its adjacent areas have attracted limited archaeological research (Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a). The consequence is that some areas, such as those close to Harare, are better known because development occurred there, causing many artefacts to be rescued, and therefore also researched (Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a; Sinamai, 2008). The main outcome of this imbalance in

research coverage is that the connections, relationships, and geographical reaches of type sites and their associated material cultures and implied economies still need to be explored from the establishment of farming communities onwards (Pikirayi, 2001). For example, taking an example from the LFC period, we do not know much about how (or why) the Musengezi and Harare typologies relate (Pikirayi, 2001; Sinamai, 2008). Moreover, we know little about the Ingombe Ilede culture and what differentiates it from Musengezi (which is also why it is not often included in summaries of northern Zimbabwean cultural succession) (Pikirayi, 2001; Sinamai, 2008).

Ingombe Ilede is an archaeological site on the edge of the Zambezi River in Zambia (Fagan, 1967, 1969, 1972). It is considered to have been a centre for both local and foreign commerce (Fagan, 1967, 1969, 1972). Excavations from this site yielded gold, copper and iron objects, cotton, and pottery, amongst other items (Fagan, 1967, 1969). The abovementioned artefacts indicate that the inhabitants of the site had connections with those in northern Zimbabwe, since Fagan (1969) argues that many of the objects, such as the metals and cotton, did not occur north of the Zambezi River. Moreover, Ingombe Ilede ceramics have been found south of the Zambezi River, and this indicates movement of people, or contact between people of the two regions that share this fluvial border (Fagan, 1969). Based on the obvious similarities between the Ingombe Ilede ceramics and contemporary ones of northern Zimbabwe, it would not be a far stretch to consider connections between (who are today considered to be) northern Zimbabwean and southern Zambian peoples, and it would be useful to consider these in more depth (Fagan, 1969; Pikirayi, 2001; Sinamai, 2008).

Therefore a major limitation to our understanding of the archaeology of northern Zimbabwe is constrained by modern political boundaries which create artificial disjunctures between the northern and southern Zambezi region. This is also true of Mozambican sites that are related to Zimbabwean and Zambian archaeology, such as the Zimbabwe type site of Manyikeni (Reid, 2007). Researchers only focus on sites that fall within one current country's borders. This is evidenced by the Ingombe Ilede case discussed above (out of many other cases; eg Pwiti, 1996a). Regardless of these limitations, it is clear that since their establishment, farming community societies were

not closed. Instead, they interacted with each other across the landscape as shown by material culture similarities and other shared cultural traits.

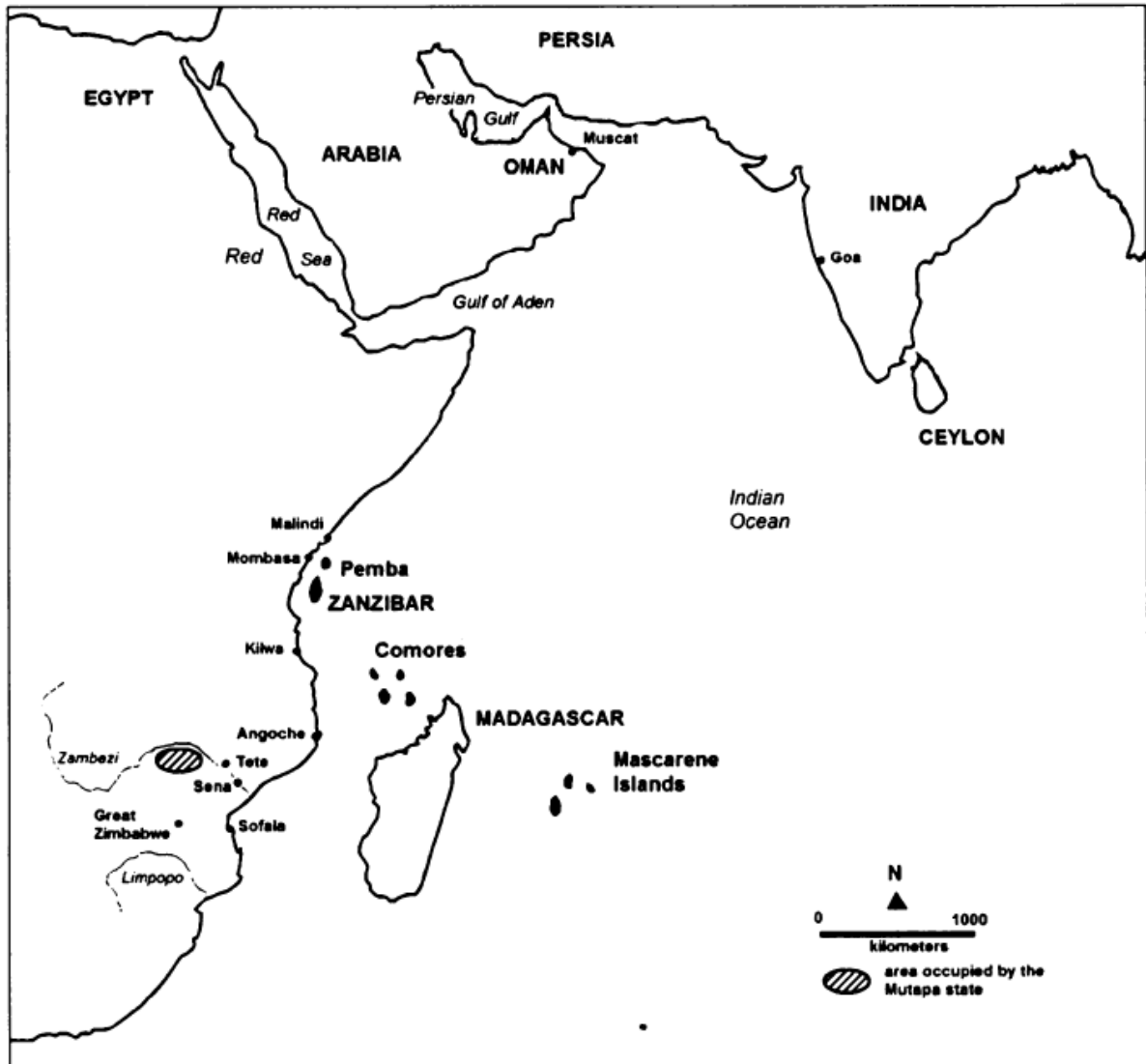
Lastly there is the problem of the so-called Portuguese period. Attempts have been made in the past few decades to Africanise names of ceramic typologies in order to move away from misleading terms and to acknowledge African authorship (eg Pikirayi, 1993, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a; Maggs, 1992). Why, then, do we refer to a style as “Portuguese” when we know that the structures were not even built (solely) by Portuguese immigrants? Also, can a few structures, that are not even clearly defined, and which are not even present at all *feira* sites (cf Baranda in Pikirayi, 1993, 1997), be considered as a separate type distinctive of a certain kind of interaction? Why could they not be considered adjunct to the ceramic typologies found with them? It is moreover not the end of Zimbabwe or Musengezi types, but rather it is a feature that occurs with them, generally in situations of culture contact. Perhaps this is rather the angle that should be taken – understanding the “Portuguese” period artefacts and features as elements or results of interactions. A solution cannot (and will not) be offered here, but it is worth questioning and reimagining the current status of this alleged type, or at least its name.

### Archaeology of the Mutapa State

Most of our understanding of the kingdom of the Mutapas (c. 1450 – 1900 CE) is based on oral and written histories, and though in recent years more archaeology has been conducted (Pikirayi, 1992, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2009; Pwiti, 1996a, 1996b) there are still gaps our knowledge of this epoch. What we do know is that the area lying south of the Zambezi River was populated by (a majority of) Karanga- and Korekore speaking people, many of whom were politically associated with the Mutapa state (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Mudenge, 1988). The Mutapa kingdom had a sovereign ruler, referred to as the Mwene Mutapa (or Monomotapa or Munhumutapa), and his (rulers were, as far as we know, mostly male) polity was divided into smaller sections, each

presided over by local chiefs or rulers (Abraham, 1959; Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Mudenge, 1988).

The size and extent of the Mutapa state has been a subject of some discussion: certain historians (eg. Abraham, 1961) claim that the physical boundaries of the Mutapa state stretched from the Moçambican coast to the Kalahari Desert by the 16<sup>th</sup> century (and the subsequent centuries) (Pikirayi, 1993). Since Mutapa capitals did move, and their political power fluctuated, it is probable that the state's boundaries fluctuated as much (Mudenge, 1988; Pikirayi, 1993). Pikirayi (1993) found, based on archaeological evidence, that the Mutapa state was mostly centred around the smaller northern region of what is now Zimbabwe, just south of the Zambezi River – at least during the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, it is known that Mutapa capitals were located around Chidima in Moçambique from around the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Mudenge, 1988:77). Therefore, archaeologists should be aware of the limits of archaeological understandings of political boundaries.



**Figure 2.17.** Map showing the location of the Mutapa state (signified by the hatched oval) in relation to the southern African interior and the East African coastline and a broader region of the Indian Ocean trade world. (No indication is given of the date of this estimation of the reaches of the Mutapa state, but it is presumed to be during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries CE). Source: Pikirayi, 2009: 165.

In terms of archaeological identity, the Mutapa state is linked closest to (and emerges during the period of) the apparition of Zimbabwe tradition ceramics and settlements in northern Zimbabwe (Pikirayi, 1993, 2001). It is unlikely that the Mutapa kingdom was a development or offshoot of the Great Zimbabwe polity further south; rather, it shared a mutual social identity, as proved by the continuation of material cultural traits (Pikirayi, 1993, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). Moreover, tracing the physical location of the

Mutapa court is challenging, compared to other Zimbabwe type settlements such as Great Zimbabwe, which is believed to be the official and continuous court (Pikirayi, 1993). Mutapa capitals did not remain in one place, but shifted with the change in rulers – they were “revolving centres of political power” as was the case with most other contemporary polities (Mudenge, 1988; Pikirayi, 1993:189). This movement of power between the homes of heads are also described in historical records (Pikirayi, 1993:189).

Zimbabwe tradition sites, however, are not the only ones associated with the Mutapa state, and its “revolving centre” model also changed with time as foreigners became involved in the Mutapa world (Pikirayi, 1993). So-called Portuguese tradition sites, or earthworks and their associated *feiras*, are linked to the Mutapa state (confirmed through objects and histories alike) (Garlake, 1967a, 1967b; Pikirayi, 1992, 1993, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). The conspicuous material welfare of the Mutapas seems to lessen as more people became involved in foreign trade and were showing (off) increased wealth (Pikirayi, 1993:189). Furthermore, settlements seem to have moved (closer) to the trading centres, which came to play a pivotal role as distribution centres in the physical, social and economic layout of the Mutapa communities (Pikirayi, 1993:190). This could be an explanation for why Zimbabwe type stonewalled settlements are replaced by earthworks, loopholed structures, or sites that do not even exhibit obvious walling (Pikirayi, 1993). Could these changes then also signal change from a strict political hegemony to a more heterarchical setting (cf. Crumley, 1995), where the ruler’s power is still in place, but there is more than one power present on the landscape: the other being trade centres?

In addition, loopholed structures and pottery of the Mahonje tradition bear proof of Mutapa occupation, and characterize state decline and eventual collapse of a centralised political core (Pikirayi, 1993). It seems as though these loopholed structures may have been constructed in order to serve as defensive settlements for smaller scale groups of people (Pikirayi, 1992, 1993). In fact, at this time there were several factions that divided the Mutapa state and its neighbours (Pikirayi, 1993). This overall development and change in styles remind us that the Mutapa state was a (fairly

constant) political entity, and may have consisted of several coeval and/or successive social identities, depending on location, time, and socio-political situations (Pikirayi, 1992, 1993, 2001).

The Mutapa state's major economy was based on agriculture and keeping livestock, cattle occupying a central position socially and economically (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Pikirayi, 2001). Trade also played an (increasingly) important socio-economic role, but it was by no means the main economic or political driver in this society (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Pikirayi, 1993). Additionally, arguments have been made, based on material culture from Mutapa-linked sites, as well as oral traditions and an interpretation of cultural logics and ethnography, that a Mwene Mutapa would not base his power upon the sort of mercantile capital whose arrival in the region was unpredictable and infrequent (Moffett & Chirikure, 2016). Rather, a reliance would be made on controllable sources, such as cattle, family ties, and political relationships to accumulate, strengthen, and sustain state power (Moffett & Chirikure, 2016).

The archaeology of the Mutapa state runs hand-in-hand with its history. Oral traditions, written accounts, and maps exist of this kingdom, with dates spanning over several centuries (Pikirayi, 1993). While the histories elucidate certain aspects of the Mutapa state and its chronology and structure, archaeology has contributed greatly in understanding the day to day activities and the physical arrangement of people and their settlements (Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a).

### Historic Records of the Mutapa State

Our knowledge of northern Zimbabwe and the Mutapa state is unique in the sense that there are not only oral traditions that remember it, but there are also historic documents that discuss aspects of the Mutapa's polity stretching over several centuries (Abraham, 1959, 1961; Axelson, 1960, 1961; Beach, 1994; Bhila, 1992; Chanaiwa, 1972; Garlake, 1969a; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 1973, 2001a, 2001b;

Pikirayi, 1993, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). The first documents that mention northern Zimbabwean Farming Communities start appearing from the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE onwards (Beach, 1994). These are written in Arabic, and were probably written by itinerant Muslim traders (Beach, 1994). From these writings we can see that only in more cosmopolitan places such as Kilwa and Sofala did people on the coast know about what was happening in the interior around the Zimbabwe plateau (Beach, 1994). In fact, many of the itinerant merchants were Shona- or Sena-speakers who had settled on the littoral (Beach, 1994).

Portuguese records start discussing this region around the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Beach, 1994; Newitt, 2001a). Many documents only contain second-hand information: *sertanejos* (or backwoodsmen), normally the people who initially ventured to the interior, were illiterate, and would have recounted their experiences to a scribe once they had returned to the coast (Beach, 1994; Newitt, 2001a). But even as Portuguese involvement increased, we note from documentary sources that Portuguese interest was clearly focussed on trade, and very few other observations are made to aid our understanding of the day-to-day lives of the people living in northern Zimbabwe (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Pwiti, 1996a). We thus know little about food production and lifestyles, and much about gold mining and elephant hunting (Beach, 1994). Fortunately in recent years more archaeologists (eg Pikirayi, 1993, 2001, 2009; Pwiti, 1996a) have started paying attention to the archaeology of the Mutapa state, contributing to the understanding of this political unit that lasted nearly 500 years by filling the gaps in the histories by archaeological evidence (Mudenge, 1988).

### Trade south of the Zambezi River: *Bazars to Feiras*

Before the Portuguese even reached the interior regions of East Africa, and more specifically the region surrounding the Zambezi River, several Islamic traders of the Swahili coast held *bazars* (trade fairs) near Mutapa capitals (Beach, 1994; Pikirayi, 2001). Portuguese documents mention these *bazars* in the interior from around 1512, and that they had existed long before the arrival of the Portuguese (Beach, 1994;

Pikirayi, 1993). Itinerant traders would make voyages to the *bazars* to collect gold, ivory and other products in exchange for imported goods (Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001). Such journeys could last more than a year (Newitt, 2001a).

Gold and ivory were not the only export products from the regions south of the Zambezi River (Newitt, 2001a). Some of the most important trade goods were copper, locally-produced cotton cloth, salt, animal hides, and iron (Newitt, 2001a). Trade in these goods was at times actually more lucrative than the gold and ivory on which the Portuguese were so focussed later on (Newitt, 2001a). According to Beach (1994:74) few slaves came from the Zimbabwe plateau – it seems that the trade in gold and ivory was strong enough not to necessitate this type of trade. Furthermore, slaves were generally captured further north, and the southern African hinterland was considered as a source of trade items - not as a source for the trade in persons (Vernet, 2009). However, slavers, slave owners, and slaves alike did move in this region in some capacity (Fagan, 1969; Newitt, 2001a).

The *bazars* gradually became semi-permanent establishments where merchants would sometimes settle (Newitt, 2001a). It does not, however, appear as though the Islamic merchants had tried to control this region – the notion is that they were content to conduct only trade with the local communities (Beach, 1994). The nature of this contact was somewhat different during the era of Portuguese involvement, although the intention of the Portuguese were initially not to possess or control the plateau, but rather to have a monopoly over the commercial activities executed there (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 2001a).

The Portuguese had reached East Africa during the late 15<sup>th</sup> century in their attempt to monopolise the spice (especially pepper) trade in India (Newitt, 2001a). They soon realised that in order to obtain goods from India they needed to settle in, and trade with, other Indian Ocean rim regions, including the East African littoral (Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 2001a). Especially Sofala and Mombasa would be instrumental in obtaining trade goods from the African interior (Newitt, 2001a). Not only were these

ports access points to obtain the products that they wanted, but they also served as way-stations between Portugal and India (Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 2001a). Repairs, supplies, fresh water and medical attention were provided at these ports, and due to their reliance on the monsoonal wind system to navigate their way to the East, ships often had to dock in these harbours for weeks or months at a time to wait for favourable conditions for the rest of the trip (Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 2001a).

With their move into the hinterland of East Africa (first unofficially, and then with orders from the Crown) in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Portuguese slowly took over the *bazars*, systematically marginalising the Islamic traders as they were busy doing on the coast (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 2001a). This was not an easy feat (Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001). Islamic merchants initially managed to keep their places as the main traders in the interior, and it was only towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century with some military forays into the region that the Portuguese managed to gain precedence as traders (Pikirayi, 2001). Towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, they instituted more trading centres, many of them permanent (Newitt, 2001a). These are known as *feiras*, or trading towns, and their objectives were to get access to the gold mines nearby, and to (eventually not) discover the El Dorados and Prester Johns of popular myths (Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1993, 2009).

*Feiras* were the “main contact points between the Portuguese and local African communities in south-eastern Africa, particularly the lower Zambezi region and adjacent northern Zimbabwe plateau” (Pikirayi, 2009:164). The sites of *feiras* unequivocally yield objects that prove direct contact between interior and foreign communities (Pikirayi, 2009:166). *Feiras* generally had an appointed captain who was in charge of the settlement and of the trade relationships, a church with a(t least one) priest serving it, and a set of permanent and temporary residents (Newitt, 2001a). The church and the dwellings of the residents were supposedly built within fortified structures, which were surrounded by ditches and earth banks, known as earthworks (Garlake, 1967a, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a). However, archaeologists such as Pikirayi (2001) and historians such as Chanaiwa (1972:432) think that within these earthworks were official buildings and warehouses for trade goods, and served as marketplaces.

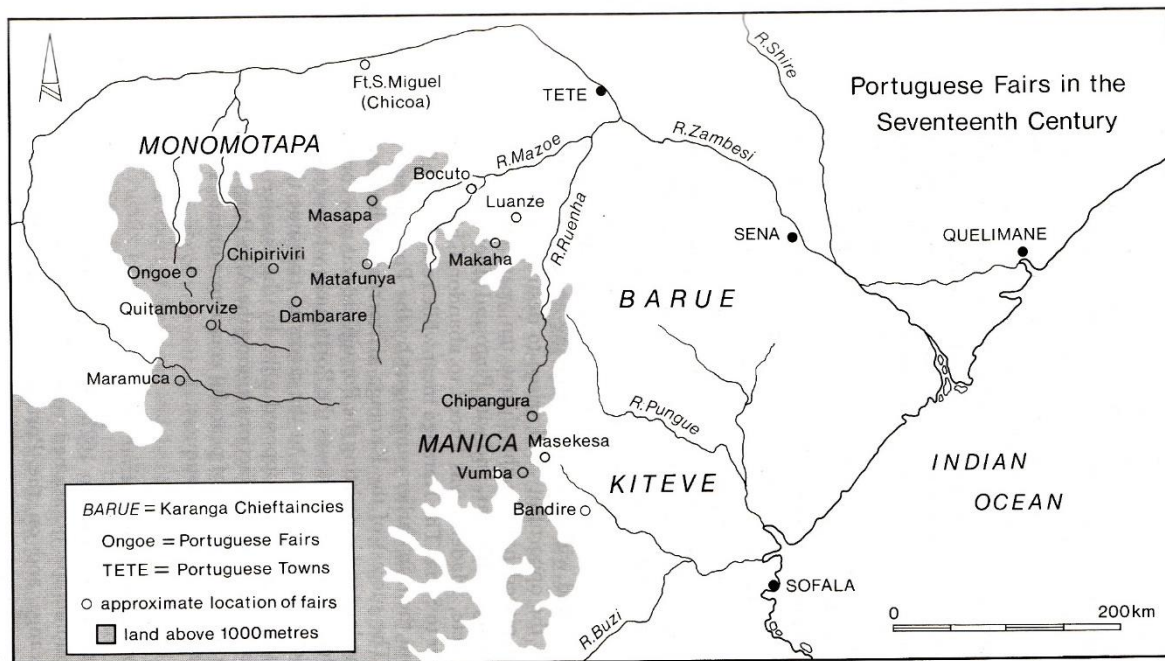
Residents of foreign and local origin did not live inside these walls, but in homes that neighboured the earthworks (Chanaiwa, 1972:432; Pikirayi, 2001).

Initially the Mutapa and his subjects treated the Portuguese much the same as their Islamic trading predecessors (Beach, 1994). Especially the Captain of the Gates (stationed at Massapa) was treated with a considerable amount of respect, and was considered a favoured subject (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Pikirayi, 2001). The Captain of the Gates was often given the title of Great Wife, pointing to the significance of the relationship to the Mutapa (Mudenge, 1988). However, when the Portuguese initiated attempts at monopolising the gold mines in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, Mutapa-Portuguese relations were permanently altered (Beach, 1994).

Trade was originally conducted within the Mutapa's rulers' courts, and trading places in a sense formed extensions of the royal settlements (Pikirayi, 2009). As traffic and mercantile activity increased on the Zambezian landscape, and Portuguese-Mutapa relationships grew more complicated, *feiras* were moved outside of the royal courts (Beach, 1994; Pikirayi, 2009). Still, most *feiras* were constructed near a chief's capital, or at least close enough so that an eye could be kept on the dealings of the Portuguese (Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2009).

Rulers were not interested in creating the *feiras* to monopolise trade in the area, but Newitt (2001a) believes that they definitely did see and grasp at the opportunity to gain some form of control over the flow of goods, or at least to benefit from their taxation. This taxation also enabled them to manage the movement of the foreign traders (Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 2001a). The fact that *feiras* were situated so close to capitals were not always beneficial for the local rulers (Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001). Instead, they left a gap for the Portuguese to involve themselves with local politics, commencing in the latter part of the 16<sup>th</sup> and earlier part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Pikirayi, 2009). These *feiras* thus became centres that were competing for both economic and political power between the Portuguese settlers and the Mutapa rulers (Pikirayi, 2009).

Just as *feiras* were used two ways politically by the Mutapa kings and the Portuguese, so were they at the same time African and Portuguese establishments in character, which can be picked up in written sources of the time as well as in the archaeological record (Pikirayi, 2009:164). According to Pikirayi (2009:164), this “reflects the “duality” of the contact settings at the time.” Pikirayi (2009:180) believes that this had a significant influence on the trajectory that the development of the local communities was taking in terms of social and spatial organisation. Some known *feira* sites in this region are Dambarare, Makaha, Luanze, Bokuto, Massapa, Maramuka, Chitomborwizi, Ongoe, and Urupande (Pikirayi, 2009:166) (figure 2.18).



**Figure 2.18: Map of the southern Zambebian feiras of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Source: Garlake: 2001a: 87.**

## Historical Observations on the Nature of Mutapa-Portuguese Trade

Portuguese documents, since they focus on trade and trade goods more than observing the lifestyles of the Mutapa's subjects, mention the activities that concerned the procurement and production of trade goods, as well as the manners in which commerce was conducted in the Mutapa state (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 1973; 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001).

As mentioned earlier, farming was the main economy in the Mutapa kingdom (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001). Chanaiwa (1972:430) mentions that "in this predominantly agrarian society, the number of cattle and/or amount of grain surplus as well as the number of wives, dependents, and followers that one could attract and maintain were the real measures of wealth." This means that "foreign trade...had little impact" on the wealth and power of the Mwene Mutapa and his citizens (Chanaiwa, 1972:430). Moreover, activities directly linked to the procurement of trade goods were not full-time occupations (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 2001a; Phimister, 1974; Pikirayi, 2001). Gold extraction and elephant hunting were only occasional events, although intensified trade would later increase the frequency of activities pertaining to the procurement of trade goods (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 2001a; Phimister, 1974; Pikirayi, 2001). For example, mining was initially conducted only during the dry months when agricultural activity lessened (Newitt, 2001a; Phimister, 1974). Gold was panned for in rivers, it was dug out of termite mounds, and it was excavated from diggings - some, it is reported, reaching as deep down as 45 meters (Newitt, 1973; Phimister, 1974).

Trade goods were obtained and processed by both male and female persons: "ivory hunting was the work of men; agriculture and, it seems, weaving and mining was women's work" (Newitt, 2001a:51). Other than Portuguese documents explicitly pointing out that women and children mined, it is also a logical conclusion to come to – they were after all the agricultural workers, and could then use the time that would have been spent on farming to extract gold (Newitt, 2001a; Phimister, 1974).

Mutapas maintained political control over *feiras* not through choosing who was allowed to trade, but rather by regulating trade through taxation (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Mudenge, 1988). Mutapa rulers usually received taxes for any trade goods that their subjects were hoping to sell, and they also regulated the rates at which products were bought and sold (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972). Mwene Mutapas or their regional representatives would get the lowest tusk of an elephant (which is the larger one), and half of the gold from a mine in its initial stages (Beach, 1994). Thereafter the miners could keep any gold from the mines for themselves (Beach, 1994). Rulers also had a say in when and whether a mine should (not) be mined (Beach, 1994). In more distant and more politically independent areas, however, this was less often the case (Beach, 1994). This indicates that the state did not have a monopoly over gold production or ivory hunting, although the rulers did receive a generous share of all of these goods (Beach, 1994). In fact, subjects who had mined and hunted “were free to dispose of their shares as they wished” (Beach, 1994:104). It thus seems as though tax was about 50% for the ruler (Beach, 1994). Moreover, on the topic of taxation, the location of the Mutapa Empire allowed it to tax overland traders who passed through their territory (which almost always happened) (Beach, 1994). These taxes could go as high as 15%, but they had to keep check on this, seeing as too high tax rates would ensure violence or the crippling of trade (Beach, 1994).

What this points to is that the Mwene Mutapa and his sub-rulers did not want to control trade, but rather regulated and benefited from it (Chanaiwa, 1972:434). Chanaiwa (1972:434) mentions that “[t]he Mutapa did not simply exploit the economic activities between his people and the Portuguese for the purposes of enhancing his power and authority.” Thus Mutapas and élite members of society were not the only ones who had access to foreign trade (Newitt, 2001a). Mutapas did not control the influx of goods (but they did tax it), and distribution to favoured subjects was not the only way in which the Mutapa’s subjects could get access to foreign goods (Chanaiwa, 1972). At most, élites and favoured subjects did not have to pay tribute to the Mutapa (Chanaiwa, 1972). Here historians are seemingly in conflict, since Chanaiwa (1972:430) on the one hand posits that “only a small oligarchical élite around the ruling dynasties actually acquired the incoming foreign goods, and thus only they had much interest in trade” and further that “this wealth was expressed through conspicuous consumption”

(Chanaiwa 72:431). This could be countered with archaeological evidence showing that foreign goods were accessible to the general population, as proved by burial and homestead sites (Chirikure, 2014; Pwiti, 1996a). Moreover, Beach (1994:104) mentions that anyone who had managed to obtain or make things were free to trade as long as they offered taxes to the Mutapa. The Mutapa in return could either use these objects gained from taxation, or goods that he had ordered subjects to obtain for him, to trade with as he wished (Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 2001a).

### The Archaeology of Portuguese-African Contact Sites around the southern tributary rivers of the Zambezi River

Compared to the number of *feiras* reported of in histories, very few have been found and investigated archaeologically. The sites of Luanze, Rimuka (Maramuca/ Rimuca), and a site in the Angwa (Ongoe) valley (Garlake, 1967a), Dambarare (Garlake, 1969a) and Massapa (or Baranda) (Pikirayi, 1993) have been recorded (figure 2.18). Moreover, two (somewhat younger) Portuguese-contact sites have been researched north of the Zambezi River in modern-day Zambia: Feira and Kasoko (Clark, 1967; Phillipson, 1972). Not only do the archaeological reports inform us of the material culture at the sites, but also of the types of questions that the researchers had asked while investigating these sites. It is therefore necessary to get a brief overview of the *feiras* that we know through archaeological research.

The *feira* of Luanze (figure 2.18) at Mtoko hosts two small rectangular loopholed enclosures, terraced gardens, graves, and a structure that might be a church (Garlake, 1967a). Peter Garlake (1967a) investigated portions of the site, but not extensively: he excavated inside one earthwork, an eroding midden, and a mound in one of the rectangular enclosures. Based on the surface scatter of potsherds, Garlake (1967a) believed Luanze to be quite expansive. Worked gold was also found on the surface, and the material culture (excavated and on the surface) consists of local and foreign goods (Garlake, 1967a). Foreign ceramics, local pottery, glass, copper, bronze beads, iron objects, and pole-impressed dhaka were amongst the finds (Garlake, 1967a). The

imported ceramics relatively date the site to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which agrees with the period mentioned in Portuguese descriptions of the site (Garlake, 1967a). The remains of rectangular structures of dhaka and poles were found inside both earthworks, which Garlake (1967a:167) believed “fulfilled identical functions, but separately and independently.” Garlake (1967a) moreover thought the earthworks to not be defensive units. Instead he considered them as roofless trade warehouses (Garlake, 1967a).

Rimuka (figure 2.18), located on a hilltop near the Suri-Suri River, displays similar earthworks to that of Luanze (Garlake, 1967a). Excavated finds included 17<sup>th</sup> century foreign ceramics, pottery (similar to that found at Luanze), and glass beads (Garlake, 1967a). Remnants of worked gold show trade in and the processing of this mineral at Rimuka (Garlake, 1967a). Pole-impressed dhaka was found inside the confines of the rectangular earthworks (Garlake, 1967a). To Garlake (1967a) it seemed as though the occupation of Rimuka did not last long, based on the dearth of material culture. This agrees with Portuguese reports that mention the short-lived nature of Rimuka (Garlake, 1967a).

The site of Angwa (figure 2.18) was not excavated, but features and surface finds were recorded by Peter Garlake (1967a). Due to the fact that it is situated (as many *feiras* are) near goldfields, the site has experienced destruction inflicted on it by prospectors and commercial mines since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Garlake, 1967a:168). Features that were recorded included six separate earthworks (Garlake, 1967a). Based upon slight architectural differences, Garlake (1967a:168) considered them to be of a slightly later date than those at Luanze and Rimuka. Garlake (1969a) furthermore investigated and wrote a site report for the feira of Dambarare - but this will be discussed in Chapter Four. However, it is important to note that Garlake (1969a) mostly presented an overview of the site and its material culture, and did not make any theoretical interpretations of the site.

Massapa (figure 2.18), a *feira* located near the archaeological Mutapa-linked town of Baranda, and situated near gold ridges, was excavated by Innocent Pikirayi (1993:74).

Pikirayi surveyed, mapped and excavated portions of Massapa, and claims that it is the “largest known field site with imported material in northern Zimbabwe” (Pikirayi, 1993:75; 2001:177). Massapa has no rectangular earthworks (Pikirayi, 1993). Finds included imported ceramics (16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries), pottery (which resembles the Zimbabwe type found in northern Zimbabwe), glass and copper beads, glassware, metal items, copper or bronze medallions (similar to those found at Dambarare), slag, a crucible with gold residues, and spindle whorls (Pikirayi, 1993: 75, 80; 2001:177). Interestingly, Pikirayi (2014:13, 392) found that activity was distributed evenly throughout the site, except towards the western reaches, where iron production seems to have been the main focus.

In 1997 Innocent Pikirayi published a review of the pottery found at most of the abovementioned sites in order to better understand the ceramics of the historical Mutapa state, and thus the social identities that would be connected to it (Pikirayi, 1997). The results proved interesting in the sense that they showed a mixture of ceramic types (or social identities) present at these *feiras* (Pikirayi, 1997). All of the *feiras* (ranging from a greater to a lesser extent) displayed traits of Zimbabwe type ceramics (and sometimes variations on the stonewalling), though Pikirayi (1997) mentions that even at Massapa/Baranda, which hosted more typical Zimbabwe ceramics, the pottery appeared to be a modified version of the Zimbabwe type. Moving further away from what is believed to be the Mutapa state’s heartland, the pottery assemblage at the *feiras* also seemed less obviously distinguishable – and more heterogeneous (Pikirayi, 1997). For example, the Angwa *feiras* and Dambarare, which are considered to be on the peripheries of the Mutapa political core, have a more varied and at times unidentifiable collection of pottery (or identities) (Pikirayi, 1997). Pikirayi (1997) does however mention that this mixture of ceramics may just be based upon (and biased towards) the collection strategies and that commingling of more modern or older wares may have happened, which could cause this unclear picture, as people of a more recent date may have settled in the region after the abandonment of the *feiras*.

Research has furthermore been conducted at African-Portuguese contact sites north of the Zambezi River, although these are younger in date than the south-Zambezi *feiras*, and are of a somewhat different character. David Phillipson (1972) excavated the 19<sup>th</sup> century site of Kasoko, situated on the northern banks of the Zambezi River in Zambia. There are a few rectangular platforms with the remains of pole-impressed dhaka structures inside the platforms (Phillipson, 1972). Objects were collected from a surface survey and from excavations (Phillipson, 1972). These objects include local pottery (including ring-based bowls), foreign ceramics, iron objects, glass beads, glass shards, and lithic scatters (Phillipson, 1972). Phillipson (1972) relatively dated the site to the 19<sup>th</sup> century due to the ceramic assemblage, as well as written records that exist of this site. It is probable that this was a Portuguese-occupied trade site (Matthews, 1981; Phillipson, 1972).

J. Desmond Clark investigated a site called Feira (the name possibly already indicating its nature) established in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Zambia at the confluence of the Zambezi and Luangwa Rivers (Clark, 1967; Phillipson, 1975). Feira is linked intricately with the Portuguese settlement of Zumbo, as Feira would be its trading centre across the river (Clark, 1967). Feira was established for the gold, copper, and ivory trade (Clark, 1967:277). Feira hosts the remains of a stone-built loopholed structure with brick and pole-impressed dhaka structures inside (Clark, 1967). Clark did not excavate the site, but suggested it would be worth digging, seeing as several telling surface finds were present, including imported ceramics, glass shards, roof and floor tiles, spindle whorls, local pottery (some flat-based and ring-based), worked iron, cowries, and glass beads (Clark, 1967:290).

There are several *feiras* and contact sites that have not yet been excavated, but that are known through historical records (Newitt, 1973, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001, 2009). Those located in northern Zimbabwe include Makaha, Bokuto, Chitomborwizi, and Urupande (Pikirayi, 2009:166). Additionally there are also trading towns in Moçambique, such as Zumbo and Kanyemba (Shadreck Chirikure, pers. comm. 2017; Newitt, 2001a; Phimister, 1974). Zumbo is significant here, since it is located near Feira, and they were linked (Clark, 1967; Newitt, 2001a). Zumbo was a way-station to

where trade goods would be taken and further transported inland and outbound (Newitt, 2001a). Additionally there were the towns of Sena and Tete, located in Zambia and Moçambique respectively, although these were not trading towns but rather posts of the Portuguese government that oversaw much of the trade and other official activities in the region (Newitt, 2001a).

### A Discussion of Archaeological Investigations of Portuguese-African Contact Sites around southern tributary rivers of the Zambezi River

Based on the pottery analyses that Pikirayi (1993, 1997) conducted, a few observations can be made. First, it seems as though the identities represented by the ceramics that make up the majority of the Mutapa collections are mostly that of the Zimbabwe type (Pikirayi, 1993). These ceramics are not only present at more typically Mutapa-linked sites, but also at the *feiras*, which, according to oral and written histories, were connected to the Mutapa state (Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001). For example, at Baranda, most of the ceramics are Zimbabwe type ceramics (Pikirayi, 1993, 1997). Baranda is also believed to be closest to the Mwene Mutapa's capital at the time (Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001). It is thus closest to the political core, and would thus show consistency with the settlements nearby (Pikirayi, 1997). However, the further away the *feiras* are situated from the capital, the more mixed, and the less distinguishable the identities become (Pikirayi, 1997). At the more "peripheral" *feiras*, one does find some Zimbabwe type pottery, but there is also a presence of Musengezi ceramics, and some ceramics that cannot clearly be linked to any one known social identity (Pikirayi, 1997).

In addition to the mechanisms of powers at play at these contact sites (and their innovative application), one can also trace the interaction and integrations of several people at the *feiras*. Not only were there foreigners and locals meeting and living together at these sites (as well as the *feiras* being both foreign and local in nature; Pikirayi, 2009), but various groupings of local identities also seem to have congregated here (Pikirayi, 1997). Through the various ceramic identities present, especially at the

*feiras* situated further away from the 17<sup>th</sup> century Mutapa capital, one can see that people not from the immediate region reached the *feiras* to trade and likely also to settle (Pikirayi, 1997). Heterogeneous interactions of local identities are thus present at the *feiras* (Pikirayi, 1997) and the use of the various types of ceramics show an integration of the inhabitants and those who passed through.

What this review moreover brings to light is that not much in-depth (excavation) work has been done on Zimbabwean (and Zambian and Moçambican) sites of African-Portuguese contact, although that which has been done is to be commended. Reasons for this, other than the neglect in research efforts in northern Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Moçambique in general may be that some of these sites are not conspicuous on the landscape (nor easy to locate using Portuguese sources), and that many of the sites may have experienced serious damage caused by mining and other construction (or destruction) activities (Garlake, 1967a; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1997).

On the other hand, the research that has been done aimed to establish whether the sites are locations of Portuguese-African contact, and to find dates and chronologies of the sites based on the objects present (Garlake, 1967a, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1997). Some of the sites have also been investigated in order to serve as comparisons for the study of other *feiras* or normal settlements (Garlake, 1967a). Some studies have been done to inquire into the African identities and affiliations at the *feiras* (Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001). But no questions have been asked explicitly about the nature of the interactions at these sites. It is for this reason that the decision was made to revisit the *feira* of Dambarare – to consider the objects in terms of what they could elucidate to measure interaction, integration, and innovations that would have happened at a contact site.

## Conclusion

A long-term perspective on cultural succession in northern Zimbabwe shows the presence of various groups that developed with time. Whether these groups migrated to or from northern Zimbabwe, or whether they originated and continued independently, it is clear from archaeological evidence that they all had a local economy based on agriculture and the rearing of livestock since the first millennium CE (Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 1993, 2001; Pwiti, 1996a). Contact with the East African coastline commenced during the middle of the first millennium CE and increased during the centuries that followed (Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 2001). By the middle of the second millennium CE foreign traders had made their way inland, attracted by the commodities that emerged from the south-central hinterland (Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001). The thriving nature of this trade and exchange and its associated benefits soon attracted the attention of the Portuguese, who in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries also moved inland (Beach, 1994; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001). Trading centres were established between them and the Mutapa kingdom, and these marketplaces soon became places of interaction, integration, and innovation (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1993, 2001). Not only does one find interactions between local people in the archaeological record of these contact sites (Pikirayi, 1997), but also between foreigners and locals (Garlake, 1967a, 1969a; Pikirayi, 2001, 2009). As mentioned already, not much research has been conducted on the consequences of these interactions during the 17<sup>th</sup> century on the northern Zimbabwean landscape, and therefore the *feira* of Dambarare has been chosen in this study to consider those themes. But first, it would be beneficial to consider the theoretical underpinnings that would form the basis of interpretation of the remnants of this *feira*.

## CHAPTER THREE: THEORY

### Introduction

This chapter considers the theoretical framework that shaped the approach taken in this dissertation. Whilst the case study for this project is situated in a historical period, historical archaeology does not merely substantiate or support historical knowledge (Kelly, 1997a, 2002; Lightfoot, 1995). Instead, an historical archaeological approach provides a means to address some of the gaps in our current knowledge of Dambarare through considering material evidence. The study of the physical evidence at this site will contribute towards understanding the nature of interaction, of integration, and of innovation in 17<sup>th</sup> century northern Zambezia. The first part of this chapter focuses on a review of a post-processual approach which provided the theoretical framework to for this study. This will be followed by a review of the main theories and notions that will be under scrutiny in the following chapters, with case studies as examples to understand the questions that are being asked in a global context. Lastly they will be discussed in light of several current concerns in the study of contact sites and of farming communities in southern Zambezia.

### A Post-Processual Approach

Post-processual approaches contain several theoretical underpinnings (Hodder, 1993; Johnson, 2010). Post-processualism, therefore, prides itself in being a framework of multiple approaches - and of multiple outcomes (Hodder, 1993; Johnson, 2010). Opposing previous archaeological frameworks (such as culture-historical or processual approaches), post-processualism focuses on the variability of human behaviour, on agency, and on gaining a more nuanced understanding of a site, often employing techniques to bring out the plurality of perspectives in archaeological interpretation (Hodder, 1993; Johnson, 2010; Renfrew & Bahn, 2004). Along with

plurality in perspectives, post-processualism considers different sources of power, or critiques traditional assumptions of power structures (Crumley, 1995; Hodder, 1993; Patterson, 1989). For example, core-periphery models that consider sites of interaction (normally located on peripheries) as dominated by their metropolises are brought into question (Antonites, 2012). Alternate explanations are presented that give agency to those in hinterland contexts (DeCorse, 1992). Reflexivity in interpretation is also considered important, meaning that the archaeologist should be aware of their biases and the theories that inform their understanding of archaeological materials and the people who used them (Hodder, 1993). Two of the main biases in this dissertation are that of multivocality and of entanglement.

### Multivocality

A central tenet of the post-processual framework of archaeological thought is that of multivocality (Atalay, 2008; Hodder, 1993, 2008; Johnson, 2010; Wylie, 2008). Multivocality in archaeology attempts to bring out plural voices and interpretations at an archaeological site (Atalay, 2008). This is an especially important, and an especially effective exercise at historical archaeological sites, since there is already a main narrative (in the historical documents) that can be complemented or contested by the material culture (Hodder, 1993; Johnson, 2010). Not only can multivocality help us interpret a site from various viewpoints, but it can also assist us in better understanding the contacts and the interactions that were at play at a site between the various identities that found themselves there (Atalay, 2008; Johnson, 2010). Through the study of the objects at the site, we can trace the different identities there, and we can attempt to measure the interaction, the integration, and the innovation and creolisation that occurred at the site (Hodder, 1993, 2008; Johnson, 2010).

## Entanglement

Linked to multivocality, and equally significant for this project, is the concept of entanglement (Gosden, 2005; Hodder, 2011; Thomas, 1991). Objects are at the core of this notion, where things are expressions or mediators of relationships between people (Hodder, 2011; Thomas, 1991). The meanings attached to things, and the roles that objects play are constantly in negotiation with the people who make, use, and discard them (Gosden, 2005; Hodder, 2011; Thomas, 1991). As Nicholas Thomas (1991:4) notes, “objects are not what they were made to be but what they have become.” This means that we assign meanings to items, sometimes different to the ones that they were initially intended for, especially in contact settings (Hodder, 2011; Thomas, 1991). Therefore, through different manners of interaction and situations where people come into contact with each other, things will obtain new or different meanings in these contexts (Thomas, 1991). Kelly (1997b) however mentions that sometimes objects, even in new contexts, still play the same roles that they were initially intended for. Objects that are trade goods, gifts, or possessions can also create different links and debts to those who give or receive or own them (Thomas, 1991). Objects therefore pull people into certain types of relationships with other people, and with other things, and this is entanglement (Thomas, 1991). There are thus networks of things and meanings and relationships that a person gets drawn into, or gets entangled with (Thomas, 1991). In short, entanglement expresses the way in which humans are involved in relationships with other people through (and sometimes because of) things (Gosden, 2005; Hodder, 2011; Thomas, 1991).

## Using Archaeology (and the Dambarare Archive) to Address the Research Themes

Dambarare and its neighbouring *feiras* are defined as historical archaeological sites because there exists documentary evidence in conjunction with the archaeological record (Abraham, 1961; Axelson, 1960, 1961; Beach, 1994; Bhila, 1992; Funari *et al.*, 1999; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 1973, 2001a,b; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2009). However, a direct historical approach - or using historical texts as basis for

archaeological enquiry - is not always desirable nor effective, especially in cases of culture contact (Kelly, 1997a, 2002; Lightfoot, 1995). The reason is that with a direct historical approach, preference is given to the historical accounts (normally written by foreigners), and the objects are seen as secondary (Kelly, 1997a, 2002; Lightfoot, 1995; Lightfoot & Martinez, 1995). In reality, the objects could be much more telling of such contact situations (Kelly, 1997a, 2002; Lightfoot, 1995; Lightfoot & Martinez, 1995). This is particularly important in conducting archaeology at *feiras*, since, as we have noted in Chapter Two, historical accounts at such sites focus mainly on trade, and little on the day-to-day lives and interactions of their inhabitants (with each other and with objects), which in turn can be addressed by studying archaeological material (Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Newitt, 1973; 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001). As Kenneth Kelly (2002:98, 99) notes:

“...[N]o matter how complex and comprehensive the interpretation of European-authored documents, these initial observations are finally the product of outsiders. Archaeological evidence, which is the material residue of African (and European) behaviours, provides another perspective from which to investigate the ways that intercultural interaction was explored and conceived by African participants. Although archaeological data do not clearly provide the details of individual actions as documents can do, archaeology demonstrates the cumulative effects of behaviour. In effect, archaeology provides evidence of aggregate strategies explored by individuals and groups who, except in ordinary circumstances, remain anonymous. These aggregate past actions, while not able to “speak for themselves,” are amenable to interpretation from a critical perspective. They constitute an alternative pathway through which to discern the conscious and unconscious actions of those who were motivated to reach specific ends or outcomes.” (Kelly, 2002:98, 99).

Thus, in approaching the objects from Dambarare reliance is made on the potential of objects to “communicate,” and that by studying them, these artefacts could “expose to us the ways that social interactions were perceived and controlled by people caught up in new [or at least altered] circumstances” (Kelly, 2002:100). This also assists in our attempt at multivocality, and how people were entangled with objects and each other (Hodder, 2008, 2011; Johnson, 2010; Kelly, 2002; Thomas, 1991).

## Research Themes

The three research themes considered in this project are those of interaction, integration, and innovation. This section will define and discuss each theme, as well as provide some case studies on how they have been handled elsewhere around the globe and the African continent. It should be noted that many of the following case studies and topics do overlap. This is also what is expected in the results of this project: that many of the objects could point to several or all of the ideas discussed. It is often obvious, and it is assumed that the reader would see, at least in the following case studies, the overlaps. There will be an attempt to be more explicit in the subsequent chapters and discussions of the archive analyses.

### Interaction

Whenever there is one or more identity present at a site (local/local or local/foreigner, or more) one would (or should) be able to trace interaction between these persons or groups based on the material culture and how they (do not) use it (Calabrese, 2000; Fleisher, 2010; Kelly, 2001, 2002; Malan, 1998a; Thomas, 1991). Three case studies will be considered that bring out the many manners in which interactions can be traced in the archaeological record, and the (theoretical) consequences of these interactions will be discussed afterwards.

Our first case of interaction, as evidenced through objects, comes not from a contact site *per se*, but rather from a Swahili settlement that was deeply involved in Indian Ocean trade, and which used imports to express social differentiation (Fleisher, 2010). Jeffrey Fleisher (2010) observed at Chwaka (and several other Swahili towns) on Pemba Island off the Tanzanian coastline, that imported ceramics (specifically blue and white glazed Islamic stonepaste wares) were used in rituals of feasting. He argues that instead of these foreign objects being mere expressions of power in a prestige goods economy, they rather were goods instrumental to the maintenance, gain, and loss of power (Fleisher, 2010: 200). Therefore conspicuous consumption, and the

objects employed in this display, was important in how people interacted with each other and how they negotiated social roles (Fleisher, 2010). One could therefore say that the public performance of generosity is deemed, in this case, more important than the public display of possession in negotiating social roles (Fleisher, 2010). Fleisher (2010), through this case study, points out that in this specific context, power is something that is confirmed locally, and not through the possession of knowledge or goods from distant places. This could be echoed in much of the archaeological and historical evidence on the negotiation of power that we find in southern Africa, and especially northern Zimbabwe (Chanaiwa, 1972; Chirikure, 2014; Moffett & Chirikure, 2016; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a)

A southern African example of interaction (and integration) amongst contemporary identities is that of the relationship between groups who made Leopard's Kopje and Zhizo types pottery between 1000 – 1200 CE in Botswana and the Shashe-Limpopo basin (Calabrese, 2000). Previously it was assumed that the interactions that occurred between these communities were either of a hostile nature, displayed intermarriage, or indicated trade (Calabrese, 2000). However, Calabrese's (2000) study at the site of Leokwe Hill provides a more nuanced and intricate interaction between these type communities. The site of Leokwe Hill is divided between elite and commoner residences (Calabrese, 2000). The status differences are also characterised by having different ceramic traditions present, or rather, as having different social identities living side by side; one indicating higher status, the other lower rank (Calabrese, 2000). Therefore, Zhizo-users were not expelled from the region when the Leopard's Kopje culture appears at Leokwe Hill around 1000 CE, but rather the two identities remain on the same landscape, and interact in various manners: sometimes aggressively, sometimes by trading, sometimes marrying in, and at other times living alongside each other, but maintaining power and dividing status through the maintenance of certain material cultural practices (Calabrese, 2000). This in turn, it is understood, (is one of the factors that may have) led to the rise of socio-political complexity and of the growth of stratified political societies (Calabrese, 2000).

On the other hand, a site where the interaction between foreign and local communities can be witnessed in a trade setting is at Savi in Bénin (17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries CE) (Kelly, 1997a,b, 2001, 2002). Savi was a trading town on the coast of Bénin, where various groups of foreign traders lived and traded with local groups (Kelly, 1997a,b, 2001, 2002). Kenneth Kelly (1997b, 2002) notes that Savi had been an existing trading place even before European contact. Therefore the Hueda people who lived there allowed multiple foreign groups to trade at Savi, which resulted in it being difficult for the foreign traders to attempt to take control over Savi and the Hueda since no foreign community would have it in their interest to allow another to be the dominant trading partner (Kelly, 1997b, 2002). Furthermore, the Hueda controlled where the foreign traders could live (outside the Hueda court, but close enough so that they could be monitored), and what types of structures they could build (mostly following vernacular architectural styles) (Kelly, 1997b, 2002). Conversely, the Hueda themselves built the court and trading places out of foreign materials, such as bricks (Kelly, 1997b, 2002). This communicated the power that the Hueda maintained over their trading partners and the situation at Savi (Kelly, 2002). As such, the Hueda managed to avoid and manage conflicts of control and the imposition of foreign cultures (Kelly, 2002). Foreign objects that were integrated were highly selective and conditional to the situation at Savi (Kelly, 2002).

Based on these three case studies, one can get a clearer picture of the various forms of interactions between groups of people (in this case wealthy/wealthy and wealthy/poor, local/local, and local/foreign) (Calabrese, 2000; Fleisher, 2010; Kelly, 1997a,b, 2001, 2002; Thomas, 1991). In all these situations, objects play an important role where they either symbolise certain ideas or attitudes, or where they communicate relationships between people (Calabrese, 2000; Fleisher, 2010; Kelly, 1997a,b, 2001, 2002; Thomas, 1991). Most importantly, tracing interactions archaeologically is dependent on the ways in which we can distinguish the different groups, and to see how we can measure culture change and continuity.

## Integration

Integration (of world views or lifestyles of people) can usually be traced by the acceptance and use of certain introduced objects (Kelly, 1997b; Malan, 1998b; Thomas, 1991). Conversely, rejection is when we see that an object is specifically not being used – or integration is being refused (Chirikure, 2014; Kelly, 1997b; Thomas, 1991). Integration can come from accepting the lifestyles or objects of others, whether it is accepting the foreign tradition or the local one (Kelly, 2002; Newitt, 2001a,b; Thomas, 1991). Generally, integration can be traced by the acceptance and use of foreign objects, and when objects are not used, one sees rejection (Malan, 1998b; Kelly, 1997b).

A South African example of integration is that of the identification of Nguni and Sotho-Tswana sites based upon certain spatial and ceramic features (Hall, 2012; Huffman, 2007; Mitchell & Whitelaw, 2005). Whether this is correct will not be discussed here (there are enough debates about this elsewhere; cf. Badenhorst, 2009; Boeyens, 2000; Bonner et al., 2008; Esterhuysen, 2008; Huffman, 2007, 2010; 2012; Maggs, 1976; Schoeman, 1997; etc.), but the ideas of interaction and integration in this context will nevertheless be discussed. First, it is commonly taken as true in the study of agriculturist (or Iron Age) communities in southern Africa that spatial organisation and ceramics (amongst other items) are an expression of social identity (Huffman, 2007; Mitchell & Whitelaw, 2005). There are two main linguistic groupings with two separate social identities in South Africa's Late Iron Age (LIA) (Mitchell & Whitelaw, 2005; Huffman, 2007). First is the Nguni linguistic grouping, characterised archaeologically by dry-stonewalled settlements and by comb-stamped pottery (Huffman, 2007). Nguni cluster communities generally lived towards the south-east in southern Africa (Huffman, 2007). The Sotho-Tswana cluster, on the other hand, are believed to originally not have had stonewalling, and that their ceramics do not display comb-stamping (Huffman, 2007). Nguni-speakers, it is contended, therefore moved north and west into areas generally populated by Sotho-Tswana speakers during the LIA, and introduced these features (Huffman, 2007). Sotho-Tswana speakers, by marriage, force, or acculturation, would then accept these introduced patterns (on ceramics and of settlements) (Huffman, 2007). Therefore, when we start tracing comb-stamping in

Sotho-Tswana pottery, or see stonewalling at sites with Sotho-Tswana material culture, we see, in effect, integration of introduced ideas and settlement and ceramic decoration patterns (Huffman, 2007).

Various sites of colonial Cape households and holdings from the 17<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries CE have been studied to better understand the fabric of that society (Abrahams, 1993; Hall *et al.*, 1990a,b; 1993; Klose, 1997; Klose & Malan, 2000; Malan, 1998a, b; Schrire & Deacon, 1989; etc.). At the Cape, many varieties of integration in this settler community were found, where the wealthy, poor, white, black, free, and enslaved lived (Malan, 1998b). In some cases one finds it hard to trace certain identities in the archaeological record. For example, slaves seldom had possessions and would use what belonged to their owners: they would eat from the same dishes, live in the same buildings, and so on (Hall *et al.*, 1993; Malan, 1998a,b). Without historic records (such as inventories, letters, estate lists, etc.), one would not be able to easily pick up the presence of such individuals (Klose, 1997; Malan, 1998a,b). On the other hand, one can see from the households of both freeburghers and free blacks that at times people seemed to integrate certain cultures into their lifestyles and worldviews at the Cape colony(ies) (Malan, 1998b). For example, free black women would often dress in European manner, and based on kitchen artefacts and waste, diets would be similar to those in free burgher homes (however, even in these free burgher households there were already incorporations of Asian diets and foodways – an introduction by the slaves who prepared the food) (Malan, 1998b). On the other hand, in some households there is evidence of a rejection of European diet and foodways, and distinctly Asian diets and foodways could be traced (Malan, 1998b). Therefore, society in colonial Cape Town was plural and had various expressions and manifestations. In some cases one can trace the adoption and integration of lifestyles and artefacts, and in other cases one can see how people actively rejected certain objects and manners of performing activities (Malan, 1998a, b).

The final example of integration, and touching on the concept of innovation, is at Elmina (15<sup>th</sup> - 20<sup>th</sup> centuries CE) in Ghana (DeCorse, 1992; Kelly, 1997a,b, 2001, 2002). Elmina was excavated by (a team led by) Christopher DeCorse (1992).

site shows trade between local people situated at Elmina, and settled Portuguese traders (DeCorse, 1992). Foreign and local people lived together, and therefore the integration (and often also innovative use) of foreign goods are visible at Elmina, where large amounts of exotic artefacts are present in the archaeological record (DeCorse, 1992; Kelly, 2002). Many times the acceptance of foreign goods and lifestyles were used in local communities residing at Elmina to distinguish themselves from neighbouring communities who were not as closely linked to foreigners as they were (DeCorse, 1992; Kelly, 2002). However, DeCorse (1992) points out that this was not done without careful thought about the manner in which introduced objects were integrated or innovatively used at Elmina (DeCorse, 1992; Kelly, 2002). Moreover, DeCorse (1992:190) claims that here, at Elmina, the indigenous inhabitants did not injudiciously accept whatever came their way in terms of foreign goods and customs. Instead, there was as much resistance and rejection towards new things as there was integration and innovation (DeCorse, 1992). DeCorse (1992), for example, mentions that traditional burial customs were conducted, but imported and local goods were incorporated into the grave good collections. This points to the autochthonous communities actively choosing when to accept something, and when to deny it (DeCorse, 1992; Kelly, 2002). This then supports the idea that the local communities used foreign customs and goods to differentiate themselves from other local groups, but still hung on to traditional manners and objects to distinguish themselves from foreigners and avoid complete “Europeanisation” (DeCorse, 1992; Kelly, 2002: 106).

Clearly, integration manifests itself in various manners and to varying degrees. Based on the Nguni/Sotho-Tswana example (Huffman, 2007), artefacts that are intricately linked to social identity could be considered as canaries in the coal mine when they change. They show integration not only of outsiders into the communities, but also of the acceptance of introduced world-views and beliefs (Huffman, 2007). While the colonial Cape household case studies did not present one single example (Klose & Malan, 2000; Malan, 1998a,b; Hall *et al.*, 1990b, 1993), it is clear that, when looking at a large area with many identities moving around in it, there are many ways in which integration and rejection can manifest itself. We can trace these attitudes through the material culture belonging to the people under study, and we can measure the extent to which people were willing to (or were forced to) integrate. Lastly, the case study at

Elmina in Ghana (DeCorse, 1992) underlines the fact that communities engaged in culture contact were shrewd users of introduced objects (and thus the relationships into which they would entangle people). They also knew (and autonomously decided) when to reject such objects or the customs that they precluded (DeCorse, 1992). They moreover gave introduced objects new meanings through using them either in traditional settings, or by creating new contexts for the use of the objects and introduced customs (DeCorse, 1992). With this mention of innovation, let us consider this topic now in more detail.

### Innovation

Innovation occurs in many settings, but it is a noted feature of situations of culture contact (Malan, 1998b; Thomas, 1991). Innovation may come in the form of changing known objects, or even of using new objects in a manner that subverts or does not comply with its original meaning (Kelly, 1997b, 2002; Thomas, 1991). This may happen because of a shortage or lack of objects that traditionally fills the intentional role, or it may be because there is a conscious decision to subvert the original meaning, or it may be because it points to the acceptance of material culture (and thus ideas) into an existing assemblage, or it may have no explicit meaning attached (Bandama *et al.*, 2017; Kelly, 1997b; Thibodeau *et al.*, 2007; Thomas, 1991).

One interesting case study that concerns innovation is that of silver extraction at the late 15<sup>th</sup> century CE archaeological site of La Isabela in the Dominican Republic (previously Hispaniola) in the Caribbean (Thibodeau *et al.*, 2007). La Isabela, one of the oldest Spanish colonial towns, sports evidence of the first silver extraction thus far found in the New World (Thibodeau *et al.*, 2007). Initially, the town was well equipped and occupied by several people, and they attempted to extract silver from galena (imported from Spain) through a cupellation process (Thibodeau *et al.*, 2007). However, due to either to a lack of knowledge or a lack of materials, they lined cupellation hearths not with bone ash, as was the practice in medieval Europe, but rather with sand (Thibodeau *et al.*, 2007:3664). Unlike bone ash, this sand reacted

and coagulated with the lead litharge and rendered the resulting product less useful – the larger portion of the assaying product turning into a silica-glass (Thibodeau *et al.*, 2007). This practice, as well as the earlier emigration of a large portion of the town's populace to another town, caused an eventual disappointment and collapse in the town's population, and it was abandoned after less than a decade of existence. This thus points to the innovation of smelting techniques in a foreign setting, although this time the innovation was ultimately a failure (Thibodeau *et al.*, 2007).

Closer to home is a case of the innovative use of crucibles and moulds at Great Zimbabwe (Bandama *et al.*, 2017). Foreman Bandama and his colleagues (2017) considered the Great Zimbabwe archaeological archive and identified two types of crucibles and moulds: specialised and non-specialised. Specialised crucibles and moulds are those that are manufactured with the intention of being crucibles or moulds, and are shaped by the potter into specific shapes and sizes (Bandama *et al.*, 2017). Those that are unspecialised are ceramics that were initially manufactured for other uses – in the case of Great Zimbabwe normally bowls – and which were used during the metalworking process (Bandama *et al.*, 2017). They (Bandama *et al.*, 2017) conclude that these unspecialised vessels were used as improvisation: a (satisfactory) specialised crucible or mould may not have been at hand, and thus the next best thing (in this case, pots) would be used instead of waiting for the manufacture of the proper object. This not only points to quick thinking in terms of the users, but also of the innovation of an object with a specific function to take up a role as something else (Bandama *et al.*, 2017). This may furthermore point to the known connection between potters and smiths, and the symbolism shared between the activities, but it may also carry no more significance than the pottery being in the right place at the right time to fulfil an alternative function (Bandama *et al.*, 2017).

In situations of culture contact, innovations also occur – or perhaps especially then (Thomas, 1991). An ethnographic example from the Polynesian islands would be that of Trobriand cricket (Thomas, 1991). The game of cricket was introduced here with British colonial settlement (Thomas, 1991). However, local people adapted and adjusted the game in such a fashion that the original meaning and intention of the

game had completely been subverted (Thomas, 1991). Moreover, this innovation became a distinct feature of life, and it is now considered something traditional, and not as a foreign adoption (Gosden, 2005; Thomas, 1991).

Through these examples there are many ways in which innovations can manifest themselves. As proved by the case studies at Great Zimbabwe and in La Isabela, innovations can either be successful or unsuccessful (Bandama et al., 2017; Thibodeau et al., 2007). Innovation points to the creative use of known objects, of unknown objects, or of the adjustment and experimentation in the manufacture of objects (DeCorse, 1992; Bandama et al., 2017; Kelly, 1997b, 2002; Thibodeau et al., 2007; Thomas, 1991). Innovation can also point to the integration and creolisation of communities, or it can suggest subversion to the expected meanings and functions that objects are supposed to play (Thomas, 1991). Therefore innovation is an important feature to look out for in archaeology, because it indicates interaction and the associated relationships that follow from it.

## Discussion

Traditional core-periphery models depict peripheral or hinterland areas to be passive receivers of any influence that reaches them from a more developed core, and as lacking in agency or the will to change or negotiate interactions (Kelly, 1997b, 2002; Lightfoot & Martinez, 1995). In such models, the idea that agency around what would be traded, and how trade and other interactions would occur, are denied to those living in the hinterland (Chirikure, 2014; DeCorse, 1992; Lightfoot & Martinez, 1995; Prestholdt, 2004). However, researchers have started questioning these views: Kelly (1997a,b, 2001, 2002), for example, found that at the archaeological town of Savi in current-day Bénin, local inhabitants controlled not only the types of goods they traded for, but they also controlled where and how traders would live. The core was considered to be European cities and other locations in the trade system, and this trading centre a peripheral participant to the larger network. They also manipulated

the types of interactions the foreigners would have with the autochthonous community (Kelly, 1997a,b, 2001, 2002). Prestholdt (2004) on the other hand showed that hinterland communities in Kenya during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries CE would be very specific about the colours, forms and sorts of objects that they would trade for. This caused their trading counterparts severe losses if they did not comply with requests, and it shows that hinterland communities did indeed have agency in terms of trade (Prestholdt, 2004). They were not passive recipients of whatever was dumped on them, nor were they lax to how foreign traders could behave in the hinterland (Kelly, 1997b; 2001; 2002). Thus there has been a move to consider interior sites of trade more as a frontier or borderland settings, where both (the many identities of) foreigner and local negotiated interaction (Lightfoot & Martinez, 1995; Newitt, 2001b; Rubertone, 2000; Wendl & Rösler, 1999).

What furthermore informs our understanding of Dambarare in the light of the interactions, integration, and innovations that happened there is the rejection of the notion that all imports were prestige goods based on a recognition that cultural logics often informed the value of objects in different contexts, which in turn determined what was accepted into an existing material culture repertoire (Chirikure, 2014; Moffett & Chirikure, 2016; Lightfoot, 1995; Rubertone, 2000). For example, based on the historical accounts of the Mutapa state (Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a), we know that élites did not control trade. They did not have a monopoly over the trade, and they did not have a distributive system in place where they would hand over trade goods to favoured subjects (Chirikure, 2014; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a). In fact, subjects to the Mutapa (and other politically independent individuals) could trade freely, as long as the Mutapa received his taxes (Newitt, 2001a). This points to the fact that the Mutapa did benefit from external trade, but did not need to rely on it to stay in power (Chirikure, 2014; Newitt, 2001a). Power was rather established and held by possessing and maintaining things that could be controlled, such as cattle, other livestock, and religion (Chirikure, 2014; Pwiti, 1996a). Thus the thought that all trade goods were used in the attempt to gain and hold on to power, or that trade goods are necessarily prestige goods, should be reconsidered (Fleisher, 2010; Moffett & Chirikure, 2016).

Moreover, to counter the claims that indigenous communities were passive receptors of any and all trade goods, the argument is made that the decisions of what to accept and what to reject were often based on existing cultural logics that dictated what objects meant, and what could therefore be incorporated into daily life or not (Chirikure, 2014; Lightfoot, 1995; Rubertone, 2000). In fact, objects are (more) often (than not) laden with symbolic meaning and are entangled within sets of beliefs as well as with other objects (Chirikure, 2014; DeCorse, 1992; Huffman, 2007; Thomas, 1991). This means that people would not use objects that would either not fit into existing worldviews, or that would not be able to convey certain meanings accurately (Chirikure, 2014; DeCorse, 1992; Rubertone, 2000). For example, pottery and houses in Zimbabwe type culture sites represented very specific ideas, and would not easily be supplanted by something (such as foreign ceramics or a different style of architecture) that could not support existing meanings (Chirikure, 2014). If, however, we do trace some change in objects and their usage, then it may show some sort of acceptance or incorporation of a foreign introduced way of doing or seeing things (Chirikure, 2014). It should be remembered, though, that because an object has been included in the material culture it does not necessarily mean a radical change in lifestyle or outlook; rather it could represent a multitude of slight changes, or an innovation in terms of object use (objects may be used for something that they were not intended to be used for) (DeCorse, 1992; Thomas, 1991).

In considering the situation at Dambarare as more of a frontier or borderland setting (Rubertone, 2000; Wendl & Rösler, 1999), we can understand these frontier sites “as socially charged places where innovative cultural constructs are created and transformed” (Lightfoot & Martinez, 1995:472). Lightfoot & Martinez (1995:472) thus consider frontiers to be the “front lines in the creolisation or syncretisation of cultural constructs in culture contact situations.” This means that culture contact situations, such as the *feiras* of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in northern Zimbabwe, are the birthplaces of innovation and integration, of changes (and constants) in world views and material culture since they are places of interaction, which would cause people to influence each other. Creolization, according to Wendl and Rösler (1999:11) is not the result of

one identity (usually moving from the core to the periphery) influencing another (usually on the periphery). Rather, it is more creative, and more nuanced; it is “a combination of diversity, interconnectedness, and innovation” at the frontier between different communities. However, they go on to note that frontier zones are places where innovation and conservatism is constantly negotiated and asserted, due to the changing circumstances where people find themselves (Wendl & Rösler, 1999). This means that people were actively changing, but also actively conserving, some of their world views and material expressions thereof.

## Conclusion

The theoretical framework in which this thesis finds itself is a post-processual one. Two theoretical underpinnings are especially important: that of multivocality and of entanglement. These two approaches to material culture will elucidate the nature of interactions, the establishment of integration, and the occurrence of innovation and creolisation at the site of Dambarare. Cases of each of these three themes have been discussed, as well as notions around the meanings and implications of these ideas on understanding sites of culture contact such as Dambarare. Some of these theories or ideas may be repeated in the following chapters. This is not unintentional, but rather to focus the reader’s attention towards certain concepts. Moreover, many of these theories have been used as models on which to base the interpretations for the different objects from Dambarare. Before we can interpret the Dambarare objects, thought should first be given to our current understanding of Dambarare (as well as an updated version thereof), gleaned from the published and unpublished archives of the site. This will be the topic of discussion in the consecutive chapter.

## CHAPTER FOUR: DAMBARARE AND THE ARCHIVE

### Introduction

Excavations no longer happen only at field sites. There is a growing interest to revisit archaeological archives as archaeologists come up with new methods of inquiry, or with new questions about known places (Merriman & Swain, 1999). Excavating an archive has its limitations, but it is generally a rewarding activity as new information can be gained to add to (or challenge) existing knowledge of a site. It has been 50 years since the Dambarare collection in its entirety has been considered for archaeological study. The archive has changed in the past decades. It is moreover one of the few *feiras* that has been researched and of which museum collections exist (Garlake, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001). Moreover, the themes of interaction, integration, and innovation have not yet been explored at this *feira*. By excavating the archive of Dambarare, these themes will be addressed, and will hopefully open up a conversation about the nature of interactions, and of integration and innovation at similar contact sites.

### Working with Museum Collections

Archaeological archives are that which is left behind after fieldwork has been completed at a given site (Merriman & Swain, 1999). This includes “[t]he body of finds, environmental samples, paper, photographic and digital records and other material arising from an excavation [or other fieldwork such as surveys], together with any analytical reports” (Merriman & Swain, 1999:250). These items, when collected and curated carefully, allow us to reconstruct what happened during the fieldwork process (Merriman & Swain, 1999). In a sense these records “preserve the site” after it has been all but destroyed (Merriman & Swain, 1999:250). Additionally, archives can be considered as objects in their own right (Baird &

McFayden, 2014:15). This means that we should consider archives as things created by people, and attempt to interpret them by understanding how and why archives were made, developed, and employed previously (Baird & McFayden, 2014). Moreover, considering an archive as an object allows us to interpret it in new and different ways than previous researchers (Baird & McFayden, 2014).

Archives are generally stored in museums and other officially appointed repositories (Bawaya, 2007; Merriman, 2008; Merriman & Swain, 1999). In recent years there has been a growing concern about the upkeep of archives, since museums (in particular) face challenges such as a lack of space, little funding, even less public interest, and a fast-growing collection from research and rescue endeavours (Arinze, 1998; Bawaya, 2007; Merriman, 2008; Merriman & Swain, 1999). African museums in particular experience these challenges intensely because of historical and current political, social, and financial reasons, and because of the sheer volume of developments occurring across the continent (Arinze, 1998; Kusimba, 1996). While there is much discussion concerning these constraints, there is very little consensus on what to do, and it will likely boil down to individual or regional decisions and legislation (Arinze, 1998; Bawaya, 2007; Kusimba, 1996; Merriman, 2008; Merriman & Swain, 1999).

While interest in studying archives is increasing, most researchers still prefer excavation and other traditional fieldwork methods (Bawaya, 2007). Looking at archives, however, has many benefits – it increases the chances of a collection's proper preservation, it adds to the role that museums play in research and the conservation of heritage, it awakens interest in existing collections, it updates current understandings of sites and objects, and it introduces new ideas to known sites and objects (Arinze, 1998; Baird & McFayden, 2014; Bawaya, 2007; Merriman, 2008; Merriman & Swain, 1999). Archives, clearly, are important to study, not only to (re)interpret the original site, but also to consider the development of the archive over time and how it can elucidate new understandings and meanings (Baird & McFayden, 2014; Merriman & Swain, 1999).

Great Zimbabwe is a site that is often revisited and re-excavated, and excavations of its archives are currently also increasing – often with interesting results. Foreman Bandama and his colleagues have shown that it is important to revisit this site’s archives in order to ask new questions about old objects (Bandama *et al.*, 2017). They considered moulds and crucibles and their manufacture, and realised that there was considerable innovation and improvisation occurring during the metal working process at Great Zimbabwe (Bandama *et al.*, 2017; also see Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion). Without reconsidering the Great Zimbabwe legacy collection, these insights would have remained unknown. This is why consulting archives is important: it sheds new light on topics or sites that we are familiar with, and often contributes greatly to our understanding of the past.

### What We Know About Dambarare: A View from the Archive

Dambarare’s archive is housed in the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare, Zimbabwe. Dambarare is mapped and catalogued under the coordinates (“1730:BD”) of a 1:50 000 scale map housed in the Museum of Human Sciences. Each component of the Dambarare site then has a separate consecutive number that distinguishes it from the other collections. For example, Earthwork 1, which was excavated by Peter Garlake, has the combination 1730:BD:2. The Dambarare archive consists of documentary and artefactual collections that can assist us in reconstructing this *feira*.

However, before the objects and documents in the Dambarare museum archive can be considered, it is important to first understand what we currently make of this site based on published (and sometimes unpublished) research. Dambarare is one of the better-known *feiras* in the southern Zambebian region because it has been located and partially excavated (Garlake, 1967a, 1968b, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1993, 2001, 2009). Historical records exist of the site, and some oral traditions have been collected (Abraham, 1960, 1961; Axelson, 1960; Newitt, 1973, 2001a). The following

section will consider what we already know about Dambarare, and of equal importance, what we do not know.

### The Establishment and Chronology of Dambarare

Published and unpublished sources related to the Dambarare archive follow the establishment, settlement, development, and decline of the *feira* of Dambarare. Archaeological finds support this chronology (cf Garlake, 1968b, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997). While no absolute dates have been established for Dambarare, many of its objects are able to provide us with relative dates.

The Karangaland (the region where Karanga-speakers generally lived in northern Zimbabwe and its plateau) *feira* of Dambarare was established sometime between 1575 and the early years of the 1600s (Abraham, 1960; Garlake, 1968b, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a). By 1631 Dambarare was already well-known in the region (Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a). By this time a church had been constructed, and a Dominican priest served it (Abraham, 1960; Garlake, 1969a). During his 1967 excavations, Peter Garlake (1969a) found a rectangular brick structure with burials underneath which he believed to be the church, confirming the mentions made of a church in the histories. A Portuguese description dating to 1667 notes that Dambarare is “a good-sized town in the heart of Mokaranga [which] has grown to be the centre of that conquest with many rich inhabitants” (Newitt, 2001a:196). However, soon thereafter in the 1670s, Dambarare was apparently seeing a decline in traffic and trade (Newitt, 2001a).

In 1684 a new fort overlooking the Marodzi River was constructed by the Captain, Francisco de Valle, assisted by settlers (Abraham, 1960; Newitt, 2001a). The instructions for the fortification’s construction came from the Central Government of Moçambique (Abraham, 1960). This was done in part due to Portuguese attempts to reassert their claim to power within this region (Abraham, 1960; Newitt, 2001a). This fort was located a short distance away from the rest of the Dambarare settlement

(Abraham, 1960). The fort had a moat in front of it and was made up of “mud- or mud-plastered structures” (Abraham, 1960:1). It moreover commanded “a fine view of the surrounding plains” (Abraham, 1960:1). By this time, however, the most prolific mining activities had moved westwards from Dambarare to Quitamborvize (Chitomborwizi), another *feira* (Newitt, 2001a). Never again would Dambarare reach its previous popularity (Newitt, 2001a).

The Rozvi Changamire Dombo’s army attacked several *feiras* and Portuguese-occupied settlements during the final few years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Newitt, 2001a). Dambarare’s fort was the first to be attacked, and it was destroyed in November 1693 by the Rozvi army (Abraham, 1960; Garlake, 1969a). Few inhabitants survived, and the town was thereafter not permanently occupied again, even though there were failed attempts to repopulate it in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1997).

Peter Garlake’s (1969a) excavations provided some information on the chronology of the site. No absolute dates were obtained, however, and little could be inferred from the stratigraphy of the site (Garlake, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1997). The imported ceramics provided relative dates for the site, agreeing with the chronology provided in historical sources (Garlake, 1969a). There were ceramics dating to the late 16<sup>th</sup> or early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the initial decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the terminal years of the 1600s – all attesting to the continuous population of Dambarare (Garlake, 1969a). Although Garlake (1969a) could not clearly identify pottery types, save for one sherd that seemed to agree with present-day Tonga ceramics, Pikirayi’s (1993, 1997) analyses of some of the Dambarare pottery pointed to Musengezi type ceramics, which also fit in with the broad 17<sup>th</sup> century dates. Additionally, some of the grave goods found with burials underneath the alleged church floors could provide some dates (Garlake, 1969a). For example, two bronze medallions that dated to the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century were found. (Garlake, 1968b, 1969a). Another similar medallion was found at Dambarare during a site visit by Henrik Ellert (1993).

Providing relative dates for the site of Dambarare in order to confirm whether it was this *feira* was one of the aims of the initial excavations (Garlake, 1969a). While the excavation was not focussed on understanding the chronology of Dambarare in terms of its stratigraphy and layout, the chronological information gained from artefacts does confirm the connections with documentary sources on the site (Garlake, 1969a). Given the artefactual and documentary evidence, we know that Dambarare grew, flourished, and declined all within the span of one century (Abraham, 1960, 1961; Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a).

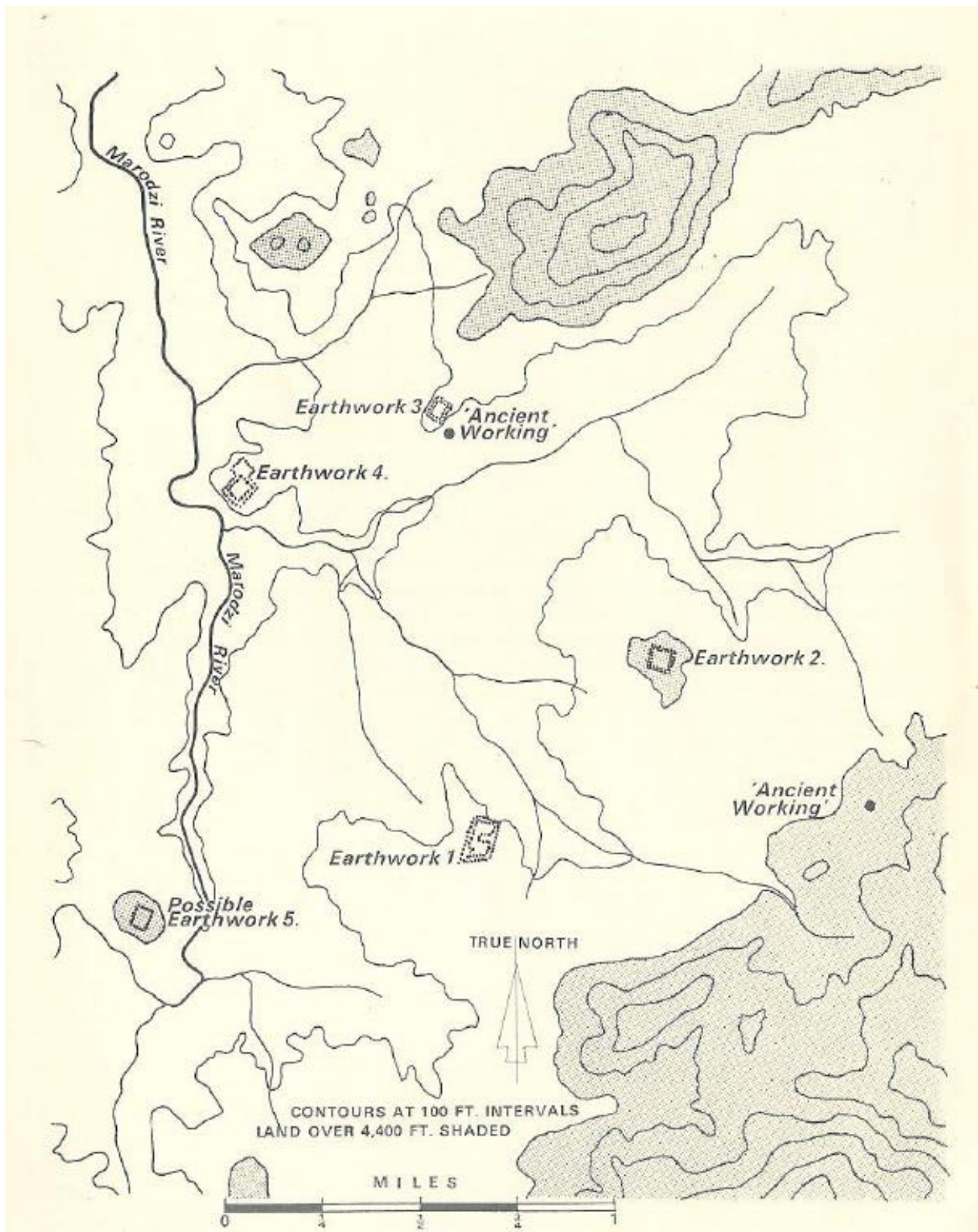
### The Archaeology of Dambarare: its Investigations and Objects

Dambarare has a long history of investigations and study by archaeologists, historians, and interested persons alike. While accounts of some of the investigations have been published, there exist in the archive several documents that could add to our interpretation of the site. In order to know the objects from Dambarare, and what was asked about them, it is best to first understand the history of investigations at the site itself.

The archaeological site of Dambarare was first noted in print form by J.T. Bent, although it was well remembered in oral traditions by people living in the area (Abraham, 1960, 1961; Bent, 1892; Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a). While Bent did not investigate the site himself, he was informed of it by mining prospectors living and working around the site (Bent, 1892; Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a). Having knowledge of Portuguese interactions in the region, and based on descriptions of artefacts by the prospectors, he identified it as a Portuguese-African *feira* (Bent, 1892; Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a). In the following years, reports were made by miners and farmers concerning evidence of human settlements, human remains, and of precolonial (rather, pre-British) mining and gold working practices (eg. Epton, 1916; Maufe, 1916).

As far as we know, the first time an archaeologist officially set foot at Dambarare was in 1944 and 1945 (Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a). Elizabeth Goodall, the former curator of the Queen Victoria Museum in Salisbury (now the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare), was invited to the site by a mine official because he found many ceramic sherds eroding from a mound (Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a). The site where she collected the sherds would later be referred to as Earthwork 1 (1730:BD:2) (figure 4.1), which would be excavated and investigated by Peter Garlake in 1967 (Garlake, 1968b, 1969a).

We do not know if any official investigations were conducted between the mid-1940s and the late 1950s, but farmers and miners may have found more objects, and more site visits might have happened (eg. Day, 1959; Goodall, 1959). Towards the terminal years of the 1950s, the historian D.P. Abraham commenced a project where he tried to locate sites of African-Portuguese contact south of the Zambezi based on oral and historic records (Abraham, 1960, 1961). He did not manage to find all the *feiras*, and some of his identifications were later refuted (Abraham, 1960, 1961; Garlake, 1967a, 1969a, Newitt, 2001a; Pikiyai, 1993). However, many of the *feiras* that he did manage to locate are today still considered to be correct (Abraham, 1960, 1961; Garlake, 1967a, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a; Pikiyai, 1993, 1997). Dambarare was one of those that he identified, and on which there is consensus that it is, indeed, Dambarare (Garlake, 1969a). Abraham was convinced that an archaeologist would not be able to say much more about the site than what he had already said, except to confirm, based on artefactual evidence, that it was Dambarare, and that it was settled during the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Abraham, 1960). Abraham (1960) wanted the archaeologist Antony Whitty to excavate Dambarare. We do not know if Whitty ever did visit the site, since no published or unpublished documents could be found confirming this.



**Figure 4.1. Peter Garlake's map of Dambarare as understood from investigations conducted in the 1960s. Earthwork 1 has been excavated. Source: Garlake, 1969a:26.**

Six years after Abraham's paper was published, Peter Garlake investigated the site of Dambarare in 1967 (Abraham, 1961; Garlake, 1968b, 1969a). He identified four earthworks, a possible fifth, and an "ancient working" – or pre-industrial mine (Garlake, 1969a:26) (figure 4.1). Garlake excavated part of the site to not only establish whether it is a Portuguese-African contact site, but also as part of a salvage project before development of the area would take place (Garlake, 1968b, 1969a). He excavated what is commonly referred to as Earthwork 1, the same one where Goodall collected the ceramic sherds (Garlake, 1969a). He only mapped the other earthworks and the mine (Garlake, 1969a). Garlake's finds (which will be discussed below) provided him with a chronology of the site, and an understanding of its structure and population (Garlake, 1968b, 1969a).

No focussed excavations have been conducted after Garlake's fieldwork in the late 1960s. Independent researchers such as Henrik Ellert (1993) and Chris Dunbar (sa, sp), have visited the site and have studied its objects. There were furthermore several construction and development projects taking place from the 1970s onwards, and archaeologists from the Museum of Human Sciences salvaged artefacts. The objects and their records are kept in this museum. Innocent Pikirayi studied one collection of local pottery, referred to as Doxford Farm, from the Dambarare archive to better understand the *feiras* and the people who frequented them (Pikirayi, 1993, 1997). There are therefore several boxes full of objects that have not been analysed or that have not appeared in any publications. These objects and their records will be discussed in the following sections of this dissertation. However, some of the original objects from Garlake's excavations are no longer in the museum, and reliance will therefore be made on his descriptions (Garlake, 1968b; 1969a).

### Objects known from Published Records

From previous investigations, we know a few of the objects from Dambarare. Since these artefacts are no longer accessible, a review will be given here thereof in this section.

The imported ceramics from Dambarare consist of various ware bodies (table 4.1). As mentioned earlier, the foreign ceramics that were found at Dambarare span the entire 17<sup>th</sup> century, pointing to a continuous occupation and continuous import of foreign vessels (table 4.2) (Garlake, 1969a).

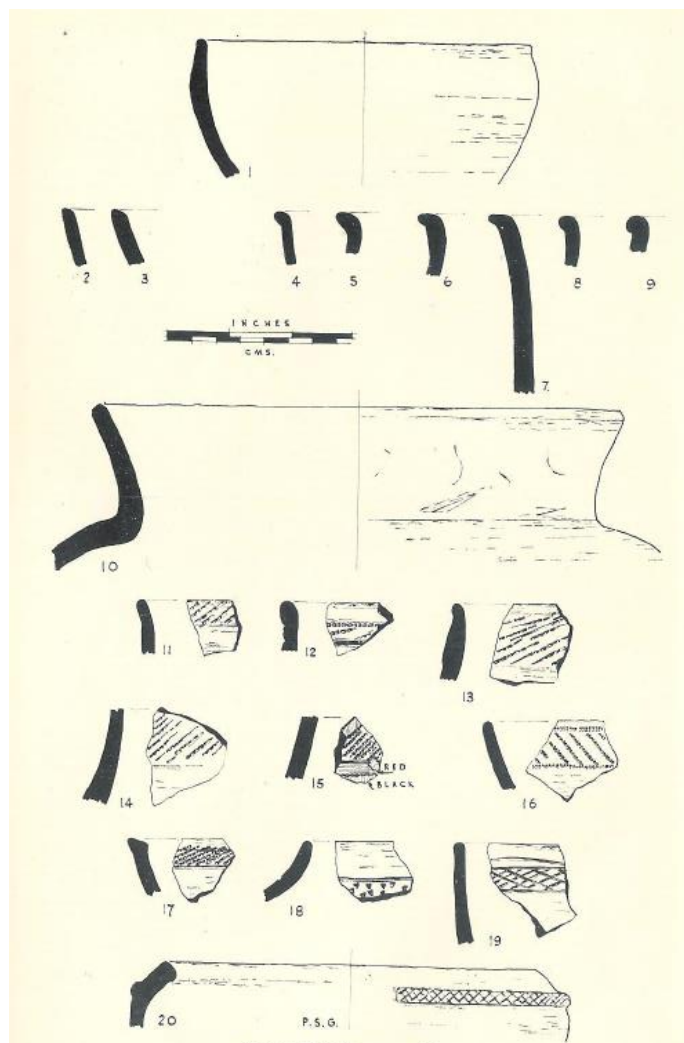
**Table 4.1. Summary of ware types found at Dambarare. Source: Garlake, 1969a.**

<b>Ware type</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Porcelain	53
Stoneware	24
Earthenware	19
Terracotta	3
Miscellaneous (i.e. could not be identified or display features that are different to the rest of the sample).	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.2. Dates of ceramics from Dambarare. Source: Garlake, 1969a.**

<b>Dates of ceramics</b>	<b>Percentage of ceramics (%)</b>
Late 16 <sup>th</sup> and early 17 <sup>th</sup> century	44
Mid-17 <sup>th</sup> century	19
Late 17 <sup>th</sup> century	11
Throughout 17 <sup>th</sup> century	26
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

Garlake (1969a) studied local pottery from Dambarare. Out of 655 sherds in Garlake's (1969a) collection, only 42 were diagnostic, and he struggled to clearly identify any specific cultural types from his pottery sample. There was only one example which he perceived to be similar to present-day ceramics made by Barwe-Tonga communities (Garlake, 1969a). Garlake (1967a, 1969a) did, however, mention that the pottery from Dambarare carry clear similarities to those found at Luanze, another contemporaneous *feira* (- this was confirmed by Pikirayi, 1997) (figure 4.2). Pikirayi (1997) also looked at pottery from Dambarare. He studied 500 potsherds collected in a salvage attempt conducted later on another part of the Dambarare site. He had more success in identifying ceramic identities here (Pikirayi, 1997). His results showed a preponderance of Musengezi type ceramics (Pikirayi, 1997) (figure 4.3).



**Figure 4.2. Garlake's pottery assemblage that shows the variation in typologies found at Dambarare. Source: Garlake, 1969a:38.**

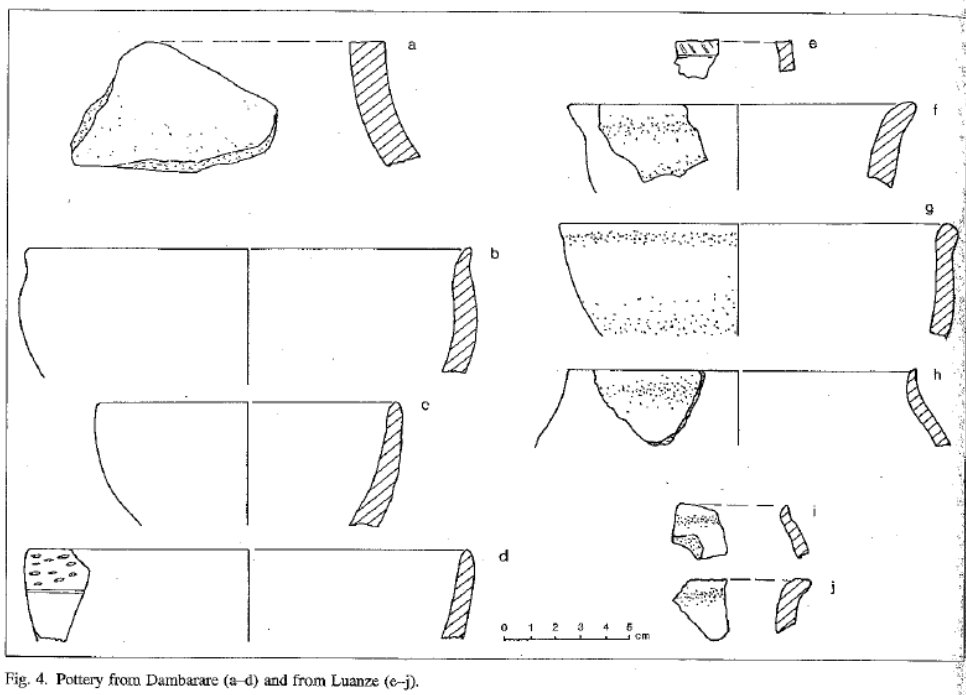


Fig. 4. Pottery from Dambarare (a-d) and from Luanze (e-j).

**Figure 4.3. Pikirayi's illustrations of Dambarare pottery (a-d) and pottery from Luanze (e-j). Source: Pikirayi, 1993:72.**

Garlake (1969a) identified the area that he was excavating as a church with burials underneath and around it. Garlake (1969a:35) noted that there were two subsequent church buildings built over each other. Burials were often disturbed, close to each other, and/or commingled (Garlake, 1969a; Swanepoel, 2015). Individuals were wrapped in cotton shrouds (the remnants of one was found with the burial of an African female) (Garlake, 1969a; Swanepoel, 2015). The burials aligned with the church structure (east to west), and the human remains were arranged full-length with their hands crossed over their abdomens or straight by their sides (Garlake, 1969a). Garlake (1969a; Newitt, 2001a) considers this to point to decidedly Western Christian burial practices. It would be interesting to see whether other burials further afield at the site followed similar practices. Garlake (1969a:50) estimated that another 1000 burials should be at the site if the burials were to continue in the same pattern as in the excavated area. If this were true, a comparison of the burials would be valuable. This calculation, though, sounds unlikely.

Human remains were recovered and studied from the 1967 excavations, and were re-analysed by Elaine Swanepoel almost fifty years later (Garlake, 1969a; Swanepoel, 2015; Swanepoel & Steyn, 2013). The re-analysis proved some different identifications of sex, ancestry, and ages of the human remains (table 4.3) (Swanepoel, 2015; Swanepoel & Steyn, 2013). The count of interred individuals also increased from 31 to 40 (Garlake, 1969a; Swanepoel, 2015). In the initial analyses, persons of African, European, and mixed descent were identified (Garlake, 1969a). In Swanepoel's (2015) analyses, only persons of African and European descent were identified, and a large number of remains could not be identified (table 4.3).

**Table 4.3: A summary of Swanepoel's re-analysis of the sex, age, and ancestry of the human remains. Source: Swanepoel, 2015:127.**

Ancestry	Sex						Total	
	Female		Male		Indeterminate			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>European</b>	1	7.1	13	92.9	0	0	<b>14</b>	<b>35.0</b>
<b>African</b>	5	7.3	2	28.6	0	0	<b>7</b>	<b>17.5</b>
<b>Indeterminate</b>	1	5.3	2	10.5	16	84.2	<b>19</b>	<b>47.5</b>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>17.5</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>42.5</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>40.0</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>

Garlake (1969a) found various types of grave goods. 16 156 beads of shell, copper, coral, and (different shapes and colours of) glass were found associated with burials (Garlake, 1969a:41). One combination of beads was found in association with a bronze religious medallion in the burial of an African female – it is believed to be a rosary (Garlake, 1968b; 1969a; Swanepoel, 2015). Other bead combinations were also found around necks, limbs, heads, and pelvises of the human remains (Garlake, 1969a). Very few beads were found outside of the grave contexts (Garlake, 1969a).

Rings of gold and copper were found on the fingers of some of the burials at Dambarare (Garlake, 1969a). Gold rings were worn by individuals of European descent, while those of African descent wore copper (Garlake, 1969a; Swanepoel

2015). Other metal and alloy accessories (mostly iron, copper and bronze) were found in graves (Garlake, 1969a). These include copper and bronze beads, bangles, and anklets, and are most likely locally produced (Garlake, 1969a). Brooches, pins, and aiguillettes are also present in the collection, and are of European origin (Garlake, 1968b, 1969a). Other grave goods include an inescutcheoned wax seal, a clay tablet with religious imagery, and parts of a cotton shroud (Garlake, 1968b; 1969a).

Elsewhere in the excavation, an iron arrowhead, a lead candlestick stem, and a schist plumb-bob were found, as well as several iron nails (Garlake, 1969a). Garlake (1969a:48) found many faunal remains, but decided not to keep them in the archive. They were found alongside beads and potsherds (Garlake, 1969a). Teeth and postcranial remains were present, and they were often charred (Garlake, 1969a). Although the remains were not analysed, Garlake (1969a) mentions that there were cattle bones. Stone Age lithics and stone artefacts used by Farming Communities (grindstones, quern stones) were found and discarded (Garlake, 1969a:49). Iron slag was ubiquitous throughout the excavated site (mostly in the original ground surface, strata 2 and 3, and after occupation), some reaching to 1.13kg in weight (Garlake, 1969a:49). Two tuyère fragments were excavated (Garlake, 1969a:49).

Garlake (1969a) found pole-impressed dhaka at Earthwork 1, pointing to vernacular architecture. On the other hand, bricks of baked clay were found both separately and as complete walls within the excavations of what is believed to be the church(es) at Dambarare (Garlake, 1969a). These walls are made in a European fashion, but the clays of which they consist are of local origin (Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a).

None of the abovementioned artefacts are to be found in the current Dambarare collection, save for some foreign ceramics. Objects in the Dambarare archive during the research visit to the museum in 2015 included foreign ceramics, local pottery, slag, tuyères, moulds and crucibles, clay figurines, spindle whorls, glass, and stone tools. These will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

### Activities Represented by the Dambarare Objects

Previous research endeavours have never had as their explicit aim to understand what activities took place at Dambarare. However, based on the artefactual evidence, some inferences could be made to understand what might have been practised here. The most obvious activity that occurred at Dambarare is, of course, trade (Abraham, 1961; Axelson, 1960; Beach, 1994; Chanaiwa, 1972; Garlake, 1969a; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a). Not only is trade the reason for the *feira's* establishment, and not only do historical records mention trade activities, but there are also imported artefacts and objects intended for export at the site (Garlake, 1968b, 1969a). Foreign ceramics and glass and coral beads are all objects that were purportedly destined to be exchanged for gold and ivory in the region south of the Zambezi River, along with other things that would not preserve such as cloth (Beach, 1994; Garlake, 1967a, 1969a; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a). The fact that slag and tuyères were excavated at Dambarare not only attest to the export of metal, but also to the working of metal at the site (Garlake, 1969a). In fact, these excavated metal working objects were found inside the confines of Earthwork 1, suggesting the possibility of a workshop (Garlake, 1969a). Local ceramics were probably for domestic use, but may also have served as vessels in which trade goods were transported.

Mission-work was likely also an activity at Dambarare, proven both in historical sources and through artefacts (Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a). It is known that there was a Dominican priest at Dambarare (Newitt, 2001a). There is a brick-built structure believed to be a church, and religious paraphernalia such as rosaries, clay tablets, and pendants bearing Christian iconography (Garlake, 1969a). These religious objects were found in graves of persons of both European and African descent, indicating religious service and conversion (Garlake, 1968b, 1969a). Histories of the region, however, are uncertain about the exact role, influence, importance, and popularity of the Christian faith to foreigners and locals alike (Beach, 1994; Newitt, 2001a; Mudenge, 1988).

There are (as of yet) no traces of brick manufacture at Dambarare, but it is known that bricks were often made at the sites, instead of being imported (Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a). Other architectural elements, such as dhaka, point to construction following traditional methods (Garlake, 1969a; Garlake & Newitt, 1967). What is interesting at Dambarare is that pole-impressed dhaka fragments and bricks were found in the same stratigraphic layers (Garlake, 1969a). Therefore, either both types of building styles were employed separately, or they were combined. This seems to agree with historical accounts and evidence from similar sites that indicate that both foreign and local constructions were employed by settlers at the site (Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a).

#### Groups Represented at Dambarare as known through Historical Records and Archaeology

Published evidence of the groups that lived at Dambarare give us the impression of a community made up of people with different identities and associations. On the most basic level we know that there were the Portuguese and African persons adhering to the Mutapa state (Abraham, 1961; Axelson, 1960; Beach, 1994; Garlake, 1968b, 1969a; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 1973, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001). In reality such a binary understanding might be too simplistic.

40 human remains of African and European descent were excavated at Dambarare (Garlake, 1968b, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a; Swanepoel 2015; Swanepoel & Steyn, 2013) (table 4.3). Not all 40 skeletons could be identified, and might not be a representative sample of the entire Dambarare population (Swanepoel, 2015). However, it does provide us with an initial understanding from which to base interpretations upon, aided by histories. However, these human remains do not tell us about social identities. Material culture and historical observations could assist us in better understanding the identities at Dambarare.

In terms of the so-called Portuguese settlers of Dambarare, it is known that persons of various backgrounds and ties associated themselves with the Portuguese (Andaya, 2010; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). There were, of course, individuals from mainland Portugal (Andaya, 2010; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). These were persons who were officially sent to Dambarare and other *feiras* for mercantile, religious, or government purposes (Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). Then there were those who had come to the southern Zambesian trading towns out of their own accord, participated in trade unofficially, and often created their own armies of mercenaries (Newitt, 2001a; 2001b).

Alongside these groups there also were *mestiço* communities, persons of Asian descent who associated with the Portuguese, and of course African persons from the region and from the coast who chose to identify themselves as Portuguese (Andaya, 2010; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). The Portuguese (of whatever origin) distinguished themselves from others by (often, though not always) recognising the king of Portugal, (sometimes, but not always) adhering to Catholicism, and in varying degrees speaking Portuguese (or using Portuguese words), and wearing Portuguese dress (Andaya, 2010; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). Often these persons would be selective in when and how they would adhere to their Portuguese identities, and when not to, since (not) being Portuguese had its advantages in certain interactions (Andaya, 2010; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). The roles of those persons who identified themselves as Portuguese often included merchants and itinerant traders, intermediaries, and mercenaries (Andaya, 2010; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b).

We know that the Mutapa state, although mainly characterised by Karanga-speakers (associated with the Zimbabwe culture), consisted of a plethora of identities, including Korekore speakers (associated with the Musengezi culture) (Mudenge, 1988; Huffman, 1974; Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a). It is also believed that politically independent persons of various identities participated in *feira* trade (Beach, 1994; Mudenge, 1988; Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001). As such, Dambarare would have been host to several identities, which could be traced through

the pottery at the site. Though both Garlake and Pikirayi found many unidentifiable ceramics, they did manage to classify a few sherds (Garlake, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997). Pikirayi identified Musengezi type sherds in the collection, indicating Korekore speakers (Huffman, 1974; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997; Pwiti, 1996a). Garlake (1969a), on the other hand, found one sherd that appears to be similar to pottery made by current-day Barwe-Tonga speakers. Mahonje type ceramics are generally considered to be linked to Tonga-speaking communities, and this type might thus be represented by Garlake's sherd (Garlake, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993). Additionally, it is known that Tonga-speakers lived in southern Zambia, western Moçambique, and later also northern Zimbabwe (Huffman, 1974; Pikirayi, 1993). It might thus indicate persons living in the region, or it might point to migration from other regions to this trading site.

### Spatial Distribution of the Site

Peter Garlake (1969a) and D.P. Abraham (1961) were the only researchers who published information on the spatial organisation of the site of Dambarare. Abraham (1960) believed that he found a fort at this *feira*, in accordance to the historical sources that mention a fortification. Garlake, on the other hand, surveyed the site, and with the help of aerial photographs, managed to map five earthworks, one possibly being Abraham's fort (Abraham, 1961; Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a) (figure 4.1). These earthworks were earth banks surrounded by ditches (Garlake, 1967a; Newitt, 2001a). Garlake excavated one earthwork (Earthwork 1; figure 4.1) (Garlake, 1969a). This earthwork contained a rectangular brick-built structure which he believed to be a church (Garlake, 1969a). It seems as though this alleged church had been razed and rebuilt twice, and bodies were interred underneath each layer (Garlake, 1969a). It is not known what the reason for the demolition and reconstructions of the church might have been. However, what is interesting is that in the same earthwork and in the same excavation, remnants of pole-impressed dhaka were found alongside the bricks (Garlake, 1969a). This means that foreign and local architectural styles were employed within the earthworks, pointing to a negotiation of styles and views between the foreign and local inhabitants. We can see that such was the case at other *feiras* too. In fact, at one *feira*, Baranda/Massapa there are no obvious earthworks (Pikirayi,

1993). Therefore, earthworks may not have been a characteristic feature of all *feiras*. Additionally, at Baranda, dhaka-and-thatch settlements were found, indicating settlers integrating into indigenous lifestyles (Pikirayi, 1993). It might also be a way of expressing adherence to the Mutapa, since Baranda is believed to have been located closest to the Mutapa court (Pikirayi, 1993; cf Kelly, 2002). Supporting the idea of foreigners integrating into local lifestyles, we see at *prazos*, such as Massangano, that domestic dwellings were often of local manufacture and design (Garlake & Newitt, 1967).

### A Summary of what we (do not) know about Dambarare

What, therefore, do we know about Dambarare based on previous investigations? Pikirayi (1997; cf Garlake, 1967a, 1968b, 1969a) mentions that the previous work at *feiras*, including Dambarare, was mostly to establish the nature of the site, and to consider the Portuguese artefacts and imports – little attention was given to the African nature, authorship, and participation of and at the sites. Pikirayi (1993, 1997, 2001, 2009) attempted to remedy this by focussing on African materials and the role of Africans in the establishment and functioning of these trading towns.

We know that Dambarare was an African-Portuguese trading town that was established, had flourished, and declined during the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Abraham, 1959, 1961; Garlake, 1968b, 1969a; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 1973, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1997). We know that the *feira* hosts several earthworks, enclosing structures constructed of both/either brick and dhaka-and-thatch, pointing to both foreign and vernacular architecture (Garlake, 1969a). We know that there were multiple African and foreign identities residing at Dambarare (Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a,b; Pikirayi, 1997) We know that activities that occurred were trade, missionary and mercenary work, and metal and craft production, although understanding activities were never a focus in archaeological research (Garlake, 1969a).

There are, however, a lot of things that we do still not know about Dambarare (and *feiras* in general). There are no absolute dates for the site. We do not know much about the layout and structure of the site, or how space was employed. We know very little about diet and foodways at Dambarare. We do not know much about the activities at Dambarare, and where they were performed. We do not understand the interactions at the site itself, and the interactions between the *feira's* inhabitants and those from further afield. Though this has been in part remedied by Pikirayi (1997), there is little clear evidence on the identities that converged at the site as expressed through local pottery. We do not understand what types of integrations and innovations occurred at the site. We therefore still have many questions to ask this archive, and this dissertation attempts to remedy that in (a small) part.

### The Dambarare Archive in the Museum of Human Sciences

Based on the research gaps that have just been discussed, the decision was made to study the Dambarare collection in order to understand more about the interactions that happened there, as well as the integration and innovations that occurred as a result. The archive is quite vast, and includes photographs, sketches, and roughly drawn maps. There are site reports, letters, and personal notes. There are newspaper clippings, manuscripts, and data sheets. Most importantly, there are many boxes containing artefacts that were collected over several decades of investigations. The wish in this project is to consider the artefacts in the current Dambarare collection, and to interpret them in order to understand interactions, integration, and innovations that occurred at this *feira*. In order to do so, attention will now be paid on the artefactual and documentary collection of Dambarare, and how it changes our interpretation of the site.

## Artefacts in the Dambarare Archive

Various forms of artefacts are collected in the Dambarare archive. The bulk of the collection consists of ceramics, both foreign (2963 sherds) and local (129 sherds). Then there are several other items that are representative of craft specialisation, food processing, and architecture. These consist of tuyères, moulds and crucibles, slag, hammer-, grind-, and pounding stones, a clay figurine, glass shards, a glass bead, metal and metal alloy implements, a spindle whorl, and pole-impressed dhaka. Since most of these objects were surface collections, some objects that do not date to the 17<sup>th</sup> century were also collected. These include industrially manufactured glass, ceramics, plastic, and metal alloy objects. They were not considered in this study since they cannot add to the discussion about the 17<sup>th</sup> century *feira* of Dambarare save for the fact that people lived on and around the *feira* after its demise. One type of object that is glaringly absent is faunal remains. The wish is that in future endeavours, faunal remains may be collected and studied.

## Spatial Distribution and Site Layout

The Dambarare archive has grown since Garlake's excavations in 1967. Not only are there more objects in the collection, but there is also more information on the layout of the site, albeit mostly on surface level. By excavating the site records a clearer picture could be obtained of the site's structure.

A few rock art sites were recorded around the Dambarare site(s). While most of them seem unrelated, a few had artefacts that are contemporaneous with the Dambarare settlement. These are 1730:BD:30 (which bore blue and white glazed porcelain), 39 (a LFC settlement above Middle and Late Stone Age occupations. There exists no artefact collection), 47 (a LFC settlement with no collection), 48 (a LFC settlement, with slag, although it was not collected), 66 (a LFC settlement without a collection), 67 (a LFC settlement with no collection), 79 (a LFC settlement with no collection), and 80 (a LFC settlement with no collection). It is clear that agriculturists in the region visited

the rock art sites, although without further in-depth investigation, we cannot know what they did there. There are furthermore several sites that bear evidence that may relate to the contact site of Dambarare. They are listed as follows.

**1730:BD:2, Earthwork 1, also referred to as “Dambarare-Doxford Farms.”** This site was excavated in 1967 by Peter Garlake (1968b, 1969a) (figures 4.1, 4.4). This is also where Elizabeth Goodall made a surface collection of more than 3000 imported ceramics during the 1940s (Garlake, 1969a). The material culture from this site culminated in the 1969a publication by Peter Garlake discussing the findings from his investigation. At present, this collection is divided into two (known) boxes, one that is readily available in the museum store-room, and one that is harder to access in the museum’s strong room. Due to unforeseen constraints, a study of the contents of the second box could not be made and thus the material will be discussed only from what research has already been published (see previous section). The materials in the second box are gold, silver, and ivory objects, beads, and lead items, according to its catalogue card. Records associated with the 1730:BD:2 collection include photographs (some of which were published in Garlake’s 1969a paper), newspaper clippings, drafts of the 1969a manuscript, and letters between Garlake and other specialists concerning certain objects, such as analyses of the imported ceramics.

**1730:BD:3, or “Mazowe Mine Visit.”** There is no collection from this site, but photographs of mine diggings and a site report dating to 25 August 1990 remain (sn, 1990). A site visit was made, and the aim thereof “was to gather as much information as possible about the history of mining at the ancient working on Amatola Farm, which is now protected as a National Monument and is known to the museum as “Jumbo Ancient Workings”” (sn, 1990:1). At least four different mining areas were visited, one being an existing national monument (sn, 1990:1). Some of the mine pits were made by the present mine, some by prospectors at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and some by so-called “ancient” people (sn, 1990:3). Suggestions are made to establish a site museum seeing as there is both sufficient material culture, historic records, and public interest (sn, 1990) although it is not sure whether or not the museum was in fact established in the meantime.

**1730:BD:4** is associated with 1730:BD:40, and is known as “Flowing Bowl Mine.” The note mentions that this is a Farming Community and/or Portuguese-settled site containing glazed pottery and blue on white ceramics, and a rubbing stone. There is no museum collection, and no documentary evidence apart from a catalogue card.

**1730:BD:7** is described on the catalogue card as “Oceola Mine” containing an “Iron Age” skeleton. There is also an accompanying document describing the site and the skeleton (Maufe, 1916; Epton, 1916). Oceola Mine lies 6.4km north-west of the Jumbo mine, and not only contains a modern mine shaft, but also one “sunk by the Ancients” (Epton, 1916:sp). Human remains of one individual were found in one such “ancient” shaft, which contains contemporaneous backfilling (Maufe, 1916). These remains were removed by a George Fullerton, who remembers in the document that the body had been lying at a diagonal angle, head downwards, and feet highest at a depth of about 9 metres (Maufe, 1916). Fullerton could not remember which direction the body faced, and neither whether it was laid out in “natural position or doubled up” (Epton, 1916). Based on the depth, the fact that the remains were found in a backfilled shaft, and the orientation of the human remains, we do not know whether the individual was buried there on purpose or due to an accident. The report mentions no further artefacts save for grinding stones, found in a nearby vlei area, which were not collected (Epton, 1916).

**1730:BD:18** or “**Earthworks 2**,” (figures 4.1, 4.4) has no separate site report, but it was identified by Garlake in 1967 (Garlake, 1969a). Material culture from this site includes, pottery and blue on white porcelain, beef tin fragments, lamp fragments, chrome fragments, as well as a fort on the hilltop with recent settlement, stone, the upper molar of an animal, a chained iron object with a bangle, iron slag, one red bead, and various iron objects. These are assumed to be surface finds, since there are no reports on an excavation, and seeing as material from a later date than the 17<sup>th</sup> century (such as the beef tin fragments and lamp fragments, as well as the chrome object) are included here. This collection is housed in the museum. Photographs were taken of the site.

**1730:BD:19 or “Earthworks 3”** was identified by Garlake (1969a) (figure 4.1, 4.4). Charlotte Tagart visited it in July 1988 and confirmed its existence and the African-Portuguese nature of the site. No site report exists, but photographs were taken, and are housed in the museum.

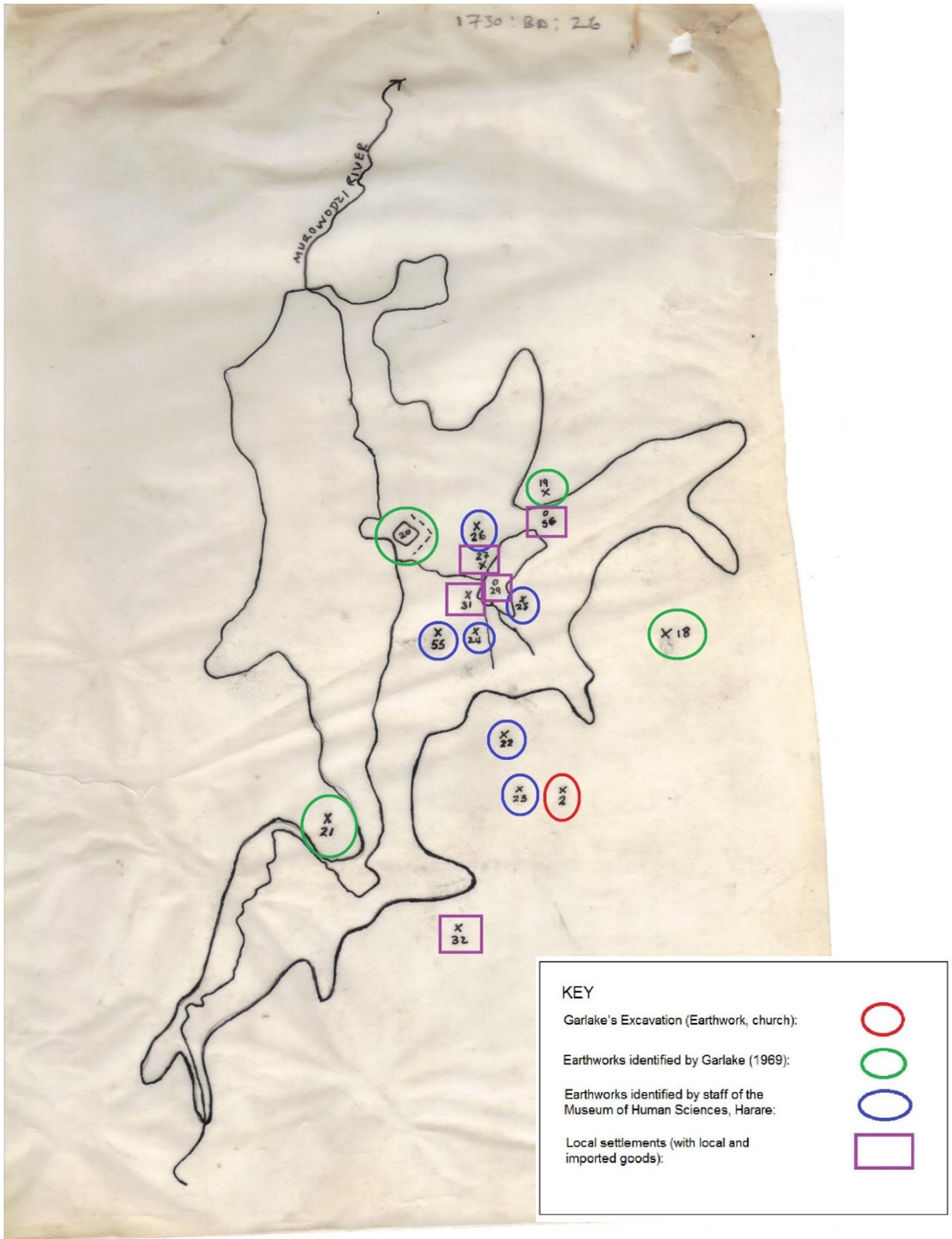
**1730:BD:20 or “Earthwork 4”** was identified by Garlake (1969a) (figures 4.1, 4.4). An unpublished site report by Tagart and Josiah Moyo dating to December 1988 mentions this site (Tagart & Moyo, 1988). The earthwork is located on a farm near a domestic settlement, although no information is given on this (Tagart & Moyo, 1988). In 1984 an aerial photograph had been taken, and in the years leading up to 1988 the agricultural land on the farm has extended to include Earthwork 4 in the cultivation fields (Tagart & Moyo, 1988). A homestead was also found within the earthwork (Tagart & Moyo, 1988). There is a central mound, 2 to 3 metres high within the centre of the earthwork and local ceramics were found lying on the surface (Tagart & Moyo, 1988). A rough map is also sketched of the location of the earthwork, showing that it is cut in half by a farm track running through it (Tagart & Moyo, 1988).

**1730:BD:21 or “Portuguese Earthwork 5”**, was mentioned and mapped by Garlake (1969a) (figures 4.1, 4.4). No documents exist save for the catalogue cards.

Though there is mention in the museum catalogues of **Earthworks 6 (1730:BD:22), 7 (1730:BD:23), 8 (1730:BD:24), and 9 (1730:BD:25)**, they were not known at the time of Garlake’s (1969a) investigations. They were identified later by investigators, although no site reports exist concerning these sites (figure 4.4). We do know that Earthwork 9 is situated near 1730:BD:27 (Izzet, sd).

**1730:BD:26 or Earthwork 10** is described on the catalogue card as “Portuguese, blue on white porcelain, Garlake confirmed”. It has no site report, but is marked on a map named 1730:BD:26, that shows the location of many of the earthworks and other

related sites close to the Mazoe river (figure 4.4). This map has been hand drawn on tracing paper and should, based on the note that accompanies it, fit over an aerial photograph which could not be located in the collection. (sn, sd: sp 1730:BD:26).



**Figure 4.4. Hand-drawn map from the Dambarare archive. Not all parts of the Dambarare site are mentioned, but it does show a different picture from the original published map (figure 4.1). This is the most complete map in the archive. Source: edited from sn, sd (1730:BD:26).**

**1730:BD:27** (figure 4.4) is one of the few sites with extensive records. These include a correspondence between Lorraine Swan, a former curator of archaeology at the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare, and F.W. Adams, a former manager of the Mazowe mine (Swan, 1994). Based on these letters, Swan had planned to conduct a detailed archaeological investigation in the region, and wanted to collect as much information on the archaeology of the area as possible (Swan, 1994). Swan's (1994) and Izzet's (sd) writing point to the fact that this area had been flooded by a dam built there in the 1970s.

In an unpublished site report on 1730:BD:27 at Jumbo or Mazoe mine (used interchangeably) Izzet mentions that she was contacted in November 1973 by a Mr. Bell-Cross (based on the records it is assumed that he was director of the museum or in a management position there) to assist in investigating an Iron Age site discovered during the construction of a dam (Izzet, sd). This site was located on "the crest of a ridge that ran north to south out into the valley alongside the line of the proposed wall, on the north bank of the stream to be dammed" (Izzet, sd:1,2). There exists a museum collection. 1730:BD:25, 29, and 31 are linked to 1730:BD:27.

**1730:BD:29** is a Late Farming Community occupation known as "D7" on the Dambarare-Doxford site, found during excavations for a dam in the area (figure 4.4). A possible burial and 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century pottery was found in a river bed, which is now inundated by the mine dam. It is related to 1730:BD:27, and may even be part of 1730:BD:27.

**1730:BD:31** is referred to as D10 (and is related to 1730:BD:27) on the Dambarare-Doxford site, and is a Farming Community and Portuguese contact site (figure 4.4) (Izzett, sd). The material from this site was discovered during the excavations for the Jumbo mine dam. The material culture includes "Portuguese remains", beads, potsherds, and blue and white porcelain, according to the catalogue cards.

**1730:BD:32**, also situated on Doxford farm is a Farming Community and Portuguese site (figure 4.4), confirmed by Thomas Huffmann in 1973 during the excavations for a dam to be built (Huffman, 1973). Artefacts include stone supports, porcelain, African pottery, and glass shards, but they were not collected.

**1730:BD:33** is situated on Pentland farm, and though unconfirmed, it is believed to be a Portuguese fort. Coordinates are mentioned on the catalogue card as 30° 50' E; 17° 29' S.

**1730:BD:40** is a Farming Community site on the Mazoe Flowing Bowl mine, and contains a rubbing stone.

**1730:BD:41** is located at Jumbo Mine, is a Farming Community site, and had a two-sided hammerstone, a piece of a shovel, and a grooved stone used for sharpening blades, which were not collected.

**1730:BD:42** is located on the Bojum Claims. It is a Farming Community site, evidenced by the presence of a hammerstone which was not collected.

**1730:BD:43**, located on the Jumbo siding. It is a Farming Community site, where a multi-sided quern stone was found 9cm below the surface of a railway cutting.

**1730:BD:44** is a Late Farming Community site located on a mining concession. Some arrowheads were found near its bowls club.

**1730:BD:45, 46** delivered more Late Farming Community arrowheads on the Wengi Farm concession and on Camperdown Farm respectively.

**1730:BD:49** is a Late Farming Community occupation on the farm Sable Peak.

**1730:BD:50** is located at Ndire and is a Farming Community site. There are house platforms and walling around the hill slope which is associated with ruins at the top.

**1730:BD:51, 52** are located at Ndire II, and are both Late Farming Community occupations.

**1730:BD:53** is located on a farm named Howickvale or Rocky Mountains, and was reported by John Ford in 19 June 1983. Due to road works, artefacts were unearthed, including slag, tuyères, pottery, and dhaka. There is mention of a possible gravel pit. (Ford, 1983).

**1730:BD:55** is a site located on Francesca Farm. In a site report by Tagart and Moyo on 22 July 1988, it is mentioned as being a “Portuguese earthwork”. It is located around cultivated land, and according to the report was threatened by the building of a dam nearby (figure 4.4). A linear mound is visible to the west of a presumably 20<sup>th</sup> century prospecting trench. To its east is cultivated land that has unearthed the base of a glass bottle, which has been collected as surface find. It is suggested that this site be further investigated. (Tagart & Moyo, 1988b). On a second record sheet dating to December 1988 by Tagart and Moyo, another (or the same) mound is being described as being situated underneath an acacia tree in a cultivated field. The mound includes many rocks, including ironstone. From a second mound nearby, potsherds (including blue and white pottery) and glass shards were found. (Tagart & Moyo, 1988c).

**1730:BD:56**, located at Jumbo Mine, was investigated on 28 October 1988 by Tagart. What is believed to be 20<sup>th</sup> century material (including pottery and glass) was collected on the surface. It is presumed to be associated to 20<sup>th</sup> century mine workings, although the report’s author is not completely sure, seeing as it is very close to an African homestead. However, the entrance to an old mine shaft is still visible. It is furthermore

situated near a Portuguese earthwork, although not at it, as a previous surveyor had noted. (Tagart, 1988) (figure 4.4).

**1730:BD:57** is a Portuguese contact and Farming Community site, according to the site report of December 1988 by Tagart and Moyo. This site is situated where a dam was being built, and would be flooded by the dam. No evidence was found of an earthwork, but the site, situated in cultivated fields, did have on its surface ceramics, pole-impressed dhaka, and several types of rock specimens. Visibility was poor in an area planted with maize, but a guyo (grinding stone) was noted. (Tagart & Moyo, 1988d).

**1730:BD:58** was also under threat of the dam building, and is reported to be a Farming Community site (Tagart & Moyo, 1988). A survey was conducted, and amongst the cultivated fields dhaka and a glass shard were noted, but nothing was collected (Tagart & Moyo, 1988).

**1730:BD:59** is a Farming Community site located on a concession on Doxford Farm where grinding holes were reported on the small granite outcrops. There are photographs of these grinding holes.

**1730:BD:60** is a mining site, recorded by L. Adams on 19 November 1991. This site is located at the Jumbo siding. A hill which overlooks the Mazoe Mine had on its summit a hammerstone and one undiagnostic potsherd. There is furthermore evidence of 20<sup>th</sup> century mining activity such as mining trenches and buildings on both the south and west sides of the hill. It is pencilled in that these are probably located where the old Carn Brae Mine was situated. (Adams, 1991).

**1730:BD:61** is a concession in the Mazoe Mine area, and hosts a historical site where there are two boulders with grinding indents. According to the catalogue card there

should be a report and some illustrations, but they were not amongst the other documents.

**1730:BD:62** is a concession at the Mazoe mine including a Farming Community iron smelting site. Some slag, tuyères, pottery, dhaka, and wall fragments were discovered.

**1730:BD:65** is also on a concession at The Rivers Farm and is a Farming Community site with fragments of pole-impressed dhaka and undecorated potsherds.

**1730:BD:69, 70** are on a concession at Lot 1A of the farm Ulladale and are Farming Community sites providing evidence of being an iron smelting site at 69. At 70 there is a grinding stone.

**1730:BD:71** is a Farming Community smelting site on Marodzi Farm.

**1730:BD:72** is situated on Ulladale Farm and consists of a pottery scatter. Recorded 18 May 1994 by L. Swan and J. Moyo, some undiagnostic pottery and pole-impressed dhaka are reported to come from a slope on a hill. Right above this slope there is a flat area which could have been inhabited. (Swan & Moyo, 1994a).

**1730:BD:73** is a smelting site situated on Marodzi farm, recorded by Swan and Moyo on 18 May 1994. Around the base of a tree there were some potsherds and a large piece of iron slag.

**1730:BD:74**, also on Ulladale farm, contains a scatter of pottery and evidence of smelting, according to Swan and Moyo on 18 May 1994. In an eroded piece of earth atop the eastern side of a spur, pottery and slag could be seen. The report's authors assume that this is an indication of a possible settlement. (Swan & Moyo, 1994c).

**1730:BD:75**, situated on Ulladale farm was recorded on 18 May 1994 by Swan and Moyo as a smelting site. There are pieces of slag and tuyère sherds emerging from the shoulder between a road and a cultivated field. Swan and Moyo also spoke to some women working on the farm who referred to a possible settlement which, on the surface, has remains of pots, grinding stones, and graves, north of the cultivated field. Swan and Moyo could not find this site: either it is located under the large maize crops growing at the time, or the women may have referred to site 1730:BD:71, of which no site report could be found, but is recorded on the catalogue card as a Farming Community smelting site.

**1730:BD:76** is situated on Mazowe Mine and contains a pottery scatter, according to Swan and Moyo on 19 May 1994. Several potsherds were found eroding from a roadside, and two graphite-burnished rims indicate a Late Farming Community occupation. (Swan & Moyo, 1994e).

**1730:BD:77** is situated at the foot of a hill on Mazowe Mine. On 19 May 1994 Swan and Moyo found some potsherds and lower grindstones and what is believed to be a tuyère in an old cultivated field between a road and railway line. More to the west, a concentration of pottery (one piece is graphite burnished on the interior and exterior) and dhaka was found. Furthermore more recent (it is believed) glass shards were found, indicating that this may have been resettled in recent years as a staff quarter for the mine. Some sherds of cross-hatched pottery were also excavated between some modern houses. (Swan & Moyo, 1994f).

**1730:BD:78** consists of hut remains on the Mazowe mine property. On the summit of a hill overlooking a golf course, some hut remains were found in the form of pole-impressed dhaka. No other artefacts could be located. A potential threat to this site (in 1994) could (have) be(en) illegal gold digging. (Swan & Moyo, 1994g).

**1730:BD:79 and 80** are recorded together and make up an “interesting site” according to the site’s recorder, A.H.H. Johnson, in June 1995. This site is on a concession at Mountain Home Estate. There is rock art in some shelters in the vicinity of a Farming Community occupation site. The rock art is described as “Approx. 150 small humans engaged in various activities. One striking frieze wearing foreign [illegible handwriting] aprons & headdresses – look [sic] like modern dreadlocks.” Close by is the Farming Community site which consists of stonewalling spanning about 100 metres, and which is about 1 metre high. It has a Zimbabwe Tradition appearance according to Johnson. Moreover there are grain bins underneath some granite rock shelters. (Johnson, 1995).

**1730:BD:81** shows evidence of mine blasting and fuse wires on the Leowara/Amatola mine area, according to G. Nyaruwanga on 5 January 1998. It may thus not be contemporary with the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Nyaruwanga, 1998).

**1730:BD:82** is a Farming Community site reported and recorded by the Prehistoric Society on 30 May 1999 at Riversdale. The vegetation at this site is apparently typical of that growing over a cattle kraal. Evidence for a cattle kraal is furthermore supported by an undecorated potsherd, an upper grindstone, and some possible stone walling. No plastic or glass was found here, thus pointing to a possible pre-European settlement (although it should be remembered that this is an unexcavated site). Close by, on a road leading to the site, shards of an aquamarine or green glass bottle were seen, indicating some form of European settlement later on in the area. This may be due to the fact that the farmhouse on the property was allegedly the country residence of Lord Earl Grey. (Prehistoric Society, 1999).

**1730:BD:83** is a Farming Community site on the Chawatanda Mine, and shows evidence of mine workings by farmer communities. Photographs exist of a riffle plate and grindstone found there.

A review of the Dambarare documentary archives provides us with a fresh perspective on the site's layout and spread. The archive suggests that Dambarare is much more extensive than Garlake (1969a) took it to be. Not only are there more earthworks, but there are also several domestic settlements located between the earthworks. They seem to be contemporary to the earthworks as they bear artefacts related to the 17<sup>th</sup> century settlement, including foreign ceramics. Artefacts and features show a wider array of activities. There are several sites located at and nearby the Dambarare settlement that point to metal working: mines, riffle plates, and objects such as hammer stones, tuyères, slag, moulds and crucibles, and metal implements point to metal working. Food production, preparation, and presentation is represented by local and foreign ceramics, grind stones, and faunal remains, although little of these have been collected. These will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. However, it is important to note that the Dambarare archival records show us that Dambarare is worth revisiting, since the collection and understanding thereof has grown.

While it is true that there is little safe stratigraphic evidence for many of the finds, and that some of the site aspects may not be contemporary to the Dambarare settlement, one can assume that if the objects eroding from them seem to date to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the components may actually belong to the *feira's* settlement. In any case, it is worth exploring these ideas until proper dating and stratigraphic relationships have been secured. If the deductions in this dissertation are proved wrong in future, they have at least served their function as paving the way for discussion about the site and its population.

## Discussion

This chapter had as its aim to lay out what we already know about Dambarare, followed by a discussion of what its archive may contribute to our understanding of the site. While much work has been done on Dambarare and other feiras, both archaeologically and historically, much of it has not been reviewed or revisited in decades, save for a few examples. Additionally, it is clear from these studies that very

little attention has been paid to understand the interactions that occurred at the site between local and foreign communities, as well as between the identities autochthonous to the region. Additionally, we understand little about how or whether individuals integrated at this site, and what the material implications may have been. Innovation has also not been discussed, even though this is often a result of culture contact.

The review of the Dambarare archive proves to us that this *feira* was much more complex in layout and in build (physically and socially) than previously understood. Six more earthworks were discovered, bringing the count up to 11 earthworks. Several domestic settlements were found, with indications of vernacular architecture. Many of these are considered to be related to the Dambarare occupation since either coeval pottery was found, or imports such as foreign ceramics are amongst their finds. Additionally, mines were discovered, and sites relating to gold panning and extraction, such as the riffle plates and holed-out boulders near the river. Many of the domestic settlements and the earthworks bear evidence of metal working, smelting, and smithing. This includes slag, tuyères, moulds and crucibles, and iron implements. The artefacts from the collection also have the ability to inform us more on these activities, as well as the identities present at the site. We can see, therefore, that this contact site consisted of a much more varied population than is understood from a face value reading of histories. This means that the objects used by such communities may have carried more nuanced meanings and had more roles to play than what they appear to possess.

### Limitations to Working with the Dambarare Archive

The Dambarare archive consists of collections made by various archaeologists over several decades. While there is an impressive collection of objects and detailed recordings, there are also several limitations to working with the Dambarare collections.

Locational information is not always accurately recorded – in most cases coordinates are not mentioned at all. In the few cases when they are given they seem to be inaccurate. For example, the coordinates that Garlake (1969a) mentions in his report takes us to a location in Moçambique when plotted in Google Earth. An attempt was made during this study to collect coordinates, but it turned out to be unsuccessful. Most of the maps either have no scale or have little information. Thus, more work is required to create an accurate map of the site that shows all the places where artefacts were found or sites were recorded. Additionally, we do not know where some parts of the site are in relation to each other. While the 1730:BD:26 map (figure 4.4) shows some of the site, not all the earthworks, settlements, and other features are recorded here, and we therefore have no way to understand the spatial relationships between all aspects of the site.

Many of the finds in the 1730:BD collection are from rescue endeavours, seeing as the site was flooded by the Jumbo Mine dam in the 1970s. It was later expanded. A vast part of the Dambarare site area can now be considered as a site for maritime archaeology. Additionally there were also other mine developments taking place, necessitating the creation of more rescue collections. New investigations at the site would be limited to a small portion of the site. These rescue finds are either surface collections, or are objects that were salvaged from mechanical digging. There is so to speak no stratigraphic context for the finds in the archive.

The archive has only been dated relatively based on the imported ceramics and on associated historical documents (Garlake, 1969a). This might prove problematic, especially since many of the finds are surface finds that are mixed with more modern occupations. The question thus arises: which parts and which objects of the site really date to Dambarare's occupation, and which do not? Some, of course, are obviously from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (i.e. some of the imported ceramics) and some, are obviously not (eg. industrial metal alloys). However, there are cases where the dating is and will remain suspect.

Another setback in the study of the objects in the Dambarare archive is that some artefacts that are reported about in published and unpublished sources are no longer to be found in the 1730:BD collection. This includes the pottery that both Garlake (1969a) and Pikirayi (1993, 1997) studied, as well as some of the imported wares and other objects from Garlake's 1967 (1969a) field season. Moreover, one of the boxes of 1730:BD:2 (containing some of Garlake's 1969a finds) is kept in the Museum of Human Science's strong room and can only be accessed with written permission and the presence of three specific personnel. Permission was granted, and it was organised to try to access the strong room twice (October/November 2015, and April 2016), but on both occasions there were constraints to accessing the collection. Since it is uncertain what is in the strong room (although it likely contained gold, copper, bronze, and ivory artefacts), the decision was made to rather rely on Garlake's (1969a) site report to make sense of the artefacts that could either not be accessed or found.

Conclusion While archaeological archives have limitations and challenges, it is essential that they be revisited in order to better understand the original sites. They possess the ability to be re-inquired, and new questions can be asked of the existing objects. Excavating archives also update what we understand of a given site. This is important for the site of Dambarare, since it has mostly been left undisturbed (archaeologically speaking) for the past five decades, save for a few times when researchers have looked at some parts of the archive (Pikirayi, 1993, 1997; Swanepoel, 2015; Swanepoel & Steyn, 2013). After considering the documentary archive, we now know that Dambarare was more extensive and had more components than originally thought. There are more earthworks, settlements, and activity-specific sites such as mines at Dambarare. It should, however, be noted that not all of the earthworks, features and other evidence of settlements might have occurred during Dambarare's occupation. There is a possibility that some of these features (such as earthworks) and objects may have been brought on during later occupations (cf. Pikirayi, 1993). Caution should therefore be taken when thinking of these objects as part of the 17th century Dambarare settlement. Moreover, a large number of objects have been amassed since the initial investigations, and they have not yet been studied. The following three chapters will consider the objects that can be found in the current Dambarare archive, and they will be interrogated in order to understand more about the interactions, the integration, and innovation that occurred at this *feira*.

# CHAPTER 5: POTTERY

## Introduction

Pottery is a fundamental category of evidence from Farming Community sites in southern Africa, as it has the ability to address questions related to the definition of group identity, interaction, and integration (Calabrese, 2000, 2007; Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 1997, 2007). As a class of material culture, pottery can be quite telling about the cultural context of the people who created and used it (Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 2007). This is because social and cultural ideas are believed to be etched on decorations that appear on the bodies of ceramic vessels (Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 2007). Following this logic, pottery from various segments of the farming community period has been assigned to an array of distinct socio-linguistic groups (cf Huffman, 1974, 2007; Pwiti, 1996a). Therefore, identifying the ceramic assemblage from any given site will inform us on the identities of the people who lived or interacted there. The pottery of many southern Zambesian trading towns have already been studied in order to understand the identities involved in the *feira* trade (Garlake, 1967a, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001). This includes some of the Dambarare pottery (Garlake, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997). However, not all the sherds in the archive have been analysed, and therefore an updated review will be given here. Using generally accepted ideas about local pottery and group identity, this chapter aims to expose the various identities represented in the existing Dambarare local pottery assemblage. This is an important step towards understanding the broader issues of interaction and integration at the site, especially in terms of African identities represented at this *feira*.

## Theoretical Background to Pottery Analyses

It is the belief amongst archaeologists and anthropologists that people use “material culture to express identity” (Huffman, 2007:103; Gosden, 1999; Mitchell & Whitelaw, 2005; Thomas, 1991). Pottery is no exclusion to this generalisation (Huffman, 2007;

Mitchell & Whitelaw, 2005; Pikirayi, 2007). The study of ceramics is a popular practice in the archaeology of southern African farming communities, since pottery can elucidate much information concerning the identities of the people using (or making) it, and of changes that may have occurred within these social groupings (Hall, 1984; Huffman, 2007; Mitchell & Whitelaw, 2005; Pikirayi, 1999, 2007). Ceramics (and the manner in which they are used) therefore convey certain meanings and messages that could be understood by those who interact(ed) with the pottery (Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 2007).

The bodies and decorations of southern African ceramics represent social identities (and not, it should be noted, political allegiance, kinship ties, or individuals) (Huffman, 2007). This has been established through ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological findings (Huffman, 2007). It is inferred, then, that earlier communities of which there are no histories or living ties, also considered their pottery in the same manner as ethnographically present communities (Pikirayi, 1999). Whether it is fair to assume that people have continuously been expressing social identity through material culture in the same manner over some two thousand years of farming lifestyles in southern Africa is debatable (and is debated), but in general most archaeologists tend to accept this idea (eg. Huffman, 2007; Mitchell & Whitelaw, 2005; Pikirayi, 1999). This seems to hold also, since archaeologists consider the makers and users of these ceramics as conservative in terms of change in designs, and the only real opportunities for change in pottery styles would be from external influences (Huffman, 2007; for a critique, see Hall, 1984). Why people could not innovate stylistic change internally is rarely discussed – and yet it should be (Hall, 1984; Pikirayi, 2007).

If we assume that the belonging to a certain socio-linguistic group is expressed through material culture, then we can start measuring these social groups by creating pottery typologies (Huffman, 1974, 2007). Thereafter we can place these types into series to trace continuity and change over time (Huffman, 2007). The creation of typologies and the ordering thereof into series are based on culture-historical methods that were invented to understand sequences and chronologies (Hall, 1984; Huffman, 2007; Renfrew & Bahn, 2004). These are effective manners through which to explain

culture change and continuity (Hall, 1984; Huffman, 2007). Typologies are constructed by putting together artefacts that are similar to each other; objects that share certain repeated and repeatable attributes (Huffman, 2007; Renfrew & Bahn, 2004:124). The construction of a typology is based on two assumptions: first, that objects that belong to a certain location and date have a distinguishable style (Renfrew & Bahn, 2004:124). Second is that when change occurs, it is slow and gradual – a stylistic evolution of sorts (Renfrew & Bahn, 2004:125). This gradual change can then be tracked, and forms what we call a series (Renfrew & Bahn, 2004:126). Through seriation (the ordering of related assemblages that develop over time) one can gain a relative chronology, as well as an understanding of the relation of certain objects to others (Renfrew & Bahn, 2004).

To explain this, let us consider the ceramics of northern Zimbabwe, as discussed in Chapter 2. Gokomere-Ziwa facies ceramics are a ceramic type: they have specific features, and any sherds found at sites with these attributes could be considered as Gokomere-Ziwa type ceramics. Furthermore, Gokomere-Ziwa type ceramics form a series that shows gradual change over a certain time-span. We have Gokomere-Ziwa Phase 1 pottery, which is followed by Phase 2 (Coronation), which is in turn followed by Phase 3 (Maxton) (see figure 2.2). The ordering of this changing typology is a seriation – it shows us how and when material culture (and thus the ideas expressed through material culture) has changed. Unfortunately it does not explain *why* it changed, and this can often only be elucidated by considering other classes of objects that are found in relation to ceramic types and series.

Creating ceramic typologies are not always ideal; they are subjective and they are restrictive (Pikirayi, 2007). However, they are useful when wanting to make comparisons between sites and their peopling (Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 2007). There are, moreover, not many other ways in which ceramics in southern Africa have been studied (Pikirayi, 2007). True, some researchers have started considering ethnoarchaeology, or they have looked at technology, but it is seldom possible to compare these observations between sites (Hall, 1984; Pikirayi, 2007). Typologies, on the other hand, are very effective to measure different sites to each other since they

generalise ceramic traits (Huffman, 2007). Also, because most southern African archaeological ceramic interpretations are based on such typological classifications, it would be counterproductive not to follow suit, as it would make it impossible to compare one site to another, which is exactly what this dissertation wants to achieve. The attempt, therefore, in using this theoretical approach towards the ceramic analyses is to see whether there are multiple identities or a single identity at the site of Dambarare, and what this may mean for interaction, integration, and innovations at this *feira*.

### Method: Pottery Analyses

The method that will be used to analyse the pottery from Dambarare is based upon Thomas Huffman's (2007:111) "multi-dimensional approach". This approach uses three aspects of pottery in order to classify the ceramics into types and sequences (Huffman, 2007:111). These three aspects are profile, decoration placement, and decoration motif (Huffman 2007:111). Ideally, whole pots are needed to identify types, but this is rare with archaeological collections (Huffman, 2007). Therefore, pots that indicate their shapes and that present all or most of the needed features are generally used.

The first aspect of the multi-dimensional approach is based on a pot's profile (Huffman, 2007:111). The profile indicates the shape of the vessel (Huffman, 2007:111). Profile also allows us to understand where decoration motifs are placed (Huffman, 2007). This brings us to the second aspect: decoration placement (Huffman, 2007:111). Decoration placement indicates where a design is placed on the vessel body (Huffman, 2007). Designs might be drawn on lips, rims, necks, shoulders, or bodies of vessels, and can even be found in the interior of a pot (Huffman, 2007). What the designs look like are called the decoration motifs (and the third aspect of this analysis method) (Huffman, 2007:111). The aim is to identify what kind of decoration is present

on the ware (such as comb-stamping, punctates, incisions, burnishing and so on) (Huffman, 2007).

These three aspects then contribute to the creation of a stylistic type, where decorations share similar traits, but may differ in complexity (Huffman, 2007). This means that we are creating typologies for the ceramics, which can then be ordered into series (Huffman, 2007). Based on this approach, a data capture approach is designed to capture the salient features of an assemblage based on stratigraphy and context.

### The Dambarare Pottery Assemblage

At the moment, there are 129 potsherds in the Dambarare museum archival collection. The sherds have been picked up as surface finds across the site (table 5.1). No sherds would refit, and most of them are relatively small and quite worn. It was often difficult to establish the rim diameter, which was thus ignored in this study. There are mostly diagnostic sherds in the Dambarare collection. 46 sherds were decorated and undecorated body sherds, and there was 83 decorated and undecorated rim sherds. Potsherd collection was thus highly selective.

**Table 5.1. Summary of the origins of the pottery collection, as well as the amount of sherds from each.**

<b>Site number</b>	<b>Site Description</b>	<b>Amount of sherds</b>
1730:BD:10	Rock art site with some pottery scatter	4
1730:BD:18	“Earthwork 2”	2
1730:BD:20	“Earthwork 4”	5
1730:BD:27	LFC domestic settlement and smelting site	107
1730:BD:29	LFC domestic site	5
1730:BD:55	Earthwork	6
<b>Total number of sherds</b>		<b>129</b>

## Analysis and Results

Employing the multi-dimensional analysis, salient features of the ceramics will be represented in the next section. These include fabric, rim shapes, profiles, decoration motifs, and decoration placement. Note will also be made of the distribution of the ceramics across the site. The features will be discussed separately, followed by a synthesis and a discussion of the results and their implications.

### Fabric: Body Texture

The pottery bodies were divided into three categories, ranging from coarse, fine to coarse, and fine (table 5.2). The majority (83%) of the ceramics have coarsely potted bodies and these appear ubiquitously across the site. The bodies either have a rough finish, or are polished (ie. have a smooth finish). Many sherds show evidence of decay, and many also bear soot on the interior and/or exterior of the sherd. Since most of the

pottery have eroded from their original contexts, such evidence of taphonomic processes are to be expected.

**Table 5.2: Description of the body texture of the potsherds.**

Site	Fine	Fine to Coarse	Coarse	Notes
1730:BD:10	0	0	4	
1730:BD:18	0	0	2	
1730:BD:20	1	0	4	
1730:BD:27	14	1	91	1 sample not accounted for
1730:BD:29	4	0	1	
1730:BD:55	2	0	4	
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>128 sherds</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### Lip Forms

Three lip forms have been identified in the Dambarare pottery collection. These forms are tapered, square, and rounded. Amongst the 83 rim sherds, the most popular lip form is a tapered form, followed by square rims, and rounded rims being the least common (table 5.3). The lip forms are found among various types of profiles, and cannot be allocated to one body type.

**Table 5.3: Lip forms at Dambarare**

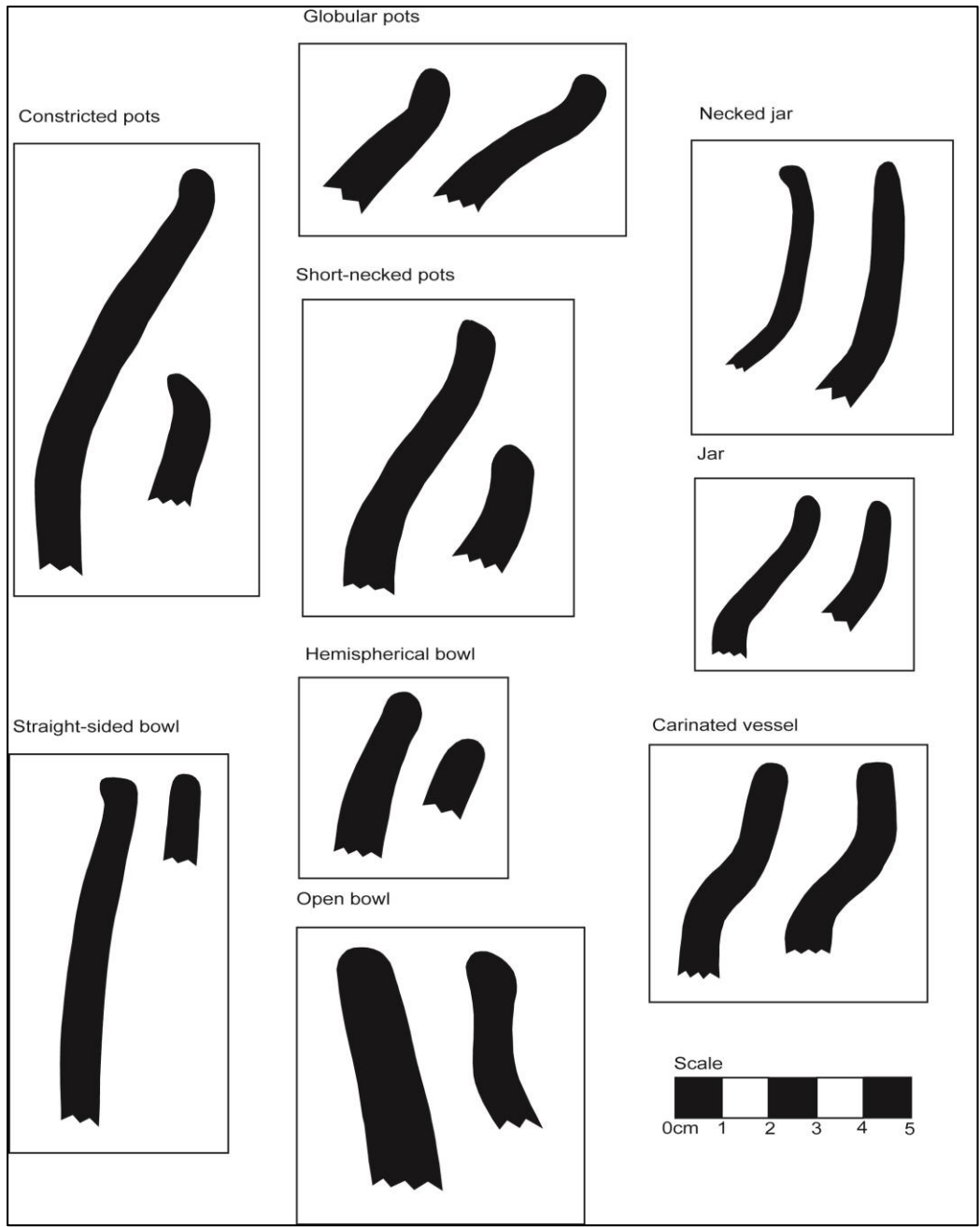
Lip forms	Tapered	Square	Rounded	Total
<b>Number</b>	50	25	8	<b>83</b>

## Profiles

Nine different vessel shapes have been identified (figure 5.1). Since the sherds were generally small and fragmented, only a few (indicatively) complete body shapes could be traced. However, based on the available sherds, some distinctions could be made. There are three types of pots. Constricted pots generally do not have long necks – necks curve inwards, with outward sloping shoulders, causing rim diameter to be less than body circumference. Globular pots also have nearly no neck, but the shoulders curve quite far out immediately, indicating a globular (or round) body. Short-necked pots have slight necks, giving a much less sudden outslowing of the shoulders.

There are two types of jars, and one sort of carinated vessel. Jars tend to have longer necks than any of the pots, and they have prominent shoulders. The shoulders often curve sharply inwards toward the body. Necked jars have significantly elongated necks, and shoulders extend outward at a fairly sharp angle. Carinated vessels tend to have straight rims and necks, with a sudden curve of the shoulder, widening the vessel body.

Bowls can be divided into four groups. The rims of open bowls lean outward, indicating a larger rim diameter than body diameter. Hemispherical bowls, on the other hand, show rims angled inwards, with the neck/shoulder/body parts sloping gently outward, and curving as gently back inwards, creating a hemispherical body. Straight-sided bowls have long neck and shoulder regions that are nearly straight. These bowls indicate quite a deep vessel. There is one ring-based bowl (figures 5.6., 5.7.). The base has a flat ring at the base, and the body curves outwards, suggesting a larger rim diameter than body or base diameter. Only the base of this bowl exists, so it is uncertain whether this bowl bore any decoration. There were some vessel shapes that could not accurately be identified.



**Figure 5.1. Illustration of profiles of the vessel shapes found at Dambarare.**

Decoration Motifs

Decoration motifs present on the Dambarare pottery include incised lines, comb stamping, wrapped fibre impressions, punctates, and cross-hatching, and several combinations thereof (figure 5.2). Further decorative features are in the form of graphite burnishing or red ochre slipping. Many of the sherds are relatively small, and

may not display the entire decoration motif. Some motifs described here may therefore be an element of a larger design pattern, but while this cannot be established for certain, space is made to at least describe each feature.

#### DESIGN MOTIFS ON THE 1730:BD POTTERY

##### BURNISHING



Graphite



Red ochre

##### INCISED LINES



Single incised line



Double incised lines



Incised triangle



Double incised triangles with graphite burnishing



Bands of burnishing with incised lines



##### WRAPPED FIBRE IMPRESSION



Single line of wrapped fibre



Horizontal border with diagonal bands



Band of diagonal impressions



Band of diagonal impressions with incised lines

##### CROSS-HATCHING



Band of cross-hatching

##### PUNCTATES



Single line of punctates

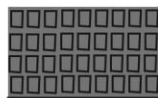


Band of punctates and incised lines

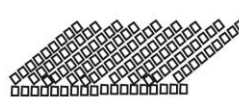
##### COMB-STAMPING



Single line of comb-stamping



Band of comb-stamping with an incised border and graphite burnishing



Band of oblique comb-stamping



Band of diagonal incisions with comb-stamping and burnishing

**Figure 5.2: Decoration motifs found on the Dambarare pottery.**

### Decoration Placement

Decorations are placed either on rims, shoulders, necks, or bodies of vessels. Tables 5.4 to 5.14 present the decoration placements on the nine profile groups in the Dambarare collection. Note that graphite burnishing has been shortened to “GB,” and red ochre to “RO.”

**Table 5.4. Decoration placement: constricted pots**

<b>Profile</b>	<b>Design Motif</b>	<b>Placement</b>	<b>Sherds</b>
<b>Constricted pot</b>	Undecorated	N/A	3
	Graphite burnishing	N/A	6
	Single incised line	Neck/shoulder	1
	Bands of horizontal incised lines with RO and GB	Body	1
	Bands of oblique incised lines with RO and GB	Body	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>12</b>

**Table 5.5. Decoration placement: globular pots**

<b>Profile</b>	<b>Design Motif</b>	<b>Placement</b>	<b>Sherds</b>
<b>Globular pot</b>	Undecorated	N/A	6
	Graphite burnishing	N/A	11
	Double incised triangles with GB	Body	3
	Band of comb-stamping with incised border and GB	Shoulder	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>21</b>

**Table 5.6. Decoration placement: short-necked pots**

<b>Profile</b>	<b>Design Motif</b>	<b>Placement</b>	<b>Sherds</b>
<b>Short-necked pot</b>	Undecorated	N/A	3
	GB	N/A	6
	RO	N/A	1
	Diagonal band with horizontal border, both of wrapped fibre	Rim	1
	Diagonal band of wrapped fibre with horizontal incisions	Neck, shoulder	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>12</b>

**Table 5.7. Decoration placement: jars**

<b>Profile</b>	<b>Design Motif</b>	<b>Placement</b>	<b>Sherds</b>
<b>Jar</b>	Undecorated	N/A	3
	GB	N/A	6
	GB and RO	GB: rim; RO: shoulder	1
	Single incised line	Neck	1
	Band of cross-hatching	Neck	2
	Single line of comb-stamping	Neck	1
	Band of comb-stamping with incised border and GB	Shoulder	2
<b>Total</b>			<b>16</b>

**Table 5.8. Decoration placement: necked jars**

<b>Profile</b>	<b>Design Motif</b>	<b>Placement</b>	<b>Sherds</b>
<b>Necked jar</b>	Undecorated	N/A	5
	GB	N/A	6
	RO	N/A	2
	GB and RO	RO: rim; GB: shoulder and body	1
	Single incised line	Neck	1
	Single incised triangle	Body	2
	Single line of wrapped fibre	Body	1
	Diagonal band with horizontal border, both of wrapped fibre	Body	1
	Diagonal band of wrapped fibre	Rim	1
	Single line of punctates	1 x rim; 1x body	2
	Oblique band of comb-stamping	Neck	1
	Diagonal bands of comb-stamping, separated by diagonal incisions filled with either GB or RO	Rim, neck, shoulder	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>24</b>

**Table 5.9. Decoration placement: carinated vessels**

<b>Profile</b>	<b>Design Motif</b>	<b>Placement</b>	<b>Sherds</b>
<b>Carinated vessel</b>	Undecorated	N/A	1
	GB	N/A	3
<b>Total</b>			<b>4</b>

**Table 5.10. Decoration placement: open bowls**

<b>Profile</b>	<b>Design Motif</b>	<b>Placement</b>	<b>Sherds</b>
<b>Open bowl</b>	Undecorated	N/A	2
	Band of punctates with horizontal incisions and GB	Rim, shoulder	1
	Oblique band of comb-stamping	Interior rim	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>4</b>

**Table 5.11. Decoration placement: hemispherical bowls**

<b>Profile</b>	<b>Design Motif</b>	<b>Placement</b>	<b>Sherds</b>
<b>Hemispherical bowl</b>	Undecorated	N/A	1
	GB	N/A	11
	Oblique band of comb-stamping	Rim	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>13</b>

**Table 5.12. Decoration placement: straight-sided bowls**

<b>Profile</b>	<b>Design Motif</b>	<b>Placement</b>	<b>Sherds</b>
<b>Straight-sided bowl</b>	GB	N/A	4
<b>Total</b>			<b>4</b>

**Table 5.13. Decoration placement: ring-based bowl**

<b>Profile</b>	<b>Design Motif</b>	<b>Placement</b>	<b>Sherds</b>
<b>Ring-based bowl</b>	Undecorated	N/A	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>1</b>

**Table 5.14. Decoration placement: indeterminate vessels**

<b>Profile</b>	<b>Design Motif</b>	<b>Placement</b>	<b>Sherds</b>
<b>Indeterminate vessel</b>	Undecorated	N/A	17
	Double incised lines	Body?	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>18</b>

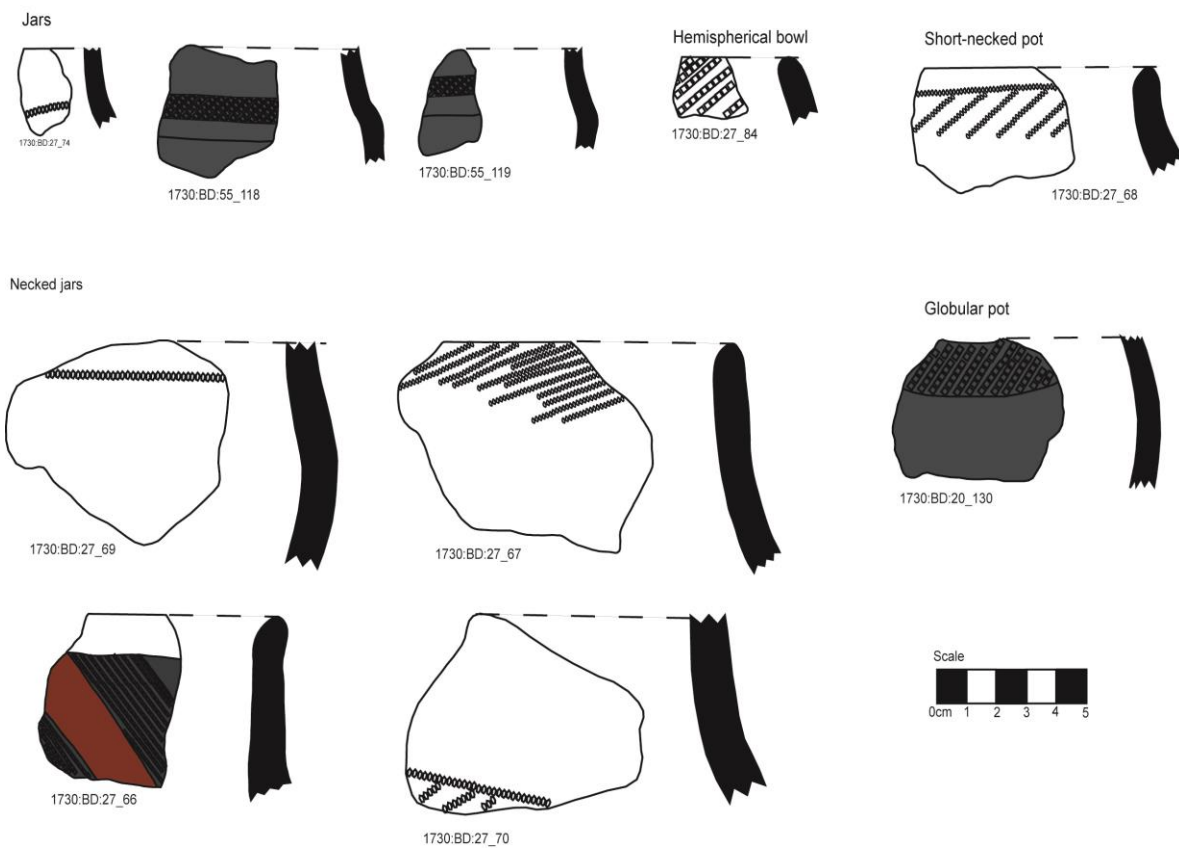
## Results and Discussion

While the majority of the ceramics were difficult to identify and to assign to any one typology, it does seem as though there are three known pottery traditions present at Dambarare. The three traditions are of the Muzengezi, Zimbabwe, and Mahonje types. These are listed and discussed below, accompanied by illustrations of the sherds.

### a. Musengezi

The first pottery type identified at Dambarare is that of Musengezi (figure 5.3) which dates to the 13<sup>th</sup> to c.16<sup>th</sup> centuries CE (Pikirayi, 1996). Profiles include jars, necked jars, hemispherical bowls, short-necked pots, and globular pots. Decorations tend to be single lines, bands of comb-stamping, and wrapped fibre impressions. There is some red ochre and graphite burnishing. Musengezi type ceramics were found at the following locations: 1730:BD:20 (an earthwork), 1730:BD:27 (a LFC domestic settlement), and 1730:BD:55 (an earthwork).

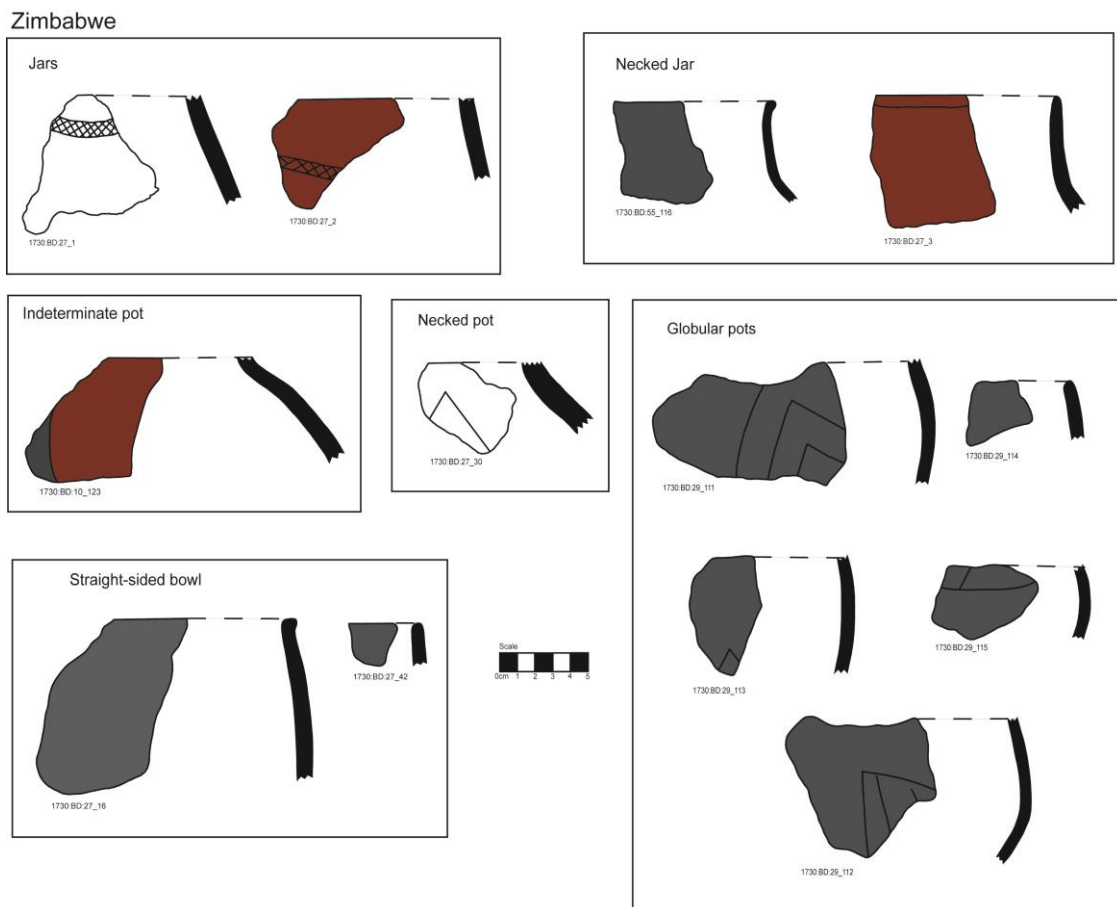
## Musengezi ceramics



**Figure 5.3: Musengezi type ceramics at Dambarare.**

b. Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe type ceramics (14<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries CE) (Pwiti, 1996a) are the second pottery type present at Dambarare. Profiles include jars, necked jars, necked pots, globular pots, straight-sided bowls, and an indeterminate body vessel, which was included based on its decoration motif (figure 5.4). The designs that appear on these ceramics are bands of cross-hatching, triangular motifs, and oblique lines with heavy use of graphite burnishing and red ochre. Similar to Baranda/Massapa (Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001), bowls are identified in this assemblage, even when this is not a common shape for traditional Zimbabwe type ceramics. Bowls are generally found in northern Zimbabwe's Zimbabwe pattern (Pikirayi, 1993, 2001). The pots come from the following locations: 1730:BD:10 (a rock art site that had a local pottery scatter), 1730:BD:27 (a LFC domestic settlement), 1730:BD:29 (a LFC domestic settlement), and 1730:BD:55 (an earthwork).



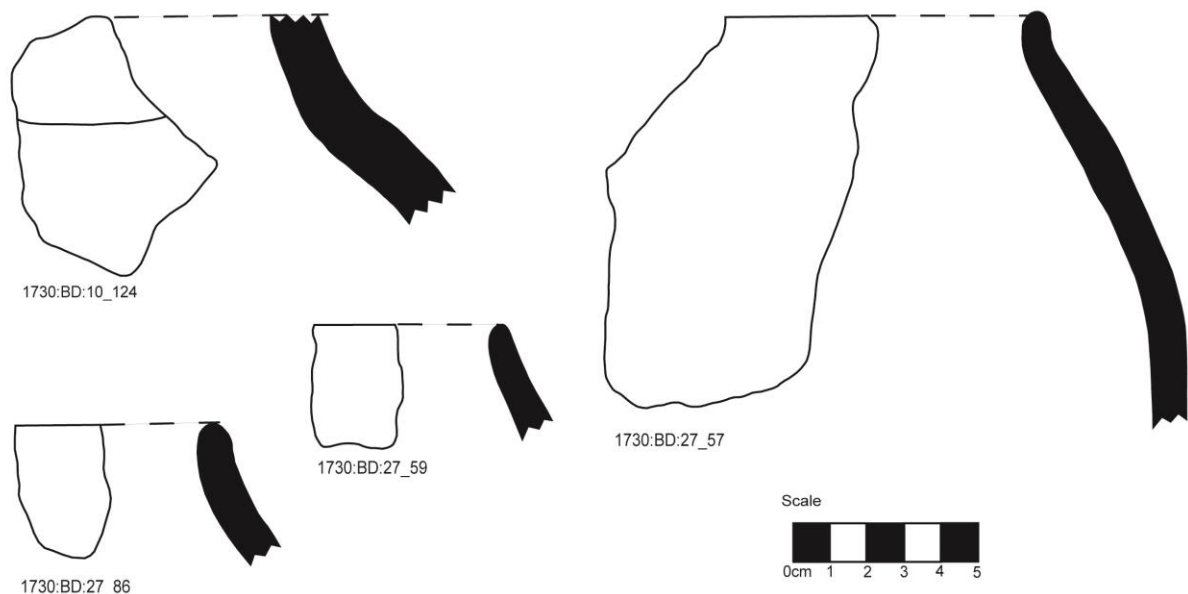
**Figure 5.4. Zimbabwe type ceramics at Dambarare.**

c. Mahonje

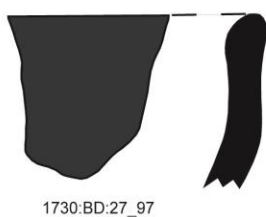
The final tradition that could be identified is that of Mahonje (late 16<sup>th</sup>/early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries to 1900 CE) (Pwiti, 1996a). Constricted pots, open bowls, and carinated vessels are present (figure 5.5). Although a few sherds are graphite burnished, these sherds in general tend not to bear any burnishing. There are also almost no decorations on these wares, save for one example (1730:BD:10\_124) that has an incised line that cuts horizontally between the neck and shoulder of a constricted pot. These sherds come from two locations at Dambarare: 1730:BD:10 (a rock art site) and 1730:BD:27 (a LFC settlement).

Mahonje

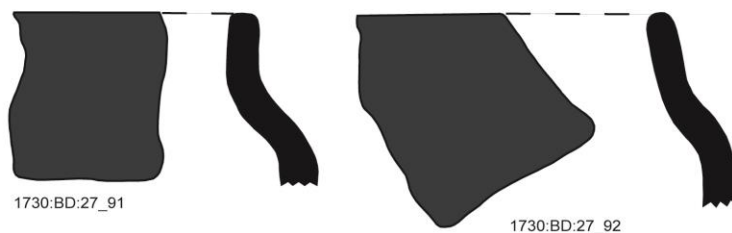
Constricted pots



Open bowl



Carinated vessels



**Figure 5.5: Mahonje type ceramics from Dambarare.**

## Interaction of Ceramic Identities

If we assume that pottery is an expression of socio-linguistic identity, then it follows that each stylistic type represents a specific linguistic affinity (Huffman, 1974, 2007). Therefore, each of the three ceramic identities recognised at Dambarare should show us who the people were who made and used the pottery. Musengezi ceramics are believed to be associated with a Shona dialect cluster known as Korekore, which was generally spoken in the northeastern reaches of what is today Zimbabwe (Huffman, 1974; Pwiti, 1996a). Zimbabwe type pottery, on the other hand, is associated with the Shona dialect of Karanga, normally found towards the south (Huffman, 1974). A northward movement of Karanga-speakers can be traced by the appearance of Zimbabwe type ceramics on the landscape (Huffman, 1974; Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a). Zimbabwe type ceramics are generally associated with the development and growth of the Mutapa state (Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a). Lastly, Mahonje ceramics are similar to those made by current Tonga-speakers in northern Zimbabwe (Pikirayi, 1993). Therefore, it is believed that the Mahonje tradition could be associated with historical Tonga communities (Pikirayi, 1993). Tonga-speakers originally lived in what is now southern Zambia and Moçambique (Pikirayi, 1993). Due to social and spatial pressures, many Tonga-speakers migrated into northern Zimbabwe from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, and this may account for the appearance of Mahonje ceramics, and why they do not seem to develop out of the other known regional ceramics (Pikirayi, 1993). Based on the ceramic evidence, then, it is clear that (at least) three different chronologically overlapping identities were represented at Dambarare, and that they interacted. To better understand these interactions, let us now consider the spatial distribution of the ceramic types at this *feira*.

## Ceramic Distribution at Dambarare

Since Dambarare consists of a constellation of smaller sites, the pottery assemblage is scattered around various locations (table 5.1). The distribution of the types of sherds found across the site has been tabulated (table 5.15), enabling better visual

understanding of the frequency of ceramic types found at the Dambarare locations. In this table (table 5.15) the three dimensions are included together, showing what possible typologies may be found at specific points. Table 5.16 presents a summary of the identified typologies and their distribution and relationship across the site.

**Table 5.15: Provenience of the Dambarare pottery assemblage, displaying designs, profiles, and decoration placement, and the distribution around the site.**

Body and decoration			Site: 1730:BD:						
Design	Profile	Decoration placement	10	18	20	27	29	55	
<b>Undecorated</b>	Necked jar	N/A				xxxxx			
	Constricted pot					Xxx			
	Globular pot					xxxxxxx			
	Short-necked pot				X	Xx			
	Jar					Xxx			
	Hemispherical bowl					X			
	Open bowl					xx			
	Carinated vessel					X			
	Unidentified body sherd						xxxxxxx xxxxxxx xxxxx		x
	Ring-based bowl						X		
<b>Graphite burnishing (GB)</b>	Necked jar	N/A		X	X	xxx		x	
	Constricted pot					xxxxxx		x	
	Globular pot				X	xxxxxxx xxxxx			
	Short-necked pot			X		xxxxxx			
	Jar				X	xxxxx		x	
	Hemispherical bowl					xxxxxxx xxxxx	x		
	Straight-sided bowl					xxxxx			
	Carinated vessel					xxx			
	<b>Red ochre (RO)</b>		Necked jar	N/A				xx	
Short-necked pot						X			
<b>Graphite + red ochre</b>	Necked jar	Red ochre on rim / graphite from shoulder down				X			
	Jar	Graphite on rim/ ochre on shoulder	X						
<b>Single incised line</b>	Necked jar	Neck				X			
	Constricted pot	Neck/shoulder	X						
	Jar	Neck				X			
<b>Double incised lines</b>	Indeterminate vessel	Indeterminate				X			
<b>Incised single triangle</b>	Necked jar	Body				X	x		
<b>Double incised triangles with GB</b>	Globular pot	Body					xxx		
<b>Bands of incised lines with RO and GB (horizontal)</b>	Constricted pot	Body	x						

<b>Bands of incised lines with RO and GB (oblique)</b>	Constricted pot	Body	x						
<b>Wrapped fibre: single line</b>	Necked jar	Body				x			
<b>Wrapped fibre: Horizontal border with diagonal bands</b>	Necked jar	Body				x			
	Short-necked pot	Rim				x			
<b>Wrapped fibre: diagonal band</b>	Necked jar	Rim				x			
<b>Wrapped fibre: diagonal band with horizontal incisions</b>	Short-necked pot	Neck, shoulder				x			
<b>Cross-hatching: band</b>	Jar	Neck				xx			
<b>Punctates: single line</b>	Necked jar	Rim				x			
		Body				x			
<b>Punctates: band with horizontal incised lines + GB</b>	Open bowl	Rim, shoulder				x			
<b>Comb-stamping: single line</b>	Jar	Neck				x			
<b>Comb-stamping: band with incised border + GB</b>	Globular pot	Shoulder			X				
	Jar	Shoulder							xx
<b>Comb-stamping: oblique band</b>	Necked jar	Neck				X			
	Hemispherical bowl	Rim				X			
	Open bowl	Interior rim				X			
<b>Comb-stamping: diagonal bands separated by diagonal incisions and alternating RO + GB</b>	Necked jar	Rim, neck, shoulder				X			

**Table 5.16. The pottery types found together at Dambarare locations.**

<b>Location</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Ceramic types</b>
1730:BD:10	Rock art site	Zimbabwe, Mahonje
1730:BD:20	Earthwork	Musengezi
1730:BD:27	LFC domestic settlement	Musengezi, Zimbabwe, Mahonje
1730:BD:29	LFC domestic settlement	Zimbabwe
1730:BD:55	Earthwork	Musengezi, Zimbabwe

Table 5.16 shows that the three ceramic identities at Dambarare often appear together at various parts of the site, from rock art sites, to earthworks and domestic settlements. Although the pottery collection is very fragmented, and pottery sizes were not established, it is clear that all three ceramic types are represented through jars, pots, and bowls at Dambarare (figures 5.3, .4, .5). There also does not seem to be much explicit distinction in sizes compared between the types (figures 5.3, .4, .5). This might exclude selective decoration based on function, or usage of certain wares based on their function and origin.

The presence of all three ceramic types at various aspects of Dambarare suggests interaction, and possibly integration of the various identities. While it is probable that many of the ceramics might have acted as vessels in which to transport trade goods to the *feira*, it is also important to consider what the implications might have been if persons living at the site used and made these ceramics. Gilbert Pwiti (1996a) noted at Wazi Hill, a roughly contemporary occupation, that both Musengezi and Zimbabwe ceramics were present at the site. While in most cases there was some separation in their distribution, both ceramic types were sometimes found together (Pwiti, 1996a). The general opinion of Zimbabwe type ceramics is that they represent politically superior communities in northern Zimbabwe, where people who made Musengezi ceramics were often politically independent or marginalised (Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a). However, at Wazi Hill, Pwiti (1996a) argues, there was no antagonism between the two identities – Zimbabwe users did not try to force Musengezi makers to adopt their ceramics and lifeways. Instead, at élite and commoner residences both ceramic types were found, indicating that in order to gain or maintain political power, Zimbabwe makers did not oppress Musengezi users – they rather lived alongside each other (Pwiti, 1996a).

Additionally, it is known historically that the Mutapa state in fact had people of various identities adhering to this political unit (Mudenge, 1988). Perhaps this is what also happened at Dambarare – the integration of various identities might not have meant a total overtaking of social expressions since it was politically acceptable that various identities converged (cf. Crumley, 1995). It is important to remember that it is generally

understood that ceramic styles express identities, not necessarily political units (Huffman, 2007). Moreover, it should be taken into account here that foreign settlers at Dambarare, as at other *feiras* and *prazos*, eventually adopted the lifestyles and activities of the Farming Communities that they were in contact with (Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). These persons may not have made their own pottery, and might have used whatever was presented or available to them, which explains why the different types of sherds are found together at certain parts of the Dambarare site.

While it is common knowledge that pottery is often left undecorated, Pikirayi (1997) has made the argument that the reason why so many sherds in his (and Garlake's 1969a) study of Dambarare were undecorated or difficult to identify might show a marginal community to the Mutapa state, where various peripheral identities converged. This is a probable explanation for the many unidentifiable sherds in the current collection. However, if Dambarare was one of the most popular and lucrative trading towns of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, would the Mwene Mutapa have considered it such a peripheral place (Beach, 1994; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 2001a)? An alternative explanation for the large amount of unidentifiable sherds may be similar to the case of the Tswana-town of Mabotse in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Hall, 2001). Many of the ceramics were not decorated at this town since people's identities and world views were changing with increasing colonial contact and alterations in relationships between foreigners and locals, and between men and women (Hall, 2001; see Chapter Six for a further discussion). This might be the situation at Dambarare, where there was significant interaction between foreign and local settlers (Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a,b). Therefore we could consider this lack of decoration or clear types as a marker of intensified interactions and of integration and creolisation. Caution should be taken with such a small sample, however, since the ratio of clearly decorated pottery to undecorated (or unidentifiable) pottery does not seem abnormal. Moreover, without proper stratigraphic context and in situ finds, it would be difficult to know exactly what the distinctions and relationships between the ceramics and their use(r)s were.

### Innovation/Imitation: Suggestions from a Ring-Based Bowl

One rather unique sherd was found at 1730:BD:27 (figures 5.6, 5.7): a ring-based bowl. This is not a form typical of the ceramics of the region. It was found in association with Musengezi, Zimbabwe, and Mahonje type ceramics, and alongside 17<sup>th</sup> century imported ceramics. No similar sherds could be found at Dambarare. Like sherds have not been reported from other southern Zambezian *feiras* (Garlake, 1967a, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001). Although an argument may be made that this could be a Harare or an Ingombe Ilede type sherd (since these ceramic types contain certain forms of ring bases), based on the evidence present in current literature, it does not seem as though the shapes and styles of the vessels or their bases agree (Fagan, 1969; Sinamai, 2008).

On the other hand, identical sherds have been found in Zambia at the 18<sup>th</sup> century contact sites of Kasoko and Feira, and at the Portuguese settlement at Sofala, which dates to the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Clark, 1967; Dickinson, 1975; Phillipson, 1972; David Phillipson, pers. comm. 2016). The arguments made at these sites are that local potters were influenced or inspired by imported ceramics that tend to have ringed bases (Dickinson, 1975; Clark, 1967; Phillipson, 1972). Whether this points to the integration of introduced foodways, or to the settlers requesting specific designs from potters is uncertain, especially when foreign ceramics are constantly and consistently available at Dambarare (see Chapter Six) (cf. DeCorse, 1992). It either means that not everyone had access to the use of foreign ceramics (although this is unlikely, based on their distribution – see Chapter Six), or that potters decided to imitate this shape more out of an increasing creolised society at the site (cf. Thomas, 1991). This then indicates imitation and innovation in terms of ceramic shape and material, and likely even a changed use of this adapted pottery.



**Figure 5.6. Ring-based bowl from 1730:BD:27 at Dambarare. Source: author.**



**Figure 5.7. Ring-based bowl from 1730:BD:27 at Dambarare. Source: author.**

## Conclusion

The Dambarare pottery collection proved to have three distinct coeval regional typologies, namely the Musengezi, Zimbabwe, and Mahonje traditions. It does not seem as though there was a division between the use or the importance of these ceramics – pointing to an interaction without the attempt to dominate or change social identities. There is moreover no indication of borrowing or influencing of ceramic style amongst this collection. Additionally, the preponderance of undistinguishable ceramics at the site may indicate a changing expression in a situation of integration between local and foreign identities. Lastly, there is one sherd in the Dambarare collection that indicates innovation and imitation. This is a ring-based bowl, which shows how a known material (clay) was shaped into an introduced form. Complementing the local ceramics are the imported ceramics, discussed in the following chapter, which manifest expressions of interaction and integration.

## CHAPTER SIX: IMPORTED CERAMICS

### Introduction

Ceramics are some of the most widespread and consistently popular trade goods in the Indian Ocean trading system's participant regions (Bing, 2011). However, the functions and importance of these ceramics in the southern African interior are not well understood (yet) (cf. Chirikure, 2014). When compared to the amounts of foreign ceramics elsewhere in the Indian Ocean trade world, the southern-African interior has delivered very small amounts of foreign ceramics to date (Bing, 2011; Chirikure, 2014; Garlake, 1968a). It is only at *feiras* that it seems as though imported ceramics enjoyed some popularity (Chirikure, 2014; Garlake, 1969a; Pikirayi, 2014). Dambarare, of course, is no exception (Garlake, 1969a). In this chapter, this observation will be explored, along with the dating of Dambarare and other *feiras*. Thought will also be given to the ideas of interaction and integration. First, an overview on the theories and approaches to the study of foreign ceramics in eastern, southern, and central Africa will be presented, followed by the analysis of Dambarare's imported pottery. Hopefully this will assist in gaining a clearer picture of the types of ceramics at this *feira*, and what they might have been doing there.

### Theory: Ceramic Analyses

Imported ceramics played an important role in the very fabric of both social and mercantile interactions on the East African coastline (Bing, 2011, 2013; Fleisher, 2010; Meier, 2015). The archaeology of the region, especially concerning the Swahili, often considers the use, functions, and meanings of foreign pottery (Bing, 2013; Fleisher, 2010; Meier, 2015). On the other hand, very little research has been done on the imported ceramics found in the southern African interior (Chirikure, 2014; Garlake, 1968a; Pikirayi, 2014). A question that still needs to be explored is what role imported ceramics would have played in societies in this region, since the archaeological

evidence does not reflect the same level of involvement with imported ceramics as in East Africa (cf Chirikure, 2014). While this research project does not attempt to resolve this question, the idea is to start exploring it. There are two main objectives for this study of Dambarare's imported ceramics. The first is to see if relative dates could be obtained from the ceramics in order to compare them to current archaeological and historical dates concerning Dambarare. The second aim is to start thinking about what the ceramics were doing at Dambarare, and what was being done with them.

### Dating

Archaeologists in southern and eastern Africa, the rest of the Indian Ocean rim countries, and other contemporary contact sites in West Africa have used imported ceramics to date and understand the chronology of certain sites (Bing, 2011; Clist *et al.*, 2015; Fleisher, 2010; Garlake, 1968a). However, the little archaeological research that has been conducted on imported pottery at southern African interior sites has only scratched at the surface of what could be done (Garlake, 1967b; 1968a; 1969b; Pikirayi, 2014). At sites such as Mapungubwe, Khami, Great Zimbabwe, and DhloDhlo, and at *feiras* such as Luanze, Dambarare, and Massapa/Baranda, some of the ceramics have been identified and they have provided dates for the sites (Garlake, 1967a, 1968a, 1969a; Pikirayi, 2014). Another technique for obtaining dates has been employed on some celadon sherds from Mapungubwe (Prinsloo *et al.*, 2005). Here, raman-spectroscopy, X-ray fluorescence and X-ray diffraction were used to determine the origins, composition, and relative age of the ceramics (Prinsloo *et al.*, 2005). However, not much else has been done on the study of ceramics at Mapungubwe or elsewhere. Only at sites in and around Cape Town have there been serious studies on ceramics to determine their origins and more reliable dates (Bing, 2011; Klose, 1997; Klose & Malan, 2000; Malan, 1998a,b).

## Function and Social Meaning

Several researchers have looked at the roles and functions of imported ceramics at African sites involved in the Indian Ocean Trade System (Bing, 2011, 2012, 2013; Meier, 2015; Fleisher, 2010; Gensheimer, 2012; Gerritsen & McDowall, 2012; Klose, 1997; Klose & Malan, 2000; Malan, 1998a,b). Fleisher (2010), for example, explores the notion of conspicuous consumption as expressed through ceramic usage. It seems that imported ceramics played a crucial role in the display of wealth and the performance of social stratification in the Swahili world (Fleisher, 2010). Other studies have been conducted on the ability of ceramics to transmit social messages (Bing, 2011; Meier, 2015; Gensheimer, 2012). This ranges from the inclusion of ceramics into architectural features to the collection of imported wares by Swahili élites (Bing, 2011; Meier, 2015; Gensheimer, 2012). In the Cape region of South Africa, Jane Klose and Antonia Malan (Klose, 1997; Klose & Malan, 2000; Malan, 1998a,b) have done extensive research on the functions and roles played by imported ceramics in colonial and settler communities.

On the other hand, central African and southern African interior sites were likely to have proven different in terms of the amount of ceramics imported, what they were used for, and what they meant (Chirikure, 2014; Clist *et al.*, 2015; Hall, 2001; Garlake, 1968a; Kelly, 2002; Pikirayi, 2014). Take the 19<sup>th</sup> century Tswana town of Mabolse in the current-day North West Province in South Africa as an example (Hall, 2001). Simon Hall (2001) found that Mabolse's inhabitants used a combination of indigenous and imported ceramics. Storage vessels consisted mostly of local earthenwares, while cooking and serving wares were combinations of indigenous pottery, and imported ceramic and cast-iron wares (Hall, 2001). Hall (2001) believes that this may have been a reflection and a result of the changing roles of men and women in Tswana society and the colonial context that they were navigating through. Since men's and women's production activities had stopped (eg. metalworking with the arrival of cheap metal objects) and changed (eg. pottery manufacture and decoration), the material expressions of social functions changed so that (specifically) men could show their altered social power (Hall, 2001). Objects used in the public sphere (such as cooking and serving wares), changed in order to signify new meanings (Hall, 2001). For

example, where men were traditionally served in wooden and pottery bowls, their food were now being served in imported bowls (Hall, 2001). This expressed men's roles not only as members of Tswana society, but also as individuals who negotiated colonial relations with white settlers in the region – as cosmopolites (Hall, 2001). Therefore, the use of imported ceramics “alluded to the place of men in the wider world” and how they played a role “in directing change” therein (Hall, 2001:217). At Mabotse, thus, we can see how the conscious incorporation of ceramics into foodways expressed a distinct social context.

On the Zimbabwe plateau itself, there are very few foreign ceramics to be found outside 17<sup>th</sup> century *feiras* (Chirikure, 2014; Garlake, 1968a). These sites are perhaps different to some other historical sites, as there are no records that mention the use and function of foreign ceramics at the *feiras* and other interior sites (Chirikure, 2014; Garlake, 1968a; Pikirayi, 2014; and compare to Fleisher, 2010; Klose, 1997; Klose & Malan, 2000; Malan, 1998a,b). A similar situation could be found in the West African states of Bénin and Ghana, where contact sites show interesting use and distribution of foreign ceramics (Kelly, 2002). Kelly (2002) studied the trading sites of Savi in Bénin and Elmina in Ghana. He saw that in élite parts, or parts of the site that had the most contact with foreign trade, people actively chose to use foreign ceramics – an activity that would carry with it specific meanings (Kelly, 2002). On the other hand, opting to use traditional pottery (at the trade sites and elsewhere), with its specific symbolic and social values, would communicate a completely different message (Kelly, 2002). Whether to accept or reject foreign ceramics into their foodways and lifestyles was thus a deliberate choice that carried significant meanings (Kelly, 2002). Exploring such concepts when considering the foreign pottery from Dambarare may be useful, since, on face value, the use and popularity of imports seem to differ to that on the coastline, dependent on cultural logics and values (Chirikure, 2014).

Some recent research has been conducted on foreign ceramics at southern Zambezi *feiras* (Pikirayi, 2014). Innocent Pikirayi (2014) analysed the ceramics from Baranda/Massapa based on their places of origin, and drew conclusions on the involvement and role of this *feira* in the Indian Ocean trade system (Pikirayi, 2014).

However, Pikirayi calls for a more detailed study, and for inter-site comparisons that go deeper than the existing ones (Chirikure, 2014; Garlake, 1967b, 1968a; 1969b; Pikirayi, 2014). A need for a more detailed identification of the wares is also necessary (cf Bing, 2011; Garlake, 1968a). In a sense, this project aims to continue further with Pikirayi's (2014) project, and an attempt has been made to use a method of analysis that could be universal and thus comparable in future ceramic studies (Klose, 1997). Moreover, the ceramic analyses of Dambarare is also an attempt to better understand what all these ceramics were doing at this feira, and why such a volume of ceramics is not repeated in non-contact sites in the southern Zambezian region (Chirikure, 2014).

### Approach and Method

Before accessing the Dambarare ceramics collection, background research was conducted on imported ceramics and on possible methods of analysis. In order to get an understanding of the wares that were likely to be present in the Dambarare collection (based on Garlake's 1969a paper), various art historical and archaeological texts and reference collections were consulted. These included some from the Iziko Social History Centre in Cape Town, and from the Archaeology Department at the University of Cape Town (UCT).

Few texts focus on porcelain that are not fine and imperial wares, and it is often exactly these ceramics that are found distributed throughout the Indian Ocean trade world (cf Klose, 1997). It is therefore at times difficult to find adequate information on the wares that were long deemed unimportant to collectors. In recent years more attention has been paid to such wares, but they are still far from complete. It was also challenging to find adequate sources on certain kinds of wares, since the libraries at UCT and the Iziko Social History Centre have a limited collection of books and documents on foreign ceramics.

Collections of homeward-bound Portuguese shipwrecks along the South African coast were also studied as a way to become familiarised with ceramics. These are housed in the Iziko Social History Centre in Cape Town. An attempt was made to establish a control group, and to see if there would be a correlation between the ceramics from shipwrecks, and the ceramics found at Dambarare and other interior sites. This was perhaps not as successful as hoped, as there were not enough ceramics to compare to each other. A larger collection should, perhaps, be used in future if a comparison is to be made.

Thought was also given to the approach to studying the foreign ceramics. The decision was made to adapt the Cape Colonial System (CCS) method developed by Jane Klose and Antonia Malan (Klose, 1997), because it is a detailed and strong method for studying ceramics. The wish is to make the analyses from different sites comparable to each other by using this unified method, as there is no existing universal method for studying imported ceramics in southern Africa (Klose, 1997).

### The Cape Colonial System (CCS)

Klose and Malan developed the CCS during and for their research on ceramics at sites of 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> century European settlements in the southern Cape region and for coeval shipwrecks (Klose, 1997). It is inspired by, and holds connection to, similar methods developed to study North American colonial wares (Klose, 1997). This is a thorough method, and allows for much detail to be recorded. Adopting (and adapting) this system, it is hoped that collections analysed in a similar manner could be compared to each other.

According to Klose and Malan (Klose, 1997:27), the CCS method has two main aims. The first is to create a checklist of the ceramics that are present at a site so that equal importance and attention could be given to the pottery (Klose, 1997:27). The second is to create a basis for inter- and intra-site comparison by standardising the manner in


which archaeologists catalogue and create typologies of foreign ceramics, whilst enabling them to obtain relative dates for a given site (Klose, 1997:27). Moreover the system may be able to provide information on the use and function of specific ceramics (Klose, 1997). Most importantly for this study, though, Klose and Malan (Klose, 1997) wish that this system be expanded upon or modified to fit different sites, or alongside the development of knowledge on foreign ceramics and their functions.

The CCS method in its original form, however, is not as universal as one would like it to be. It is based specifically upon the ceramics found in the south-western Cape region of South Africa (cf Klose, 1997). The majority of the ceramics here were to cater to a settler community that may have had different class distinctions, habits, and tastes to the Portuguese and African communities in the southern African hinterland further north. Furthermore, the method is based strongly upon not only identifying the ceramics, but also their function and use (Klose, 1997). This second section was omitted in the current study for the following reason. Klose and Malan could identify the function of certain ceramics based on written records (Klose, 1997). Such records include sales inventories, estate lists, letters and diaries, and other documents that described household goods and their functions (Klose, 1997). This is very context-specific, and should only be applied to other Cape sites of similar dates or when such documents exist for an area or community. There are almost no documents that mention the use and function of imported ceramics in south-central Africa, both in Portuguese and in African contexts. Additionally, the ceramics from Dambarare are surface finds, and could therefore not even be related to other stratigraphically-related artefacts. It would be dangerous to assume that the objects at Dambarare served the same functions as those in Dutch and British households of the Cape, and therefore function will not be speculated upon.

Thus, the adapted method is as follows. A catalogue (following the template of the CCS catalogue; Klose, 1997) was compiled of the entire Dambarare imported ceramics collection. In it, each ceramic sherd is given an arbitrary but sequential number (starting at 1), to keep track of the sherd count and to relate similar sherds to each other. The body type is recorded, ranging from earthenware, stoneware,

porcelain, Islamic/Iranian fritware/stonepaste, and industrial wares. Of course, by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there were not yet any European industrial wares being manufactured, but since this is a surface collection, and since the site had later been inhabited by people who would have handled industrial ceramics, it makes sense that some industrial wares would have slipped into the collection. Following the identification of body type is a recording of the decoration on the sherds. Where possible, mention is made of the form of the vessel: hollow wares (jugs, bottles, jars) or flatware (dishes, bowls, plates, cups), as defined by Klose and Malan (Klose, 1997). The complete catalogue for Dambarare can be found in Appendix A.

Within the recorded group, the number of diagnostic sherds, as well as the kind of diagnostic sherd (base/rim/other) is counted. If the ceramics manage to refit, note is made of that. If the ceramics seem related to another box or to other sherds within the same context, note is made thereof. There is furthermore space for other notes or descriptions. Along with these features, administrative information is given about each sherd (table 6.1).

<p><b>Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe</b>  <b>Box #:</b> 1  <b>Accession number:</b> 1730.BD.2A  <b>Bag #:</b> 36  <b>Label/Notes:</b> "Dambarare-Doxford, green-yellow &amp; brown thin ware"  <b>Datasheet number(s):</b> 1169  <b>Amount of sherds:</b> 1  <b>Body:</b> Porcelain  <b>Decoration:</b> White, yellow, green and brown mottled glaze: egg and spinach pattern (Beurdely &amp; Raindre, 1987). The glaze is somewhat crazed and flakes off at one part.  <b>Form:</b> Flatware  <b>Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:</b> None  <b>Refit:</b> No  <b>Related to:</b> N/A  <b>Other notes:</b> XIII in the archive</p>	<p><b>Photo Number(s):</b> 930 - 931  <b>Photo(s):</b></p> 
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**Table 6.1: Example of a catalogue sheet whereupon details of sherds are recorded.**

Next, a ware table (table 6.2) was constructed to identify and count the amount of distinct sherds. This ware table is based on the one developed by Klose and Malan (Klose, 1997). It has been adapted to suit this collection, but does not include the Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) count because very few of the vessels could be reliably fit together and thus the MNV count would be insignificant and unimportant to this study.

The hope is that with this method a clearer picture of the frequency, distribution, and dating can be obtained of the imported wares at Dambarare. With the aid of this system and the catalogue produced, the hope is that the ceramics from this *feira* would be more comparable to other related sites, were future studies to be conducted on these wares.

**Table 6.2: Template of the ceramics ware table. Source: Adapted from Klose, 1997.**

<b>WARE TABLE</b>					
<b>SITE :</b>		<b>PHASE/LEVEL:</b>			
<b>DATE EXCAVATED:</b>		<b>DATE ANALYSED:</b>			
<b>NUMBER</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>SHERD COUNT</b>			
<b>1 PORCELAIN &amp; HIGH-FIRED GLAZED WARES</b>					
<b>1.1 ASIAN WARES</b>					
1.1.1	Porcelain				
1.1.1.1	Underglaze blue and white designs Kraak wares (positively identified)				
1.1.1.3	Brown-glazed [+ underglaze blue] Other: red biscuit rim, uncertain of body glaze				
1.1.1.4	Enamelled and other wares [Famille Verte] [Dark yellow glaze] [Egg and Spinach] [possible Blanc de Chine]				
1.1.4	Persian Stone Paste (Islamic fritwares)				
1.1.4.1	underglaze blue (+ black)				
<b>2 STONEWARE</b>					
<b>2.1 ASIAN STONEWARE</b>					
2.1.1	Far East: China/Japan/ Other				
2.1.1.1	Chinese glazed (brown/black/olive)				
2.1.1.2	Chinese glazed: "Tradescant Jars"				
2.2	Unprovenienced Stoneware				
<b>3 EARTHENWARE</b>					
<b>3.1 AFRICAN EARTHENWARE</b>					
3.1.1.	Description:				
<b>3.2 EUROPEAN EARTHENWARE</b>					
3.2.1	European manufactured earthenware				
3.2.1.1	Coarse red body				
3.2.1.2	Coarse white body				
3.2.1.4	Terracotta				
3.2.1.5	Other: describe				
<b>3.4 UNPROVIENIENCED EARTHENWARE</b>					
3.4.1	High-fired (Cooking?) vessels				
<b>4 TIN-GLAZED WARE</b>					
<b>4.1 European Tin-glazed ware</b>					
4.1.1	Unprovenienced European				
4.1.1.1	White Undecorated				
4.1.1.2	Blue & White				
4.1.1.3	Other: Single colour/Polychrome				
4.1.1.5	Other: white glaze, red body				
<b>5 MISCELLANEOUS</b>					
Miscellaneous (bodies could not be identified)					
Industrial ceramics					
<b>TOTAL</b>					

## Analysis and Results

There are 2963 foreign ceramic sherds to be found in the current Dambarare collection. All of these ceramics were collected as surface finds from various parts of the *feira* site. Some (but not all) of the original collection made by Goodall (Garlake, 1969a) are still in the collection, and subsequent investigations have contributed more sherds to the archive (table 6.3).

**Table 6.3: Provenience of the imported ceramics on the Dambarare site.**

<b>Accession number</b>	<b>Site description</b>	<b>Amount of sherds</b>
1730:BD:2	“Earthwork 1” excavated by Garlake with ceramic surface collection by Goodall in 1944 (Garlake, 1969a).	2056
1730:BD:18	“Earthwork 2”	73
1730:BD:20	“Earthwork 4.” The earthwork encloses a LFC homestead.	82
1730:BD:26	“Earthwork 10.”	1
1730:BD:27	LFC domestic settlement.	742
1730:BD:28	Rock art site.	3
1730:BD:30	Rock art site.	1
1730:BD:57	LFC homestead.	3
1730:BD:71	Farming Community smelting site.	2
<b>Total</b>		<b>2963</b>

## Identification and Distribution of Ware Bodies at Dambarare

The different types of wares found at Dambarare were identified, counted and listed in the ceramics ware table (table 6.4). Percentages of the ceramic distribution at Dambarare were calculated based on the ware table (table 6.5). The majority of the imported ceramics at Dambarare consist of Asian stoneware jars (figures 6.1, 6.2), followed by porcelain (figure 6.3), tin-glazed earthenwares (figure 6.4), and terracottas

(figure 6.5) and Iranian fritwares (figure 6.6). There are moreover some industrial wares (figure 6.7) present, pointing to later occupations and the mixing of assemblages, and there are also some sherds that could not be accurately identified (marked as “miscellaneous”).

**Table 6.4. Ceramics ware table of Dambarare.**

<b>WARE TABLE</b>					
<b>SITE :</b>	1730:BD: collection (Dambarare)	<b>PHASE/LEVEL:</b>	All		
<b>DATE EXCAVATED:</b>	1967 - (likely) 1992	<b>DATE ANALYSED:</b>	2015		
<b>NUMBER</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>SHERD COUNT</b>			
<b>1 PORCELAIN &amp; HIGH-FIRED GLAZED WARES</b>					
<b>1.1 ASIAN WARES</b>					
1.1.1	Porcelain				
1.1.1.1	Underglaze blue and white designs	378			
	Kraak wares (positively identified)	60			
1.1.1.3	Brown-glazed [+ underglaze blue]	137			
	Other: red biscuit rim, uncertain of body glaze	25			
1.1.1.4	Enamelled and other wares				
	[Famille Verte]	1			
	[Dark yellow glaze]	1			
	[Egg and Spinach]	1			
	[possible Blanc de Chine]	3			
1.1.4	Persian Stone Paste (Islamic fritwares)				
1.1.4.1	underglaze blue (+ black)	82			
<b>2 STONEWARE</b>					
<b>2.1 ASIAN STONEWARE</b>					
2.1.1	Far East: China/Japan/ Other				
2.1.1.1	Chinese glazed (brown/black/olive)	1498			
2.1.1.2	Chinese glazed: "Tradescant Jars"	53			
2.2	Unprovenienced Stoneware	12			
<b>3 EARTHENWARE</b>					
<b>3.1 AFRICAN EARTHENWARE</b>		129			
3.1.1.	Description:	(Discussed elsewhere, not counted with these ceramics)			
<b>3.2 EUROPEAN EARTHENWARE</b>					
3.2.1	European manufactured earthenware				
3.2.1.1	Coarse red body	3			
3.2.1.2	Coarse white body	111			
3.2.1.4	Terracotta	97			
3.2.1.5	Other: describe				
3.4	<b>UNPROVIENIENCED EARTHENWARE</b>				
3.4.1	High-fired (Cooking?) vessels	100			
<b>4 TIN-GLAZED WARE</b>					
<b>4.1 European Tin-glazed ware</b>					
4.1.1	Unprovenienced European				
4.1.1.1	White Undecorated	95			
4.1.1.2	Blue & White	159			
4.1.1.3	Other: Single colour/Polychrome	76			
4.1.1.5	Other: white glaze, red body	2			
<b>5 MISCELLANEOUS</b>					
	Miscellaneous (bodies could not be identified)	13			
	Industrial ceramics	56			
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>2963</b>			

**Table 6.5. Distribution of ceramics at Dambarare.**

<b>Ware</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Asian stoneware	52.78
Porcelain	20.45
Earthenware	18.43
Terracotta	3.24
Iranian stonepaste	2.77
Industrial wares	1.89
Miscellaneous	0.44
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>



**Figure 6.1. South-East Asian brown-glazed stoneware jar, or “martevan.” Source: author.**



**Figure 6.2. Asian stoneware jar, green-glazed "Tradescant jar". Source: author.**



**Figure 6.3. Porcelain: underglaze blue and white design. Source: author.**



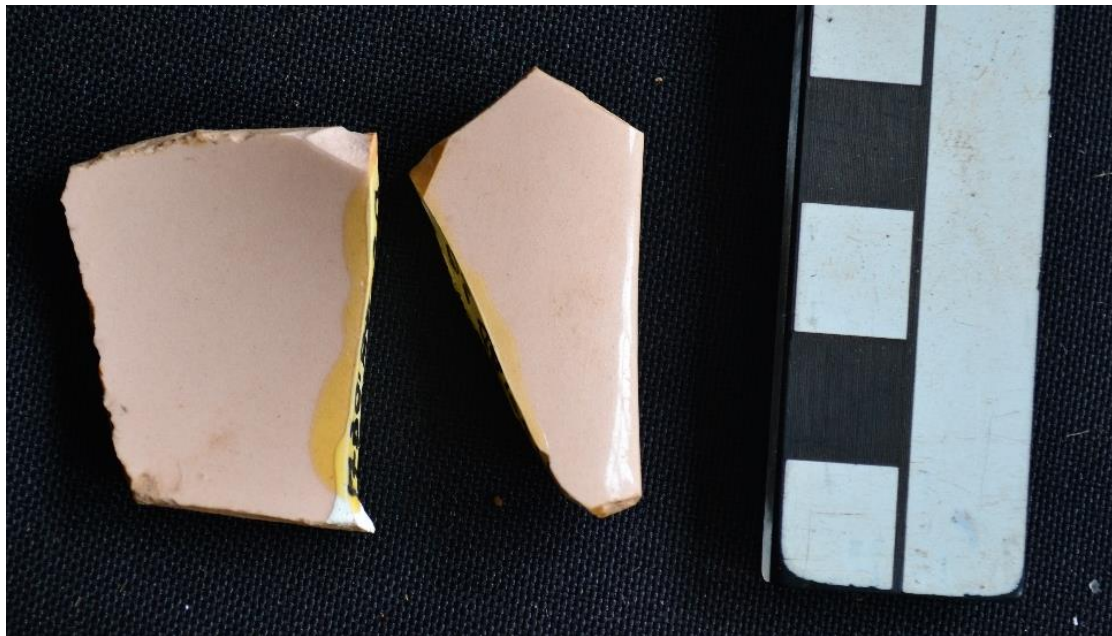
**Figure 6.4. European tin-glazed earthenwares with blue and white designs. Source: author.**



**Figure 6.5. European terracotta sherds, some with glaze on interior of the vessels. Source: author.**



**Figure 6.6.** Iranian stonepaste (fritware) ceramic with blue and white design. Source: author.



**Figure 6.7.** Light pink industrial porcelain. Source: author.

## Datable Ceramics

Using available reference collections, and art historical and archaeological texts, an attempt was made to establish dates for the foreign ceramic sherds at Dambarare. Many of the sherds are difficult to date since certain wares were manufactured in a similar fashion over decades or even centuries (du Boulay, 1984). A specific date could therefore not be pinpointed, except when taking into account that they were found in association with more datable ceramics (du Boulay, 1984). In future, it may be helpful if a ceramics expert looked at these sherds. Although some of the more fragmented and generic-looking kinds of porcelains, stonewares, and earthenwares could not accurately be dated, some wares could be given clearer dates based on when they became popular to export. For example, it is known that brown-glazed stoneware jars, or martevans (figure 6.1), were used as storage vessels, and were popular exports from their manufacture sites in south-east Asia during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978).

Another limitation to obtaining dates were a lack of bibliographic and artefactual resources at the repositories and libraries that the author had access to. An example of a ceramic type that had very few works and objects to reference is that of the European tin-glazed earthenwares (figure 6.4). However, there were some alternative sources that interpretations could be based upon. It is common knowledge that European tin-glazed earthenwares were manufactured as imitations of Chinese porcelains (du Boulay, 1984; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978; Rinaldi, 1989). Chinese porcelain became very popular in Europe during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (du Boulay, 1984; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978; Rinaldi, 1989). The European tin-glazed wares would therefore not predate the early 1600s when underglaze blue and white porcelain became highly sought-after (du Boulay, 1984; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978; Rinaldi, 1989). Additionally, some of the tin-glazed earthenwares at Dambarare share characteristics with those found in the Congo at M'banza Kongo (also known as Mbanza Ngongo), a contemporary site of the capital of the Kongo Kingdom with significant Portuguese contact (Clist *et al.*, 2015). Thus this link also helps us to at least place the tin-glazed wares in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

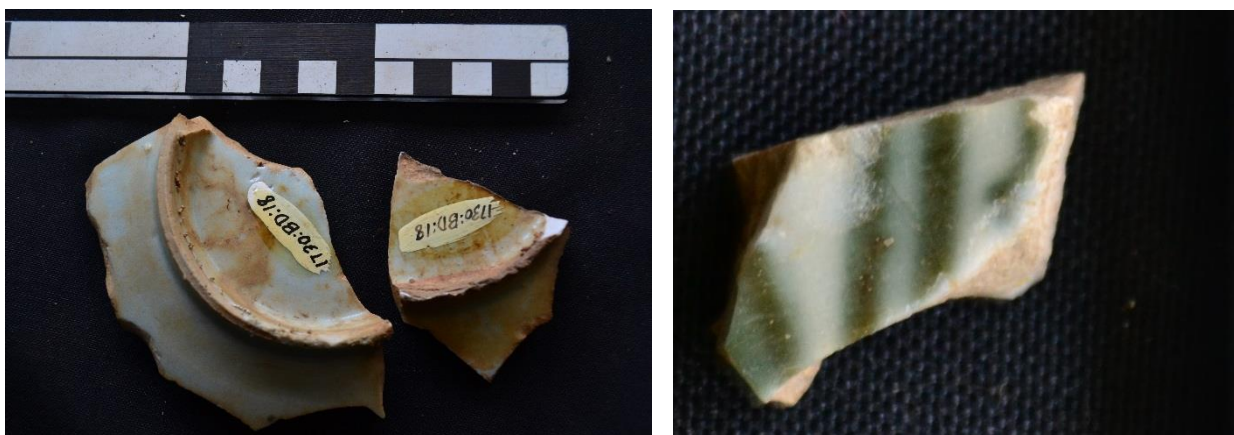
Fortunately, there are several ceramics in the Dambarare collection for which dates can be established confidently. Kraak wares (figure 6.8), for example, are a specific type of Chinese porcelain with distinctive forms and designs (Beurdeley & Raindre, 1987; du Boulay, 1984; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978; Medley, 1976; Rinaldi, 1989). Kraak porcelains have unique borders and subject matter, and the motifs are always painted in blue underglaze (Beurdeley & Raindre, 1987; du Boulay, 1984; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978; Medley, 1976; Rinaldi, 1989). They date from the terminal 16<sup>th</sup> century through to the first fifty years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Beurdeley & Raindre, 1987; du Boulay, 1984; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978; Medley, 1976; Rinaldi, 1989). Manufacture of these wares stopped with the mid-century civil war in China and the subsequent transition of rulership, and would thus not post-date the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Beurdeley & Raindre, 1987; du Boulay, 1984; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978; Medley, 1976; Rinaldi, 1989).



**Figure 6.8: Examples of Kraak Porcelain wares from the Dambarare collection. Source: author.**

The yellow, green, and aubergine glazed “Tradescant” stoneware jars (figure 6.2) (named after the British collector whose archive formed the initial collections of the Ashmolean museum) were produced in (and exported from) South-East Asia during the first few decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Gosden, 1999; Miedema, 1964; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978).

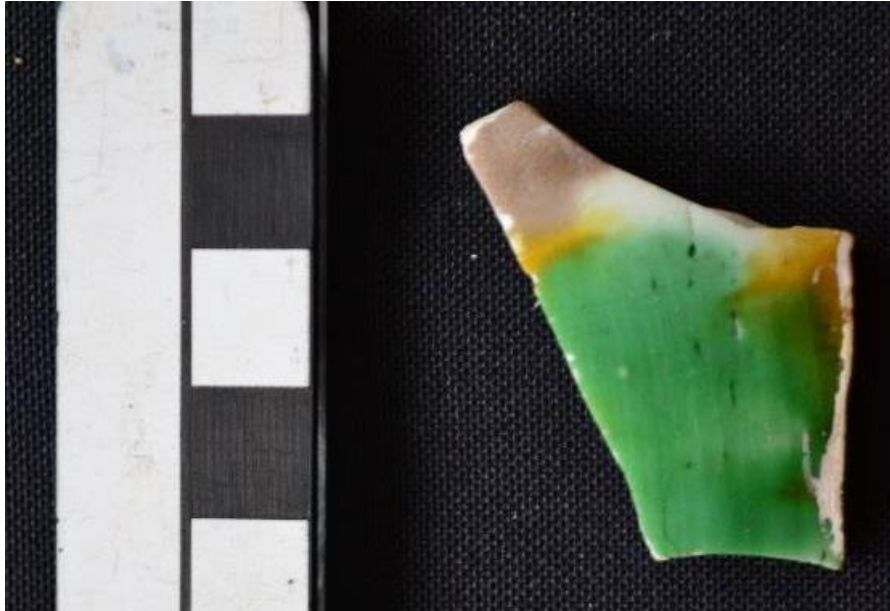
The term “Swatow ware” refers to Chinese porcelains manufactured at provincial kiln sites, instead of the imperial kilns such as those at Jingdezhen (du Boulay, 1984; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978). Swatow had one of the many provincial kilns that made and exported (and gave its name to) these wares (du Boulay, 1984; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978). Swatow wares date to the late Ming era, or the early to mid-17<sup>th</sup> century (du Boulay, 1984; Lion-Goldschmidt, 1978). These wares have bodies that are of “uneven quality,” and the colours usually are muted or discoloured (Medley, 1976:234). Sand and grit from the saggars often still adhere to the footings and bases of these porcelains (Medley, 1976). These wares (figure 6.9) were mostly intended for export to South-East Asia and the Middle East, and likely also Africa (Klose, 1997; Medley, 1976). Many of these wares have been found at Cape sites and shipwrecks along the South African coastline (Klose, 1997).



**Figure 6.9: Examples of Swatow wares from Dambarare. The image on the left displays grit adhering to the footing with poor glazing on the base, and the image on the right shows a discoloured underglaze blue design. Source: author.**

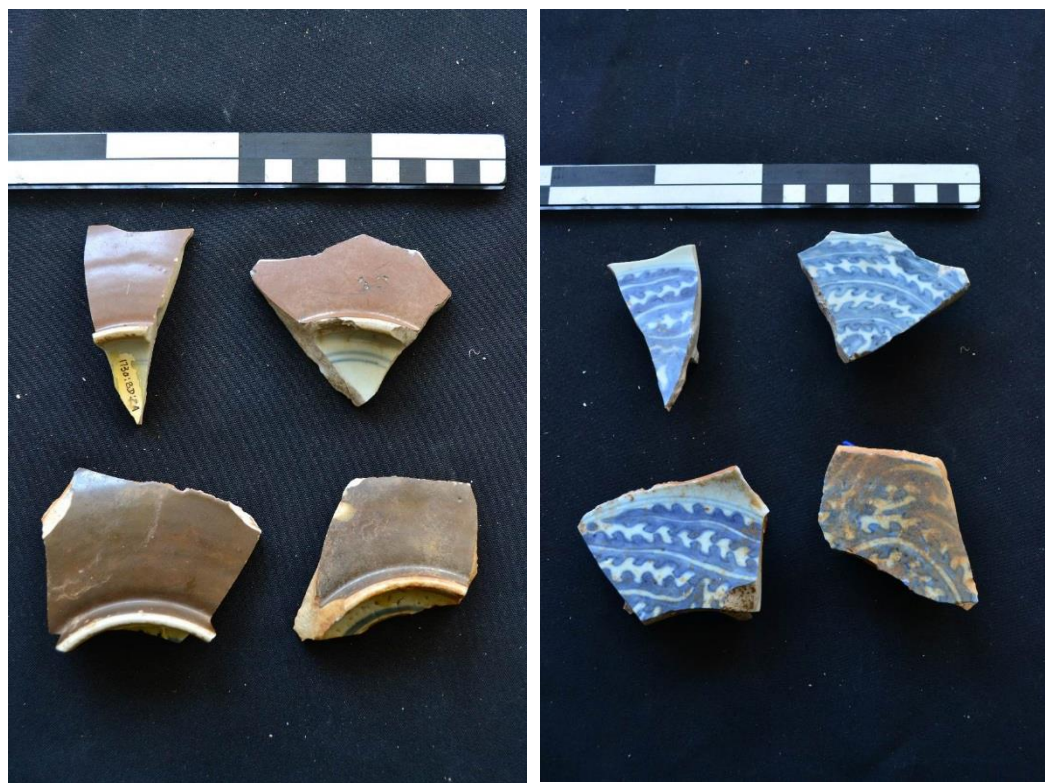
Towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of the Qing Dynasty’s Kanxi Emperor (1662 – 1722 CE), porcelains with colourful overglaze designs on biscuit bodies were produced and exported from China (Beurdeley & Raindre, 1987; Valenstein 1975). One such porcelain decoration is commonly known as “egg-and-spinach” (Beurdeley & Raindre, 1987). This type of porcelain displays a decoration of

mottled green, yellow, brown, and white glazes (Beurdeley & Raindre, 1987). One sherd of such a vessel is present at Dambarare (figure 6.10).



**Figure 6.10: Egg-and-Spinach overglaze on a biscuit porcelain body. Source: author.**

Brown-glazed wares (also known as “Batavian wares”, or “*café au lait*” decorated wares) are quite popular at Dambarare (figure 6.11; table 6.5) (Klose, 2007). These porcelains are usually flatwares with underglaze blue and white designs on the interior of the vessels (Klose, 2007; Valenstein, 1975). A brown glaze covers the exterior of the vessel (Klose, 2007; Valenstein, 1975). The tone of the browns can range from a dark chocolate to a light coffee-coloured brown (hence the term *café au lait*) (Klose, 2007; Valenstein, 1975). These vessels have been produced since the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but were only popular for export to Europe and its affiliated destinations between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Klose, 2007; Valenstein, 1975).



**Figure 6.11: Examples of Dambarare's brown-glazed porcelains with underglaze blue designs on the interior. Source: author.**

## Discussion

Imported ceramics are the most numerous objects in the Dambarare collection. A two-fold attempt has been made in this analysis. The first was to establish dates for the ceramics (and thus the site) and to see if they agree with historical accounts. The second was to try and think about the role of the ceramics at this *feira*, especially in terms of interaction and integration.

The ratio and types of ceramics to be found in the current Dambarare archive seems to reflect those identified in Garlake's (1969a) collection, and also those found at Baranda/Massapa by Pikiyai (1993, 2014). This observation, however, is based on face value from the published results, since there are no visual references or complete descriptions of the other two collections to compare Dambarare's with. This is why a

catalogue has been created for the Dambarare ceramic collection (Appendix A): it is hoped that the catalogue would facilitate possible future inter-site comparisons.

### Discussion of the Dates Obtained from the Dambarare Imported Ceramics

The datable ceramics provide us with a chronology of Dambarare to compare with historical accounts. There are wares from the late 16<sup>th</sup> or early 17<sup>th</sup> century, such as Kraak wares and Tradescent jars. Some date to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, for example the Kraak and Swatow porcelains, and finally there are also those that date to the terminal 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. These include the egg-and-spinach and brown-glazed (*café au lait*) porcelains. The dates obtained from the imported ceramics agree with those provided by historic records and the research of previous archaeologists (eg Abraham, 1961; Garlake, 1968b, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a). There are ceramics that therefore date to the establishment and initial years of Dambarare (either the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> or beginning 17<sup>th</sup> centuries) (Garlake, 1969a; Abraham, 1961; Newitt, 2001a). There are ceramics that date to the flourishing of Dambarare during the middle 1600s (Garlake, 1969a; Abraham, 1961; Newitt, 2001a). Dambarare was attacked by the Rozvi Changamire's army in 1693 and was largely left deserted thereafter, save for (unsuccessful) attempts in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century to repopulate this *feira* (Garlake, 1969a; Abraham, 1961; Newitt, 2001a). The imported ceramic sherds also attest to these activities. Moreover, throughout the entire span of Dambarare's settlement, ceramics were being imported to the site, helping us map its existence.

### Ceramic Distribution at Dambarare

The imported ceramics from Dambarare are ubiquitous across the site. Some were found at the rectangular earthworks (1730:BD:2, 18, 20, 26), at typical LFC settlements (1730:BD:27, 57, 71), and also at a few rock art sites (1730:BD:28, 30). Not only are these ceramics present in large amounts at the earthworks (believed to be where trade goods were stored and trade was conducted), but they also appear at

domestic settlements (Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001). This may mean that the ceramics were employed for domestic use (and/or display) at Dambarare. The amount of stoneware martervan and terracotta jars could mean that such vessels were not necessarily imported to the central reaches of the Zimbabwe plateau for the wares themselves, but rather for what they were carrying inside, and for their storage capacity (Beurdely & Raindre, 1987; Klose, 1997). The function of the flatwares – mostly the porcelains and tin-glazed earthenwares – is uncertain, but they were likely used in domestic settings for household purposes and foodways.

### Tracing Interaction and Integration through Imported Ceramics

Based on current archaeological knowledge of the region, imported ceramics are rarely found outside of *feiras* (Chirikure, 2014; Garlake, 1968a; Pikirayi, 2001; 2014). When foreign pottery does appear, it is usually in very small quantities (Chirikure, 2014; Garlake, 1968a). The question, then, is why do we find so many imported ceramics at contact sites – and nowhere else? What can the foreign ceramics at Dambarare tell us about interaction and integration at such a contact site?

Considering the volumes of foreign ceramics imported to the *feiras*, and the seemingly small amounts leaving them, it is likely that the imported ceramics were not intended for trade. One could argue that the ceramics were initially imported for trade, but then they were rejected by the local communities since foreign ceramics may have not fit in with cultural logics – these ceramics might not have been meaningful substitutes for local ceramics and their social meanings (cf. Chirikure, 2014). It is furthermore clear that ceramics were probably not considered luxury goods, because sites of political power or wealth might then have borne more ceramics (Chirikure, 2014; Garlake, 1968a; Moffett & Chirikure, 2016). Rather, the most obvious explanation would be that the ceramics were intended for the almost exclusive use thereof by the inhabitants of the *feiras*. Since we know that the inhabiting community at Dambarare was (at least in part) a creolised and mixed one (whether through ancestry, marriage, or through personal social identification), we can assume that foreign foodways formed part of

the diet and manners in which food was prepared and presented (Andaya, 2010; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b; Thomas, 1991). It is important to remember that local and foreign ceramics were found together at the site, and therefore may have been used in conjunction with each other. One could perhaps compare the integration of the ceramics (both foreign and local) and their innovative use to those at Maboitse in South Africa, or Savi in Bénin (Hall, 2001; Kelly, 2002). What this means is that Dambarare's inhabitants may have used the ceramics not only out of habit or preference, but perhaps even as a manner by which to consciously distinguish themselves, through display, from the more traditional communities living near Dambarare (cf Hall, 2001; Kelly, 2002). This may therefore be considered as evidence of integration between the inhabitants at Dambarare, as foreign and local foodways were adopted and combined. This combination can also be considered as an innovation in eating and food preparation practices. The use of these foreign ceramics may also have been markers of social differentiation, showing interactions between the *feira's* inhabitants and those not living at Dambarare.

This then brings us to the question of why a large volume of foreign ceramics was constantly being imported to Dambarare. As we have just noted, the ceramics at Dambarare give us a chronology of Dambarare, and there are ceramics from all parts of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (and even late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries). Why, then, were there so many ceramics being imported to Dambarare on a consistent basis? Taking into account the breakage of ceramics, and the need to replace them, would these validate the amount imported to Dambarare as reflected through its ceramic record? Perhaps we should also understand that the town's population might have been growing and changing, and therefore new ceramics were necessary to accommodate their needs. For future studies one could consider the value of imported ceramics, and which members of (especially European, Asian) society had access to foreign wares. Would this then reflect in the populations at Zambezian *feiras*? The most likely answer would be that the ceramics were imported to cater to a permanent and growing community at Dambarare, and that human interactions occurred as permanently at the feira until its destruction and desertion at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the dates of the foreign ceramics seem to agree with historical accounts of Dambarare, as well as the previous assessment made by Garlake (Abraham, 1961; Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a). Dambarare itself has a large frequency of imported ceramics, but outside this (type of) contact setting, there is little evidence of foreign wares being popular (Chirikure, 2014; Garlake, 1968a). This points to social distinction at the *feiras*, and the integration and innovation of foreign and local objects and habits into foodways (cf Fleisher, 2010; Kelly, 2002). The foreign ceramics also trace the interactions between the *feira*'s inhabitants and other LFCs on the landscape, and how they expressed their differences. Moreover, compared to Swahili and other East African settlements that participated in Indian Ocean trade, it does not seem as though foreign ceramics were as important in the Zambezi hinterland – at least not outside of the *feiras* (Fleisher, 2010; Bing, 2013). Perhaps it is true here, as Gerritsen and McDowall (2012:7) suggest, that “the universal acceptance of the superiority of Chinese porcelain [and even other imported ceramics] in equal measure throughout the early modern world is perhaps no longer valid.”

# CHAPTER 7: OBJECTS OF CRAFT SPECIALISATION AND MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

## Introduction

Although local and foreign ceramics make up the bulk of the 1730:BD:collection, there are several other classes of artefacts to be found in the Dambarare assemblage. Many of these objects (such as tuyères, moulds, crucibles, slag, and their metal products) are telling of craft specialisation in metalworking. Spindle whorls, clay figurines, and grind and hammer stones attest to craft production and food processing. Additionally there are some objects that are quite obviously not contemporary to the *feira* occupation at Dambarare, such as industrial alloys and plastic objects – it is common knowledge these objects were not manufactured in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, these indicate to us that neither Dambarare nor most other sites were left uninhabited past initial occupation, and that surface find collections (such as these) will necessarily be polluted by the remains of later occupations.

## Approach

Basic archaeological approaches towards the objects were used for the artefacts in this collection. The method followed in studying these objects included recording general features of the materials and noting where at the site of Dambarare they could be found, and what they were associated with. Since the larger portion of these objects are surface finds, and those that have been excavated have no records on their stratigraphy, no inferences could be made about stratigraphic context. Moreover, few parts of the Dambarare site actually have detailed descriptions of collected materials. However, it is useful to try to understand their spatial distribution across the site since one could consider the possible division of activities. Lastly, some observations are

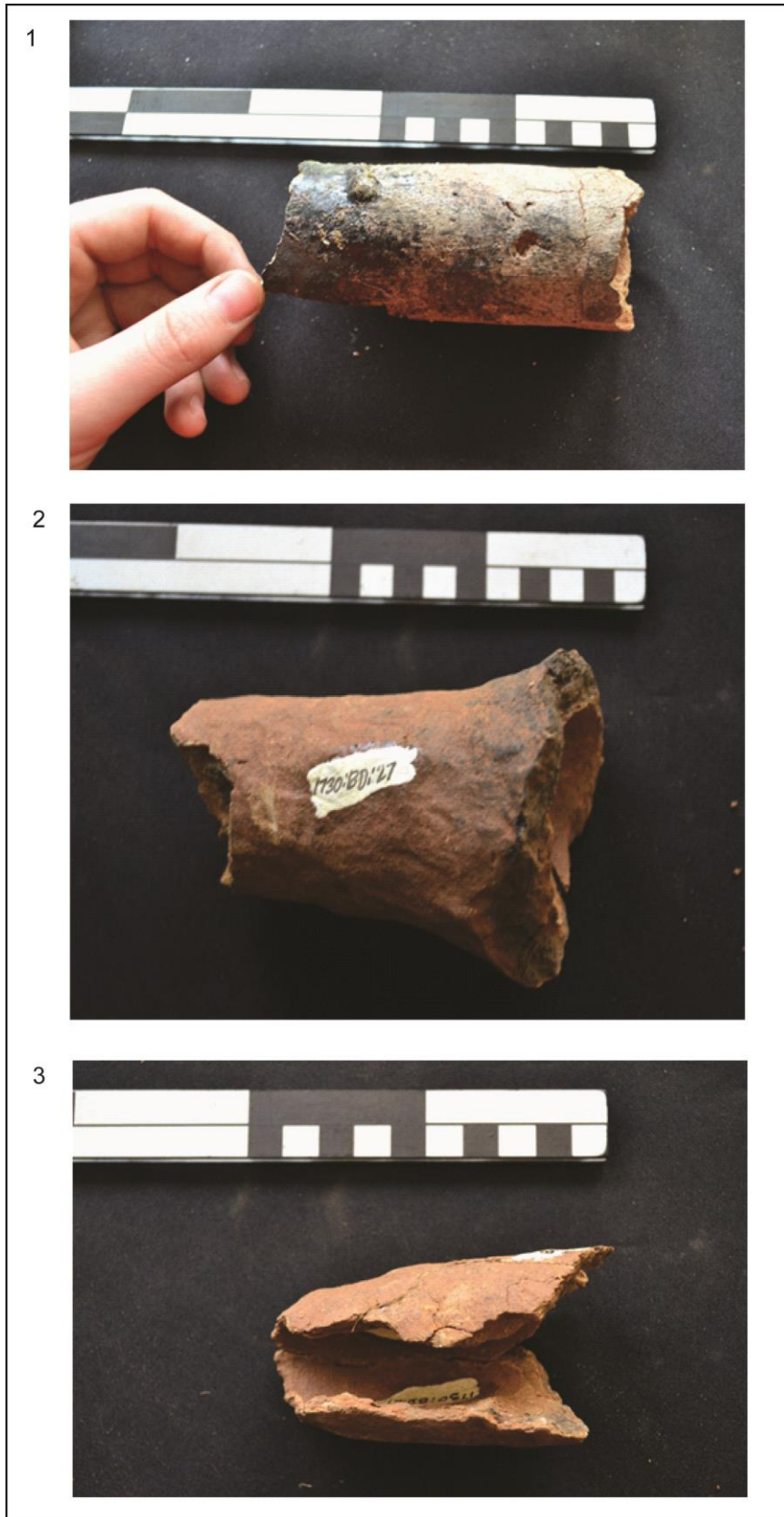
made on the functions and uses of the objects within the context of an African-Portuguese trading town in southern Zambezia.

### Artefacts Related to Metal Working

It is well-known that metal working is a popular practice amongst southern African Farming Communities (Huffman, 2007; Pikirayi, 2001). One of the main reasons for the establishment of southern Zambezian *feiras* was for trade in metals, especially gold (Axelson, 1960; Chanaiwa, 1972; Garlake, 1967a, 1969a; Mudenge, 1988; Newitt, 1973, 2001a; Pikirayi, 2001, 2009). Additionally, metal working is an important activity amongst LFCs in northern Zimbabwe (Pikirayi, 2001). It is therefore not surprising that objects related to metal working have been found at various parts of the Dambarare site. These include tuyères, slag, crucibles, and moulds, which will be discussed separately in the sections below.

#### Tuyères

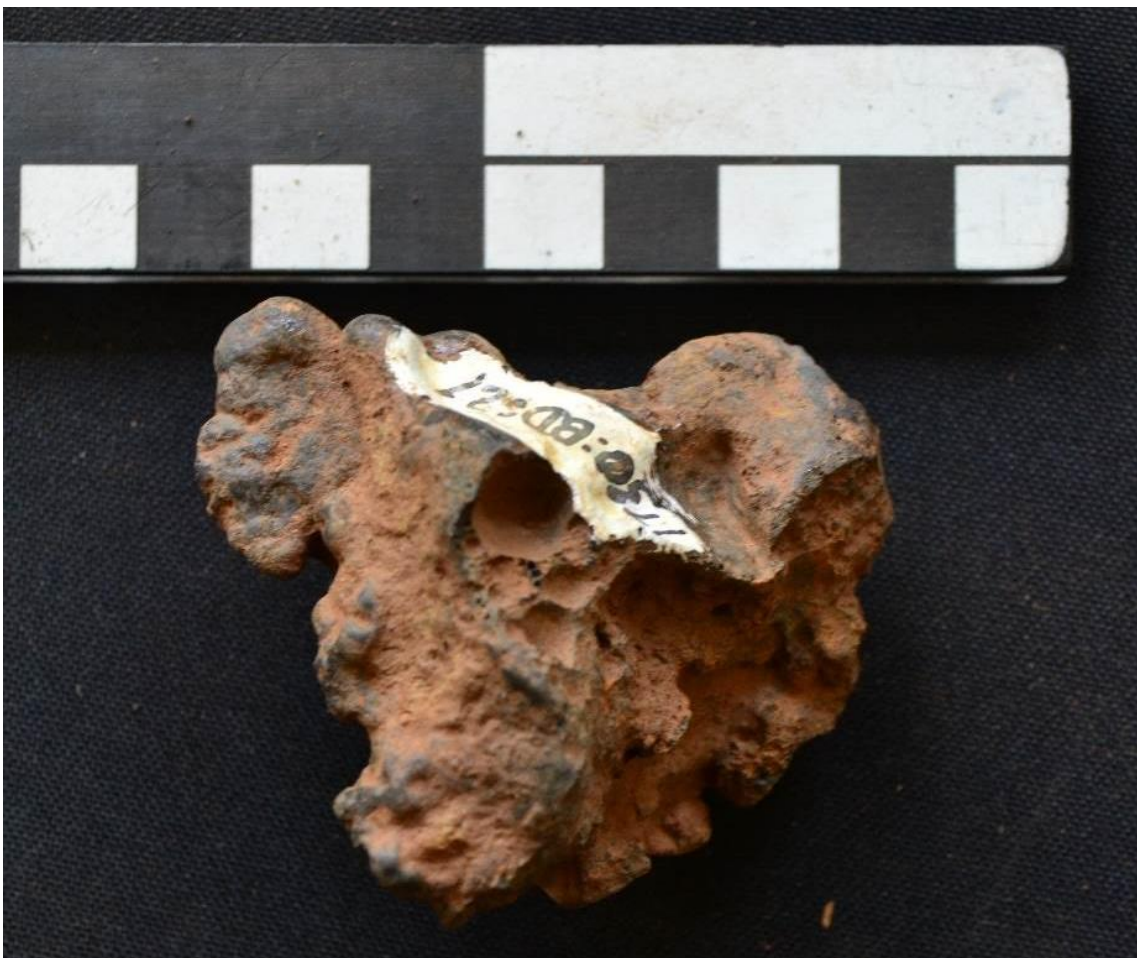
There are three tuyères in the current Dambarare collection. One tuyère originates from an earthwork (Earthwork 4) catalogued as 1730:BD:20. Earthwork 4 is situated on agricultural land, and the remains of a homestead were found inside of it (Tagart & Moyo, 1988). The 1730:BD:20 tuyère (figure 7.1.1) displays vitrification on the one side. Two other tuyères (figures 7.1.2 and 7.1.3) were found at 1730:BD:27. This site has the remains of a vernacular domestic settlement, and is believed to be a smelting site based on the objects found there (Izzet, sd). There is the back part of one tuyère, where the bellows would be inserted, from 1730:BD:27 (figure 7.1.2). Tuyères were used to supply oxygen to fires during the metal production and working stages of smelting, smithing and melting. Given the recovery of flow slag from Dambarare, and crucibles and finished products, these tuyères could be associated with any of these processes.



**Figure 7.1: Tuyères from Dambarare. 7.1.1 is from 1730:BD:20 and 7.1.2 and 3 are both from 1730:BD:27. Source: author.**

## Slag

Slag (figure 7.2), the waste material of the metal smelting process, is present at two separate Dambarare sites: 1730:BD:18 and 1730:BD:27. 1730:BD:18 is an earthwork, referred to as Earthwork 2. 1730:BD:27 is a LFC domestic settlement with evidence of metal working. The slag from Dambarare (figure 7.2) shows clearly defined flow structure consistent with iron smelting, and not with smithing (Miller & Killick, 2004).



***Figure 7.2: An example of slag from 1730:BD:27. Source: author.***

## Crucibles and Moulds

21 crucibles and moulds were found at Dambarare, all coming from 1730:BD:27. 1730:BD:27 is a household settlement associated with metalworking activities (Izzet, sd). The same site yielded remnants of smelting such as tuyères, slag, crucibles, and moulds. Moreover, 1730:BD:27 is situated nearby some earthworks, most notably earthwork 9 (1730:BD:25) and earthwork 10 (1730:BD:26) (Izzett, sd, sn). It also holds 17<sup>th</sup> century imported ceramics (Izzet, sd).

Crucibles and moulds can be differentiated on the basis of their size as well as the degrees of their internal and external vitrification. Regarding the Dambarare collection, two types of crucibles could be identified. The first is made of normal pottery, which was used to melt gold, copper and/or copper alloys such as brass. There are thin layers of slag in the interior of these pottery crucibles, and they have metal prills inset. The second type are specialised crucibles, some of which have flat bases and are symmetrical. This suggests that they may have been made using a wheel. These too would have been used for working the metals mentioned. (Bandama *et al.*, 2017).

A preliminary analysis of metal droplets attached to the interior of one of the crucibles (figure 7.3) indicated that gold was processed in this vessel. Another specialised crucible (figure 7.4) has a flat base, is smooth and symmetrical, and is not consistent with local crucibles. This therefore may be an import (or an imported design), brought to Dambarare by foreign traders. There are moreover two small fragments that look like glass ingots (figure 7.5), which suggest that glass may have been (re)worked at Dambarare. However, this hypothesis requires empirical investigation through invasive sampling of the suite of crucibles from the site. The moulds (figure 7.6) appear in smaller sizes, which makes it seem as though molten metal was poured in them to produce metal buttons (*cf.* Bandama *et al.*, 2017).



**Figure 7.3: Specialised crucible (1730:BD:27) with gold prills attached to the slag.**  
**Source: Shadreck Chirikure.**



**Figure 7.4: Specialised crucible with a flat base. It is very smooth and symmetrical suggesting that it may have been an import brought by foreign traders/settlers.**  
**Source: Shadreck Chirikure.**



***Figure 7.5: Unspecified mould/crucible fused to local pottery suggesting that some crucibles were placed inside local pots and heated to melt the metal and/or alloy. Source: Shadreck Chirikure.***



***Figure 7.6. Mould from the Dambarare collection. Source: Shadreck Chirikure.***

## Metal and Alloy Objects

Metal and alloy objects from Dambarare point to both local craft production and to the importation of metal and alloy artefacts. While it is difficult to date these samples without destructive sampling methods, some of the objects seem to be contemporary to the Dambarare settlement, as well as to artefacts from other LFC sites. This is based on the forms as well as the extent of the corrosion and wear present on the objects. An example of a typical LFC type object at Dambarare is a bent and rusted iron blade with a short tang (figure 7.7). This blade was found at 1730:BD:27, a LFC domestic settlement with evidence of metal working (Izzet, sd).

On the other hand, there are two nails from 1730:BD:27. One is a bent, fairly small iron nail with a square body and round head (figure 7.8). The other nail is much larger (figure 7.9), and has a square body and square head. Both the smaller and the larger iron nails seem to be similar to those found and described by Peter Garlake (1969a) at Earthwork 1. He believes these to be foreign imports (Garlake, 1969a). Additionally, an iron door hinge has also been found in association with the iron nails and is likely from the same context (figure 7.10). These items are normally associated with European-style buildings (Garlake, 1969a).

What is interesting is that locally-made objects, such as the blade (figure 7.7), and the (assumed imported) nails (figures 7.8, 7.9) and hinge (figure 7.10) were found in association with each other. Without a direct stratigraphic context, however, and without employing destructive sampling techniques or using an XRF (X-Ray Fluorescence) instrument, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact relationship, and establish the origin and manufacturers of these items. Little more can therefore be said about these objects. Additionally, there were several industrially-manufactured objects of a later date present among the 17<sup>th</sup> century items, which complicates the matter. It is interesting that these objects were collected together since they are surface finds, and therefore erosion and soil disturbance may have caused for this mixing of objects.



**Figure 7.7. Iron blade with short tang from 1730:BD:27. Source: author.**



**Figure 7.8. Iron nail with square body and round head (1730:BD:27). Source: author.**



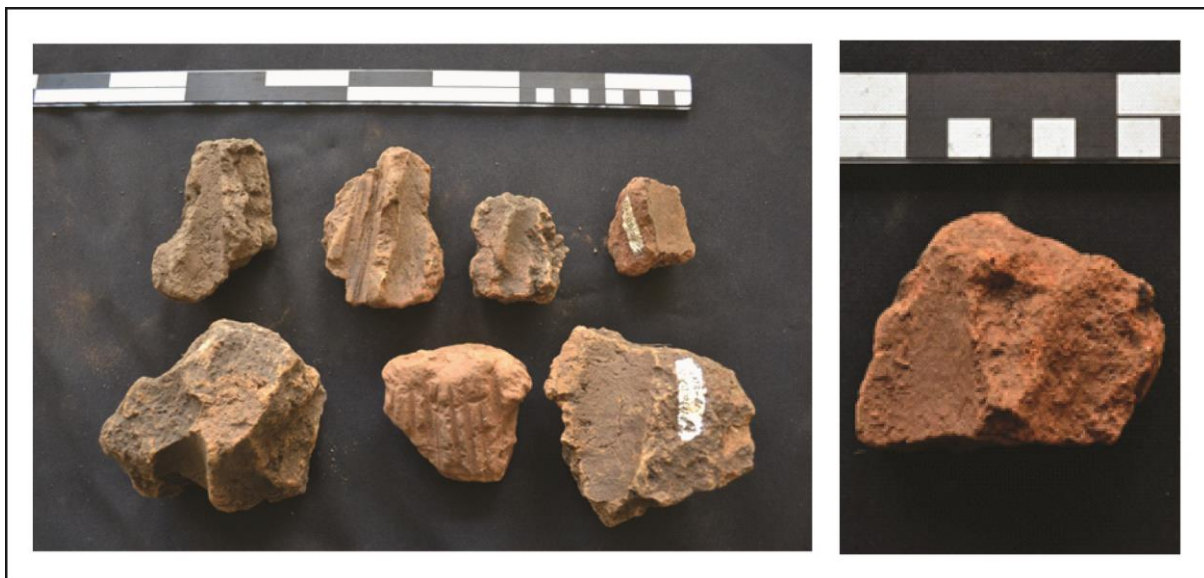
**Figure 7.9. Large iron nail with square body and square head (1730:BD:27). Source: author.**



**Figure 7.10. Iron door hinge from 1730:BD:27. Source: author.**

### Pole-Impressed Dhaka

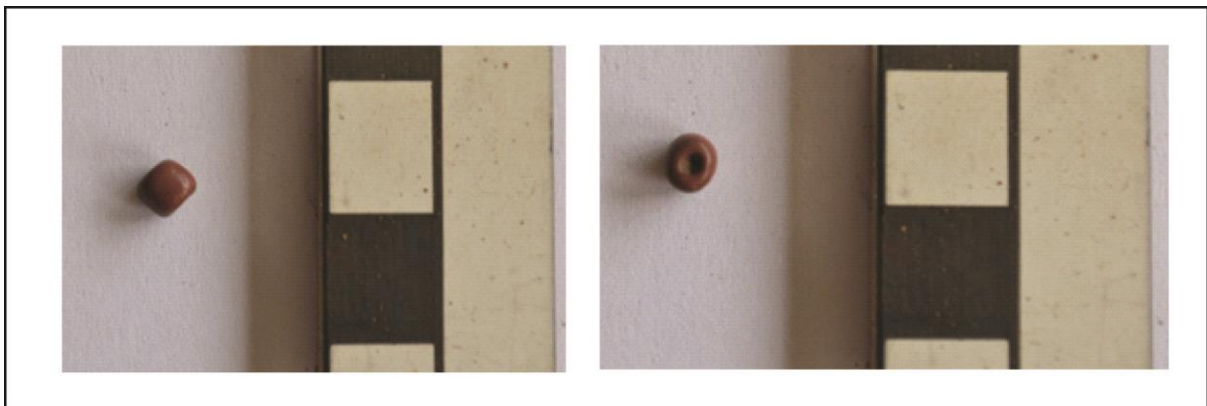
Eight fragments of pole-impressed dhaka (figure 7.7), which point to traditionally constructed African houses, were recovered from 1730:BD:27 (a domestic settlement with evidence of metalworking; Izzet, sd). Both foreign settlers and local persons lived in pole-impressed settlements at Dambarare, as is known from historic records (Newitt, 2001a; Newitt & Garlake, 1967). Moreover, the only brick-built structures found (thus far) at any *feiras* come from Dambarare, and are believed to have been the remnants of the church (Garlake, 1969a).



**Figure 7.11: Dhaka fragments found at 1730:BD:27. Source: author.**

## Glass Bead

There is only one glass bead in the current (accessible) Dambarare collection (figure 7.12). It comes from 1730:BD:18, an earthwork (or “Earthwork 2”). This bead is from a surface collection. It is approximately 3mm long and 2mm wide. It is opaque and is brownish-red in colour. It has been identified as a cylindrical drawn bead (Wood, 2009:220). This is likely the same as other “Indian Red” type beads that are often found at LFC sites in the region, and might therefore be considered contemporary to the Dambarare settlement (Garlake, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a; Wood, 2009).



**Figure 7.12: Brownish red opaque glass bead from 1730:BD:18. Source: author.**

## Spindle Whorl

One spindle whorl was recovered from Dambarare at 1730:BD:20, an earthwork known as Earthwork 4 (figure 7.13). It is carved of stone – of schist, according to the catalogue card (sn, sd). Spindle whorls are normally indicative of cotton working and of fabric production (Antonites, 2012). This might point to cotton being cultivated and worked at Dambarare (*cf* Beach 1994), or it might be that imported cotton was worked here.



**Figure 7.13: Stone spindle whorl. Source: author.**

## Glass

There are three shards from 1730:BD:27 (a local settlement with evidence of metal working, including moulds and crucibles) that seem to be worked glass (figure 7.14). These may be examples of glass that had been re-melted and moulded at Dambarare. The greenish-blue mottled glass seems like it has been cast. This may agree with moulds with glass residue found at the same site. It could therefore mean that foreign or local inhabitants of Dambarare may have reworked glass into shapes and colours that they preferred (cf Presthold, 2004).



**Figure 7.14: Samples of worked glass from Dambarare. Source: author.**

### Stone Artefacts

Several artefacts made of stone were collected at Dambarare (table 7.1). The ochre (1730:BD:27) may prove as evidence of the decoration of bodies or ceramics (Huffman, 2007). Upper grindstones (1730:BD:18, 27) and the pounding stone (1730:BD:20) point to food processing, and are present at both earthworks and the domestic settlements nearby. Hammer stones may accompany the other items that pertain to metal working at 1730:BD:27. Thus the stone artefacts from Dambarare point to craft production and food processing.

**Table 7.1. Stone artefacts from Dambarare.**

Site number	Site description	Object	Amount
1730:BD:18	"Earthwork 2".	Upper grindstone	1
1730:BD:20	"Earthwork 4."	Pounding stone, with pit marks	1
1730:BD:27	LFC domestic settlement with evidence of metal working.	Various: possible upper grindstone	1
		Red ochre	3
		Polished upper grind stone	1
		Hammer stone	1
		Upper grindstone	1
		Hammer stone	1
		Hammer stone	1

### Other Objects

One clay figurine of an ox/bovine, typical of LFC sites, has been found at 1730:BD:27. Only one sample of faunal remains is present in the current Dambarare collection: a large bovid molar from 1730:BD:18. Since animal remains are important in understanding the environment, diets, and social stratification, amongst other things (House, 2016; Plug, 1996; Plug & Voigt, 1985; Thorp, 1984; Voigt, 1983), the hope is that more remains will be collected and studied during future archaeological investigations at the site of Dambarare and other *feiras*. There are furthermore several industrially manufactured objects such as plastic, glass, and alloys, which point to later settlements on the landscape. It is, however, interesting to find these amongst the eroding 17<sup>th</sup> century materials.

## Discussion

The objects presented in this chapter are quite varied, and present evidence for many kinds of activities and interactions between the persons living at Dambarare. If we consider the spatial layout of the site (based on the artefact distribution), we can attempt to reconstruct how and which activities were practised across the site. Moreover, if we assume that the objects related to metal working and other craft-related objects (such as the spindle whorl) are coeval with the 17<sup>th</sup> century occupation of Dambarare (which is highly probable), then it means that Dambarare was not only a town for trade, but also a place where craft production occurred, either for domestic use or for export.

Traces of gold have been found in some of the crucibles (eg figure 7.5). This indicates gold production at Dambarare. Since Dambarare was established and considered as a gold trading town (Newitt, 2001a), finding evidence of gold production is not unexpected. Additionally, archival documents and photographs in the 1730:BD collection at the Museum of Human Sciences show that mines and river panning sites were situated in the surrounding area, and gold would likely have been extracted from such sites. Supporting this are also the hammer stones (table 7.3) from this collection, which were used to breaking off gold and other metal ores from larger clumps of rock or soil.

The objects of metal production – tuyères, crucibles, moulds, and slag – originate from local homesteads (1730:BD:27) and from earthworks (1730:BD:18,20). Earthworks are generally not considered to be domestic settlements, but rather to be trading areas where goods are stored and traded with, and where official buildings such as a church would be housed (Garlake, 1969a; Pikirayi, 2001). Now we could perhaps add to this list the suggestion that earthworks may also have been workshops where craft objects and trade goods were produced – in tandem with their production at domestic sites. With future work one could ask what the differences would be between the metal and glass working at the domestic sites compared to the earthworks. Based on current

evidence, however, there are very few discernible differences between those works located at the domestic sites and those situated at the earthworks.

While the tuyères and some of the moulds and crucibles seem to be of local manufacture, there are a few crucibles and moulds that deviate from these traditional forms. It might be that these were imported, or that they were made at the site according to foreign design. This could indicate that foreign and local objects and therefore possibly foreign and local methods were incorporated into these activities, pointing to integration of people and of practices.

Innovation is evidenced by the glass moulds and the glass shards (figure 7.14). No similar fragments have been found at the other known *feiras* (Garlake, 1967a, 1968b, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993, 2001, 2009). While glassmaking itself is not indigenous to southern Africa, the reworking of glass beads is (best-)known from sites such as K2/Bambandyanalo and Mapungubwe in the Shashe-Limpopo basin (Robertshaw *et al.*, 2010; Wood, 2000, 2011). Garden Roller beads were produced by melting and recasting imported beads (Robertshaw *et al.*, 2010; Wood, 2000, 2011). Such beads have been found at sites extending to Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Zambia (Robertshaw *et al.*, 2010; Wood, 2000, 2011). While there are no moulds to indicate into what shapes the molten glass might have been cast (and whether beads or other sorts of glass items were made), it is clear that Dambarare's inhabitants modified imported glass. This might suggest something of consumer demands and preferences, and the attempts of merchants to comply to them (cf. Prestholdt, 2004; Chirikure, 2014).

The spindle whorl could indicate textile manufacture for own use or for outgoing trade, or the adjustment of cloth from incoming trade (cf. Prestholdt, 2004). It is known that cotton was grown in southern Africa since the twelfth century CE, and that its cultivation and use spread rapidly throughout the region (Antonites, 2012:243). Historic records mention that although various fabrics were important imports into the southern Zambezan interior, cotton was also exported in significant amounts (Beach, 1994; Newitt, 2001a). The spindle whorl in this collection is related to 1730:BD:20

(Earthwork 4), and it is associated with foreign ceramics, local ceramics, and objects related to metal working. This could well mean that the spindle whorl dates to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, being situated inside an earthwork, it might be that craft production took place at these warehouses or trade centres, echoing the metal working situation mentioned earlier. This therefore points once again to the function of the earthworks as possible workshops.

Nails and door hinges were found at 1730:BD:27, a domestic settlement displaying evidence of vernacular architecture (Izzet, sd). These objects were moreover found in association with pole-impressed dhaka. Since there is (currently) no evidence of bricks or other imported building materials (at least not outside the confines of the earthworks (Garlake, 1969a)), it could suggest that these materials were used in conjunction with each other. From historical sources we know that inhabitants of Portuguese and African descent lived in dhaka-and-thatch houses at *prazos da coroa* during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and it is highly probable that this was also the case at *feiras* during the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a,b). The material evidence from Dambarare supports this. Moreover, it might even be possible that the nails and door hinges formed part of the constructions. The dhaka-and-thatch homes could have been innovated in such a sense to have nails, or doors with hinges. On the other hand, the nails and door hinge were found at a site where metal working occurred, and could therefore have been manufactured at the site, instead of having been used. This then points to the manufacturing of objects in a foreign style for use at the *feira* itself. Additionally the possibility exists that these objects were destined to be re-melted in order to create something more functional.

A portion of the objects in this collection are, of course, not contemporary with the 17<sup>th</sup> century occupation at Dambarare. Such materials include industrially manufactured plastic, glass, and metal-alloys. However, there are artefacts of local manufacture that probably date to the occupation at Dambarare. These are the crucibles, moulds, slag, tuyères, (some of the) glass shards, spindle whorl, glass bead, and clay figurine. Since these are surface finds, however, it might be prudent to take caution in claiming relationship to the 17<sup>th</sup> century Dambarare occupation without direct stratigraphic

context or absolute dates. Future excavations would do much to remedy this, and future work could also focus on activities such as food production, or on diet, since few artefacts in the current Dambarare collection could suggest anything about this.

## Conclusion

The objects of craft specialisation at Dambarare indicate much about the integration and the innovations that happened at Dambarare. Not only did metal (and glass) (re)working occur at this *feira*, but innovative techniques were employed. Foreign objects were adopted in these processes too. It was not only the African inhabitants who had accepted new objects and ways of doing things, but the foreign settlers also integrated into local lifestyles and settlements. Moreover, it is likely that consumer demands were being catered for at Dambarare, based on, for example, the reworking of glass. The following chapter will discuss the findings of the ensemble of object and archival analyses together, and it will suggest avenues for further research.

# CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, WAYS FORWARD, AND SUMMARY

## Introduction

Dambarare, as a contact site, offers ample material evidence of interaction, integration, and innovation. Dambarare, therefore, is useful in thinking about the role of hinterland contact sites and the larger Indian Ocean Trade System. It also presents proof that more *feiras* should be considered for archaeological study as they can provide evidence of the types of interactions that occurred between local and foreign traders, and how sites in interior regions were agents as much as their coastal counterparts.

Three main research themes were set out to be explored in this dissertation. The first was to understand the interactions that occurred between the southern Zambezian African communities and Portuguese traders at Dambarare. The second was to see whether integration between such communities could be traced through the material culture at the site. The third theme is that of innovation, and how Dambarare's artefacts can aid us in reconstructing these innovations. These themes are important since they have not yet been addressed in the study of Zambezian *feiras*. Additionally, it proves as a base from which to explore culture contact in the region, and to think about the role that such sites played in the larger trading system that spanned the East African region and the Indian Ocean rim.

## Framework and Theoretical Approach

This dissertation used a post-processual framework to interrogate the Dambarare archive (Hodder, 1993; Johnson, 2010). The most prominent concepts relied on were that of multivocality and entanglement (Atalay, 2008; Gosden, 2005; Hodder, 1993,

2008, 2011; Johnson, 2010; Thomas, 1991; Wylie, 2008). With multivocality, it was attempted in this dissertation to consider as many elements in the archive as possible to understand and appreciate the multitude of identities present at the site (Atalay, 2008). Since Dambarare is a contact site, it is known that people of differing identities found themselves interacting with others at this site. In past research at Dambarare, the focus was mainly on the Portuguese aspect (Garlake, 1968b, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1997). Innocent Pikirayi looked at *feiras* (including Dambarare) from a more Africanist perspective, which tried to remedy the Eurocentric focus on these trading towns – after all, it was established between African and foreign traders alike (Pikirayi, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2009). However, Dambarare has not been considered with both aspects in mind, and how both (or rather, all) identities influenced each other.

Another aspect of this multivocal approach was to place Dambarare (and other *feiras*) into the larger Indian Ocean trade system not as passive receptors of objects, influence and change, but rather as actors of change and just as involved in trade as their coastal counterparts (cf. Chirikure, 2014; Prestholdt, 2004). This dissertation therefore attempted to reject the core-periphery idea where hinterland sites, such as Dambarare, are considered less important than sites located along the East African coast. Along with several other works focussing on hinterland communities (eg. Chirikure, 2014; Moffet & Chirikure, 2016; Pikirayi, 2001, 2009; Prestholdt, 2004) the aim was to show in this dissertation the agency and control that African hinterland communities were indeed influential players in the larger network.

The Dambarare collection was also considered with the concept of entanglement in mind (Gosden, 2005; Hodder, 2011; Thomas, 1991). Entanglement indicates how people were entwined with objects, and through objects, with each other (Gosden, 2005; Hodder, 2011; Thomas, 1991). Since this study uses an object-based approach, and since we are considering relationships between identities at Dambarare, entanglement is useful to reveal these ties (Gosden, 2005; Hodder, 2011; Thomas, 1991). These ties will be divided into three sections (although they are generally interlinked) – that of interaction, integration, and innovation. Tracing these three

themes through objects will lead to their impact on human relationships and behaviours (Thomas, 1991).

### The Dambarare Archive

No one has studied the Dambarare archive as a whole in nearly 50 years, and yet it has grown in the decades since its initial excavation in 1967 (Garlake, 1968b, 1969a; and works that focus on some aspects of the archive include Pikirayi, 1993, 1997; Swanepoel, 2015; Steyn & Swanepoel, 2013). Salvage attempts have contributed to the growth of the archive, both in terms of material culture and documentary sources.

The Dambarare archive has proved fruitful for new interpretations and understandings. It indicates that this *feira* is much more complex in terms of layout and material culture than we initially understood it to be (cf. Garlake, 1969a; Newitt, 2001a; Pikirayi, 1993). Looking at the site reports concerning the site, it is clear that Dambarare had a much wider reach and more components. There are several domestic settlements spread between the earthworks, and the site is located near mines, panning sites, and other gold workings. Before, we only knew of five possible earthworks and one digging (Garlake, 1969a). The appearance of domestic settlements also confirm Pikirayi's (2001) interpretation that earthworks were not to enclose homesteads, but were rather the places where goods were kept and traded for. Additionally, both Garlake's (1969a) excavations and the current Dambarare collection have provided evidence for metal working and the spinning or weaving of cloth inside the confines of earthworks. This suggests that earthworks were not only places of mercantile activity, but also sites of production. Moreover, the spindle whorl may have been used to manufacture cloth, since Beach (1994) notes that cotton was, in fact, an import from the Zimbabwe plateau. Alternatively, the manufactured cloth may have remained at and around the *feira*. A locally-spun cotton shroud was found with the remains of an African female, indicating that cotton was made and used locally (Garlake, 1969a).

In addition to the earthworks possibly being workshops, some of the domestic settlements at Dambarare also provide evidence of metal and glass (re)working (eg. 1730:BD:27). Along with the scant locational evidence of domestic and earthwork constructions, it does not seem as though activities were kept to one corner of the site. Rather, it appears as though activities occurred at several locations, including domestic settlements and earthworks. This agrees with Píkirayi's (1993) interpretation of Baranda/Massapa, where there were no separate activity areas.

We moreover have a better understanding of domestic settlements at Dambarare. This topic has not been touched on by archaeologists at Dambarare (cf. Garlake, 1968b, 1969a; Píkirayi, 1993, 1997). It seems as though both foreigners and local settlers at the site lived in traditional LFC style settlements of dhaka-and-thatch buildings. This agrees with Garlake and Newitt's (1967) findings that Portuguese communities often adopted traditional African lifestyles and lived in vernacular homes (see also Andaya, 2010; Newitt, 2001a, b). To strengthen this argument, the only rectangular brick-built structure known at present is that of the church that Garlake (1969a) excavated. Additionally, it is clear that these creolised settlers used traditional African objects, such as pottery, which is found alongside foreign wares.

The Dambarare archive also establishes relative dates which could be compared with historical records. Garlake's (1969a) analyses are roughly comparable in terms of chronology to the findings in this study. The relative dates of the ceramics span the entire 17<sup>th</sup> century, and thus shows occupation (and continuous import of wares) at Dambarare. The pottery from Dambarare also indicate a roughly 17<sup>th</sup> century occupation by Musengezi, Zimbabwe, and Mahonje makers or users, which agrees with some of the analyses by Píkirayi (1993, 1997).

The population and identities at Dambarare are also better understood through the archive. Analyses of human remains showed individuals of European and of African descent (Garlake, 1969a; Swanepoel, 2015; Steyn & Swanepoel, 2013). Though the bodies were buried in a western Christian fashion, the grave goods in general showed

an adherence to traditional European or African dress, except in a few cases, such as that of an African female who had a beaded rosary with a religious pendant strung around her neck (Garlake, 1969a; Swanepoel, 2015). However, this is a small sample of burials concentrated around a church – other graves in other locations might suggest other attitudes. Additionally, we know from historical sources that the “Portuguese” included individuals of European, Asian, African, and *mestiço* descent (Andaya, 2010; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). Identifying as Portuguese thus included accepting certain material cultural aspects and habits, and did not necessarily mean that persons were from mainland Portugal (Andaya, 2010; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). As settlement and integration continued at Dambarare it is likely, as at other *feiras* and *prazos*, that a creolised community of inhabitants grew at the site as foreigners and locals intermarried or started following shared lifestyles (Andaya, 2010; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). We know that the Portuguese adopted settlement styles, diets, and other manners of the indigenous communities where they settled (Andaya, 2010; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). The pottery from Dambarare is quite telling of the identities as well. It is therefore clear that both foreign and local identities changed and adapted to each other. This moreover becomes clearer when the artefactual evidence concerning interaction, integration, and innovation are considered – summarised below.

Besides understanding the site layout, chronology, activities, and identities at the site better, excavating Dambarare’s archive enables us to ask questions that have not yet been asked at this site. An important point of discussion in current-day archaeology of contact and of the central African reaches of the Indian Ocean trade network is the roles that peoples in the interior played (Chirikure, 2014; Moffett & Chirikure, 2016; Pikirayi, 2009; Prestholdt, 2004). Hinterland regions are generally considered peripheral and are considered as passive receptors to any trade and influence exerted on them (Chirikure, 2014; Prestholdt, 2004). This is, however, not always the case, and the materials from Dambarare that express interaction, integration, and innovation is hoped to support this.

## Interaction

It has been established in this dissertation that interaction is traceable through the objects and their situations, and how these express ideas or attitudes that communicate relationships between people (Calabrese, 2000; Fleisher, 2010; Kelly, 1997a,b, 2001, 2002; Thomas, 1991). At Dambarare there is evidence of the nature of interactions between local identities as well as between foreigners and local identities. The use of local and imported ceramics are especially revealing of the nature of interactions between those persons who met at Dambarare.

Dambarare's pottery indicates three identities associated with Late Farming Communities at the *feira*: Musengezi (Korekore-speakers), Zimbabwe (Karanga-speakers), and Mahonje (Tonga-speakers) (Garlake, 1969a; Huffman, 1974, 2007; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997; Pwiti, 1996a). It is known from historic records that the Mutapa state consisted of various identities, including that of Musengezi and Zimbabwe (Mudenge, 1988). People associated with Mahonje ceramics lived in the western reaches of Moçambique and southern Zambia, and during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries some migrated to what is now northern Zimbabwe (Pikirayi, 1993). It is uncertain whether they adhered to the Mutapa state or were politically independent. Whatever the case may have been, it does not seem as though there is one dominant culture, or as though the pottery is divided over the site (cf. Calabrese, 2000; Pwiti, 1996a). In fact, the pottery is found at domestic settlements, earthworks, and even rock art sites, often with one or more ceramic identity together. What this could mean additionally is that Dambarare's settlers, who were of multiple identities, creolised and integrated aspects of LFC lifestyles (Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). They therefore may have used local ceramics, and since they might not have been makers of these pots, used whatever type ceramics they had access to.

Dambarare's current and past pottery collection is fairly small compared to most other LFC sites in the region (cf. Pikirayi, 1993; Pwiti, 1996a, etc). This may be because of excavation and collection bias, or simply the "luck of the draw." While we currently do not have further (and a larger body of) evidence, we can see at Dambarare (in past

research and in this dissertation) that very small amounts of sherds are decorated or are very distinctly of one typology (Garlake, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993, 1997). It may be that the lack of (obvious) decoration could indicate something of the sentiments of those (trading) at Dambarare. As Hall (2001) noted at Mabotse, ceramic decoration decreased with the increase in interaction with colonists, as the ways in which Mabotse's inhabitants considered their identities adapting to a new social situation. It might be the case at Dambarare, since foreign and local identities were interacting and negotiating with each other in new ways – often creolising. Future excavation and collection of pottery, however, may challenge this assumption.

The foreign ceramics at Dambarare also indicate interaction; this time between the inhabitants of the *feira* and the people that frequented the site and/or neighbours. Since large volumes of ceramics have been found at the *feira(s)*, and very little elsewhere on the landscape (including both elite and commoner settlements), it suggests that these wares were not intended for trade, but rather for use by the *feira's* inhabitants (Chirikure, 2014; Garlake, 1968a). Ceramics, especially flatwares used for serving, are used and thus displayed in the public sphere (Hall, 2001). If we take that ceramics and the manner in which people use them express certain sentiments or affiliations, then the volume of imports at Dambarare could suggest how this *feira's* inhabitants considered themselves different to their neighbours at more traditional settlements (Hall, 2001; Huffman, 2007; Kelly, 2002). It is known that persons who identified as Portuguese (to whatever extent) often used objects linked to the Portuguese, and the ceramics might be suggestive of this (Andaya, 2010; Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). It therefore seems that the inhabitants of the *feira* used these ceramics to distinguish themselves from others, indicating and affirming their creolised or different identities (Fleisher, 2010; Hall, 2001; Kelly, 2002).

The interactions, then, at Dambarare could be traced through various ceramic expressions and their use. We know that the *feiras* were inhabited by a variety of people who identified as Portuguese as well as those who identified as a particular African identity (Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Newitt, 2001a, 2001b). Since ceramics are often used in public spaces, and they signify attitudes and sentiments, it would follow

that they were used at Dambarare to express identity and to distinguish its inhabitants from others. These ceramics additionally indicate integration of locals and foreigners, and of the integration of foodways and cultural expressions. Considering interactions at a contact site then necessarily leads to integration.

## Integration

Integration can be understood as the manner of interaction between people when they accept each other's world views, and archaeologically thus their material culture (Kelly, 1997b; Malan, 1998b; Thomas, 1991). Integration can be forced onto persons, but it is often the case that people actively choose when to accept or reject something, and thus (not) change (Chirikure, 2014; Kelly, 1997b; Malan, 1998b; Thomas, 1991). Dambarare, as a contact site that was occupied for about a century, shows ample evidence of integration and influence – both from the local and the foreign settlers.

Dambarare's local and foreign ceramics have already been discussed, but it is important to note here that it seems as though both foreign and local pottery were used by its inhabitants, pointing to an integration of foodways (cf. Garlake & Newitt, 1967; Hall, 2001). Architecture is another measure of integration at Dambarare. It is known from previous historical and archaeological research that these *feiras* had elements of vernacular and foreign architecture, indicating the dual nature of these contact sites (Newitt, 2001a; Pikiyai, 2009). For example, we know from earthworks that foreign rectangular shapes were employed, while traditional building materials were used (Garlake, 1967a, 1969a; Pikiyai, 2001, 2009). We currently know of only one structure at Dambarare that had a much more European design and materials – that of the alleged church in Earthwork 1 (Garlake, 1969a). It was constructed of clay bricks (manufactured from local clay), and followed a rectangular shape (Garlake, 1969a). On the other hand, all of the domestic settlements at Dambarare are of dhaka-and-thatch. These are similar to most LFC style homes (Huffman, 2007). What is interesting however, is that iron nails have been found at one such domestic

settlement. This might indicate the incorporation of foreign building materials into traditional architecture. However, the evidence is scant and needs further investigation in order to substantiate this claim. Historic records mention that foreigners integrated into the lifestyles of the African communities where they settled (Garlake & Newitt, 1967). The architectural features and elements of Dambarare bear testimony to this.

Integration is also traceable through the activities performed at Dambarare. For example, smelting and smithing activities generally follow the fashion of traditional metal working practices amongst LFCs. Material evidence of this includes hammer and pounding stones, the mines and riffle plates, tuyères, slag, crucibles, and moulds. This shows that foreign settlers adopted and participated in local methods. However, there are a few crucibles and moulds that are out of place in the traditional repertoire of manufacture. This includes a crucible with a flat base that seems as though it was made on a pottery wheel (figure 7.4). Clearly this is an import, or an imported design. Therefore, it seems as though activities themselves consisted of an integration of foreign and local methods and materials.

Our understanding of integration at Dambarare is strengthened by the artefactual evidence including ceramics, architecture and layout, and specific activities. It seems as though integration was an active decision and a negotiation by the different identities frequenting the site. It does not seem as though integration occurred by force, but rather by choice. The integration of new methods and objects often also resulted in the innovation or innovative use of objects, which usually is the result of such contact situations (Malan, 1998b; Thomas, 1991).

## Innovation

Innovation is generally understood as when a new object is manufactured for a known use, or when a known object is used in a new manner, subverting the original meaning whether on purpose or no (Bandama *et al.*, 2017; Kelly, 1997b, 2002; Thibodeau *et*

*al.*, 2007; Thomas, 1991). Innovative uses of objects and innovations are to be found at Dambarare, showing the acceptance of foreign ideas and of a manner of navigating a changing social situation.

At Dambarare we trace several innovations in craft production, either creating introduced forms from familiar materials, or using known objects to manufacture new things. Take, for example, the ring-based bowl, made of local earthenware clay. It has been established that it does not bear similarity to those of the Harare or Ingombe Ilede cultures, but rather agrees with like sherds from other African-Portuguese contact sites such as Feira, Kasoko, and Sofala (Clark, 1967; Dickinson, 1975; Fagan, 1969; Phillipson, 1972; David Phillipson, pers. comm. 2016; Sinamai, 2008). The explanation for the shapes of these sherds are said to be a manner in which foreign ceramics were imitated, though the reason why it would be made by potters is uncertain (Dickinson, 1975; Fagan, 1969). A case of taking known objects and manufacturing something new can be observed through the working of glass. Mottled glass shards and crucibles with glass residue are in the Dambarare archive. While the reworking of glass was a common practice in southern Africa there is so far no evidence thereof from other *feiras* (Garlake, 1967a, 1968b, 1969a; Pikirayi, 1993, 2001, 2009; Robertshaw *et al.*, 2010; Wood, 2000, 2011). The shards in the Dambarare collection are too small and nondescript to establish what the glass was transformed into. The moulds with the glass residue also indicate little about the end products, it suggests that glass may have been reworked at Dambarare in order to cater to consumer demands (cf. Chirikure, 2014; Prestholdt, 2004).

All of the innovations from Dambarare are intricately linked to the integration that occurred at this contact site, and they indicate something of interactions at this *feira*. They show that a changing social situation might have called for a change and adaptation of material culture to better suit their interactions.

## Conclusion

The material culture in the Dambarare archive show us evidence of the three themes of interaction, integration, and innovation. Interaction at the site of Dambarare shows that multiple identities lived together at the *feira*. There were people who identified as Portuguese, and people of the Musengezi, Zimbabwe, and Mahonje cultures converging at the site. Additionally, one can trace creolisation through the use of these ceramics: a community thus occurred at Dambarare that incorporated different material culture aspects to create a unique settlement. Moreover, the *feira's* inhabitants attempted to distinguish themselves from their neighbours through the use of certain imports, such as foreign ceramics. Integration could be seen by the various identities living together and combining the use of local and foreign goods. Dwellings all conform to the traditional dhaka-and-thatch homes, but foreign and local ceramics are integrated into the foodways of this community. Innovation is made visible through the use of foreign objects in traditional practices (such as metalworking) and in creating new meanings for certain objects (such as pots that are used as crucibles and moulds). Innovations in foodways are visible through the manufacture and use of a ring-based bowl in local earthenware. Reworked glass is not only innovative, but it shows that traders adapted to local tastes and logics. This last observation agrees with the work that other researchers have done (cf. Chirikure, 2014; Moffett & Chirikure, 2016; Prestholdt, 2004) concerning local demands and the attempts made by traders to adapt to them. It shows that hinterland communities were not merely passive receivers, but rather that they had demands and particular tastes (Chirikure, 2014; Moffett & Chirikure, 2016; Prestholdt, 2004). They controlled trade (goods) as much as the merchants did.

Lastly, instead of considering the Zimbabwean hinterland as a mere peripheral region to the larger trade network, the Dambarare material culture suggest that we should consider this area rather as a borderland (Lightfoot, 1995; Lightfoot & Martinez, 1995; Rubertone, 2000). All of the interactions, integrations, and innovations at Dambarare point to creolisation, which shows a constant negotiation between what to accept, what to reject, and what to conserve (Wendl & Rösler, 1999). Therefore, Dambarare could be considered as a place where identities were constantly negotiated, asserted, and

changed (Wendl & Rösler, 1999). It moreover points to a more heterarchical situation than at Portuguese towns or traditional LFC settlements (Crumley, 1995; Newitt, 2001a,b; Pikirayi, 2001). There seems to be no dominant local identity (Musengezi, Zimbabwe, and Mahonje types seem to appear equally and constantly over the entire site) and the creolised objects show that there was no one dominant culture that imposed its objects and manners on the others.

The findings from Dambarare therefore contribute to the larger debates of the roles of hinterland communities involved in the Indian Ocean trading system, showing that the people at these contact sites had as much agency as foreigners entering and exiting the landscape (Chirikure, 2014; Moffett & Chirikure, 2016; Prestholdt, 2004).

### Future Studies and Ways Forward

Future research on the Dambarare archive could include studying those artefacts which could not be accessed during this project. This includes those held in the Museum of Human Science's strong room. For example, it would be interesting to consider the glass beads found at Dambarare in light of the knowledge that glass was reworked at this *feira* to see whether any of these beads may have been manufactured on site, or whether the composition of these beads agree with that of the shards from the site. It would be useful to perform scientific (whether invasive or not) analyses on the objects in the collection. This may assist us in understanding the composition, manufacturing method, and provenience and origins of objects such as the metals, glass, and ceramics. DNA testing on the human remains might prove interesting in terms of understanding the (physiological) backgrounds of Dambarare's inhabitants.

Although studying archives is an important and undervalued practice (Bawaya, 2007; Merriman & Swain, 1999), a site sometimes calls for further in-depth investigation. It would be beneficial to understand Dambarare better through excavation. In situ finds and proper contexts for artefacts would be able to tell us more about the links and

relationships between the objects. Better dates could be obtained. Different aspects of the sites (earthworks, homesteads, (un)specialised activity areas) could be better understood. No animal remains were kept in the archive. Diets and food production at the site could be better understood if faunal and plant remains were to be collected. One limitation at Dambarare is that large portions (but not all) of the site are underwater and have been extensively developed (or destroyed) by mining and construction activities. If enough of the site of Dambarare cannot be sufficiently excavated and investigated, it would be useful to turn our attention to any other *feira* in the region that might be better preserved. Though other *feiras* might not be *exactly like* Dambarare, they will likely bear similarities, and one would be able to ask similar questions or at least obtain a better reference to compare Dambarare to.

Additionally, inter-site comparisons would be very useful in the study of *feiras*, and especially in light of the themes of interaction, integration, and innovation. The materials from all of the known *feiras* might be studied and compared with each other to see what kinds of differences or similarities between them could be traced. Similar to Pikirayi's (1997) pottery analyses, which showed slight differentiation in identities across sites, one could consider whether the situations of interaction, integration, and innovation were similar or different. Moreover, it would be interesting to compare the imported ceramics not only between *feiras*, but also at other Portuguese-contact sites on the East African coastline to see what patterns would appear.

## Summary

Re-excavating the Dambarare archive provided fruitful since it allowed the themes of interaction, integration, and innovation to be explored. The results have proven that the population at Dambarare was a creolised one, integrating each other's world views and material culture. However, both foreign and local communities exerted influence on each other. These results furthermore add to the current debate in the archaeology of the region that such hinterland communities were not passive receivers of goods

and of change, but were active agents of change and commerce linked to the Indian Ocean trade world of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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## APPENDIX A

### Catalogue of Imported Ceramics

**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1: 1730BD2A; Dambarare-Doxford farms; Pottery unglazed blue&white pottery & other coloured glazes & frags of copper alloy dish

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 1

**Label/Notes:** Earthenware...of heavy make (paper torn, some text missing)

**Datasheet number(s):** 1 – 70; 72-73 (#71 is likely African pottery)

**Amount of sherds:** 72

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Black/Dark brown glaze (Interior & Exterior); Often uneven glaze; Lips are often unglazed; glaze is often bubbled; Colour may vary between vessels, and colour and texture may vary between interior and exterior of vessel; there are often run mark in interior, where glaze dripped down; some do not have necks; some have incised horizontal lines

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim: #1-21; Shoulder handle/attachment: #22-47,55 (uncertain 48-54;56-58)

**Refit:** N/A

**Related to:** Bag 2

**Other notes:** Stoneware “Martevan” of Asian origin

**Photo Number(s):** 1- 161

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #:2**

**Label/Notes:** No label. "8A2" written on bag exterior.

**Datasheet number(s): 74 - 191**

**Amount of sherds: 117**

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Dark brown/black glaze, sometimes a dark olive green. Interior and exterior, or only exterior. Base is often unglazed. Glaze is often uneven. Shapes of sherds seem similar, therefore I assume all of them come from similar vessels

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim: 74, Base: 75,76,77, 78(possible),79,80,81,82,83,84,85.

**Refit:** N/A

**Related to:** Bag 1

**Other notes:** Stoneware "Martevan" of Asian origin

**Photo Number(s): 162-391**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 2

**Label/Notes:** No label. "8A2" written on bag exterior.

**Datasheet number(s):** 192

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Terracotta (red earthenware with glaze)

**Decoration:** Exterior: Either unglazed or weathered. Interior: Olive glazed, cracked.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base

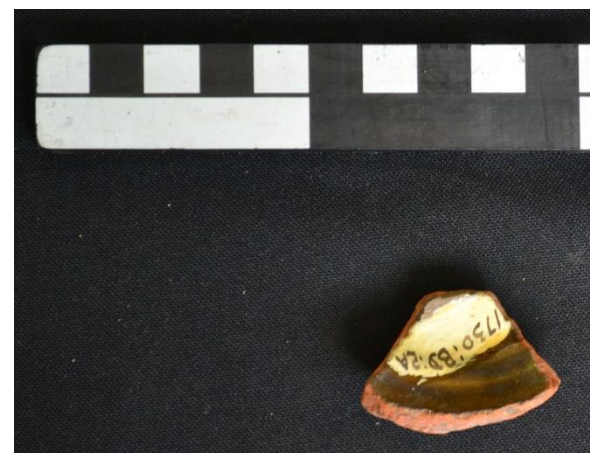
**Refit:** N/A

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Quite a small fragment – perhaps a bottle? Possibly European in origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 392-393

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:**3

**Label/Notes:** Tag inside: "Chinese storage jars"

**Datasheet number(s):** 193 - 390

**Amount of sherds:** 197

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Dark brown/ Black glaze. Sometimes the glaze is olive green or yellow. Base often unglazed. Exterior and interior glazed, or just exterior.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim: ;

Base:193,194,195,196,197,198,199,200,201,

Refit: N/A

**Related to:** Bag 1,2

**Other notes:** Stoneware "Martevan" of Asian origin

**Photo Number(s):** 395-428

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 3**

**Label/Notes:** Tag inside: "Chinese storage jars"

**Datasheet number(s): 391- 396**

**Amount of sherds: 6**

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: Green-yellow glaze with clay decoration (relief?) of scrolling flora (?); Interior: Brown glaze/wash

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** None

**Refit:** N/A

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Bag in Bag 3 is marked as "Dambarare-Doxford 1730BD2A, Stoneware – exterior green-yellow crazed floral decoration. Interior black glaze, brown wash, or unglazed. Class 6. 17<sup>th</sup> century"

Stoneware "Tradescent Jar," of Asian origin (cf Miedema, 1964:10).

**Photo Number(s): 429-432**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #:4**

**Label/Notes:** No labels, notes.

**Datasheet number(s): 397 - 492**

**Amount of sherds: 32**

**Body:** Terracotta

**Decoration:** Some have unglazed exteriors and interiors, some have glazed interiors (brown to yellow, crazed) and unglazed exteriors (perhaps weathered)

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Lip: 419,420

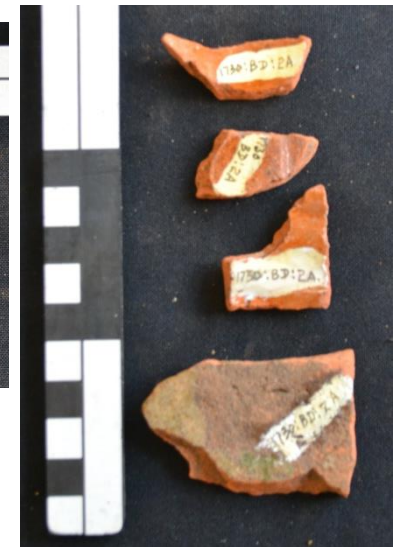
**Refit:** N/A

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely of European origin.

**Photo Number(s): 433 - 448**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 430 - 431

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Unsure whether this ceramic is glazed – it is heavily patinated and weathered. Interior is unglazed.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Handles: 430,431

**Refit:** No

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Buff-coloured earthenware. Uncertain of origin, but either European or Asian.

**Photo Number(s):** 452 - 453

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 432

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Exterior: Buff glaze? Repeated horizontal incised lines.  
Interior: Brown wash.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Handle

**Refit:** No

**Related to:** Could be same as 430,431

**Other notes:** Uncertain of origin, European or Asian.

:

**Photo Number(s):** 454-455

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 433

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Exterior: Buff/red glaze? Very weathered

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim

**Refit:** No

**Related to:** 430-432

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 456-457

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 434

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Thin, straight ridging underneath rim

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim/Lip

**Refit:** No

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** This sherd is small and weathered, but it does not seem to resemble any other sherds in this collection in terms of shape, thickness, and texture.

**Photo Number(s):** 458-459

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 435-439

**Amount of sherds:** 5

**Body:** Terracotta

**Decoration:** Exterior: None; Interior: Yellow glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** /

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely of European origin

**Photo Number(s):** 460-461

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 5**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 440**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration: Dark brown glossy glaze**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: Handle**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: Stoneware "Martevan" of Asian origin**

**Photo Number(s): 462-463**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 5**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 441-457**

**Amount of sherds: 17**

**Body: Earthenware**

**Decoration:** Interior: Brown wash; Exterior: Buff glaze, some ridging/protrusions

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: /**

**Refit: /**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 464-465**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:**5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 458-459

**Amount of sherds:**2

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Exterior: Buff and brown bands; Interior: brown glazed?

Heavy wear/patinaion

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 466-467

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #:5**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 460 - 461**

**Amount of sherds: 2**

**Body: Earthenware**

**Decoration: Buff/reddish body. Coarse, weathered**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 468-469**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 462-463

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Exterior: weathered greenish glaze. Interior: none

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:** Yes

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 470-472

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 464

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Olive green glaze. Weathered, crazed.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim

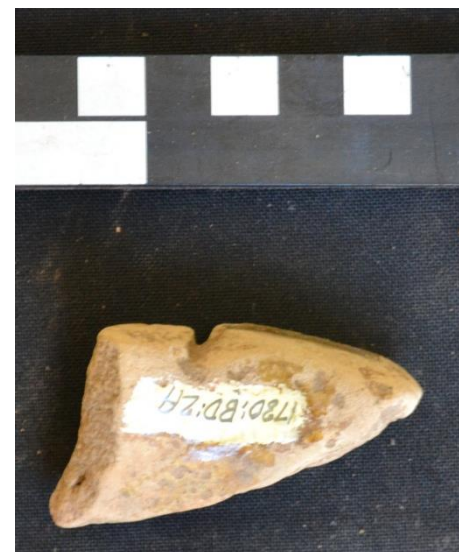
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Stone-coloured body. Fragile/brittle, and powdery. Likely of European origin

**Photo Number(s):** 473-474

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 465

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Exterior: buff/red line and ridging; Interior: none

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 475-476

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 466-511

**Amount of sherds:** 46

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Exterior: unglazed/worn off; Interior: Weathered olive glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** White, powdery body

**Photo Number(s):** 477-478

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 512-514

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** None

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Probably African pottery

**Photo Number(s):** 479 - 480

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.

**Bag #:5**

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 515 - 533

**Amount of sherds:** 19

**Body:** Earthenware (with a few stoneware sherds included)

**Decoration:** Various. Exterior: Dark brown/ black glaze and Interior: olive glaze/ unglazed; OR Exterior unglazed

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Miscellaneous collection of ceramics. Some are earthenware jars, and the rest are stoneware martevans.

These sherds were analysed together, initially grouped together because they were believed to be similar, but upon second inspection some are earthenwares, and the others are stonewares.

**Photo Number(s):** 481 - 482

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 5**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 535**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Earthenware (coarse reddish clay)**

**Decoration: Interior & Exterior: Olive green crazed glaze**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: (534 is likely an African ceramic)**

**Photo Number(s): 485 - 486**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.**

**Bag #:5**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 537 - 538**

**Amount of sherds: 2**

**Body: Terracotta**

**Decoration: Dark brown glaze; Ridging on rim**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: Rim: 537**

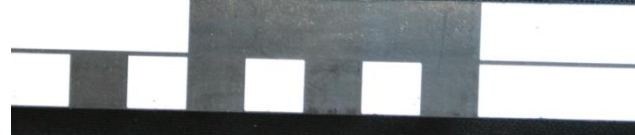
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: Probably of European origin**

**Photo Number(s): 489 - 490**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 539 - 543

**Amount of sherds:** 4

**Body:** Terracotta

**Decoration:** Exterior: unglazed; Interior: Olive-glazed

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Probably of European origin

**Photo Number(s):** 491 - 492

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 544-545

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Terracotta

**Decoration:** Exterior: dark brown burnish; Interior: olive glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely of European origin

**Photo Number(s):** 493 - 494

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 546 - 588

**Amount of sherds:** 43

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: Dark brown/ black/ Olive/ No glaze; Interior: Unglazed/ Olive

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Very fragmentary. Miscellaneous collection of ceramics.

**Photo Number(s):** 495 - 496

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 589 - 590

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Heavily weathered. Exterior: uncertain. Interior: olive

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Uncertain of origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 497 - 498

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 5**

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 591

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Glossy dark brown to buff glaze

**Form:** hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

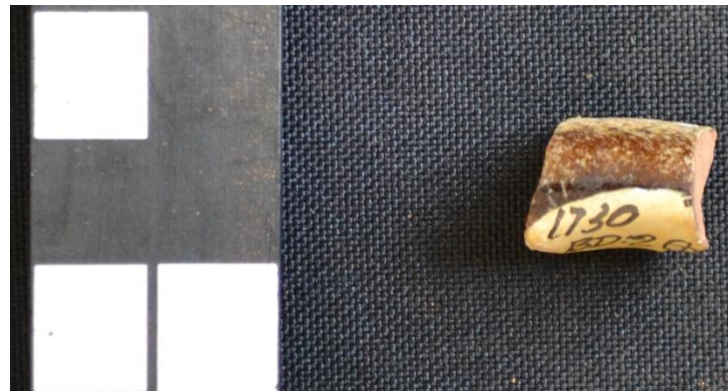
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Perhaps lid/handle?

**Photo Number(s):** 499 - 501

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 5**

**Label/Notes:**None

**Datasheet number(s): 592**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: Green glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

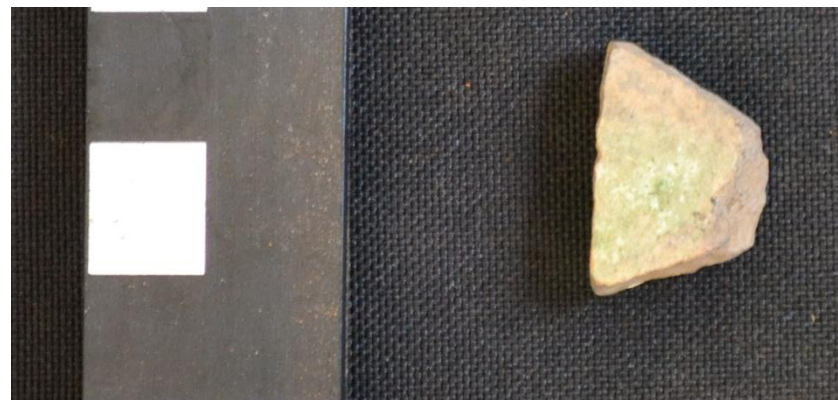
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** "Tradescant" type jar, of Asian origin. (cf Miedema, 1964:10).

**Photo Number(s): 502 - 503**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 593 - 594

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior and interior: brown glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Powdery grey body

**Photo Number(s):** 504 - 505

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 595 - 596

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Interior: Brown wash; Exterior: Unglazed, but partially brown glazed band

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 506 - 507

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.

**Bag #:**5

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 597

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: Brown/olive glaze with clay ridges and dots

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Martevan of Asian origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 508 - 509

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 6

**Label/Notes:** “[38] Thick china, plain white, (brown discoloration underneath)”

**Datasheet number(s):** 598 - 599

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** White glaze.

**Form:** Flatware?

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Footring and base

**Refit:** Yes

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Light brown discoloration around footring. Unglazed footring. Stony white body. This could be Swatow/Asian market ware porcelain as the body is thick, and the base is unglazed and discoloured.

**Photo Number(s):** 510 -513

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 7**

**Label/Notes:**None

**Datasheet number(s): 600 -615**

**Amount of sherds: 15**

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: Olive green/brown/yellow glaze, often crazed;  
Interior: either brown wash or olive green/brown/yellow glaze.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Handle: 612; Rim:  
613,614,615

**Refit:** No

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** These are recorded separately in my notebook, but in retrospect I think they all come from similar types of stonewares. Martevan jars of Asian origin.

**Photo Number(s): 514-523**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 8**

**Label/Notes:** "Stoneware: Exterior green to yellow glazed, with trailed floral decoration. Interior black glaze, brown wash, or unglazed. Chinese storage jars (17<sup>th</sup> century) Dambarare Class 6. 1.5% of the total assemblage [of 3182 sherds]" "4 sherds removed – garlake"

**Datasheet number(s):** 616 - 656

**Amount of sherds:** 40 sherds

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: green and yellow glaze with floral trailing. Often also has incisions. Interior: Brown wash. Some crazing

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base: 653, 654. Handles? 655,656 (with horizontal ridges)

**Refit:** No

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** some of the sherds are very weathered/ matte glaze. "Tradescent" type jars of Asian origin (cf Miedema, 1964:10).

**Photo Number(s):** 524 - 530

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #:9**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 657 - 666**

**Amount of sherds: 10**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration:** Exterior: Olive brown/green glaze; Interior: brown glaze/unglazed/brown wash

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: Lip/Rim: 666**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: Martevan jar of Asian origin**

**Photo Number(s): 532 - 535**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 9

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 667

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Interior: Underglaze blue and white designs. Perhaps a fruit with diapered borders? Different shades of blue. Exterior: Underglaze blue and white glaze – line/band around lip and some kind of design lower down.

**Form:** Flat

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** The glaze has a slight blue tinge. The area with the diaper (?) pattern is thicker. Roughly painted exterior. Possibly a Kraak-style porcelain, late 16<sup>th</sup> to mid-17<sup>th</sup> century (cf Rinaldi, 1989).

**Photo Number(s):** 536 - 53

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 10

**Label/Notes:** (likely from a display note) "16<sup>th</sup> c Chinese porcelain: when found in the Iron Age this gives us an important clue to the date"

**Datasheet number(s):** 668

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Underglaze blue & white. Interior: 2 circulating lines and a sketchily painted image. Exterior: Uncertain – image on the body. Double band around the footring and 1 band around the base.

**Form:** Flat (bowl?)

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Footring/base

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Unglazed footring. Sand accretion adhering to foot. Slight bluish glaze with flaws/inclusions. The base is glazed. This might be provincial ware.

**Photo Number(s):** 538 – 541; 545 - 548

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 10

**Label/Notes:** (likely from a display note) "16<sup>th</sup> c Chinese porcelain: when found in the Iron Age this gives us an important clue to the date"

**Datasheet number(s):** 669

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Underglaze blue and white. Interior: Flower (peony?) with diaper/ bent borders. Exterior: design on body (?) and double ring around footring.

**Form:** Flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Footring and base.

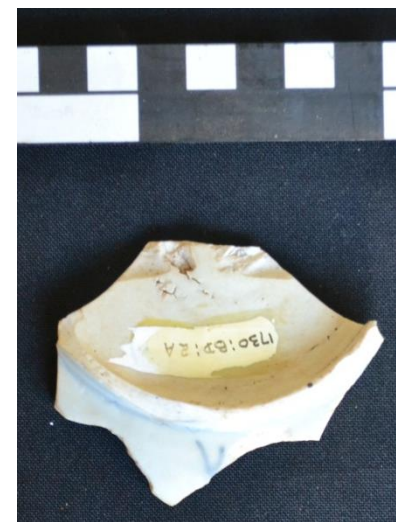
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Although uncertain, it may be coarse porcelain. Unglazed footring. Glazed base. Slight bluish tinge to glaze. Could be Kraak-style porcelain, late 16<sup>th</sup> to early 17<sup>th</sup>-century (cf Rinaldi, 1989).

**Photo Number(s):** 542-544; 549-553

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 11

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 670 - 671

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Earthenware (reddish-buff colour)

**Decoration:** Exterior: unglazed; Interior: Uneven glaze, blue colour

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

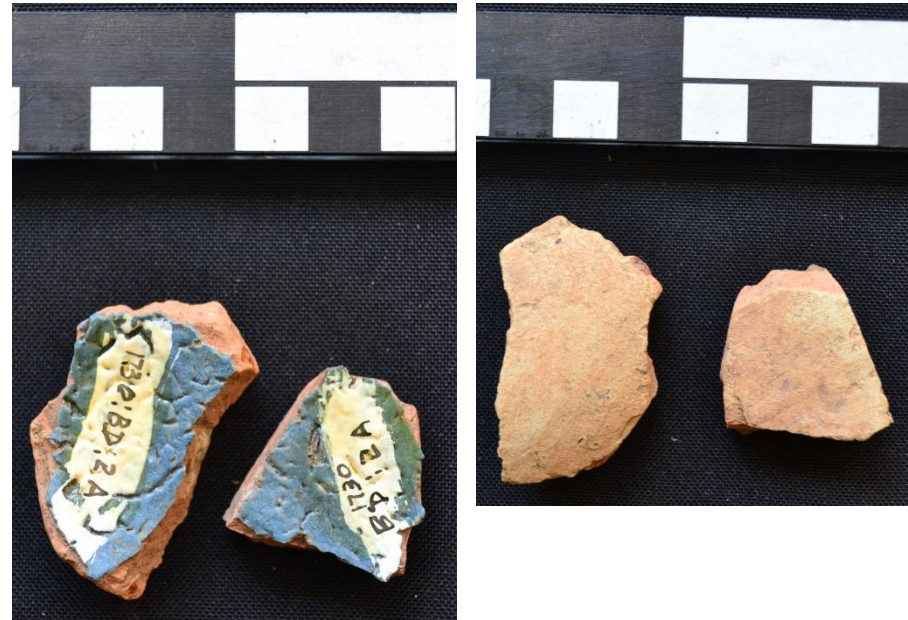
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Glazed terracotta, possibly of European origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 558 - 561

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 11

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 672 - 675

**Amount of sherds:** 4

**Body:** Buff-white earthenware

**Decoration:** Interior: Crazed white (with some blue spots) glaze;  
Exterior: mottled blue glaze. Even glaze, with a bright sheen.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 562 - 567

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 11

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 676 - 677

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Stone-coloured/white earthenware

**Decoration:** Exterior: Weathered blue-grey glaze, crazed; Interior: Crazed/cracked lighter bluish grey

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:** 678,679?

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 568-576

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 11

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 678

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stone-white earthenware

**Decoration:** Interior: Blue-grey glaze with blue glaze dripping. Weathered. Exterior: whitish blue-grey glaze, chipped, crackled/glazed

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Footring

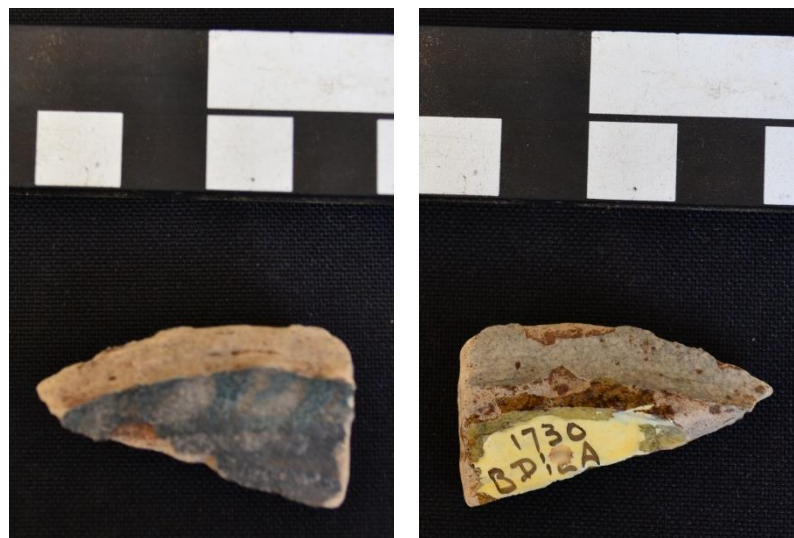
**Refit:**

**Related to:** 676 (?), 677 (?); 679

**Other notes:** The footring is unglazed. Uncertain whether it is chipped off or whether it is intentionally unglazed.

**Photo Number(s):** 577 - 582

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 11

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 679

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stone/white, soft, earthenware

**Decoration:** Exterior: Whitish blue-grey crazed glaze; Interior: Darker blue-grey weathered glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 583 -586

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 12**

**Label/Notes:** none

**Datasheet number(s):** 680 - 695

**Amount of sherds:** 16

**Body:** Earthenware (cream-coloured body)

**Decoration:** Exterior: Dark green/ Yellow-brown/ yellow/ yellow-green crazed glaze; Interior: olive-yellow wash/ yellow/olive/green glaze, weathered

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim: 680

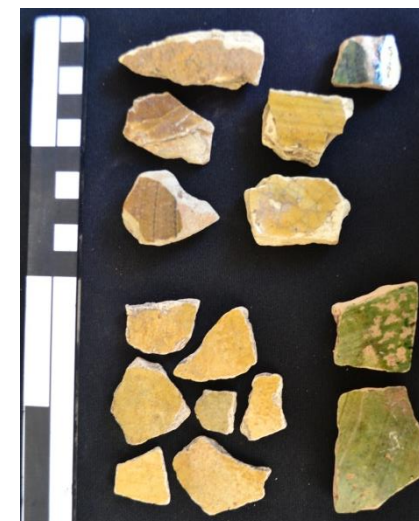
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** the rim of 680 is about 2cm thick, and the rest of the sherd is 1 – 1.5cm thick. For the other sherds the thickness ranges from 2mm to 10mm. The glazes seem to chip off easily and are quite weathered on some of the samples.

**Photo Number(s): 587 - 600**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 13**

**Label/Notes:** "Garlake's class 9, 17<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century 1%"

**Datasheet number(s):** 696-714

**Amount of sherds:** 20

**Body:** Earthenware (cream-coloured and powdery texture)

**Decoration:** Exterior: Tuquoise/aquamarine glaze, cracked and chipped; Interior: Either unglazed/white or cream/ turquoise or aquamarine cracked glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim: 715

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** the glaze is quite weathered. The sherds are between 5 – 10mm thick. With sherd #715 the interior glaze is likely worn off the lip. It is between 7.5-15mm thick.

**Photo Number(s):** 601-604

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 13

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 716

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware (powdery texture and cream-coloured)

**Decoration:** Exterior: Purple glaze; Interior: Transparent olive glaze, crackled

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

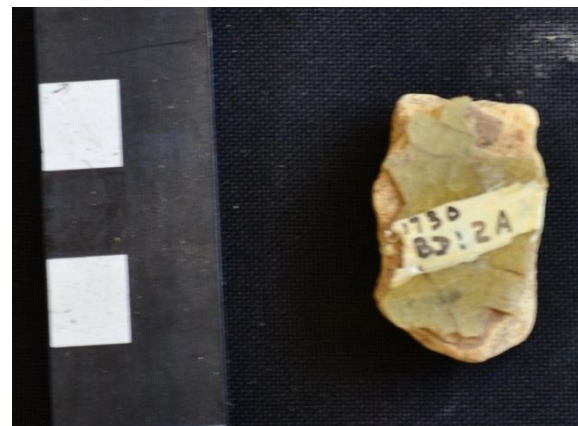
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 605-606

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 14

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford 1730BD2A Pale-green blue (class 9) 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> century"

**Datasheet number(s):** 717 -718

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** soft white earthenware

**Decoration:** Interior: White glaze with light blue glaze bands;  
Exterior: white glaze with some imperfections

**Form:** Flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:** Yes

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** European tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 607 - 609

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 15**

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford 1730BD2A Blue-white with patterns"

**Datasheet number(s): 719 - 721**

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Earthenware (buff-white colour)

**Decoration:** Thick, glossy glaze. Exterior: White or no glaze; Interior: White and blue glaze: bands, diagonal line, floral pattern/circle with ridges

**Form:** Flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** #721: Base

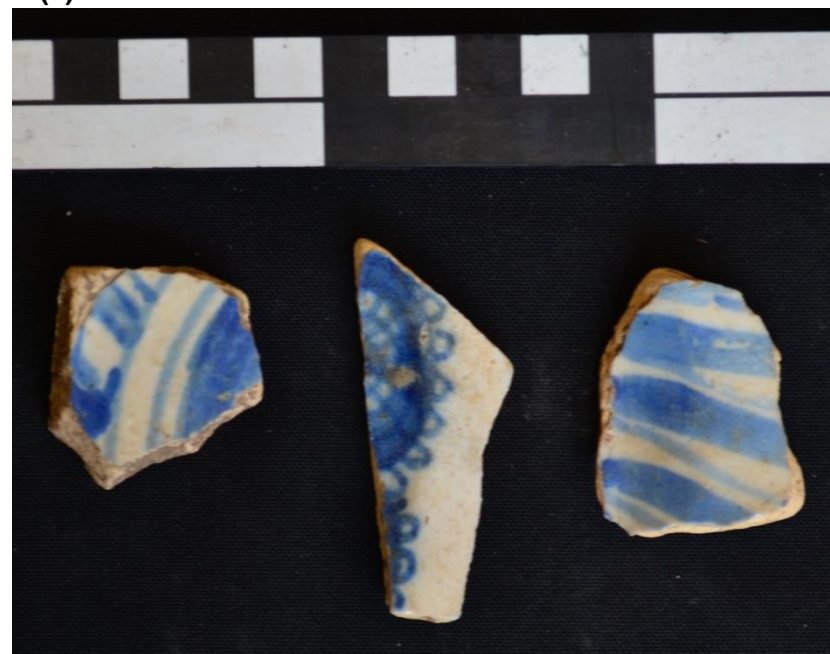
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** These sherds are likely from the same or an identical vessel. Tin-glazed wares likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 610-611**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 16**

**Label/Notes:** "36 (cfG34,38) [56] Earthenware, blue-white, with dark-mauvy outlines" and "4 sherds removed [signed - illegible]"

**Datasheet number(s):** 722 - 740

**Amount of sherds:** 19

**Body:** Earthenware (cream-coloured, soft texture)

**Decoration:** Exterior: white glaze (sometimes bluish, crackled) and 1 sherd is blue with a damson-coloured design; Interior: dark/light blue with damson outlined designs on a white glazed background

**Form:** Flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

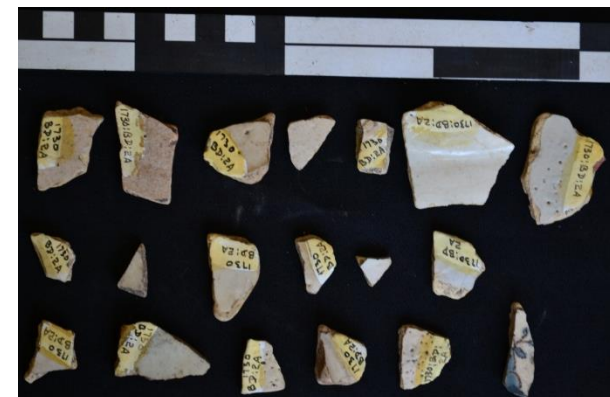
**Related to:**

**Other notes:** The glaze is often crazed. The designs represent bands and flora.

Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 612 -613**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 16**

**Label/Notes:** "36 (cfG34,38) [56] Earthenware, blue-white, with dark-mauvy outlines" and "4 sherds removed [signed - illegible]"

**Datasheet number(s): 741 - 744**

**Amount of sherds:** 4

**Body:** Earthenware (soft texture; cream-coloured)

**Decoration:** Exterior: Plain white crackled glaze/ white ground with blue and damson designs. Interior: Plain white ground/white ground and blue and damson motifs

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Bases/footrings

**Refit:**

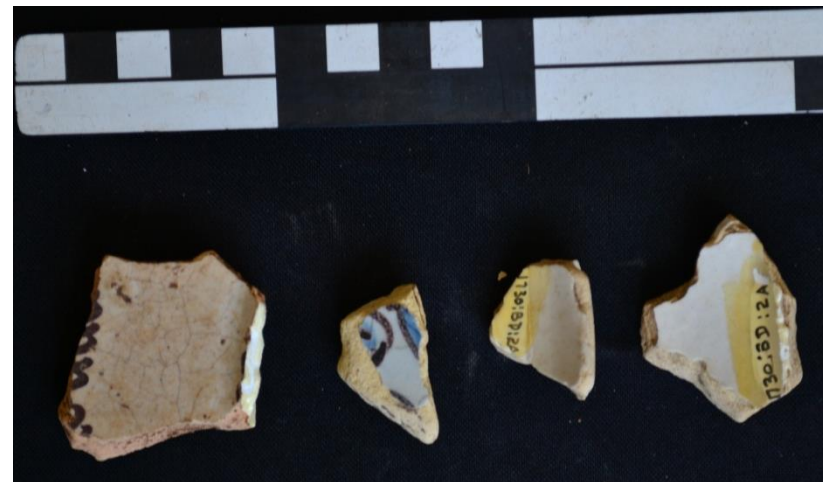
**Related to:** 722 – 740; 745 – 752 (?)

**Other notes:** The footrings are unglazed, but it may be due to wear.

Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 614 - 615**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 16**

**Label/Notes:** "36 (cfG34,38) [56] Earthenware, blue-white, with dark-mauvy outlines" and "4 sherds removed [signed - illegible]"

**Datasheet number(s): 745 - 752**

**Amount of sherds:** 8

**Body:** earthenware (creamy-grey colour; soft, powdery texture)

**Decoration:** Exterior: plain white ground OR white ground with blue and damson lines and motifs; Interior: White glaze ground with blue and damson bands/ lines and motifs

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** All are lips/rim

**Refit:**

**Related to:** 722 - 744

**Other notes:** Some of the glazes are cracked.

Tin-glazed earthenware likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 622; 624**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 17

**Label/Notes:** "Earthenware. Plain white. [52]82 (cf Q29)" and "Earthenware – plain white glaze. Portuguese middle to late 17<sup>th</sup> century. 3% Dambarare class 12"

**Datasheet number(s):** 753 - 833

**Amount of sherds:** 81

**Body:** Earthenware (creamy white colour, soft texture)

**Decoration:** The majority has a thick white glaze on the interior and exterior, which is often crazed and somewhat chipped. However, there are 6 decorated sherds that have coloured designs.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 4 rims, 2 bases

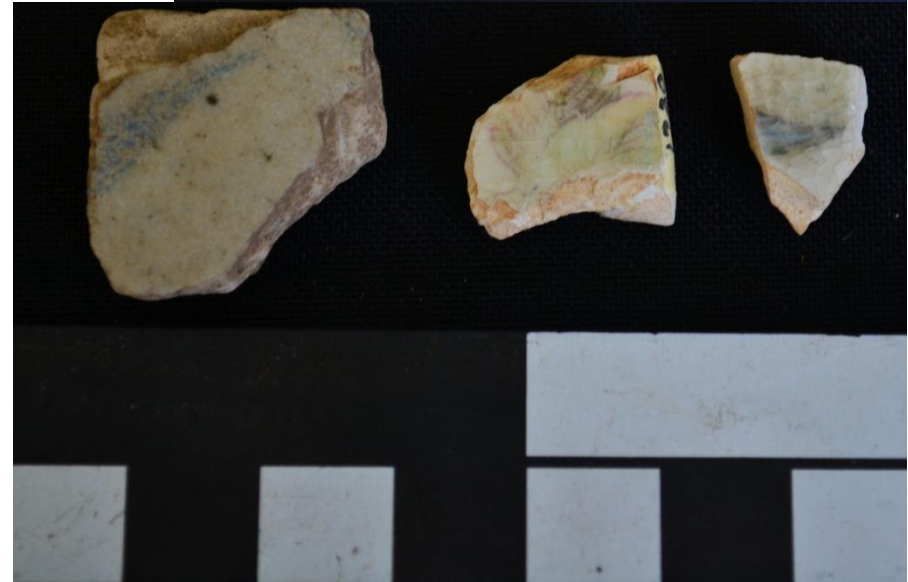
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 625 - 635

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 18**

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford 1730BD2A Blue-white (with dark navy outlines)"

**Datasheet number(s): 834 - 836**

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Earthenware (creamy-white colour)

**Decoration:** Exterior: white glaze, sometimes crazed; Interior: Blue lines/designs with damson outlines on a white ground

**Form:** Flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1xrim; 1xfoot (unglazed – worn off?)

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Ting-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 637 -642**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 19**

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford 1730BD2A Chinesse [sic] white class 12"

**Datasheet number(s): 837 - 839**

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Stoneware (cream-white colour) (?) Uncertain.

**Decoration:** Exterior and interior: Smooth opaque white glaze, crazed. The glaze is chipped off in some areas.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 Rim

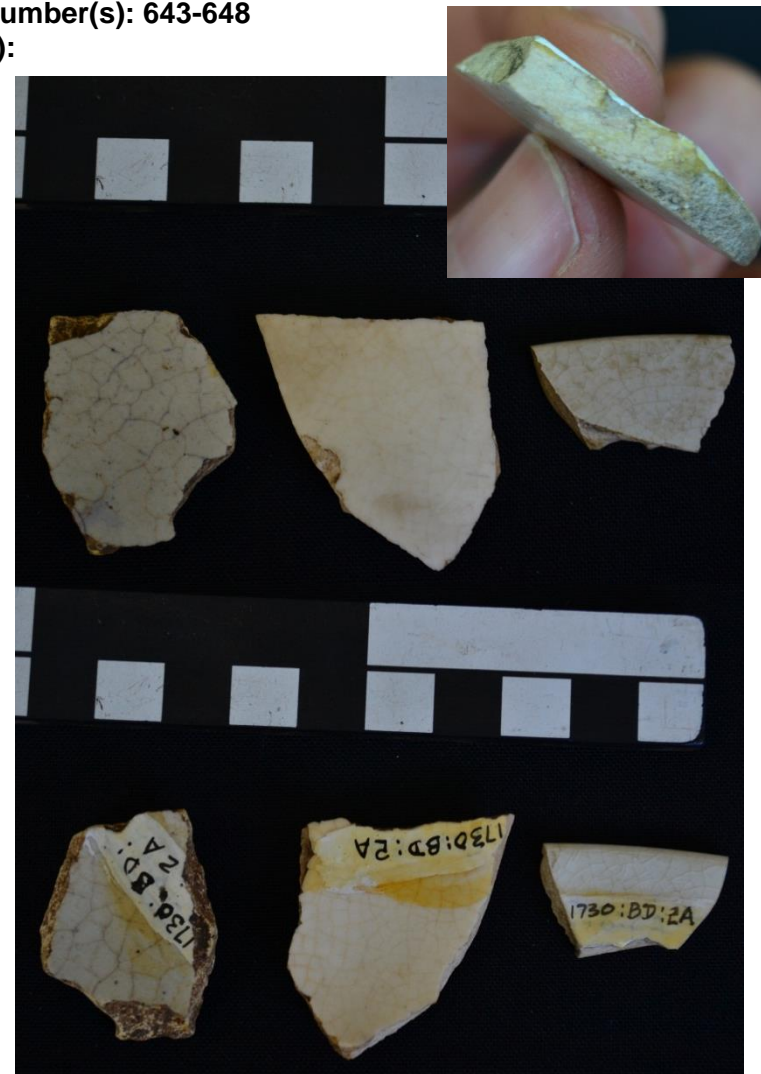
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Due to the fragmented and decayed nature of these sherds it was difficult to establish exactly what type of body it is made of. It is thus categorized under "miscellaneous" on the ware table.

**Photo Number(s): 643-648**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 20**

**Label/Notes:** “[59] 24.” “3 removed [illegible signature]” “Dambarare class 12 earthenware”

**Datasheet number(s): 840 - 841**

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Earthenware (white)

**Decoration:** Exterior: Smooth light blue glaze; Interior: Smooth white glaze

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

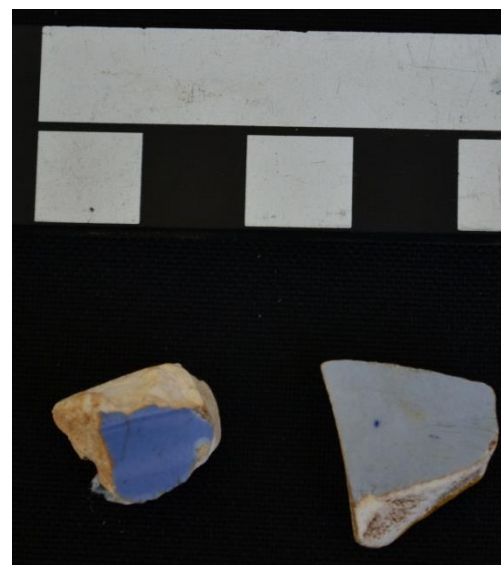
**Related to:**

**Other notes:** The fragments are too small to establish whether the entire exterior surface of the vessel is blue, or just small parts.

Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 649 - 653**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 20**

**Label/Notes:** “[59] 24.” “3 removed [illegible signature]” “Dambarare class 12 earthenware”

**Datasheet number(s): 842 - 860**

**Amount of sherds:** 19

**Body:** Earthenware (white)

**Decoration:** Exterior and interior: smooth white, crazed glaze.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 rim, 1 glazed foot; 1 possible base?

**Refit:**

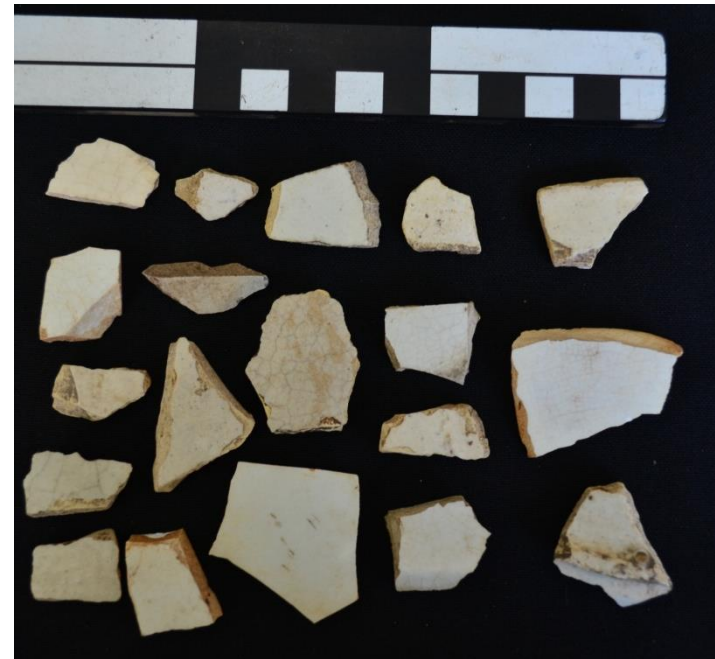
**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Very small fragments.

Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 654 - 656**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 21**

**Label/Notes:** "[55]61"

**Datasheet number(s):** 861 - 895

**Amount of sherds:** 35

**Body:** Earthenware (creamy white to reddish white)

**Decoration:** Exterior: Crazed white glaze or blue and white glaze;  
Interior: Blue motifs on a white glaze ground

**Form:** Flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:** 896 - 922

**Other notes:** Tin-glazed ware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 657 - 660

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 21**

**Label/Notes: "[55]61"**

**Datasheet number(s):896 - 915**

**Amount of sherds: 20**

**Body:** Earthenware (creamy white to reddish cream colour)

**Decoration:** Exterior: white glaze or blue and white glaze; Interior: Blue and white glaze. Different hues of blue. Lines, diagonals, and concentric half-circles

**Form:** Flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim: 20 sherds

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 661 - 669**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 21

**Label/Notes:** “[55]61”

**Datasheet number(s):** 916 - 922

**Amount of sherds:** 7

**Body:** Earthenware (creamy white colour)

**Decoration:** Interior: White ground and blue and black (?) designs – lines and figures/motifs; Exterior: white glaze

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 7 Footrings

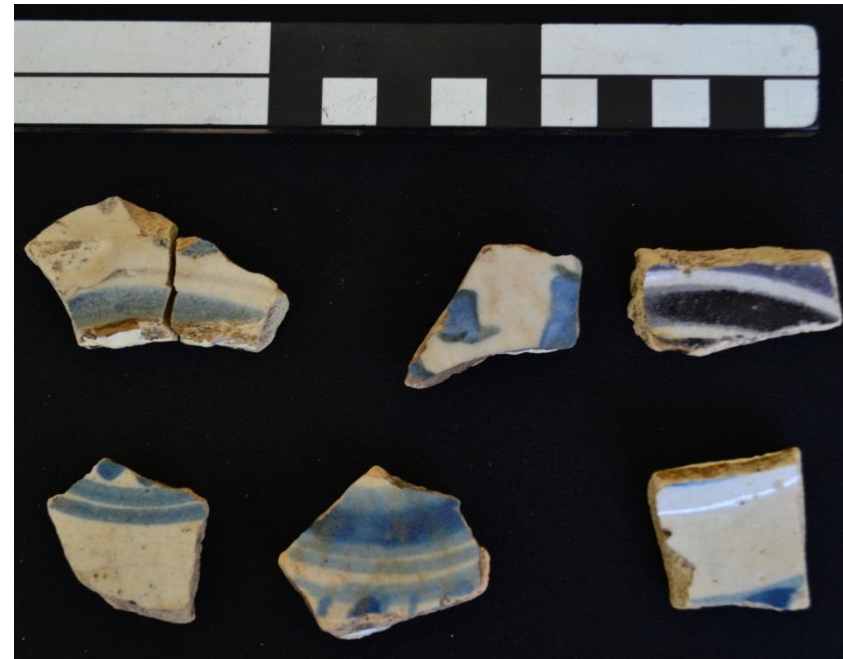
**Refit:** 2 pieces can be fitted together

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 670 - 674

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 22

**Label/Notes:** "[46]30"

**Datasheet number(s):** 923 - 946

**Amount of sherds:** 24

**Body:** Sandy gray stonepaste

**Decoration:** Translucent grey-blue glaze: white ground with blue motifs (floral, lines, figures). Sometimes crazed. Some are only white-glazed.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

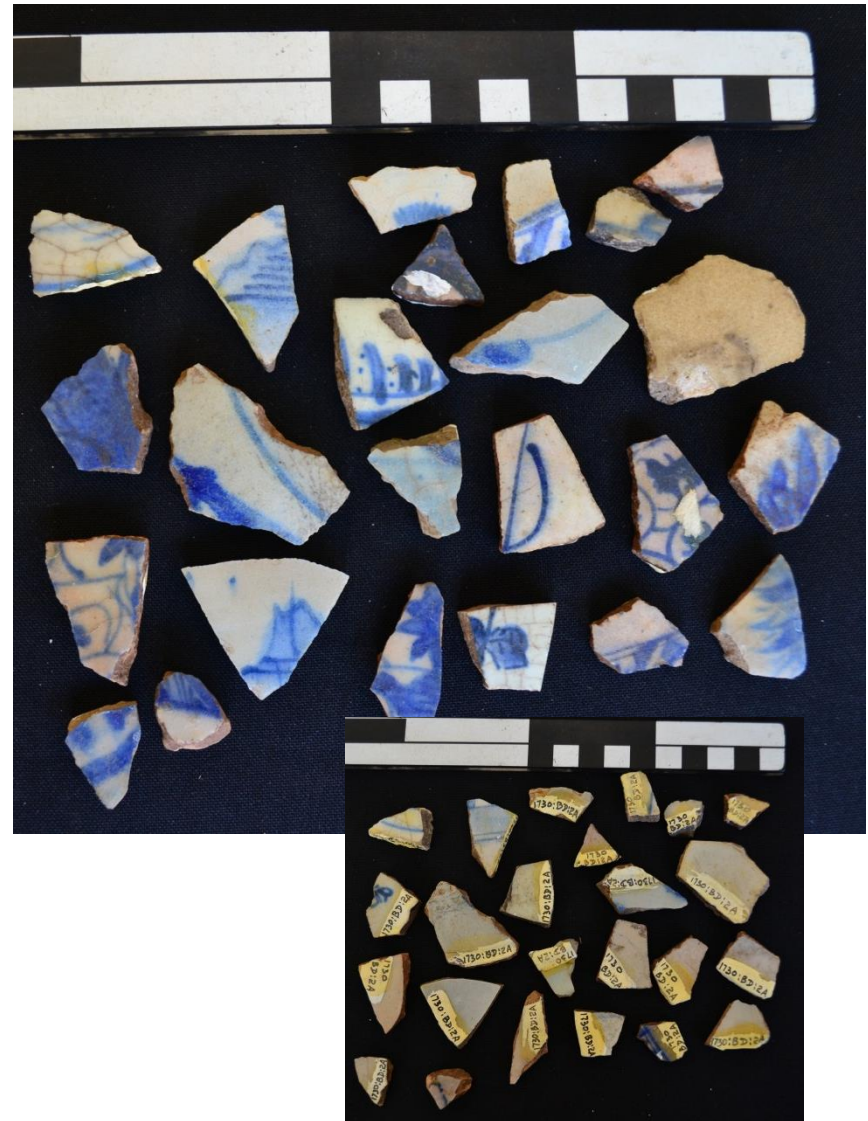
**Refit:**

**Related to:** 948

**Other notes:** Likely Iranian stonepaste.

**Photo Number(s):** 675 - 680

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 22**

**Label/Notes: "[46]30"**

**Datasheet number(s): 947**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Earthenware (white)**

**Decoration: White glaze with blue and damson outlined images.**

**Form: Flatware**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

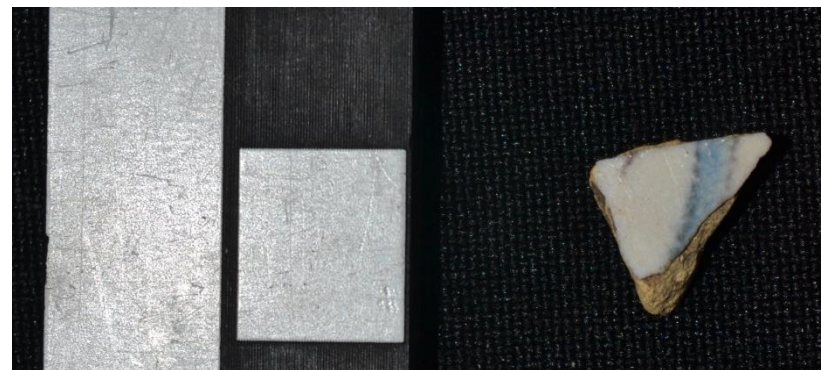
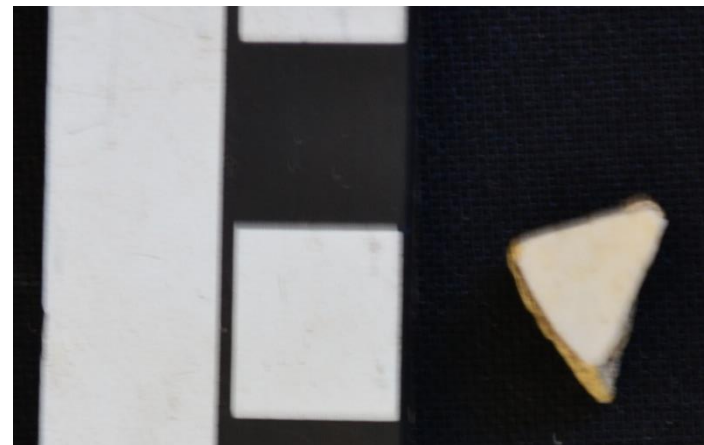
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.**

**Photo Number(s): 681 - 685**

**Photo(s):**



Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe

Box #: 1

Accession number: 1730.BD.2A

Bag #: 22

Label/Notes: "[46]30"

Datasheet number(s): 948 - 953

Amount of sherds: 6

Body: Sandy gray stonepaste

Decoration: Thick, bluish-gray translucent glaze. Blue on white ground. Exterior also has blue bands around the footrings. The designs vary between blue bands/floral patterns/figures

Form: flatware

Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 6 footrings

Refit:

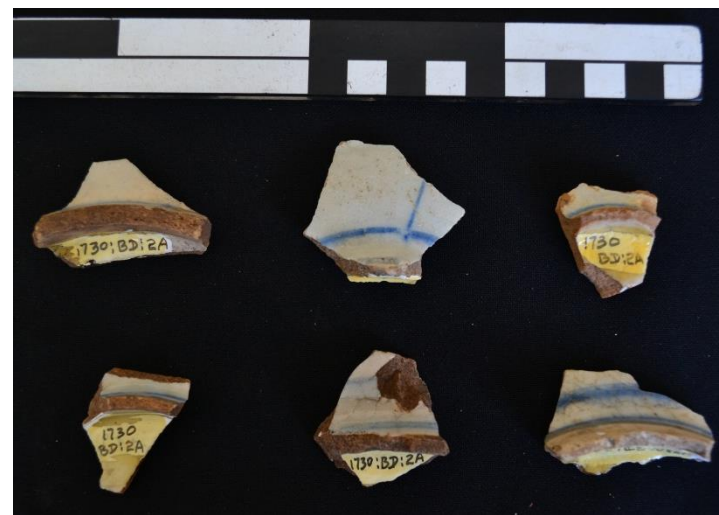
Related to:

Other notes: The footrings seem as though they are not glazed, however, due to being heavily weathered, this is uncertain.

Likely Iranian stonepaste

Photo Number(s): 686 - 694

Photo(s):



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 23**

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford 1730BD2A Blackish-blue (china)"

**Datasheet number(s): 954**

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stonepaste

**Decoration:** Thick, translucent glaze. Interior: crazed blue and white – a blue floral motif on a white ground. There is wear/patina especially on the floral motif, which has discoloured to a brown. Exterior: white ground with blue motif (uncertain what the motif is). Crazed.

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

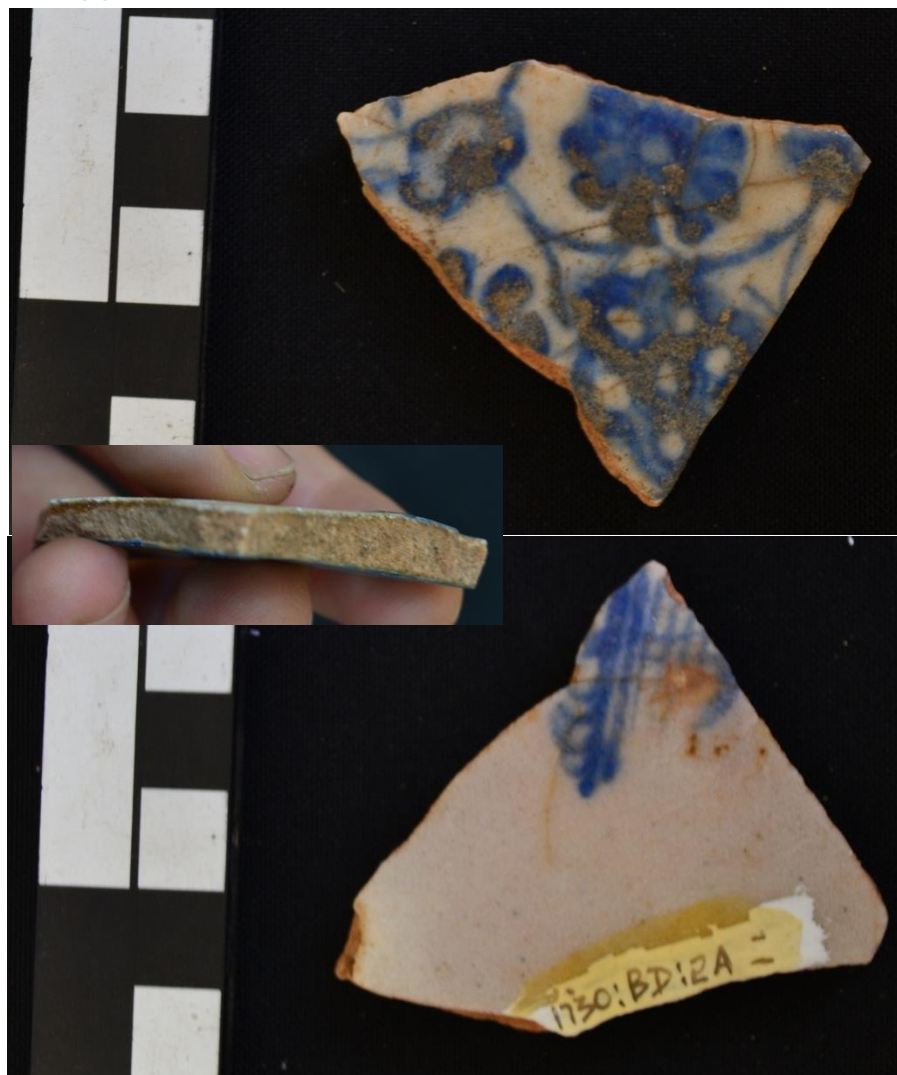
**Refit:**

**Related to:** (bag 22) 955, 956

**Other notes:** Iranian stonepaste

**Photo Number(s): 695 - 702**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 23

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford 1730BD2A Blackish-blue (china)"

**Datasheet number(s):** 955

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stonepaste (sandy-red colour and sandy body).

**Decoration:** Thick, bluish grey translucent glaze; slightly crazed; uneven texture – it looks sugary. Exterior: white ground, blue horizontal line; Interior: white ground, blue lines/band with motif with horizontal and vertical lines.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:** 954, 956

**Other notes:** this sherd has probably broken off from a footring  
Likely Iranian stonepaste.

**Photo Number(s):** 703 - 710

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 23

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford 1730BD2A Blackish-blue (china)"

**Datasheet number(s):** 956

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stonepaste (sand-coloured)

**Decoration:** Very smooth and translucent glaze. Somewhat crazed. Blue and white. Very glossy. Interior: Blue band with lighter blue towards centre. The centre has a circular design with darker blue painted on it. Exterior: Above the footring are several blue bands. On the base – some kind of sign/initial/motif. The footring is unglazed and the glaze is thickened around it. On the base bubbles appear, which have discoloured to a brown

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** base/footring

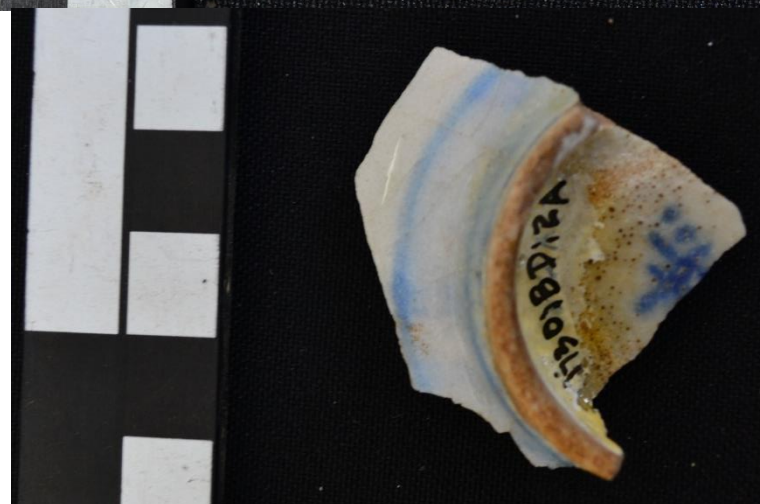
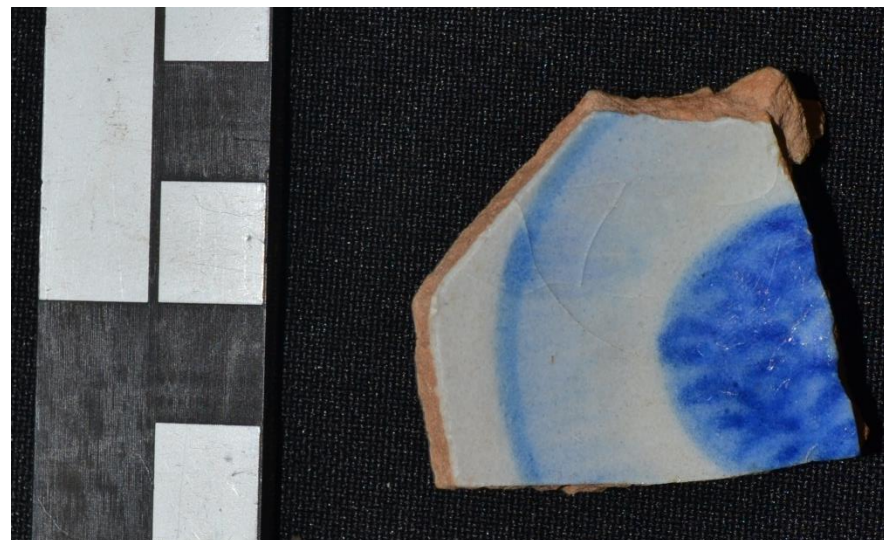
**Refit:**

**Related to:** 954, 955?

**Other notes:** Likely Iranian stonepaste

**Photo Number(s):** 711 - 717

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 24**

**Label/Notes:** “[47]44. China fragments, very bright blue. Thick coarse designs. Sl geometric. Regal blue. 44, 12 –F” “Dambarare class 10” “3 removed [signature]”

**Datasheet number(s):** 957 - 960

**Amount of sherds:** 4

**Body:** Earthenware (white colour, powdery texture)

**Decoration:** Clear, shiny glaze with blue and white designs. Exterior and Interior: floral patterns and bands

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

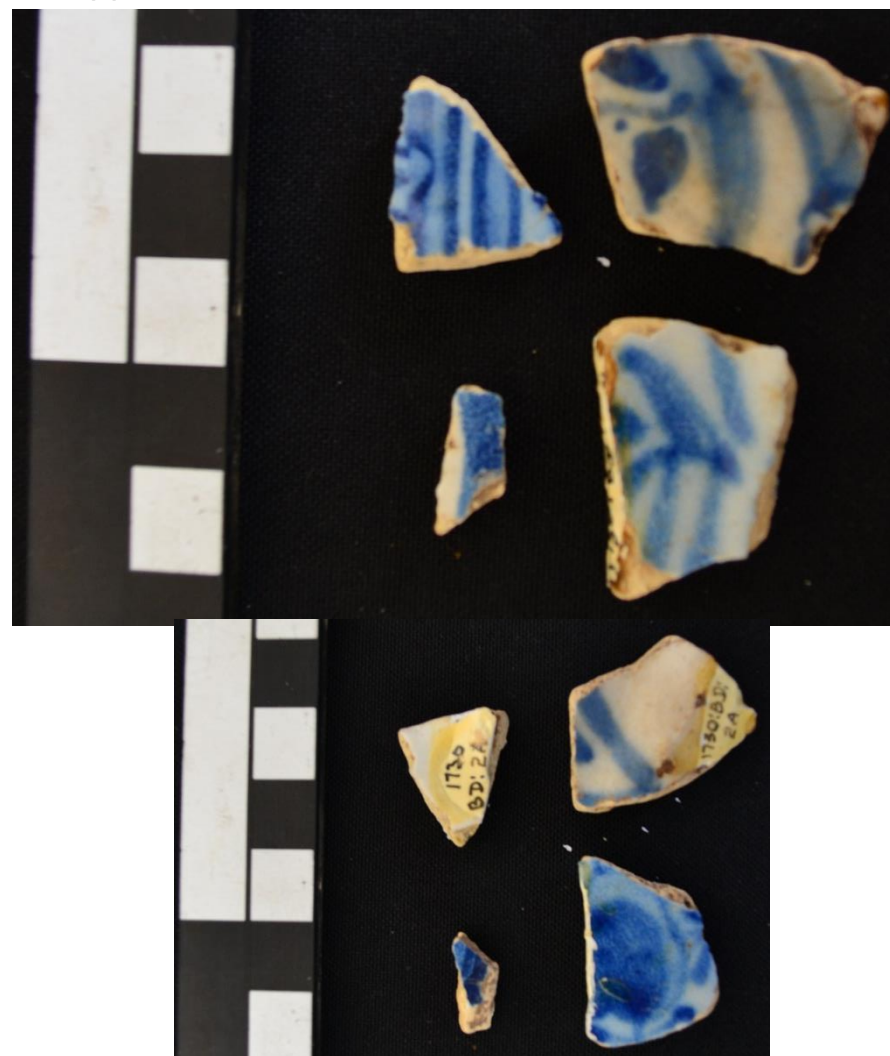
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 718 - 723

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 24

**Label/Notes:** “[47]44. China fragments, very bright blue. Thick coarse designs. Sl geometric. Regal blue. 44, 12 –F” “Dambarare class 10” “3 removed [signature]”

**Datasheet number(s):** 961 - 980

**Amount of sherds:** 20

**Body:** Stonepaste (grey colour, thin, sandy texture)

**Decoration:** Bluish-white glaze, sometimes crazed, translucent. Exterior and Interior: Blue bands/figures/motifs (often too fragmentary to make out) on a white ground

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

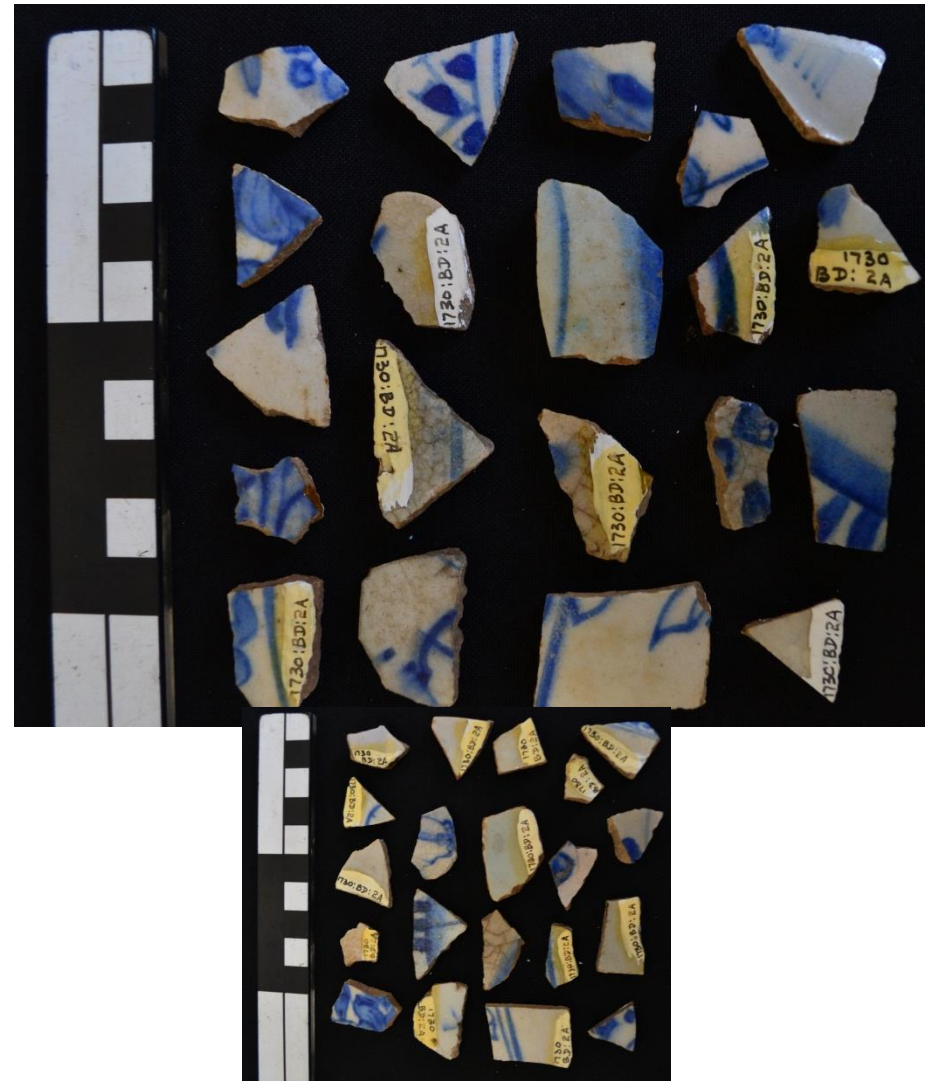
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely Iranian stonepaste.

**Photo Number(s):** 724 - 726

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 24

**Label/Notes:** “[47]44. China fragments, very bright blue. Thick coarse designs. Sl geometric. Regal blue. 44, 12 –F” “Dambarare class 10” “3 removed [signature]”

**Datasheet number(s):** 981 - 984

**Amount of sherds:** 4

**Body:** Stonepaste (thin, sandy texture, grey colour)

**Decoration:** Blue and white glaze. Bluish-grey, translucent, thick and sometimes crazed glaze. Blue bands and motifs (floral?).

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 4 rim sherds

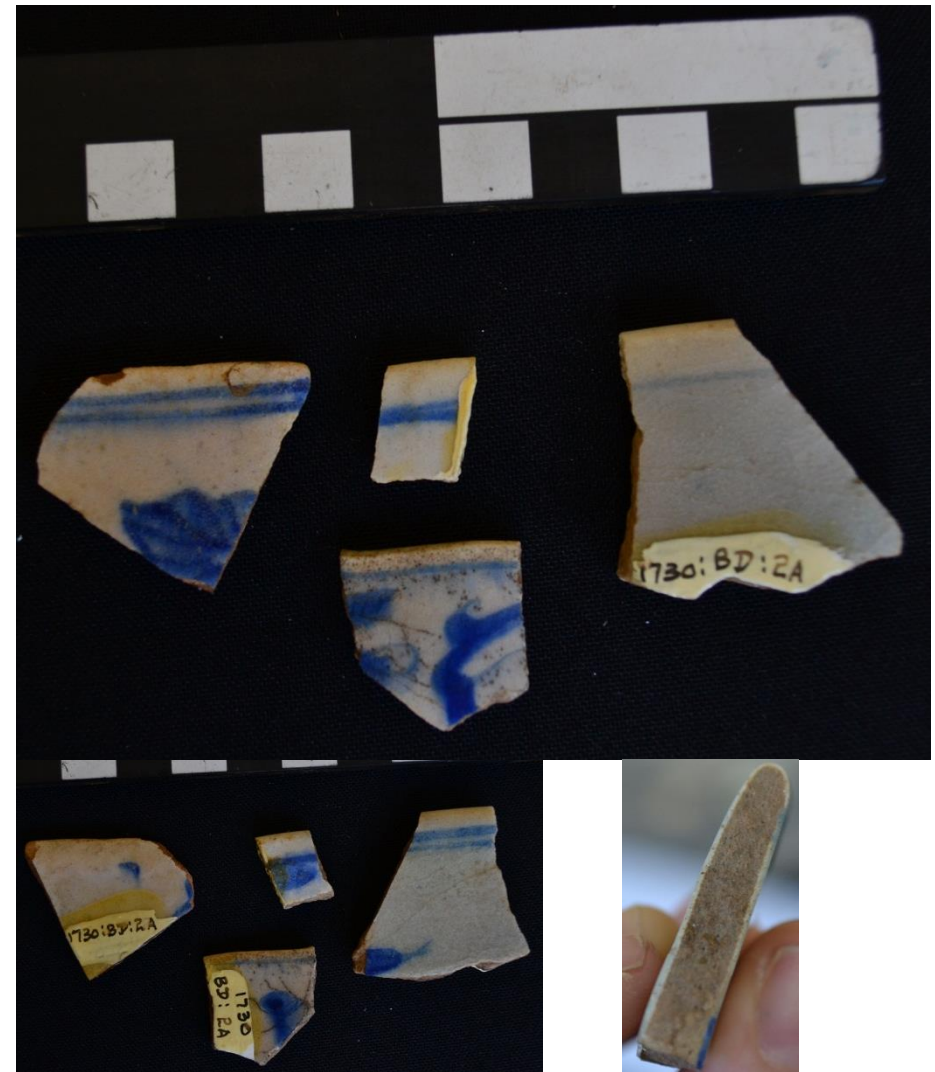
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely Iranian stonepaste

**Photo Number(s):** 727 - 733

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 24

**Label/Notes:** “[47]44. China fragments, very bright blue. Thick coarse designs. Sl geometric. Regal blue. 44, 12 –F” “Dambarare class 10” “3 removed [signature]”

**Datasheet number(s):** 985 - 987

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Stonepaste (grey-coloured)

**Decoration:** Translucent bluish white/grey glaze with blue designs. Interior and Exterior: Blue design on white background. The blue designs are bands and floral/geometric motifs. The footings are unglazed.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 3 bases

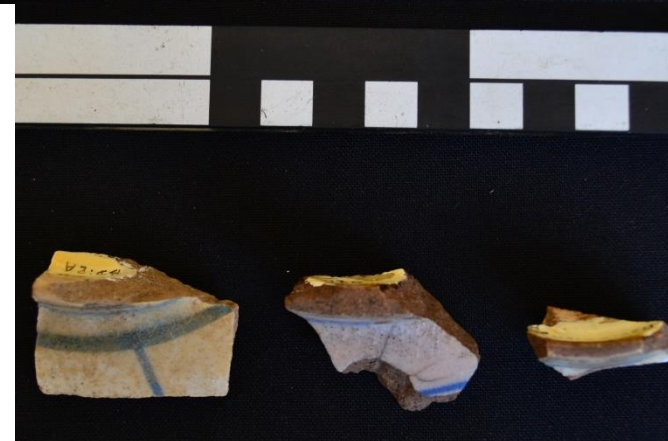
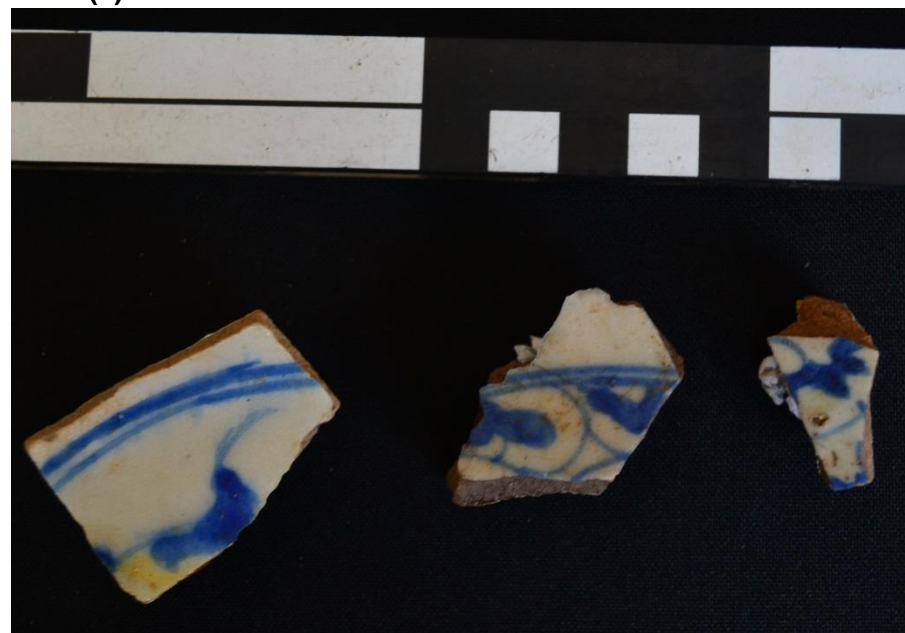
**Refit:**

**Related to:** 981, 984, 961-980

**Other notes:** Likely Iranian stonepaste.

**Photo Number(s):** 734 - 738

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 24

**Label/Notes:** “[47]44. China fragments, very bright blue. Thick coarse designs. Sl geometric. Regal blue. 44, 12 -F” “Dambarare class 10” “3 removed [signature]”

**Datasheet number(s):** 988

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain (coarse?)

**Decoration:** Translucent glaze, crackled. Exterior: white; Interior: Blue and white - uncertain about the design, but can make out curved lines.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Coarse porcelain?

**Photo Number(s):** 739 - 742

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 24

**Label/Notes:** “[47]44. China fragments, very bright blue. Thick coarse designs. Sl geometric. Regal blue. 44, 12 –F” “Dambarare class 10” “3 removed [signature]”

**Datasheet number(s):** 989

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Blue and white glaze. Crazing. The white is a bluish-grey colour. Interior: white. Exterior: motif, but unsure what it is.

**Form:** Flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

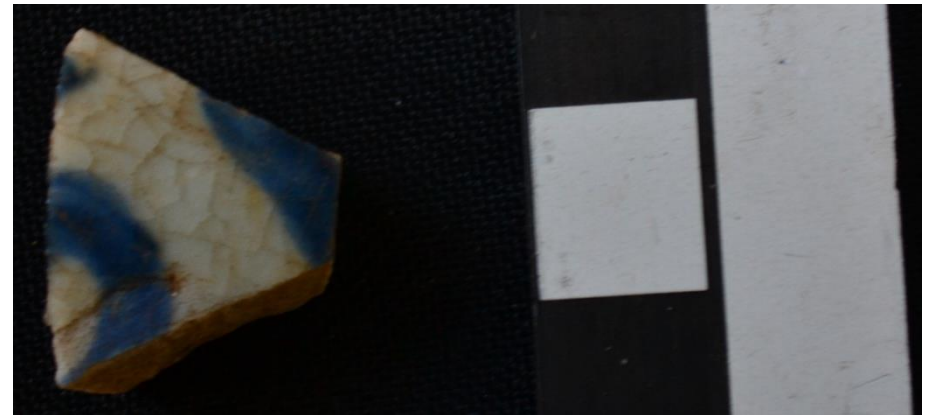
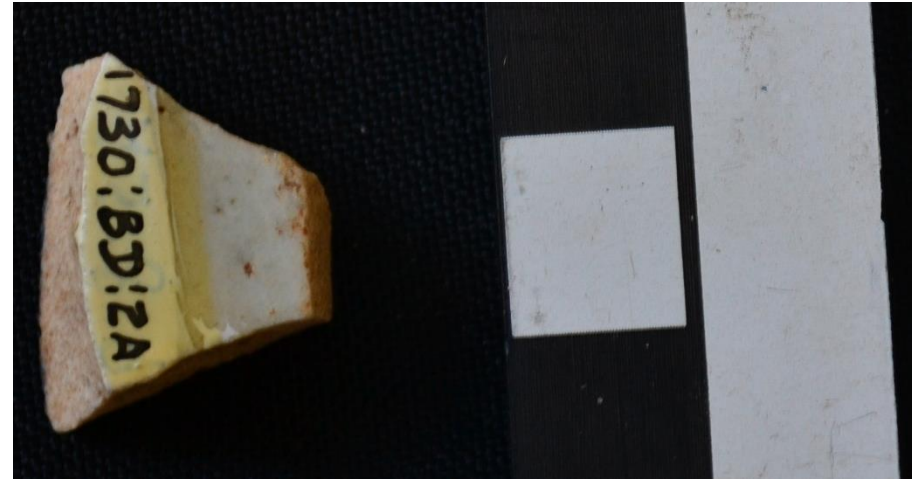
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 744 - 745

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 24**

**Label/Notes:** “[47]44. China fragments, very bright blue. Thick coarse designs. Sl geometric. Regal blue. 44, 12 -F” “Dambarare class 10” “3 removed [signature]”

**Datasheet number(s): 990 - 991**

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** underglaze blue and white. #990: Interior: greyish white ground with blue design; Exterior: white. #991: Glossy white ground with bright blue motifs, made of small dabs of paint

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

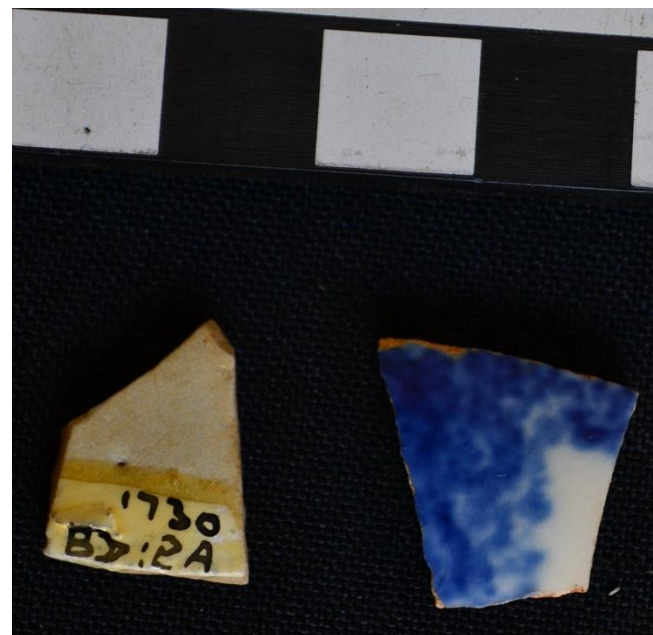
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 746 - 747**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 24

**Label/Notes:** “[47]44. China fragments, very bright blue. Thick coarse designs. Sl geometric. Regal blue. 44, 12 –F” “Dambarare class 10” “3 removed [signature]”

**Datasheet number(s):**992

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Bluish white base with underglaze blue. Interior: u/gl blue lines. Exterior: plain white. The footring is unglazed.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1, footring/base

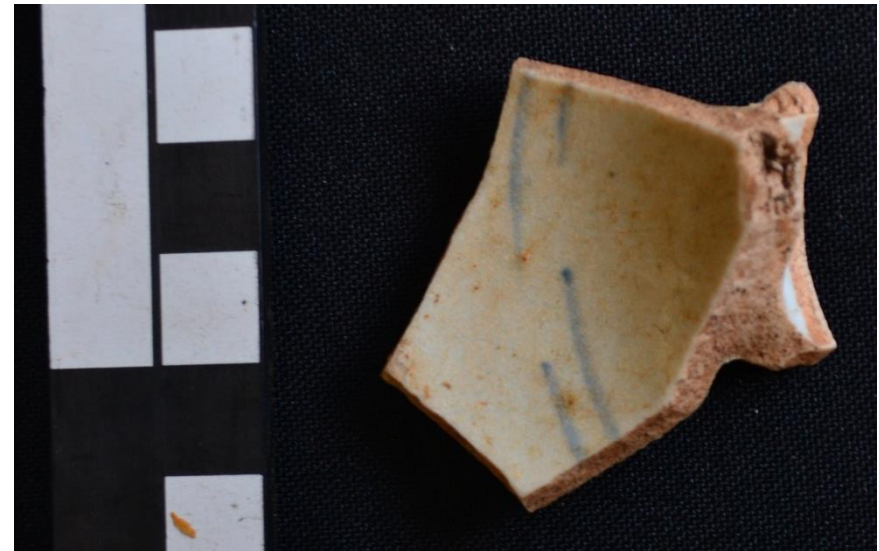
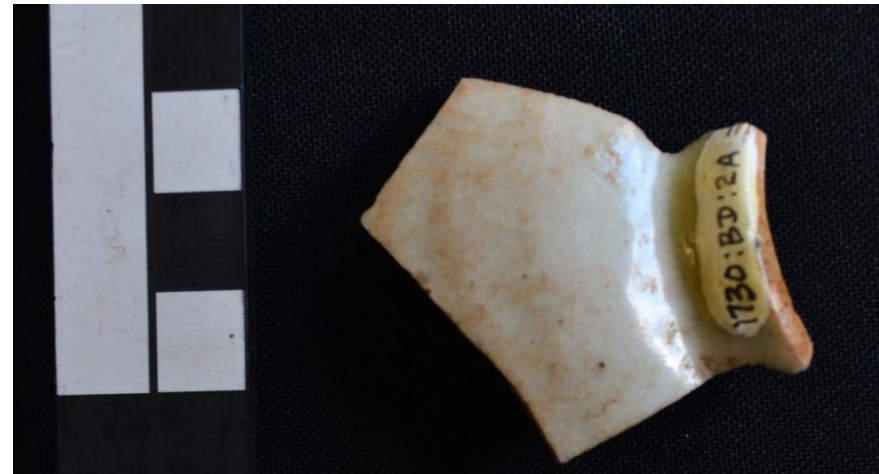
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 748 - 751

**Photo(s):**



Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe

Box #: 1

Accession number: 1730.BD.2A

Bag #: 25

Label/Notes: "[50]34. Earthenware blue-white. 2 patterns (see sketches) some with mauvy-brown li[n]es" "3 removed"

Datasheet number(s): 993

Amount of sherds: 1

Body: Porcelain

Decoration: Exterior: Underglaze blue and white; Interior:white (fragment too small to see whether entire sherd is white on interior)

Form: flatware

Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:

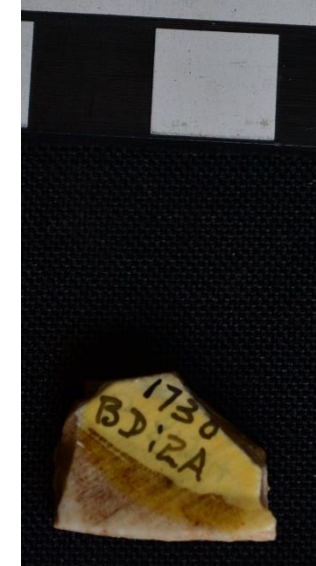
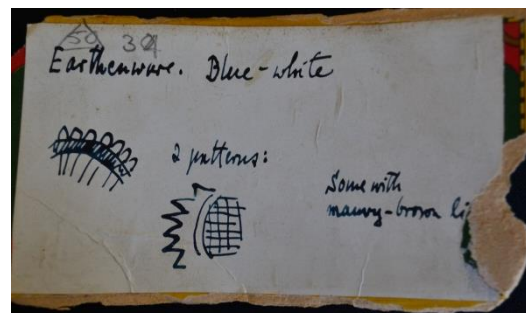
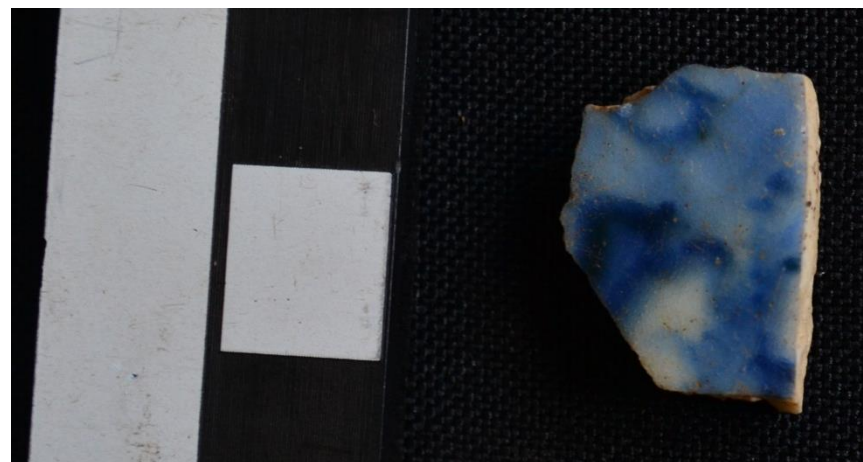
Refit:

Related to:

Other notes:

Photo Number(s): 758 - 759

Photo(s):



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 25**

**Label/Notes:** “[50]34. Earthenware blue-white. 2 patterns (see sketches) some with mauvy-brown li[n]es” “3 removed”

**Datasheet number(s): 994- 1015**

**Amount of sherds:** 22

**Body:** Earthenware (creamy colour, powdery)

**Decoration:** White and blue glaze. White ground with blue motifs – geometric/floral patterns

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Tin-glazed earthenware, likely Portuguese in origin.

**Photo Number(s): 760 - 762**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 25**

**Label/Notes:** “[50]34. Earthenware blue-white. 2 patterns (see sketches) some with mauvy-brown li[n]es]” “3 removed”

**Datasheet number(s): 1016**

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stonepaste (sand-coloured)

**Decoration:** Exterior: White ground, blue bands; Interior: White ground with blue bands and motifs

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** likely Iranian stonepaste

**Photo Number(s): 764 - 765**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 25**

**Label/Notes:** “[50]34. Earthenware blue-white. 2 patterns (see sketches) some with mauvy-brown li[n]es” “3 removed”

**Datasheet number(s): 1017**

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware (powdery; white)

**Decoration:** White ground, blue motifs. Exterior: diagonal lines. Interior: pattern with concentric half-circles

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base

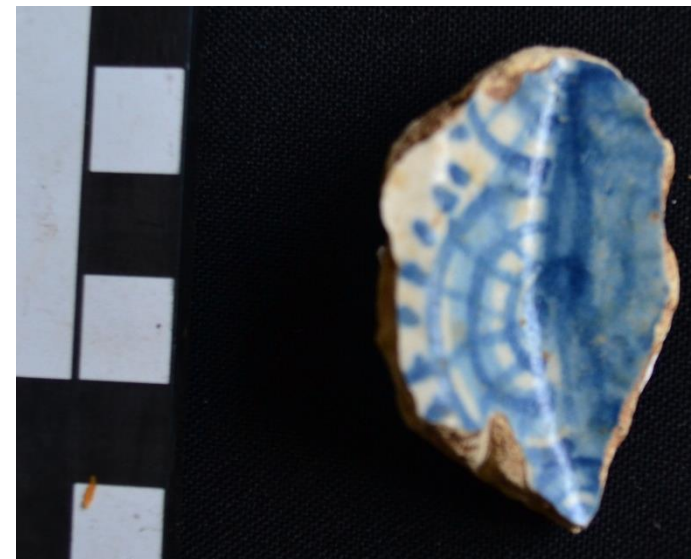
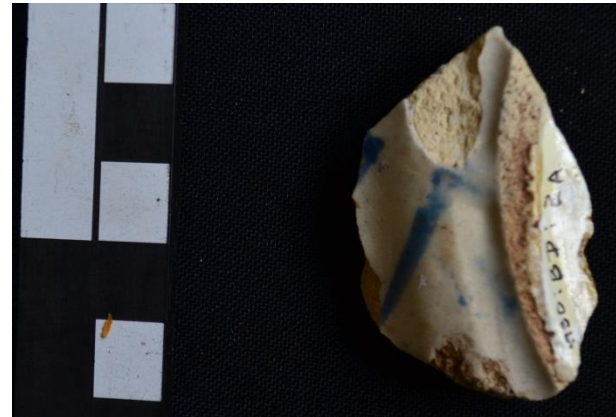
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 766 - 771**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 25**

**Label/Notes:** “[50]34. Earthenware blue-white. 2 patterns (see sketches) some with mauvy-brown li[nes]” “3 removed”

**Datasheet number(s): 1018 - 1020**

**Amount of sherds: 3**

**Body:** Earthenware (creamy; soft)

**Decoration:** Blue motifs (lines, geometric motifs) and (cream)white glaze.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 3 rims

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 772 - 774**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 25

**Label/Notes:** “[50]34. Earthenware blue-white. 2 patterns (see sketches) some with mauvy-brown li[n]es” “3 removed”

**Datasheet number(s):** 1021- 1022

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Earthenware (cream colour)

**Decoration:** Exterior: grainy white glaze; Interior: grainy white glaze with blue geometric floral pattern (?)

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 2 rims

**Refit:**

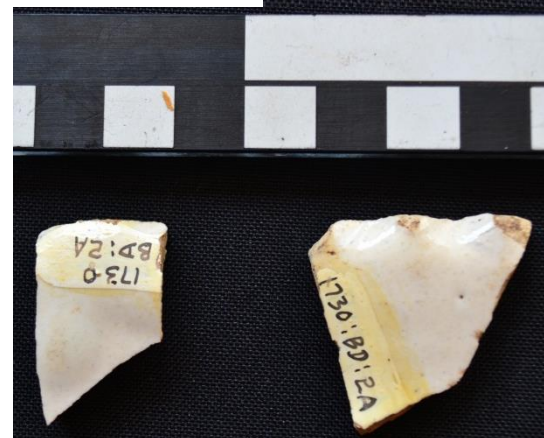
**Related to:** 994 – 1015; 1017; 1018-1020

**Other notes:** The rims are scalloped.

Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 775 -777

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 26

**Label/Notes:** “[58]26 Earthenware plain white or with few lines only. Bottom pieces” “Earthenware? White body bright blue + white glaze. Portuguese imitation of Chinese porcelain. Middle to late 17<sup>th</sup> c. 8.5% of the assemblage. Dambarare class 10?”

**Datasheet number(s):** 1023 - 1043

**Amount of sherds:** 21

**Body:** Earthenware (cream-coloured, soft texture)

**Decoration:** Thick cream-white glaze. Chipped off at many edges but rims seem to have been glazed. Exterior: Either plain white or with single bands in light blue. 1 sherd has cross-hatching. Interior: Either plain white or with light blue lines/darker motifs (couldn't identify)

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** All footrings/bases

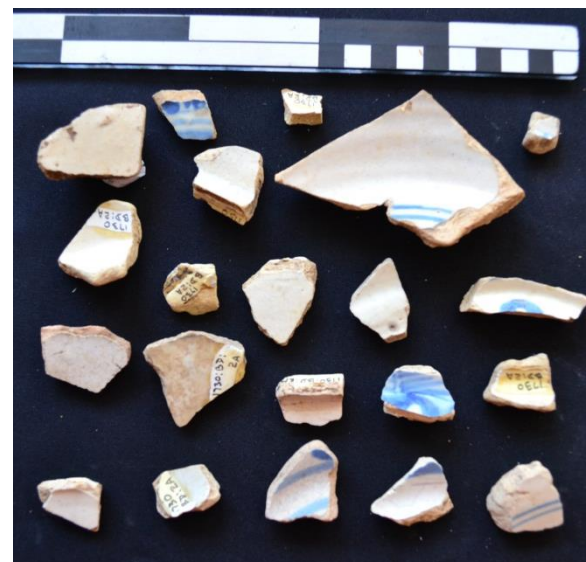
**Refit:**

**Related to:** Bag 25

**Other notes:** Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 778 - 782

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 26

**Label/Notes:** “[58]26 Earthenware plain white or with few lines only. Bottom pieces” “Earthenware? White body bright blue + white glaze. Portuguese imitation of Chinese porcelain. Middle to late 17<sup>th</sup> c. 8.5% of the assemblage. Dambarare class 10?”

**Datasheet number(s):**1044

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware (Cream-coloured, soft)

**Decoration:** Thick white glaze. Exterior: the glaze is blobby. Interior: Damson lines

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:** 1023 - 1043

**Other notes:** tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 783 - 786

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 26**

**Label/Notes:** “[58]26 Earthenware plain white or with few lines only. Bottom pieces” “Earthenware? White body bright blue + white glaze. Portuguese imitation of Chinese porcelain. Middle to late 17<sup>th</sup> c. 8.5% of the assemblage. Dambarare class 10?”

**Datasheet number(s): 1045 - 1046**

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Stonepaste, sandy-grey

**Decoration:** Bluish-grey speckled (white?) glaze. Larger sherd is crazed (1046). The glaze is thick. #1045: Interior: Plain white glaze. Exterior: Glazed base and footring and uneven bright blue line right above the footring. Smaller sample. #1046: Crazed. Interior: Light blue, speckled. Exterior: double light blue band just above the footring, and a single band above that. Unglazed footring with thickened glaze around it. The glaze has a pinkish tinge towards the base.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Footrings (2)

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely Iranian stonepaste.

**Photo Number(s): 787 – 791**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 26

**Label/Notes:** “[58]26 Earthenware plain white or with few lines only. Bottom pieces” “Earthenware? White body bright blue + white glaze. Portuguese imitation of Chinese porcelain. Middle to late 17<sup>th</sup> c. 8.5% of the assemblage. Dambarare class 10?”

**Datasheet number(s):** 1047

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Matte – glaze either wore off or this is just the type of glaze. Eggshell-whitish base. Exterior: White. Interior: Underglaze blue and white. Thin blue lines but I couldn’t make out the design.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

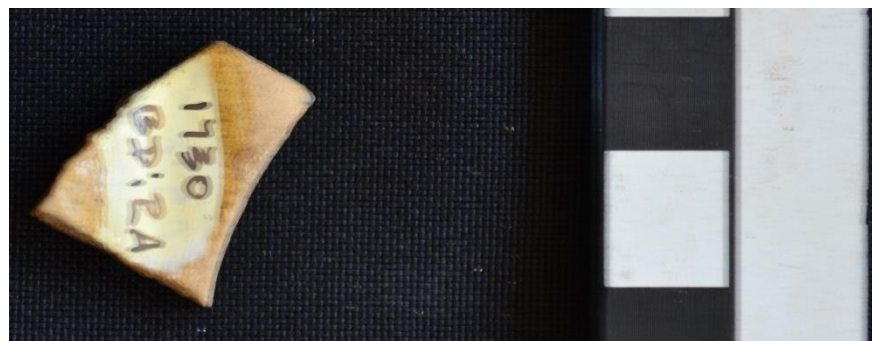
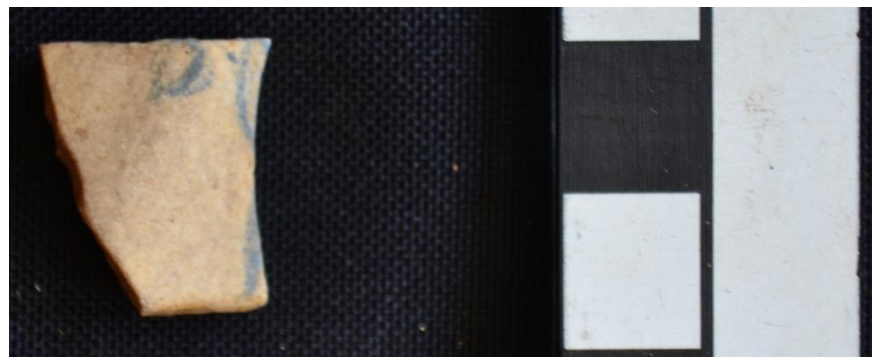
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** coarse-textured porcelain – perhaps market ware?

**Photo Number(s):** 792 - 798

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 27**

**Label/Notes:** "Earthenware. 8 cf 33. [54]. Pale green-blue paint thickly applied." "2 Removed" "Earthenware (Dambarare Class 9). Thick pale buff body ext transparent turquoise or green glaze. Interior glaze or unglazed. Persian 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries"

**Datasheet number(s): 1048 - 1053**

**Amount of sherds:** 6

**Body:** Earthenware (creamy-white colour)

**Decoration:** Interior: Thick white glaze. Exterior: Thick white glaze with light turquoise/sea-green thickly painted motifs. 1 sherd seems matte in texture of glaze – perhaps weathered?

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

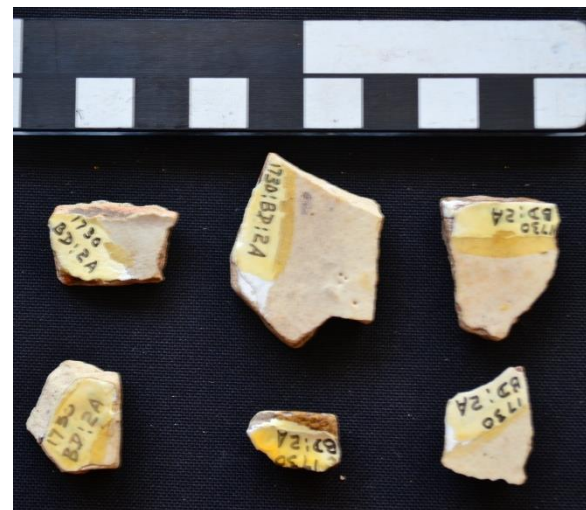
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 799 - 801**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 28**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 1054 - 1055**

**Amount of sherds: 2**

**Body: Terracotta**

**Decoration: Exterior: Unglazed. Interior: Crazed olive glaze.**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

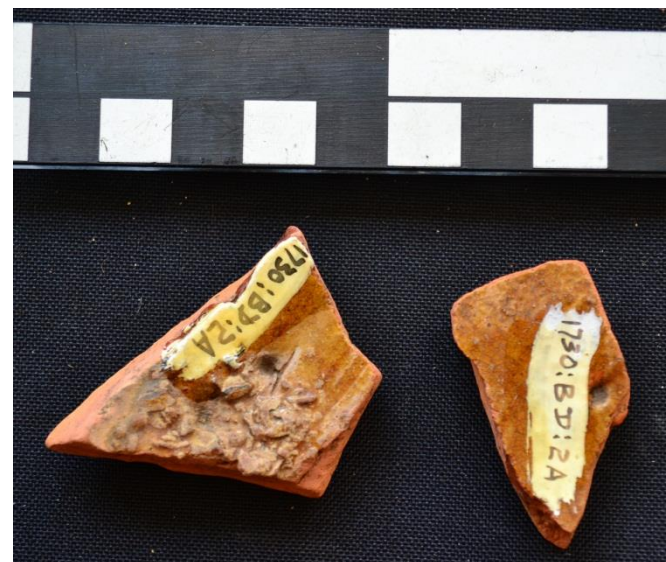
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: #1054, the larger piece, has a thick accretion to it – seems as though it has to do with the clay.**

**Photo Number(s): 802 - 804**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 28**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 1056**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Terracotta**

**Decoration: None**

**Form: Hollow?**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 805 - 807**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 28**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 1057 - 1058**

**Amount of sherds: 2**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration:** Exterior: dark brown/ black, matte, crazed and weathered glaze. Interior: Olive glaze, crazed

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

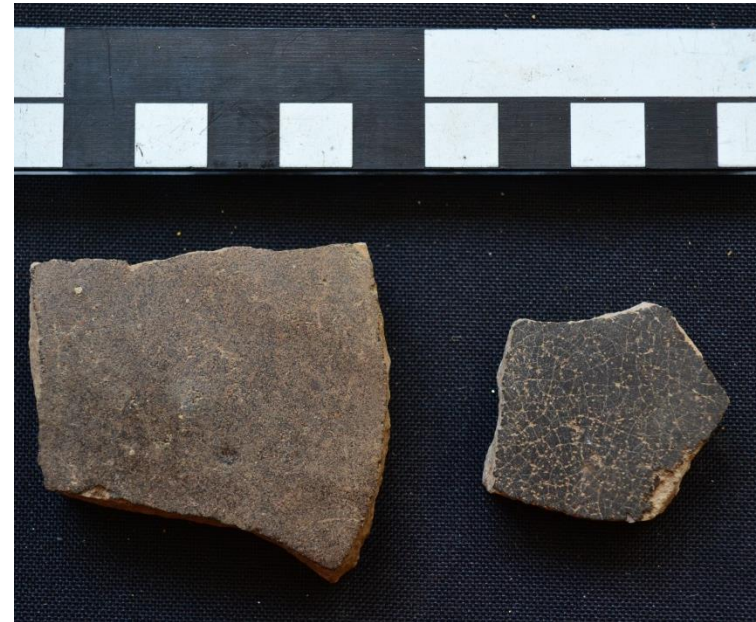
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Stoneware martevan of Asian origin

**Photo Number(s): 808 - 809**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 1059 - 1060

**Label/Notes:** Stoneware

**Datasheet number(s):** 1059 - 1060

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: olive-yellow crazed glaze. Interior: unglazed or crazed olive-yellow glaze.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

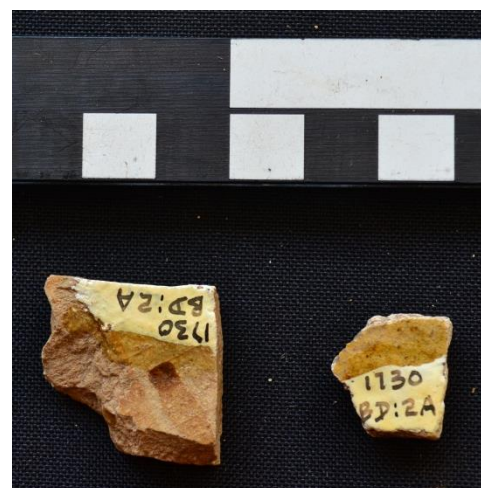
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 810 - 811

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 28

**Label/Notes:** none

**Datasheet number(s):** 1061

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Light-green glaze with trailed decoration

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

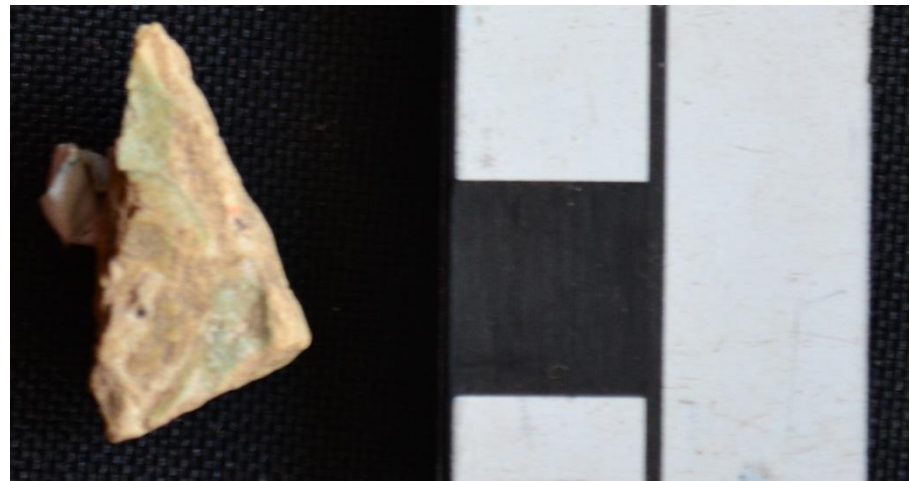
**Refit:**

**Related to:** Bag 8?

**Other notes:** "tradescent" type jar of Asian origin (Miedema, 1964:10).

**Photo Number(s):** 813 - 814

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 28**

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s): 1062 - 1063**

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Stoneware (buff/stone-coloured, with incisions)

**Decoration:** # 1062: Exterior light brown blobby glaze. Too fragmentary to establish the interior. #1063: Interior: light brown wash. Too fragmentary to establish the exterior

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 815 - 816**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 28

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1064 - 1065

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** earthenware (cream-coloured, soft)

**Decoration:** #1064: Exterior: White crazed glaze; Interior: white and darkish blue crazed glaze, stained pink. #1065: Exterior: Thick white glaze; Interior: White glaze with bright blue motif.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

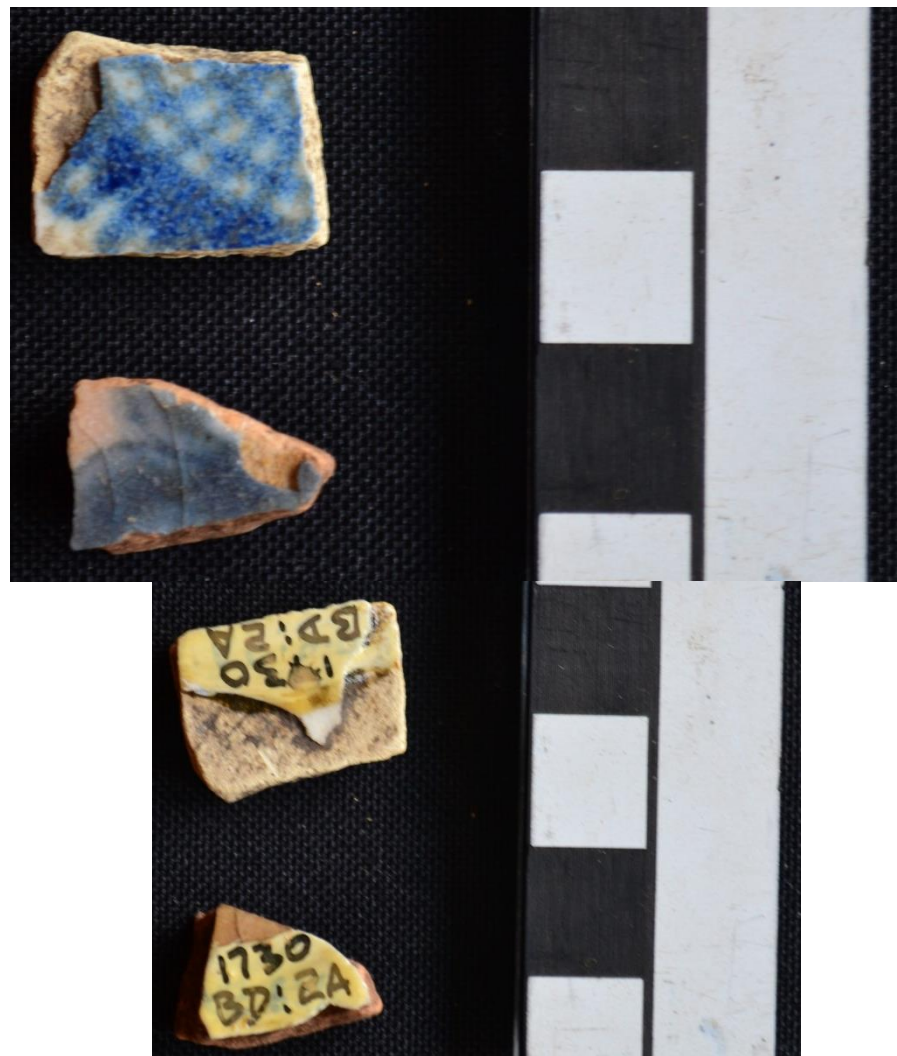
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 817 - 818

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 28

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1066

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware (soft, cream-coloured)

**Decoration:** Exterior: thick white glaze; Interior: thick white glaze with blue design

**Form:** Flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base

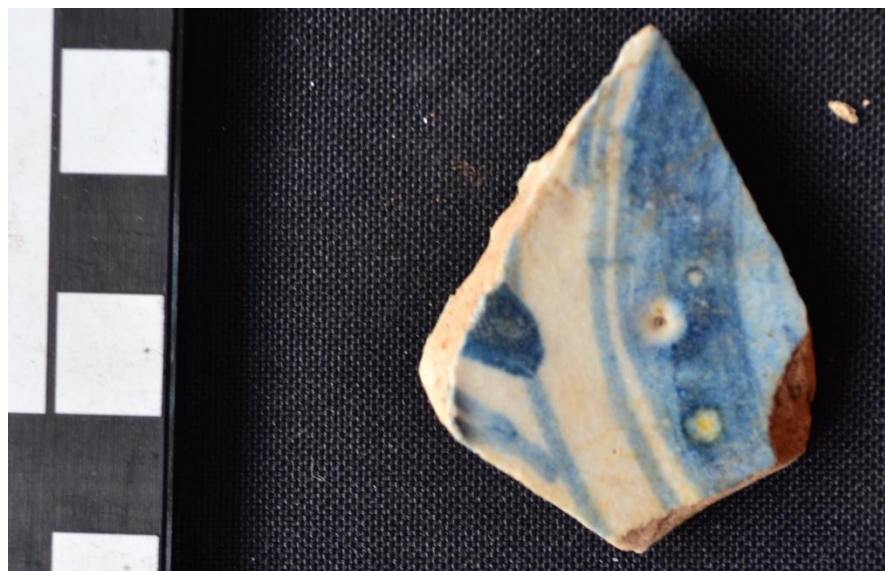
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** There are some imperfections visible in the glaze.  
Tin-glazed earthenware likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 819 - 820

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 28

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1067 - 1068

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior and Interior: Bluish white crazed glaze.  
Imperfections visible in glaze.

**Form:** uncertain

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base

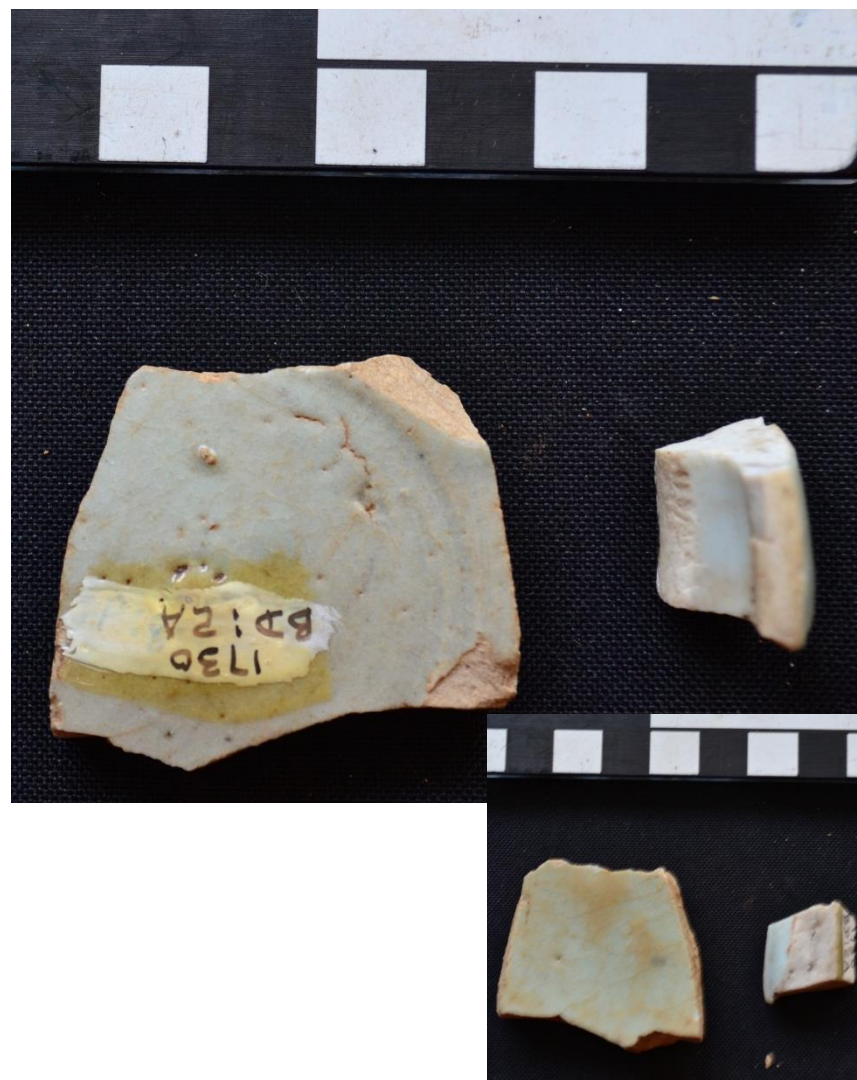
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 821 - 822

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 28

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1069 - 1070

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Earthenware (buff-coloured)

**Decoration:** Interior: Crazed, speckled greyish-blue glaze; Exterior: Lighter greyish white ground with darker blue motifs. Crazed.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

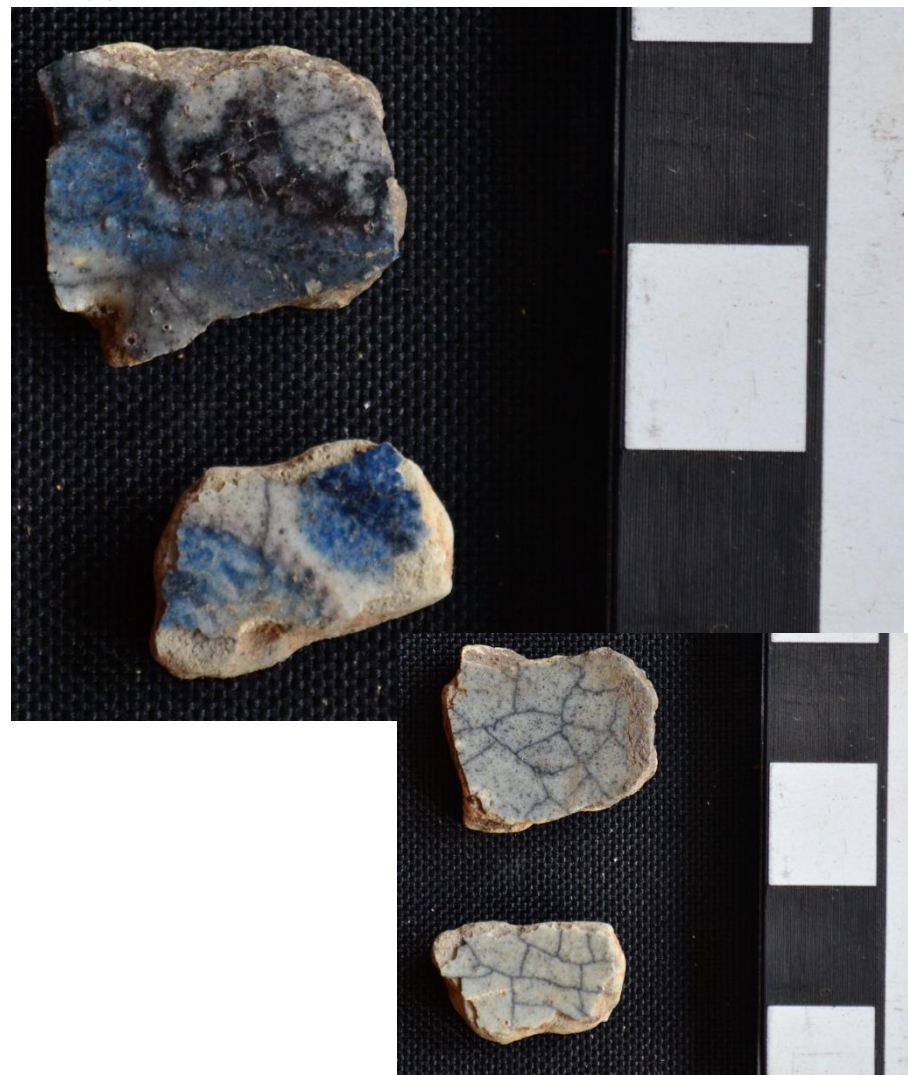
**Refit:**

**Related to:** Bag 11?

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 823 - 824

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 28**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 1071**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Stoneware (stone-coloured)**

**Decoration: Exterior: Unglazed; Interior: Matte, navy lines with lighter grey-blue ground**

**Form: hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

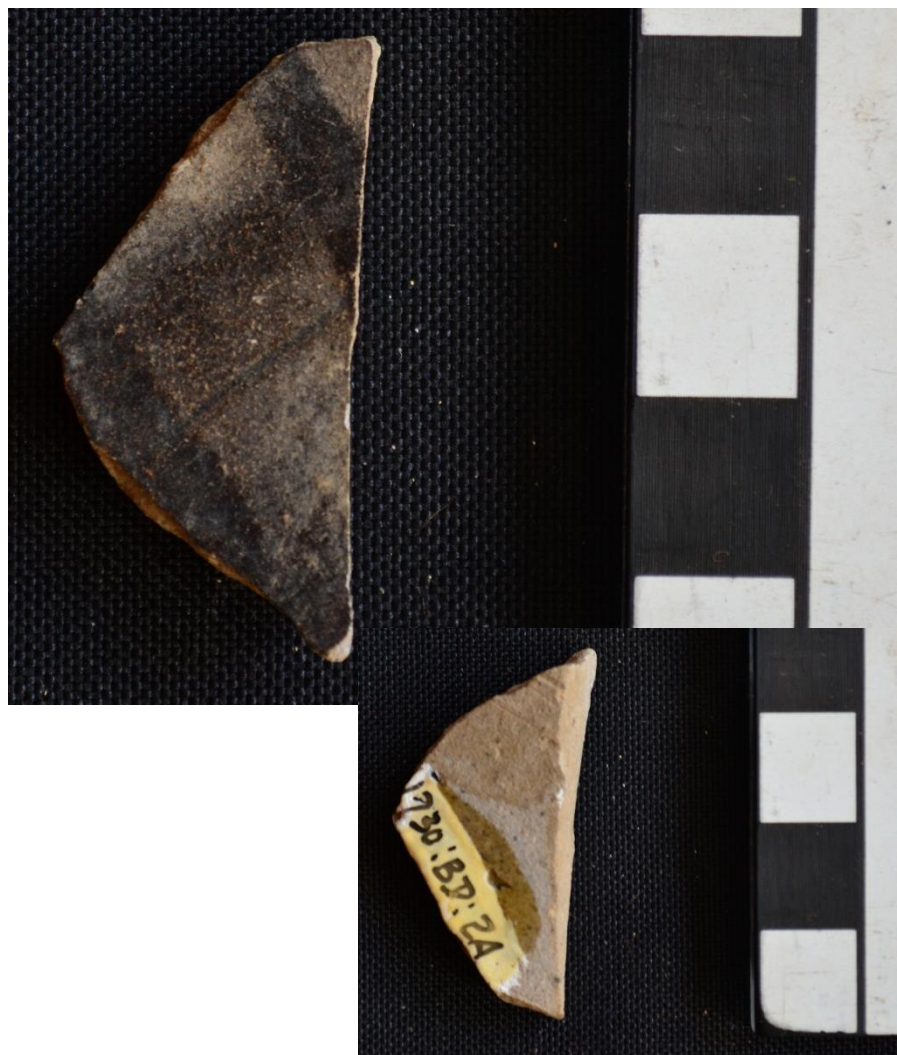
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 825 - 826**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 28

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1072

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Interior: light blue sugary glaze; Exterior: matte, light blue glaze with purple diagonals.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

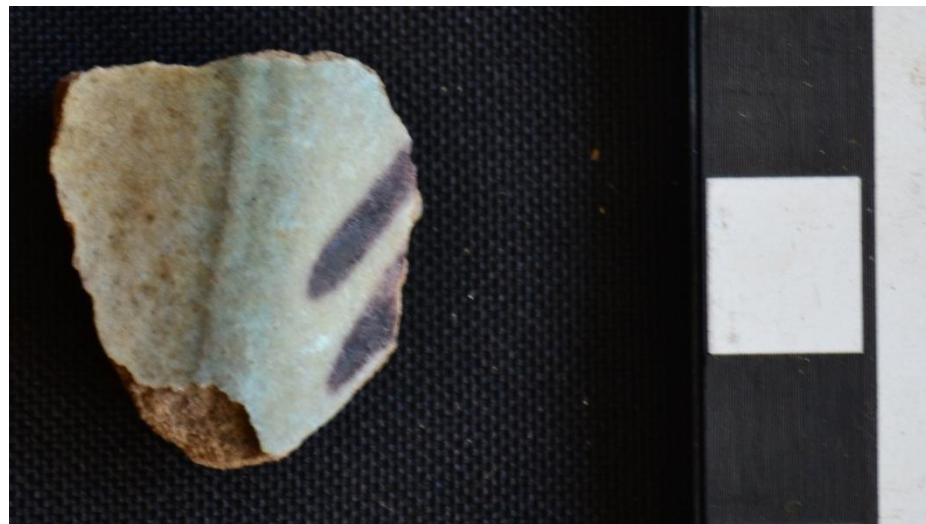
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** possibly tin-glazed earthenware from Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 827 - 829

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 28

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):**1073

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware (reddish-white)

**Decoration:** Interior: crazed white glaze; Exterior: matte (weathered) white glaze with light blue/turquoise motif

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

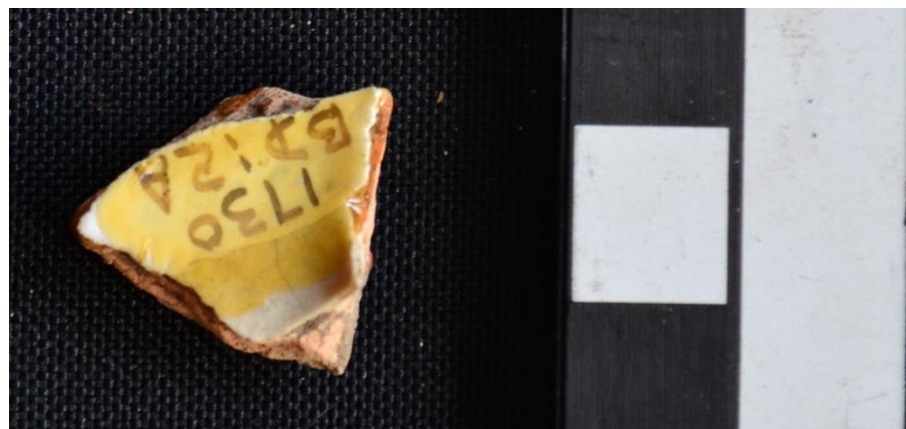
**Refit:**

**Related to:** bag 27?

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 830 - 831

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 28**

**Label/Notes:**None

**Datasheet number(s): 1074**

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior and Interior: white base with dark blue line underneath rim. Both interior and exterior: the porcelain is chipped on edges as well as rim, showing a white body. The glaze is weathered matte, and the glaze has a creamy discoloration, probably from the soil.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim

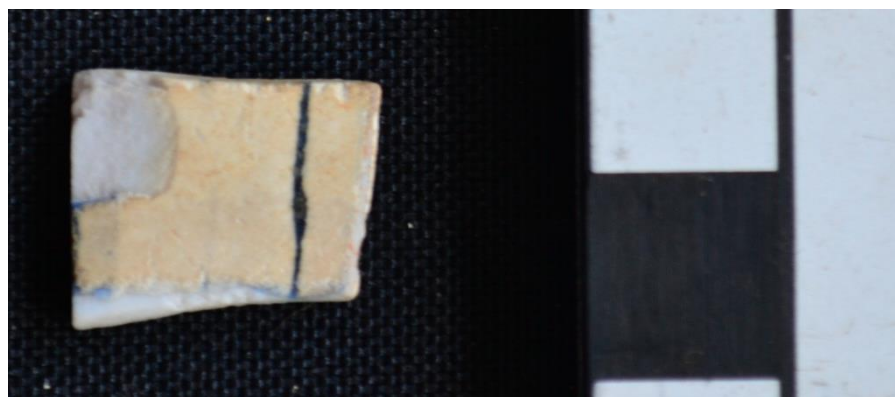
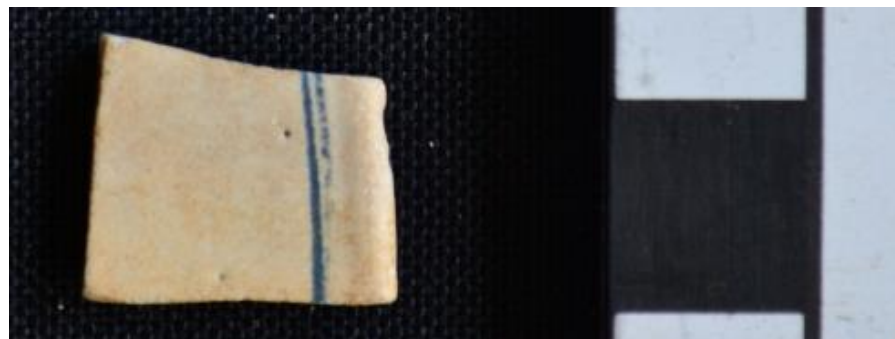
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 832 - 833**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 28

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1075

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Interior: Bluish-white glaze; crazed bluish-white ground and dark blue underglaze motif. The glaze is translucent.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

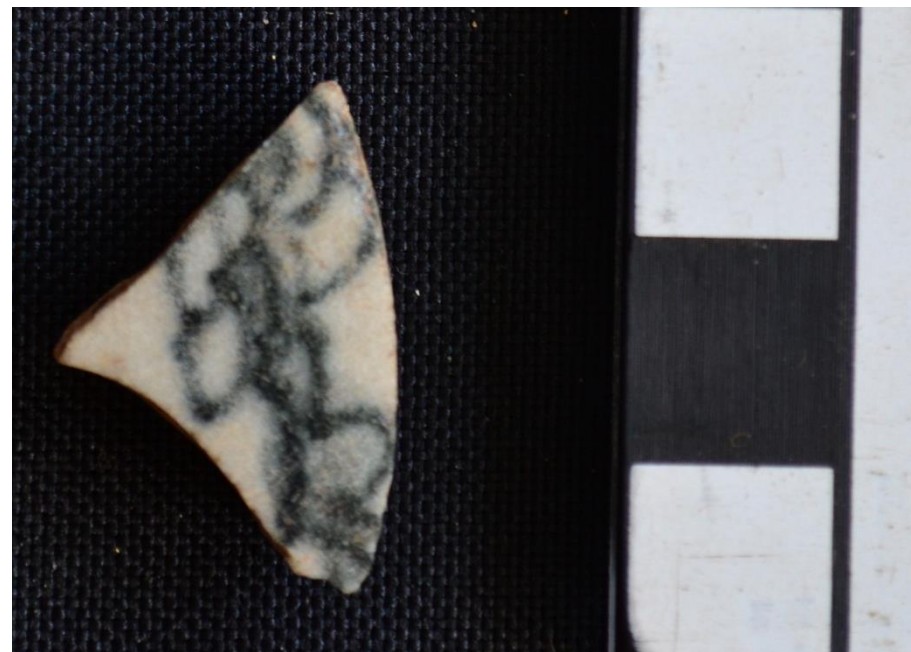
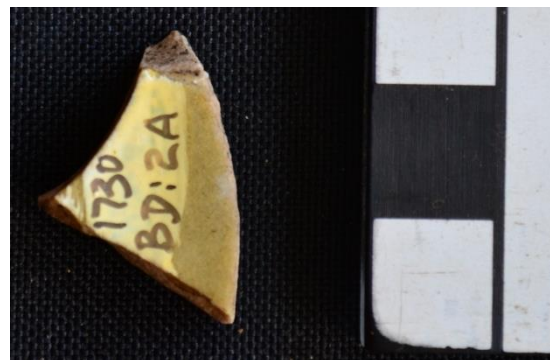
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Swatow ware?

**Photo Number(s):** 834 - 835

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 28

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1076

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: bluish-white glaze, not applied to entire sherd. Interior: weathered, stained red by soil (probably). Bluish-white transparent glaze with dark blue motif.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** May be part of a base

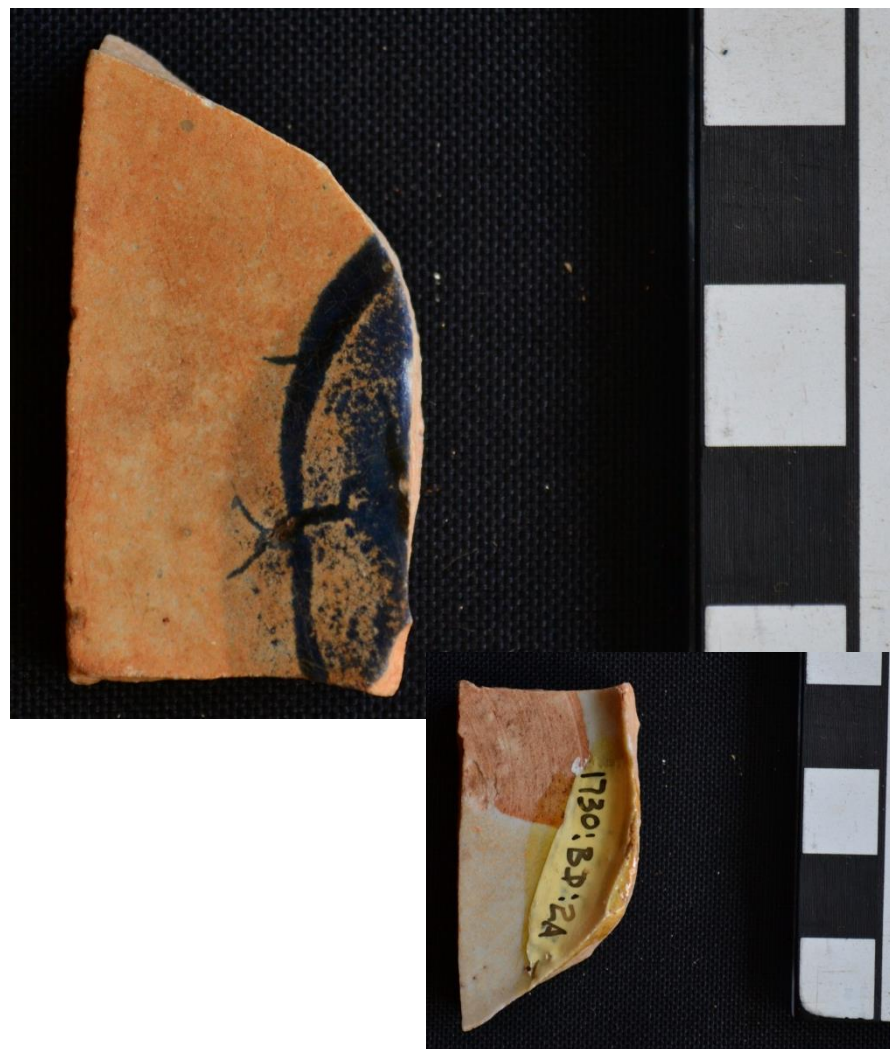
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 836 - 837

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 28

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1077

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Interior: Translucent blue-white glaze with underglaze light blue line under the rim. Crazed and bubbles underneath glaze – sugary texture. Exterior: Translucent blue-white glaze, crazed and with bubbles under glaze. Underglaze blue motif: 2 light blue bands under the rim. Lower down the sherd is divided into panels, 1 panel seemingly just dark blue, while the other panel has a repeating motif on a white ground (at least three times – see photo).

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim

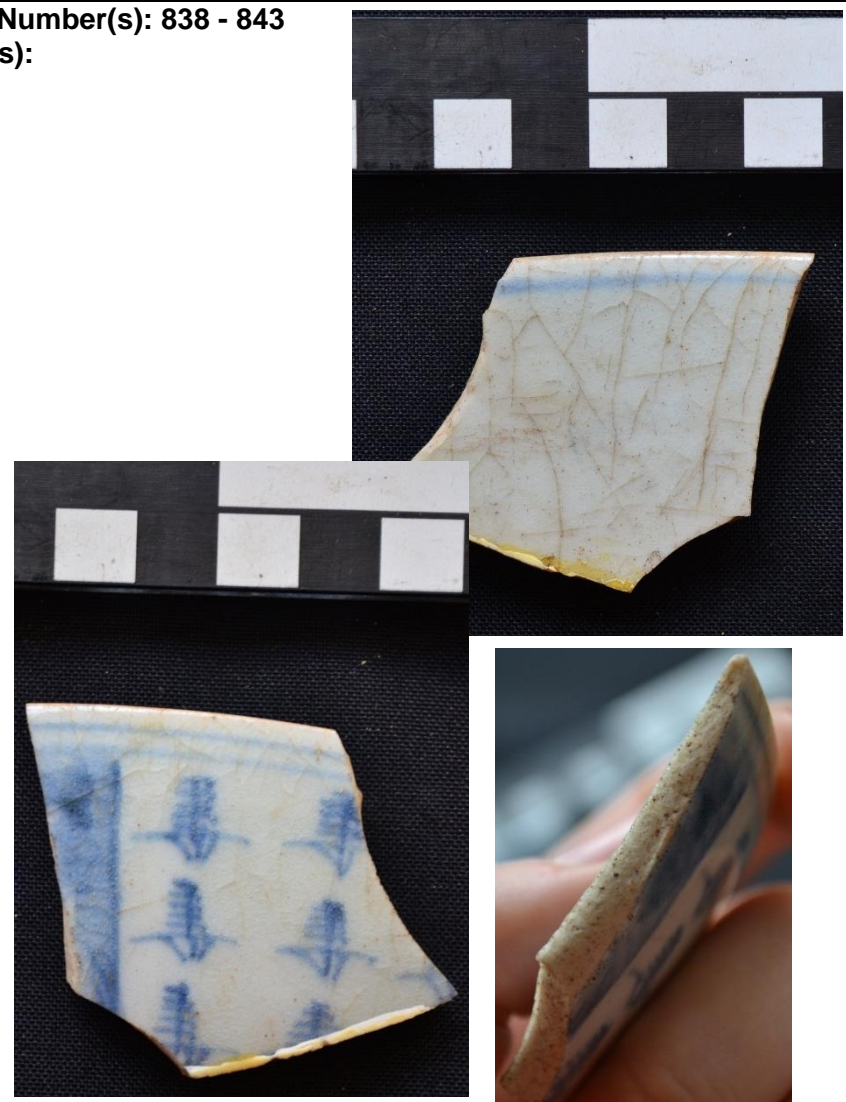
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 838 - 843

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 28**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 1078**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Porcelain**

**Decoration:** Exterior: Translucent bluish-white glaze – there is a curved ridge, uneven, and not completely glazed. Interior: White ground with blackish blue floral motif.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

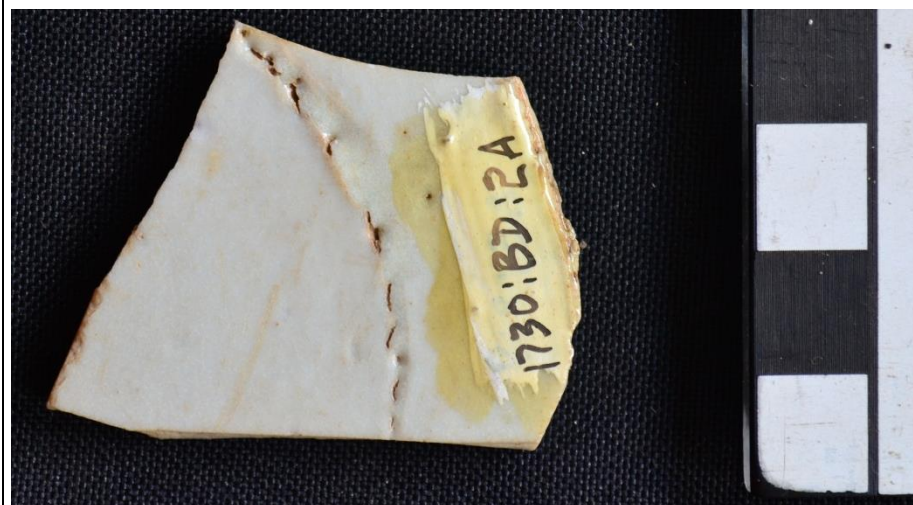
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** The porcelain is chipped on some edges. The sherd is stained darker by probably the soil.

**Photo Number(s): 845 - 846**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 28

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1079

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain. (hard paste, thin)

**Decoration:** Exterior: Blue lustre overglaze on rim. Interior: Transparent glaze with overglaze lustre blue band on rim and printed dark brown line underneath

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim (perhaps from a saucer?)

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** This is a sherd of industrial porcelain, which probably dates towards the late 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Photo Number(s):** 847 - 849

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 29**

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford blackish blue china 3 removed"  
"[48]60 Earthenware blackish blue"

**Datasheet number(s): 1080 - 1091**

**Amount of sherds:** 12

**Body:** Earthenware (white, creamy)

**Decoration:** Crazed white glaze with blue motifs (some light, some bright, and some greens)

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 footring

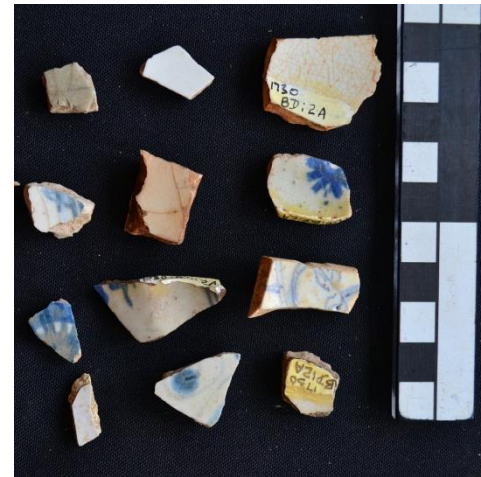
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin

**Photo Number(s): 850 - 852**

**Photo(s):**







**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 29**

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford Blackish blue china, 3 removed"  
"[48]60 Earthenware blackish blue"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1092 - 1128

**Amount of sherds:** 37

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Thick glaze. Bluish/greyish-white ground with blue motifs (on some the blues are quite bright, on others it appears greenish). Some of the glazes are crazed, bubbled, uneven.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 13 rims, 2 footrings

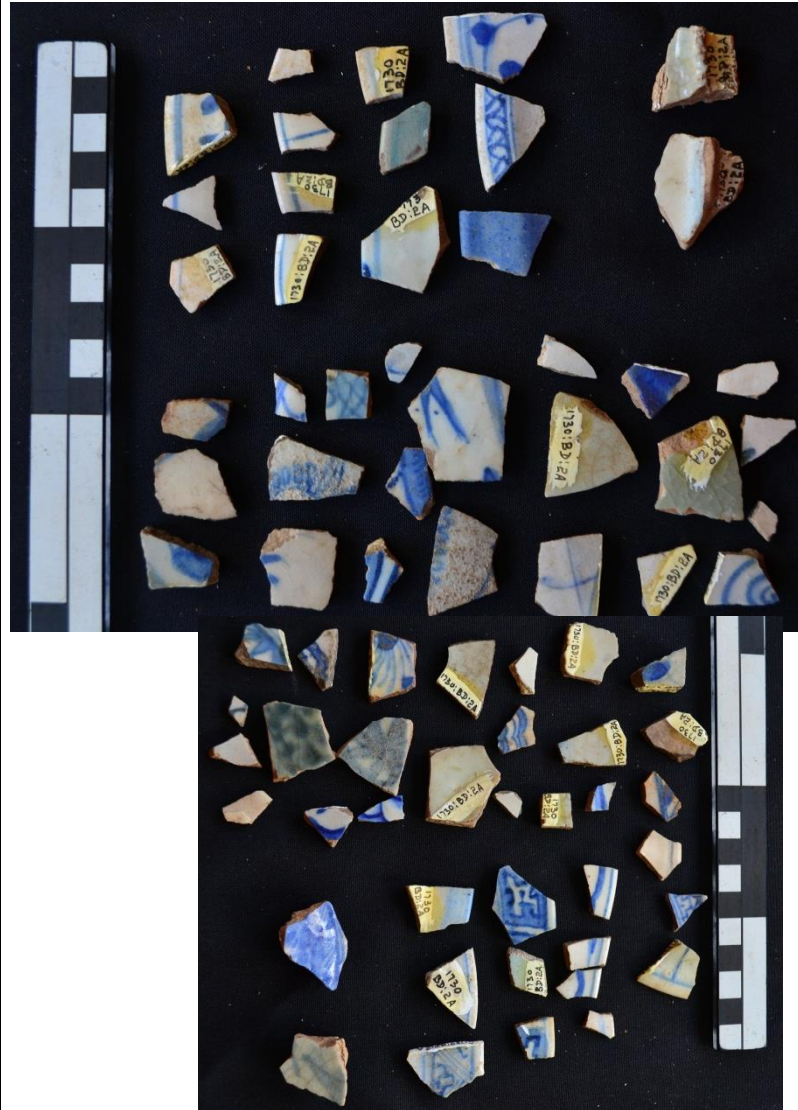
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely market or provincial wares

**Photo Number(s):** 853 - 855

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 29

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford Blackish blue china, 3 removed"  
"[48]60 Earthenware blackish blue"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1129 - 1137

**Amount of sherds:** 9

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Interior and exterior: Underglaze blue and white, mostly the glaze is matte (only 1 sherd is glossy). The outlines are dark blue with lighter blue inside.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely provincial or market wares

**Photo Number(s):** 856 - 858

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 30

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford 1730BD2A Very bright blue (regal blue) class 10?"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1138 - 1140

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Porcelain (coarse body)

**Decoration:** Thick bluish-grey glaze with underglaze blue designs. One footring piece has floral pattern seen earlier (flowers with vines/scrolling) on Interior with double bands. On the exterior there is a double band above the foot and higher on the body presumably the same floral pattern. Bright blue color.

The second footring has on the exterior a double light blue band above the footring. The glaze is thickened. Interior: Bright blue motifs – leaves? With crazing.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 2 footrings, one rim

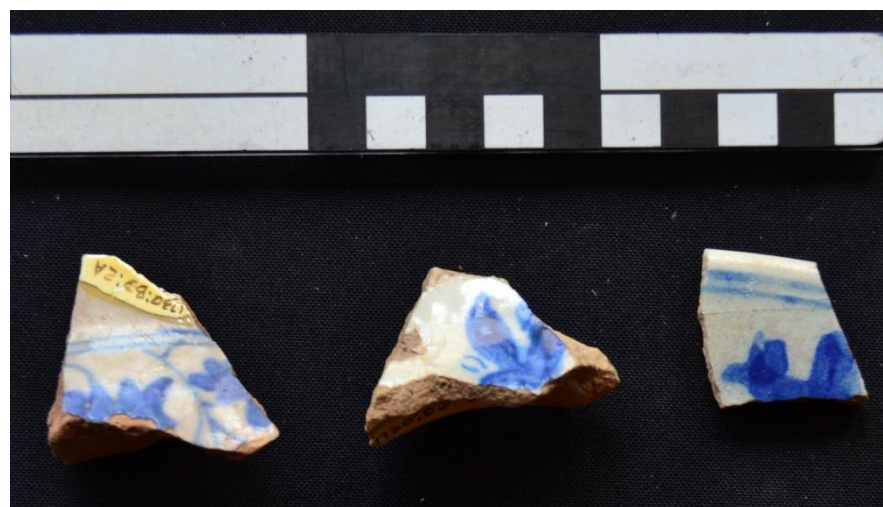
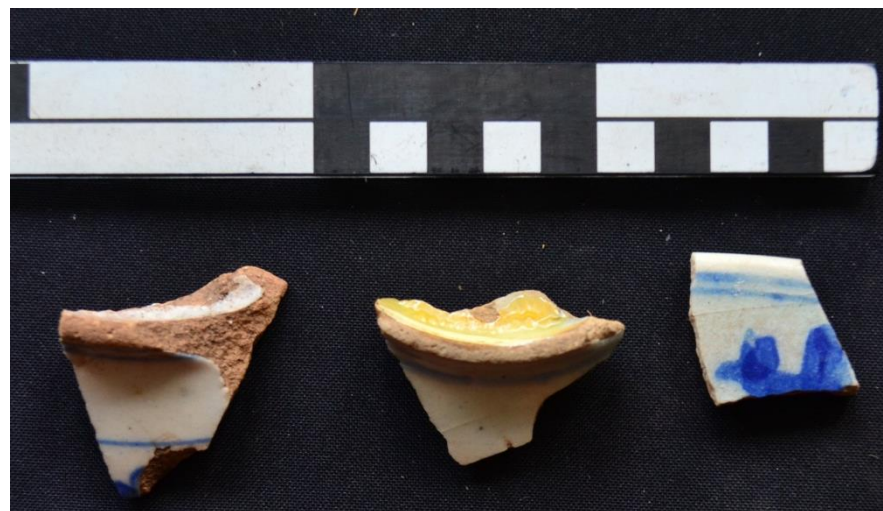
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** very coarse, gritty body. Might be coarse/market wares.

**Photo Number(s):** 859 - 860

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 31

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford 1730BD2A white and blue (various designs)"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1141 - 1142

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Interior: translucent bluish glaze. Exterior: Translucent bluish glaze with underglaze dark blue designs (perhaps floral?)

**Form:** uncertain. Perhaps hollow? (based on thickness of sherds).

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

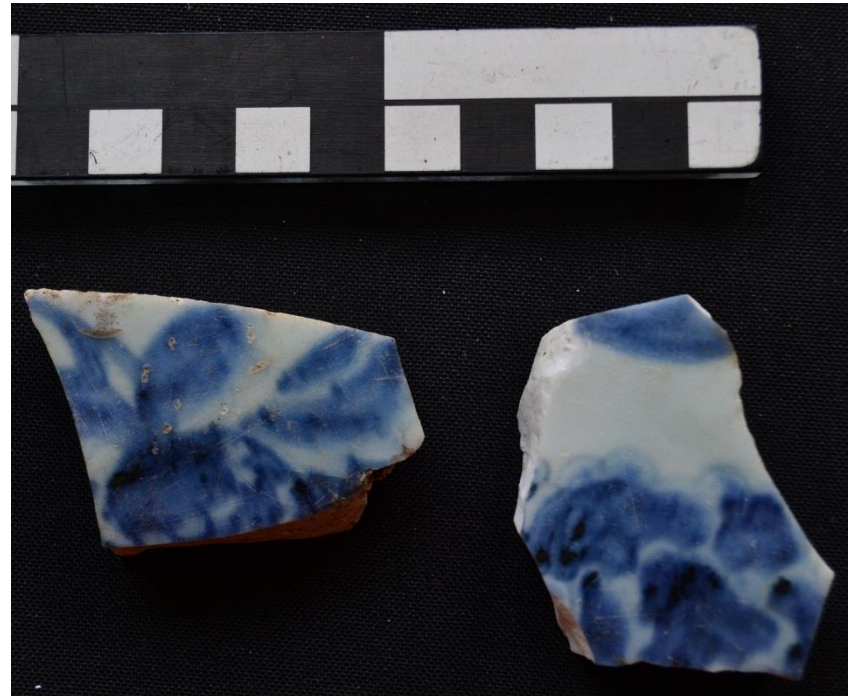
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 865 - 868

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 32

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford Goodall's sherd collection, Q.23; remarks: familiar"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1143

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain (discoloured)

**Decoration:** Exterior: greenish-grey glaze, scratched, with underglaze green line. Interior: Greenish-grey glaze scratched, multiple dark green bands.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim

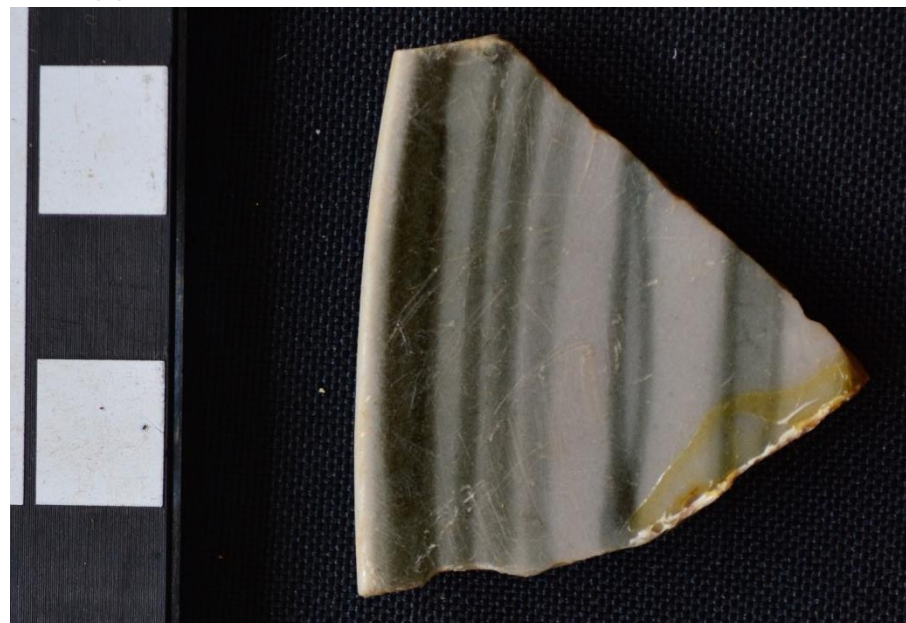
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Body seems to be a green-grey discoloured porcelain. Likely Swatow/provincial ware.

**Photo Number(s):** 869 - 873

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 33**

**Label/Notes:** "2 removed [signature]" "[28]17 White-and-blue china; bottom parts, 1 piece removed 20/12/69, various designs (to be linked-up later)"

**Datasheet number(s): 1144 - 1145**

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Earthenware (cream-coloured)

**Decoration:** Exterior: Thick white opaque glaze. Interior: thick white opaque glaze with bright blue motif: lines and/or geometric/floral design?

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 footring.

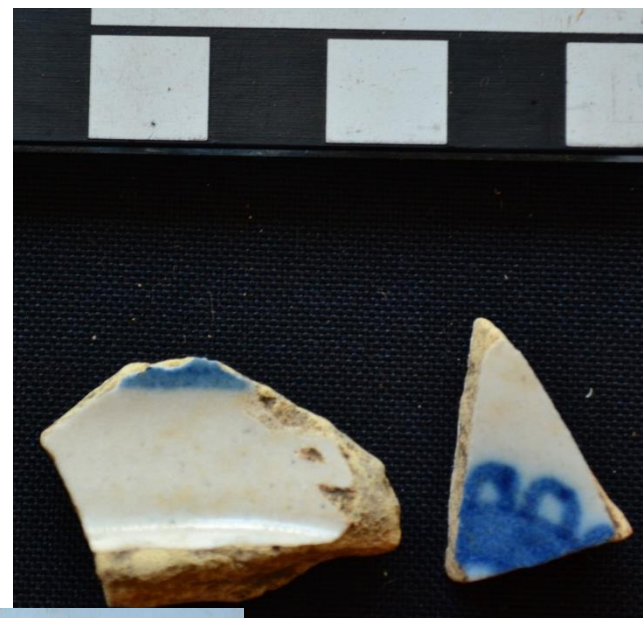
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 874 - 877**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 33**

**Label/Notes:** : "2 removed [signature]" "[28]17 White-and-blue china; bottom parts, 1 piece removed 20/12/69, various designs (to be linked-up later)"

**Datasheet number(s): 1146 - 1147**

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Crazed, thick, uneven, translucent blue-grey glaze with underglaze blue designs. Interior: double band with motif. Exterior: Motif – flora? Roughly painted.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

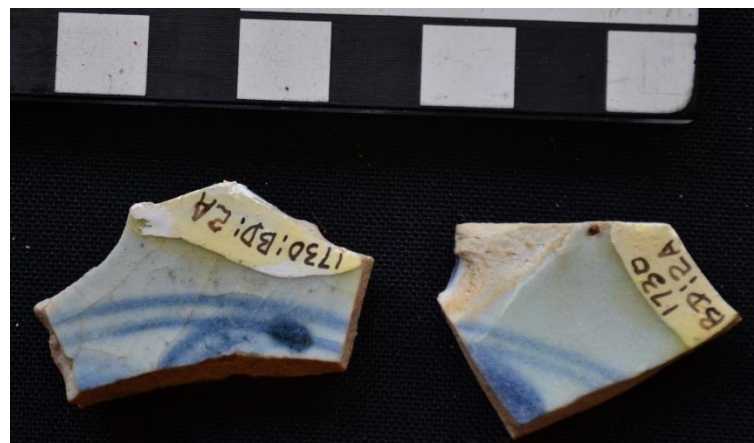
**Refit:** MAY be from same/similar vessel

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 878 - 879**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 33

**Label/Notes:** : "2 removed [signature]" "[28]17 White-and-blue china; bottom parts, 1 piece removed 20/12/69, various designs (to be linked-up later)"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1148 - 1150

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Thick, translucent, greyish blue glaze. Interior: White; Exterior: Underglaze bright blue in varying motifs

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

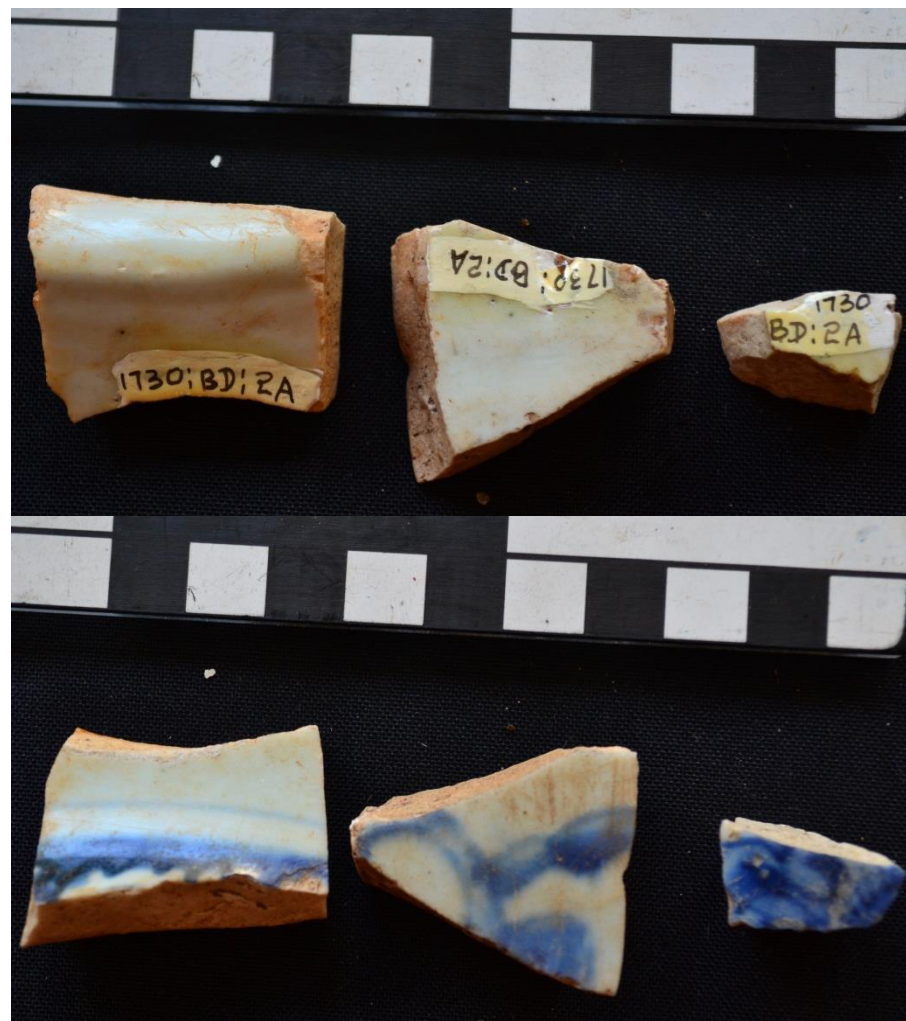
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Might be market/provincial wares.

**Photo Number(s):** 880 - 882

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2a

**Bag #:** 34

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford, Goodall's sherd collection. Q.36  
Chinese jar. Remarks: unusual [sic]"

**Datasheet number(s):**1151

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware (cream-coloured)

**Decoration:** Exterior: uneven, opaque white glaze with blue inclusions.  
Interior: white ground, blue and purple (damson) outlines

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin

**Photo Number(s):** 885 - 886

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 34

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford, Goodall's sherd collection. Q.36  
Chinese jar. Remarks: unusual [sic]"

**Datasheet number(s):**1152

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stoneware (stony white-coloured)

**Decoration:** Translucent white glaze. Interior: No decoration. Rim is unglazed. Exterior: Thickened sugary glaze underneath rim. Underglaze dark blue floral designs - the decoration on the exterior seems like a decal print.

**Form:** hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 887 - 890

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 35

**Label/Notes:** "1 sherd removed" ALSO see photos 891 - 894

**Datasheet number(s):** 1153 - 1154

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Earthenware (white)

**Decoration:** Interior and exterior: Thick opaque white glaze with bright blue motifs

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 rim

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Marked as V2 and V4 (see photographed note)

Tin-glazed earthenware, likely Portuguese in origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 891 - 898

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 35**

**Label/Notes:** "1 sherd removed" ALSO see photos 891 - 894

**Datasheet number(s):** 1155 -1156

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Translucent bluish grey glaze with underglaze blue design. Lighter blue with darker lines.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 footring

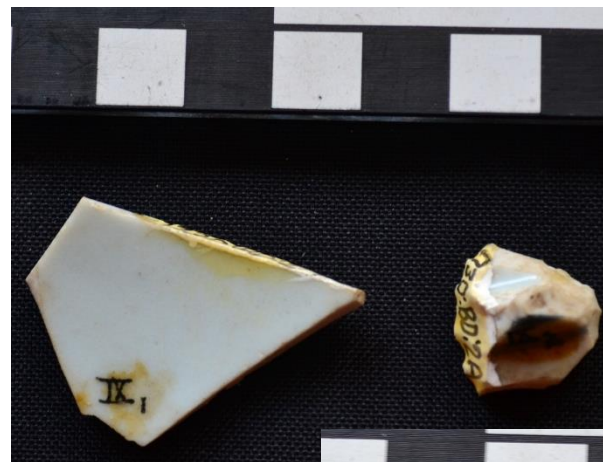
**Refit:** NO, but could be from same/similar vessel

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Marked IX1 and IX2 –see note

**Photo Number(s):** 899 - 902

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 35

**Label/Notes:** "1 sherd removed" ALSO see photos 891 - 894

**Datasheet number(s):** 1157 - 1159

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Translucent bluish glaze with underglaze blue designs: darker blue outlines and lighter blue fill

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 2 rims

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Marked XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII – see note

**Photo Number(s):** 903 - 904

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.

**Bag #:** 35

**Label/Notes:** "1 sherd removed" ALSO see photos 891 - 894

**Datasheet number(s):** 1160

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Uncertain (porcelain?)

**Decoration:** Exterior and Interior: Bluish-white glaze with underglaze black and light blue designs

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

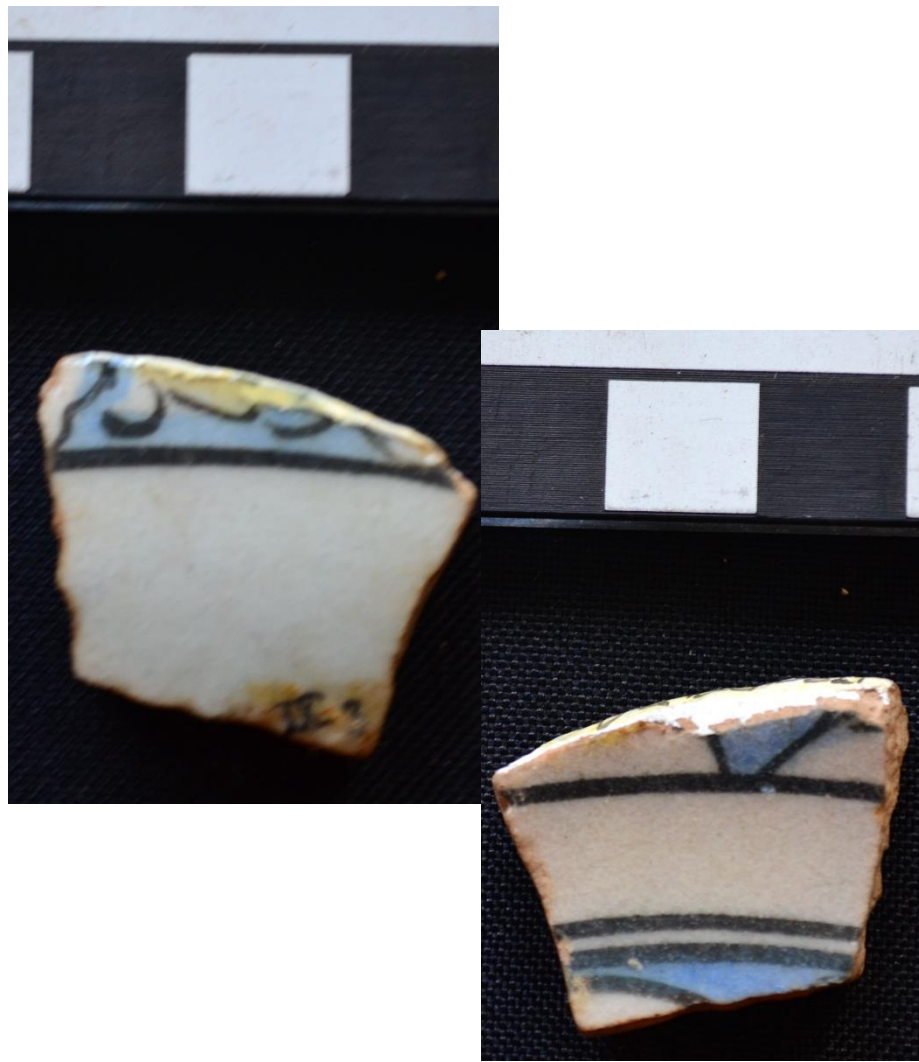
**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Marked as IX3

Uncertain about body type.

**Photo Number(s):** 908 - 910

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 35

**Label/Notes:** "1 sherd removed" ALSO see photos 891 - 894

**Datasheet number(s):** 1161

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: Brown glaze; Interior: translucent bluish-white glaze with underglaze dark blue dots/design

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

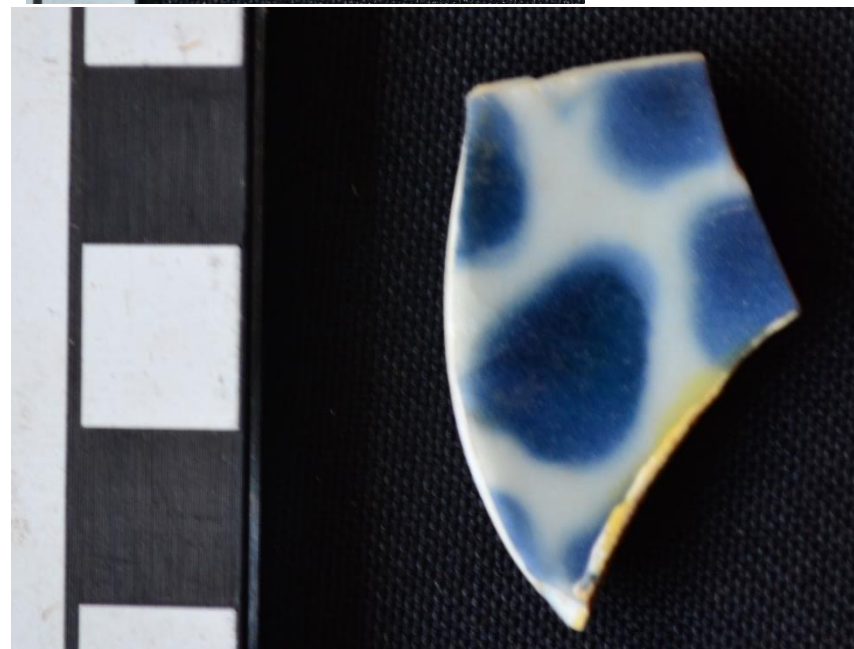
**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Marked VI3 (? Difficult to read)

Likely brown-glazed/ "Batavian" ware, with *café au lait* exterior.

**Photo Number(s):** 912 - 914

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 35

**Label/Notes:** "1 sherd removed" ALSO see photos 891 - 894

**Datasheet number(s):** 1162 - 1164

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: Translucent bluish white glaze, no design visible;  
Interior: underglaze dark blue outlines with lighter fill colour

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

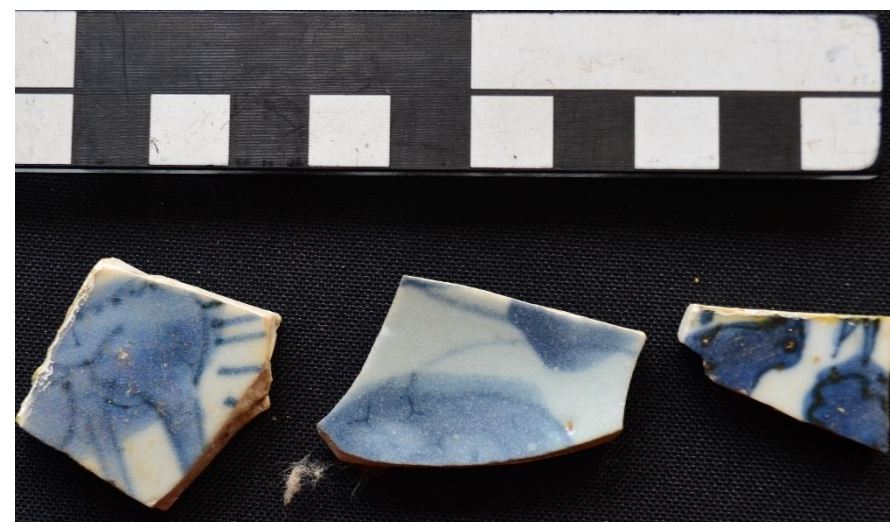
**Related to:**

**Other notes:** sherds labelled as III1, III2, III5

The first sherd to the left, III2, seems as though the decoration may represent a deer, typical of Kraak-style design (Rinaldi, 1989).

**Photo Number(s):** 915 - 919

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 35

**Label/Notes:** "1 sherd removed" ALSO see photos 891 - 894

**Datasheet number(s):** 1165

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware (cream-coloured)

**Decoration:** Opaque white glaze with blue motif (fruit? floral?) and damson outlines

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

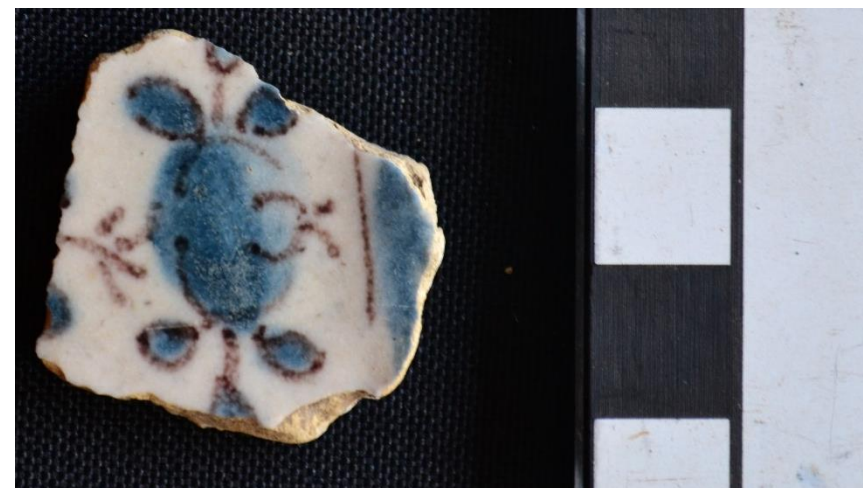
**Related to:**

**Other notes:** IV2

Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 920 - 922

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 35

**Label/Notes:** "1 sherd removed" ALSO see photos 891 - 894

**Datasheet number(s):** 1166

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: weathered bluish-white translucent glaze;  
Interior: underglaze blue with dark blue outlines

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

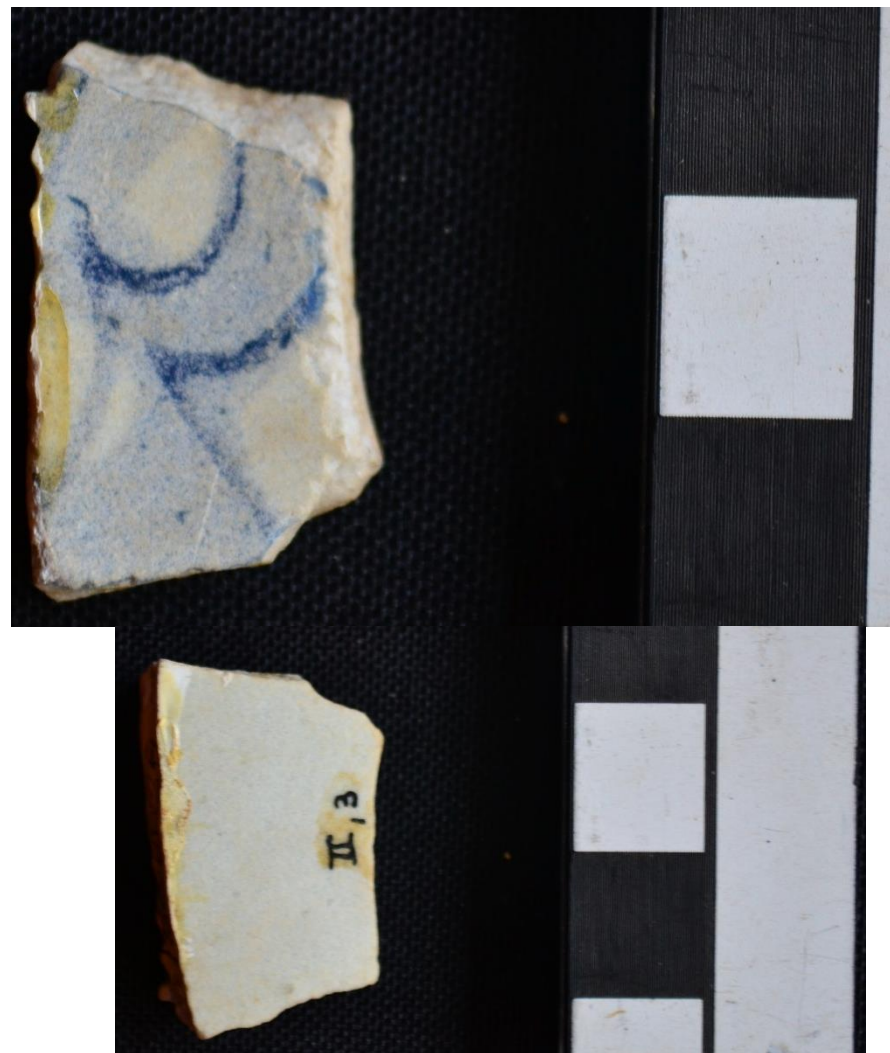
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** II3

**Photo Number(s):** 923 - 924

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 35**

**Label/Notes: "1 sherd removed" ALSO see photos 891 - 894**

**Datasheet number(s):1167**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Porcelain**

**Decoration: Bluish-grey translucent glaze. Rim is unglazed and red**

**Form: flatware**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: Rim**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: VII**

**Photo Number(s): 925 - 927**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 35

**Label/Notes:** "1 sherd removed" ALSO see photos 891 - 894

**atasheet number(s):** 1168

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Translucent bluish-white glaze. Underglaze blue to light blue fill with darker outlines

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 928 - 929

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 36

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford, green-yellow & brown thin ware"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1169

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** White, yellow, green and brown mottled glaze – egg & spinach. The glaze is somewhat crazed and flakes off at one part

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

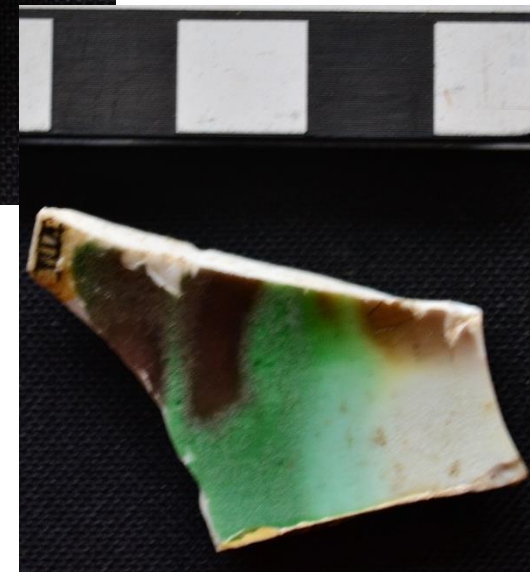
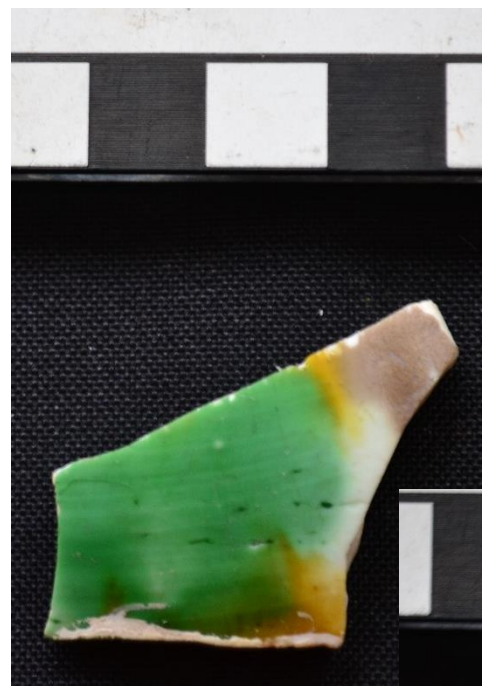
**Related to:**

**Other notes:** XIII

Typical egg and spinach design: late 17<sup>th</sup> century (Valenstein, 1975).

**Photo Number(s):** 930 - 931

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 37

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford Goodall's sherd collection Q3 (Chinese porcelain late VXI – early 17<sup>th</sup> c) Remarks (Familiar)"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1170

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Translucent bluish-white glaze. Interior: Undecorated but there is a yellowish discoloration on the glaze. Exterior: Outside part: underglaze blue squiggly lines and some circular motif. Inside: unglazed, but glaze dripped over 2 sides and collected together.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Marked Q3. Interesting shape – uncertain what this is but may be something like a figurine, bottle or vase.

**Photo Number(s):** 932 - 937

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 38

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford 1730BD2A Blue-white (with brownish edges) Class 3 (early 13<sup>th</sup> to mid-18<sup>th</sup> century)

**Datasheet number(s):** 1171 - 1173

**Amount of sherds:**3

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Bluish-grey glaze. Underglaze blue: lines and motifs

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 3 rims

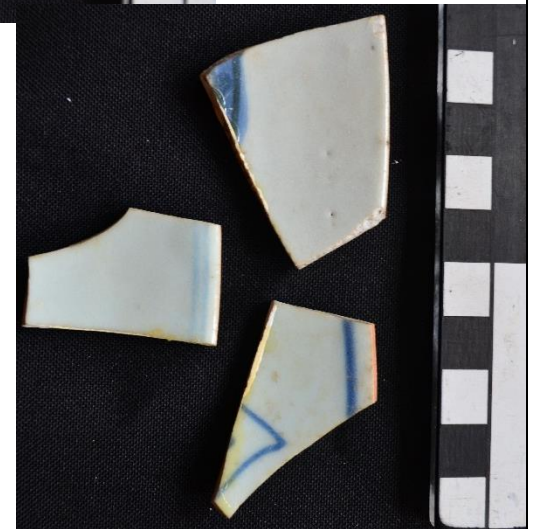
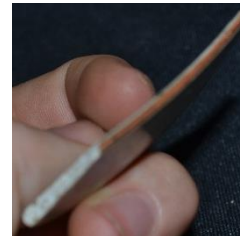
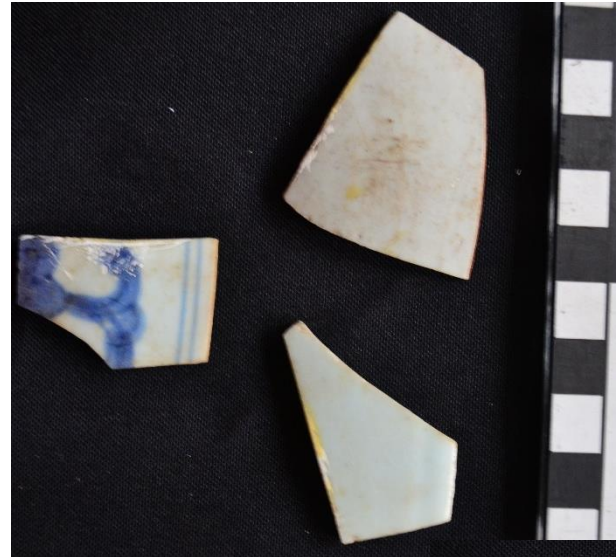
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** The rims are unglazed and are red-brown in colour

**Photo Number(s):** 938 - 941

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 39**

**Label/Notes:** "Blue-white china [42]21 edges pieces with brown edge"  
"3 removed" "Dambarare class 3? Early 18<sup>th</sup> to mid-18<sup>th</sup> c (see p.170)  
Datable pottery from Sofala Shoal (1700 – 1750)" (see illustration)

**Datasheet number(s): 1174 - 1191**

**Amount of sherds:** 18

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Blue-grey glaze with unglazed red rim. Interior:  
underglaze blue motifs with lines; Exterior: Either plain or underglaze  
blue

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 12 rims

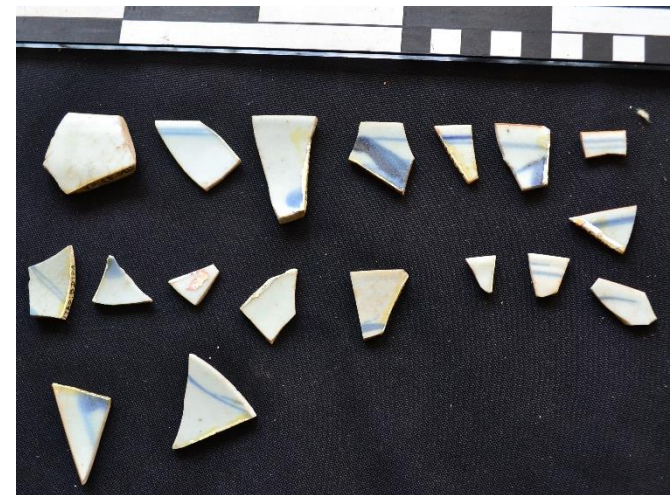
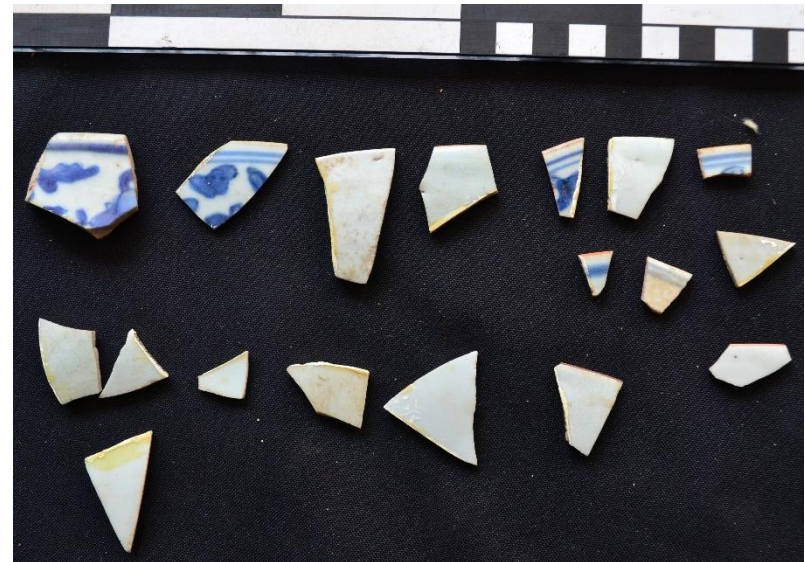
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** cf Sofala Shoal material

**Photo Number(s): 942 - 943**

**Photo(s):**



Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe

Box #: 1

Accession number: 1730.BD.2A

Bag #: 40

Label/Notes: "Blue and white china. Flat round bowls with bottom rings. Outside brown." [see illustration]

Datasheet number(s): 1191 - 1202

Amount of sherds: 11

Body: Porcelain

Decoration: Exterior: brown; Interior: bluish glaze with underglaze blue designs – leaves? Pattern under rim.

Form: flatware

Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 2 rims, 1 base

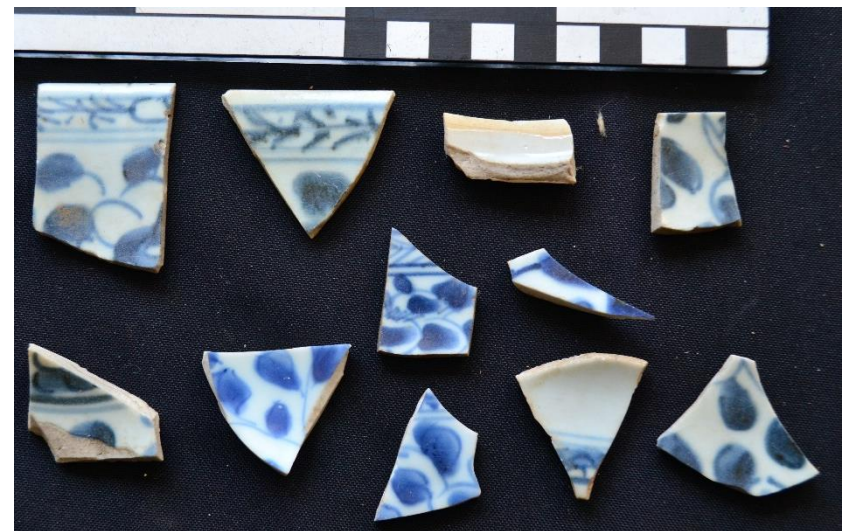
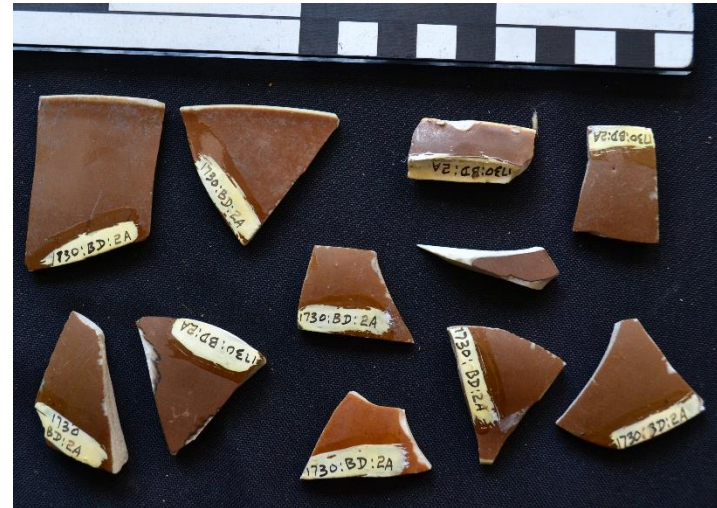
Refit:

Related to:

Other notes: Brown-glazed *café au lait*/ Batavian ware

Photo Number(s): 946 - 949

Photo(s):



Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe

Box #: 1

Accession number: 1730.BD.2A

Bag #: 41

Label/Notes: No note

Datasheet number(s): 1203 - 1212

Amount of sherds: 10

Body: Earthenware (cream-coloured)

Decoration: Opaque thick white glaze with blue painted designs/  
purple design outline// plain white.

Form: flatware

Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 2 base, 2 rims

Refit:

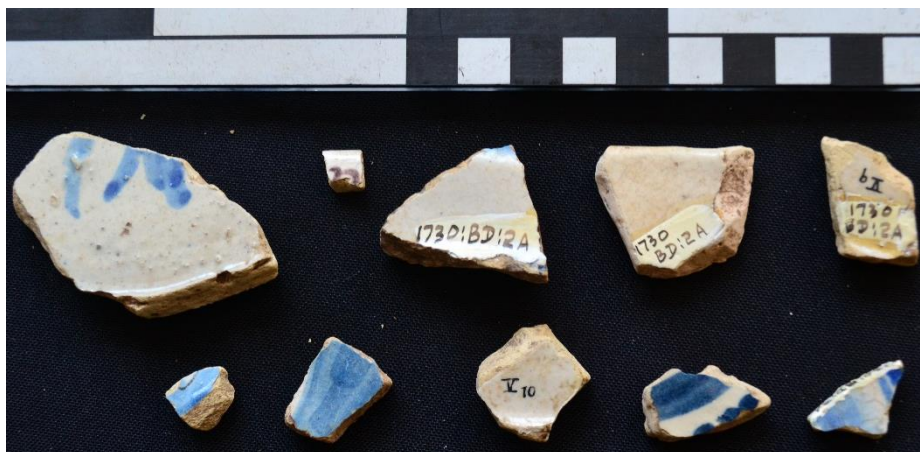
Related to:

Other notes: See roman numerals on body

Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

Photo Number(s): 952 - 963

Photo(s):



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 41

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1213

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain (?)

**Decoration:** Thick, translucent, bluish white glaze.

**Form:** uncertain

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

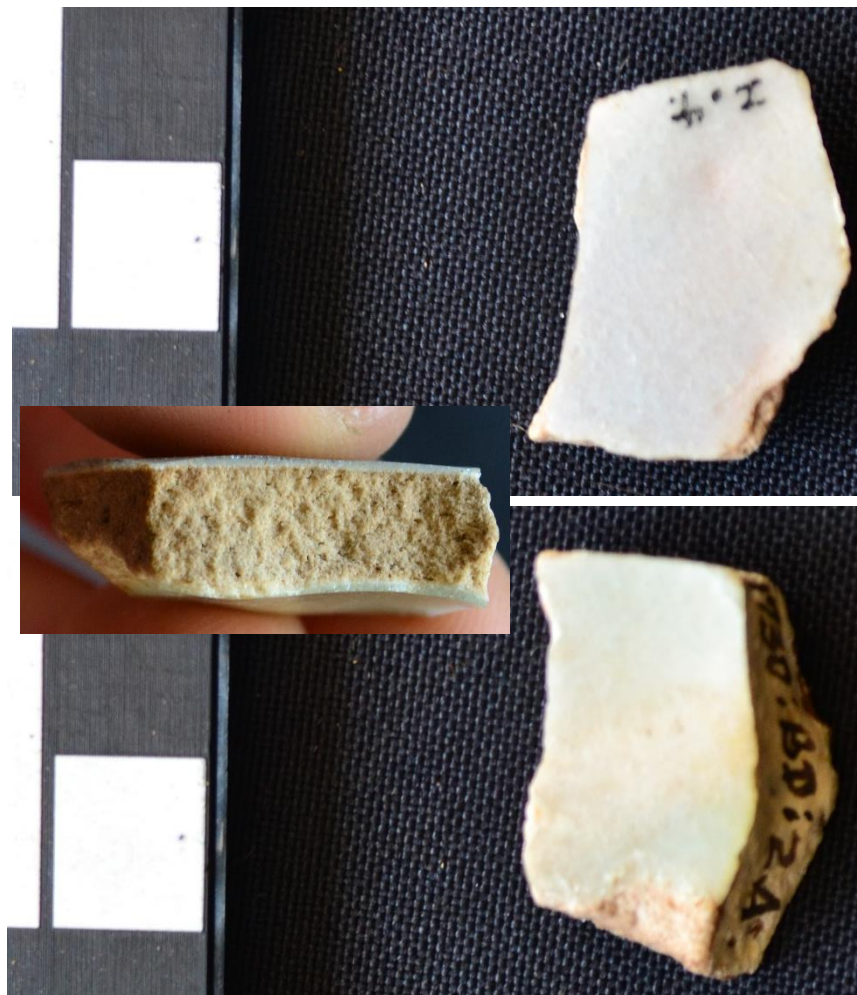
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** This seems as though it is coarsely potted porcelain. Likely market wares or some porcelainous stoneware. Uncertain.

**Photo Number(s):** 964 - 966

**Photo(s):**



Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe

Box #: 1

Accession number: 1730.BD.2A

Bag #: 41

Label/Notes: None

Datasheet number(s): 1214 - 1217

Amount of sherds: 4

Body: Porcelain

Decoration: Exterior: brown glaze; Interior: bluish white glaze and underglaze blue bands

Form: flatware

Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:

Refit:

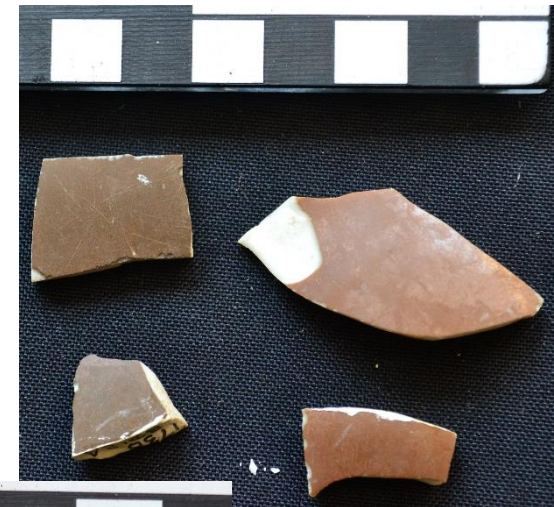
Related to:

Other notes: See roman numerals

Brown-glazed (Batavian/ *café au lait*) wares.

Photo Number(s): 967 - 968

Photo(s):



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 41

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1218 - 1220

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Bluish white glaze with red unglazed rims

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 3 rims

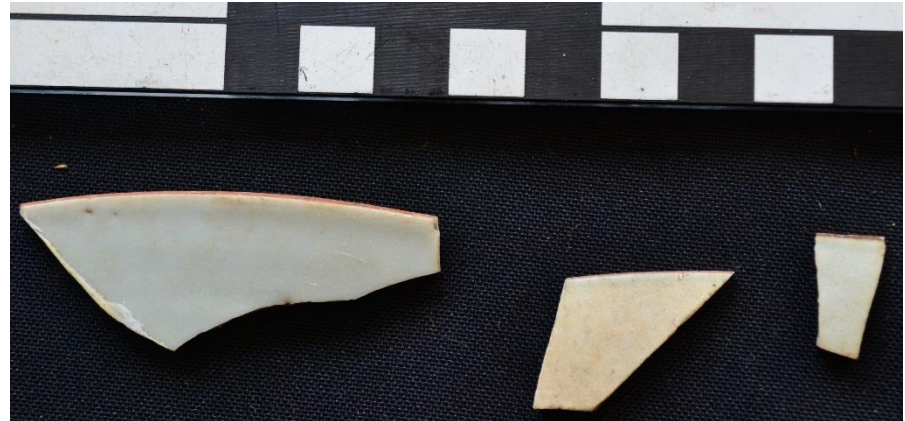
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** cf roman numerals

**Photo Number(s):** 969 - 971

**Photo(s):**



Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe

Box #: 1

Accession number: 1730.BD.2A

Bag #: 41

Label/Notes: None

Datasheet number(s): 1221 - 1227

Amount of sherds: 7

Body: Porcelain

Decoration: Bluish white glaze. Interior: underglaze blue

Form: flatware

Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 1 rim

Refit:

Related to:

**Other notes:** Sherd X1 has a green-blue glaze with darker outlines and uneven glaze which is crazed.

Photo Number(s): 972 - 973

Photo(s):



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 41**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 1228**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Thick porcelain**

**Decoration: Bluish white thick glaze. Exterior: Underglaze blue design**

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: XVI. Glaze and fragment are chipped**

**Analysis:**

**Identification:**

**Compared with: Collection:**

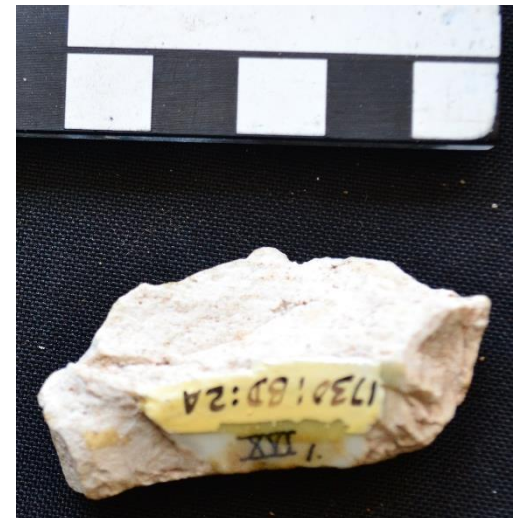
**Ceramic accession number:**

**Photograph number:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 974 - 975**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2a

**Bag #:** 41

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1229

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Bluish-white glaze. Exterior: red and green overglaze – floral and leaves design. Famille verte?

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** cf X3

This might be an example of famille verte porcelain where green and red glazes are used on top of the original transparent glaze (cf Beurdeley & Raindre, 1987).

**Photo Number(s):** 976 - 979

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** Bag 42

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare Doxford, 1730BD2A, Outside brown – inside blue; class 3: 17<sup>th</sup> c – early 18<sup>th</sup> c"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1230 - 1232

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown glaze; Interior: underglaze blue and white – blue double bands. Brown-glazed batavian ware/ *Café au lait*.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 base

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** The footring is unglazed. The sherd with the footring's decoration looks like a tree, a mountain, and some bands.

**Photo Number(s):** 980 - 983

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 43**

**Label/Notes:** "Verious [sic] types of dishes. Outside brown, inside blue-white. [41]"

**Datasheet number(s): 1233 - 1248**

**Amount of sherds:** 16

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown glaze; Interior: bluish white glaze with underglaze blue motifs. Brown-glazed Batavian ware/ *Café au lait*.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 12 rims

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 984 - 986**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 44**

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare Class 3?" "[41]12 2 small cups or bowls. 3~; outside brown inside blue white"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1249 - 1259

**Amount of sherds:** 11

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown; Interior: bluish white glaze and underglaze blue motif. Footrings are unglazed. Underglaze blue bands (double) and at the centre of the base is the design. 1 sherd has a flower basket, a chevron pattern/double band on the rim, and scrolling leaves (?)

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 3 rims, 5 bases/footrings

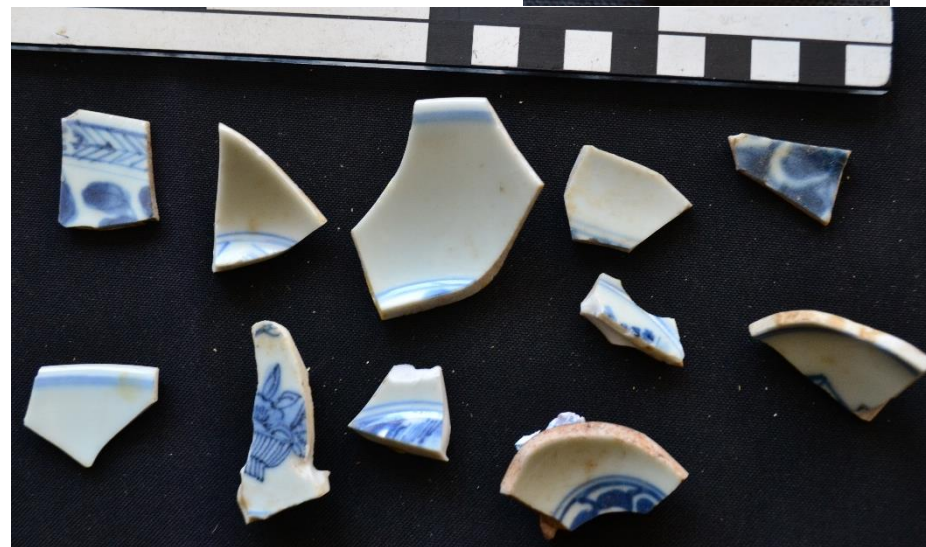
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Brown-glazed *Café au lait*/ Batavian ware

**Photo Number(s):** 987 - 996

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 45**

**Label/Notes:** "Blue and white outside brown mainly rimpieces [sic]"

**Datasheet number(s): 1260 - 1284**

**Amount of sherds: 25 sherds**

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown, Interior: Bluish white glaze with underglaze blue –various designs. Brown-glazed Batavian ware/ *Café au lait*.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 14 rims

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** The rims are either unglazed or flaking or uneven and brown

**Photo Number(s): 996 - 998**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 46

**Label/Notes:** "3 sherds removed" "Dambarare class 3, Kang Hsi late 17<sup>th</sup> to early 18<sup>th</sup> c" "20. V. small pieces outside brown, inside blue and white"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1285

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Interior and exterior: crazed olive yellow glaze. Marked P:8:2A

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

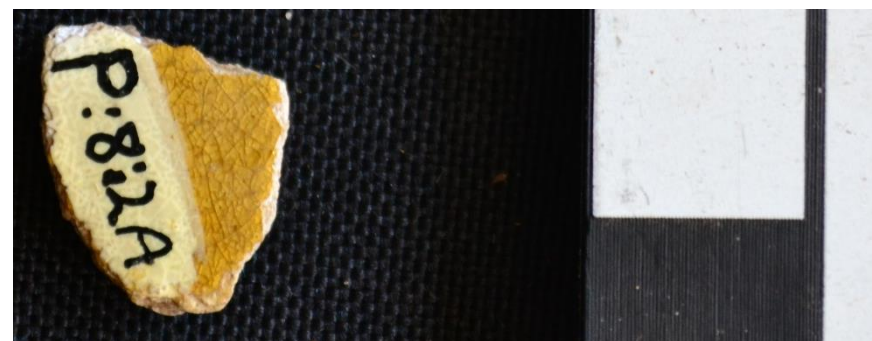
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 999 - 1000

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 46

**Label/Notes:** "3 sherds removed" "Dambarare class 3, Kang Hsi late 17<sup>th</sup> to early 18<sup>th</sup> c" "20. V. small pieces outside brown, inside blue and white"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1286 - 1303

**Amount of sherds:** 18

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown; Interior: bluish white glaze with underglaze blue. Brown-glazed Batavian ware/ *Café au lait*.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 2 rims

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 1001- 1003

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 47

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare-Doxford Goodall's sherd collection, Q20 – Chinese chocolate, Late XVII - Early XVIII c"

**Datasheet number(s):**1304

**Amount of sherds:**1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown; Interior: Bluish-white glaze with underglaze blue design; Floral dark blue with darker outlines. Brown-glazed Batavian ware/ Café au lait.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

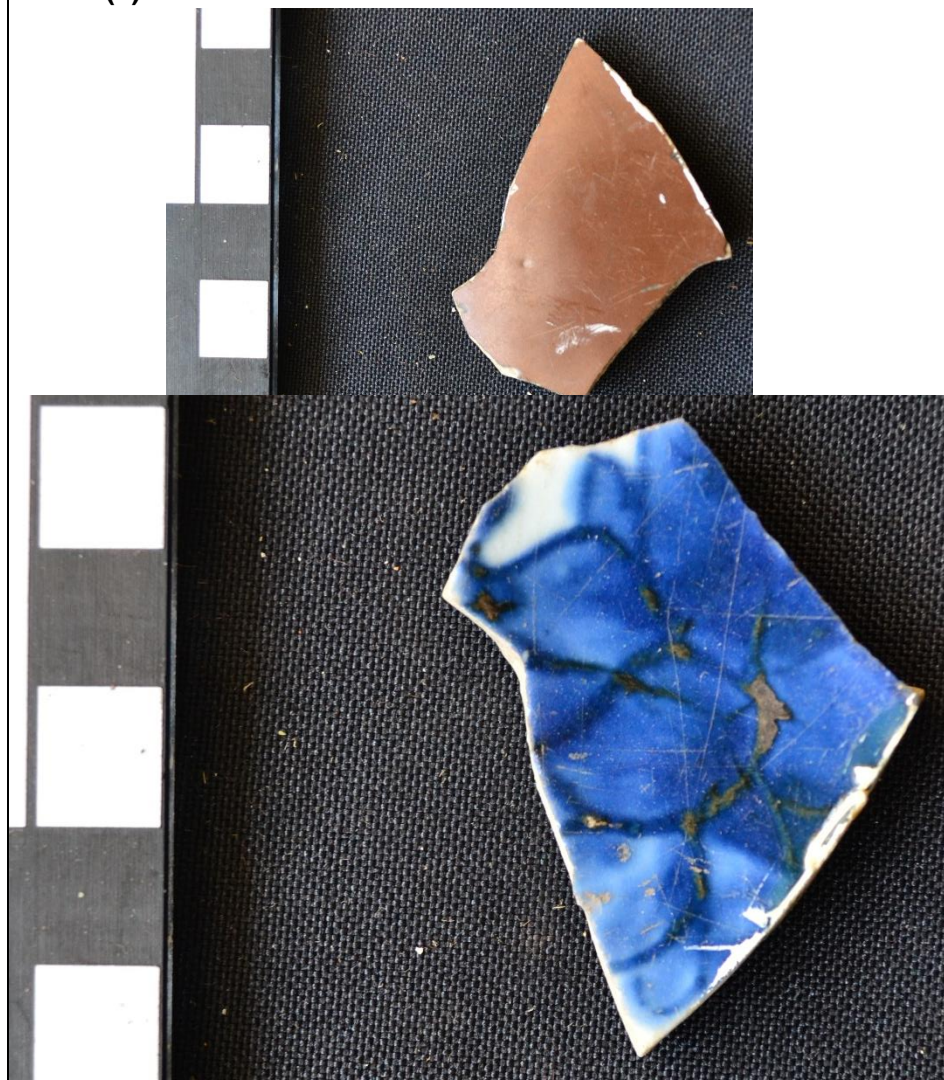
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Q20

**Photo Number(s):** 1004 - 1006

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 48**

**Label/Notes:** "Blue and white china. [6] Outside brown. Flat bowls at bottom rings. Leaf design [see sketch] and 4 other designs outside brown." "Porcelain - interior blue and white glaze, exterior chocolate glaze. Chinese Kang Hsi period, late 17<sup>th</sup> to early 18<sup>th</sup> century. (3.5% of the 3182 sherds) Dambarare class 3"

**Datasheet number(s):**1305 - 1310

**Amount of sherds:** 6

**Body:** Porcelain (thick)

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown; Interior: white glaze with underglaze blue motifs. Varied designs. Brown-glazed Batavian ware/ *Café au lait*.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 3 rims, 1 base, 1 broken footring/base/edge

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 1008 - 1010

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 49**

**Label/Notes:** "Small bowl, blue-white, outside brown"

**Datasheet number(s): 1310 - 1315**

**Amount of sherds: 6**

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown. Blue double bands on base in footring; Interior: underglaze blue and white. Leaves on base. Rims have double bands. Brown-glazed Batavian ware/ *Café au lait*.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 2 rims, 3 bases

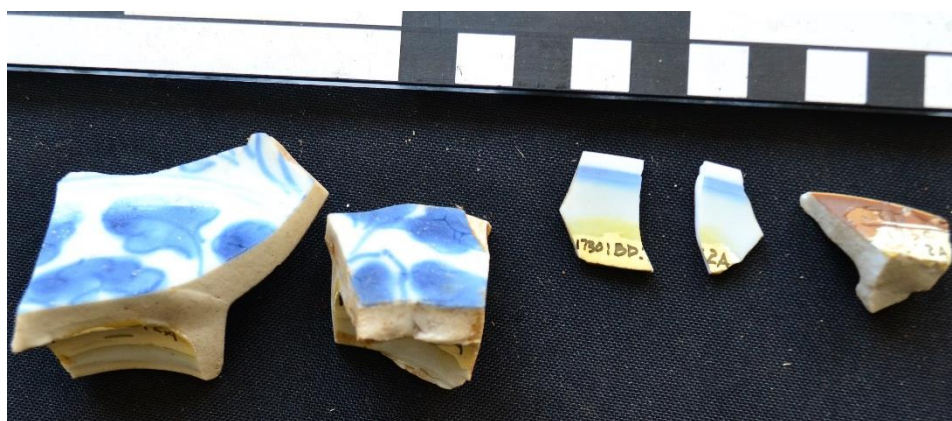
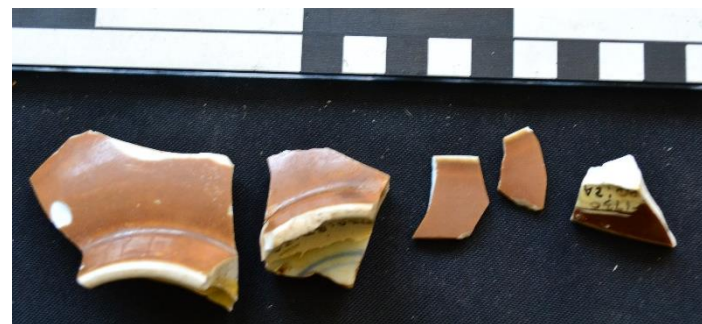
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** The footrings are unglazed.

**Photo Number(s): 1011 - 1014**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 50**

**Label/Notes:** "Class 3 Dambarare" "Blue white china 3. Outside brown. Scroll pattern and angular scroll [see illustrations]"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1316 - 1318

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Thick porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown. On base: white with underglaze blue double bands, circular. Unglazed footrings. On some: sandy accretions. Interior: bluish white and underglaze blue. Ferns or feathers (?) in a circle, with a double band around the motif. Brown-glazed Batavian ware/ *Café au lait*.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 3 footrings

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 1015 - 1017

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 51

**Label/Notes:** "White-brown china Dambarare-Doxford farms, 1730BD2A"

**Datasheet number(s):**1319 - 1322

**Amount of sherds:** 4

**Body:** Porcelain, thick, greyish white

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown; On base – white glaze with underglaze blue double bands in a circle. The footrings are unglazed. One some, sandy accretions adhere to the footrings. Interior: bluish white and underglaze blue: ferns or feathers or floral spray (?) in a circle with double band around the motif. Brown-glazed Batavian ware/ *Café au lait*.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 4 footrings

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 003 - 009

**Photo(s):** Please note that the following groups of photos are found under 101D3100 and thus start again from 001



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 52

**Label/Notes:** "4 pieces removed" "[40]25 Blue & white china outside brown"

**Datasheet number(s):**1323 - 1344

**Amount of sherds:** 22

**Body:** Porcelain (thick and greyish)

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown Base: bluish white and underglaze blue double band; Interior: Bluish white and underglaze blue ferns and double blue band surrounding them. Brown-glazed Batavian ware/*Café au lait*.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 13 footrings

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** The footrings are unglazed and have sandy accretions

**Photo Number(s):** 010 - 015

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 52**

**Label/Notes:** "4 pieces removed" "[40]25 Blue & white china outside brown"

**Datasheet number(s):**1345

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown; Base: bluish white glaze. Interior: bluish white and underglaze blue flora/leaves. Brown-glazed Batavian ware/ *Café au lait*.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Footring

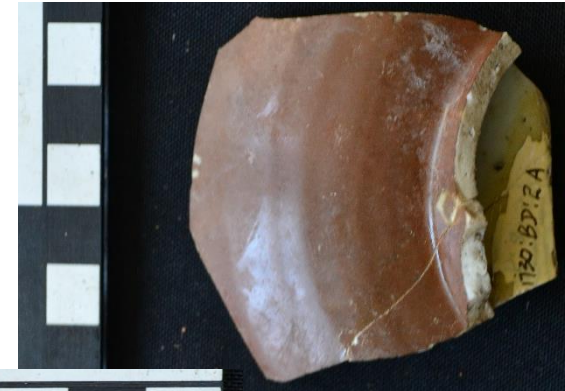
**Refit:** (see notes)

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** This is actually two sherds that have been refitted and stuck together

**Photo Number(s):** 019- 022

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #:53**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 1346**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Thick earthenware**

**Decoration:** Exterior: olive-green glaze, crazed, with horizontal and vertical inclusions; Interior: badly weathered but some traces remain of an olive glaze

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 023 - 024**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 53**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 1347 - 1353**

**Amount of sherds: 7**

**Body: Earthenware (stone-coloured)**

**Decoration: Exterior and Interior: thick opaque white glaze (blue discolorations) with turquoise motifs**

**Form: flatware**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 1 base**

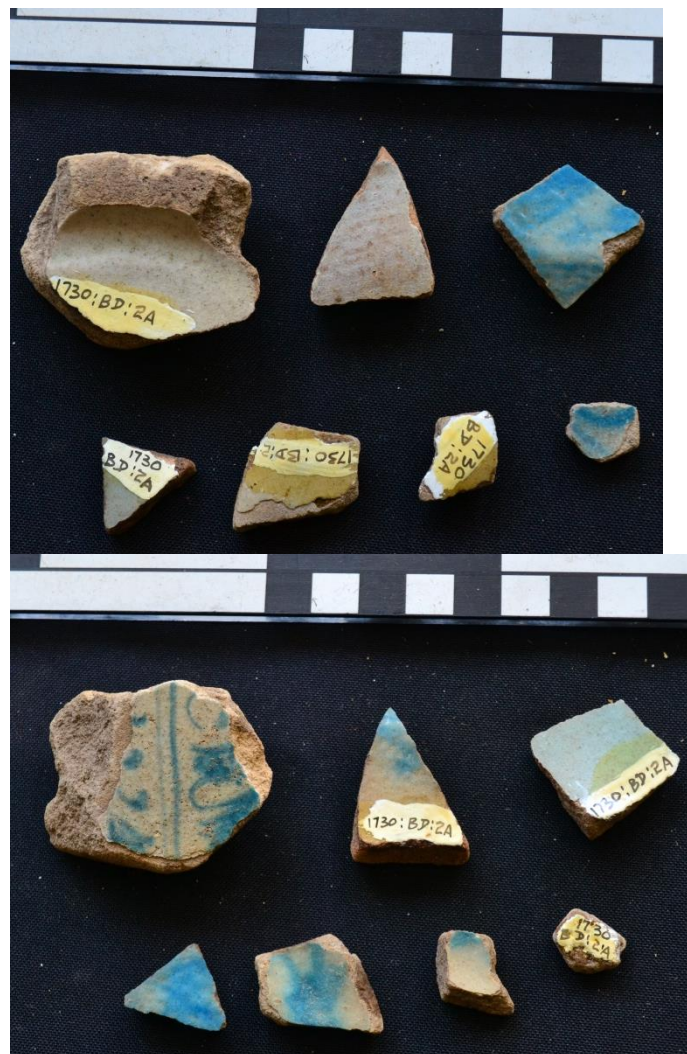
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: likely tin-glazed earthenware**

**Photo Number(s): 025 - 026**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 53

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1354

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware (cream-coloured)

**Decoration:** Thick opaque white glaze. Interior has a blue design (see illustration)

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** The rim has a scalloped edge, and some of the glaze is flaking off.

Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 027 - 028

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 53

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1355

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Interior: brown wash. Exterior: green glaze with relief and trailing

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** "Tradescant" type jar (Miedema, 1964:10).

**Photo Number(s):** 029 - 030

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 53

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1356

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Crazed golden yellow glaze. The interior additionally has an incised design.

**Form:** Uncertain

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 unglazed footring

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** It has been speculated that this might be the foot of a figurine.

**Photo Number(s):** 031 - 034

**Photo(s):**



Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe

Box #: 1

Accession number: 1730.BD.2A

Bag #: 53

Label/Notes: None

Datasheet number(s): 1357 - 1358

Amount of sherds: 2

Body: Porcelain

Decoration: Exterior: brown glaze; Interior: bluish white with underglaze blue. 1 sherd has the "fern" motif, the other: "floral" (?) pattern

Form: flatware.

Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 2 unglazed footrings.

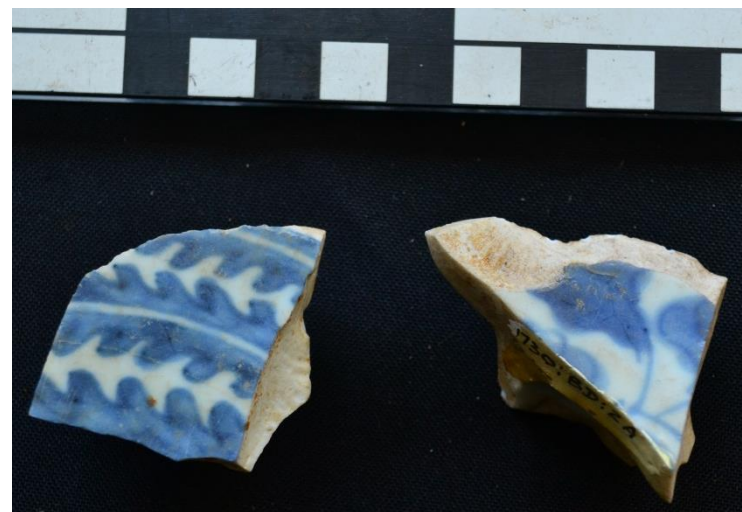
Refit:

Related to:

Other notes: Sandy accretions adhere to the footrings. Brown-glazed *café au lait*/ Batavian ware

Photo Number(s): 035 - 037

Photo(s):



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 53

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1259

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain (thick)

**Decoration:** Interior: bluish white translucent glaze; Exterior: unglazed base. Body – bluish white translucent glaze with underglaze blue motif

**Form:** Hollow (jar/vase?)

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 038 - 041

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 53

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1360

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Iranian stonepaste

**Decoration:** Exterior and Interior: thick, translucent, crazed white with blue painted motifs. Seems as though blue made indentations on the white base and has clear glaze over it with bubbles inside.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** base – footring is unglazed

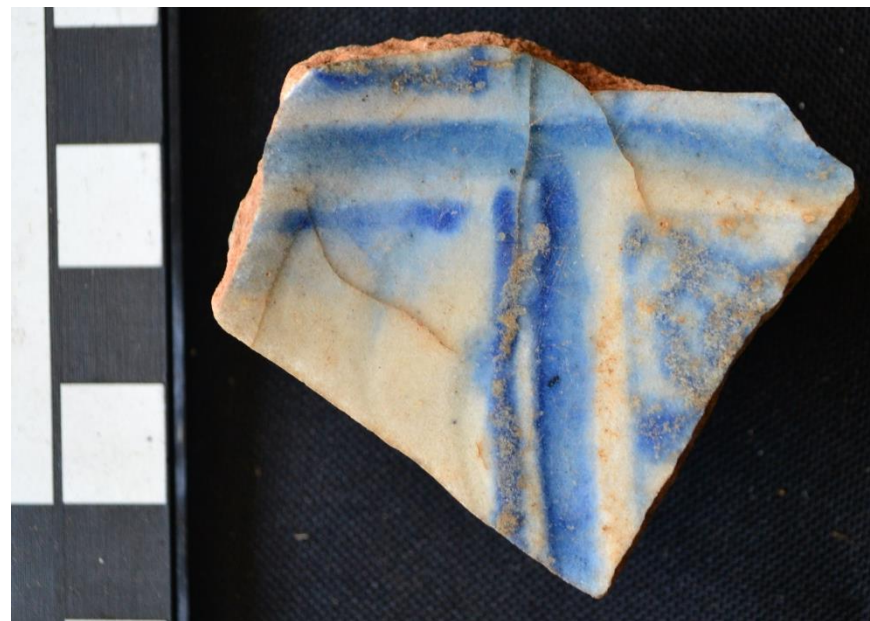
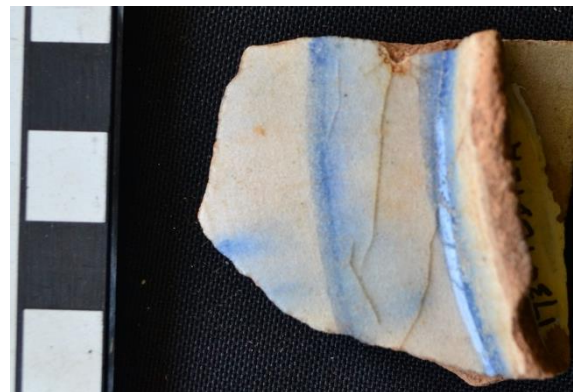
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 042 - 045

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 53

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1361

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** stonepaste

**Decoration:** Exterior and Interior: translucent thick crazed, bluish-grey glaze with underglaze blue. Interior: Flower ?; Exterior: Outside: double band above base and higher up

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base; unglazed footring

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Base shows a reign (?) or some other mark

**Photo Number(s):** 046 - 052

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 54

**Label/Notes:** "blue-white china blurred design. [39]8 Thick ware"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1362 - 1377

**Amount of sherds:** 16

**Body:** Porcelain (thick)

**Decoration:** Bluish-white glaze and underglaze blue. Some blurry, and others crudely painted.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 14 footrings. Unglazed with sandy accretions

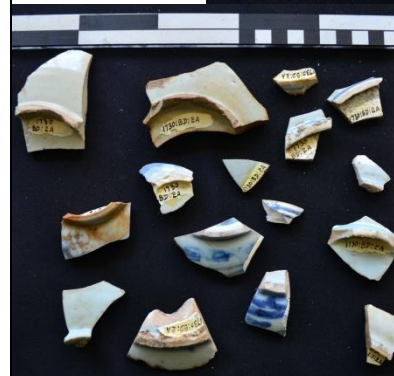
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Possibly provincial/market porcelain.

**Photo Number(s):** 053 - 063

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 54

**Label/Notes:** "blue-white china blurred design. [39]8 Thick ware"

**Datasheet number(s):**1378

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Earthenware (cream-coloured)

**Decoration:** Thick opaque white glaze. Interior: blue with damson outlines – leaves?

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** IV4

Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 064 - 065

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 55**

**Label/Notes:** "old china bits & [illegible] – numbered but [illegible] – [illegible]"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1378 - 1386

**Amount of sherds:** 9

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: Black/dark brown glaze; Interior: dark brown/olive glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 067 - 068

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 55**

**Label/Notes:** "old china bits & [illegible] – numbered but [illegible] – [illegible]"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1387 - 1405

**Amount of sherds:** 18

**Body:** Earthenware (cream)

**Decoration:** Thick opaque white glaze with blue designs, sometimes damson outline. (1 sherd – lower left bottom row – has a crazed, speckled blue glaze).

**Form:** flatware

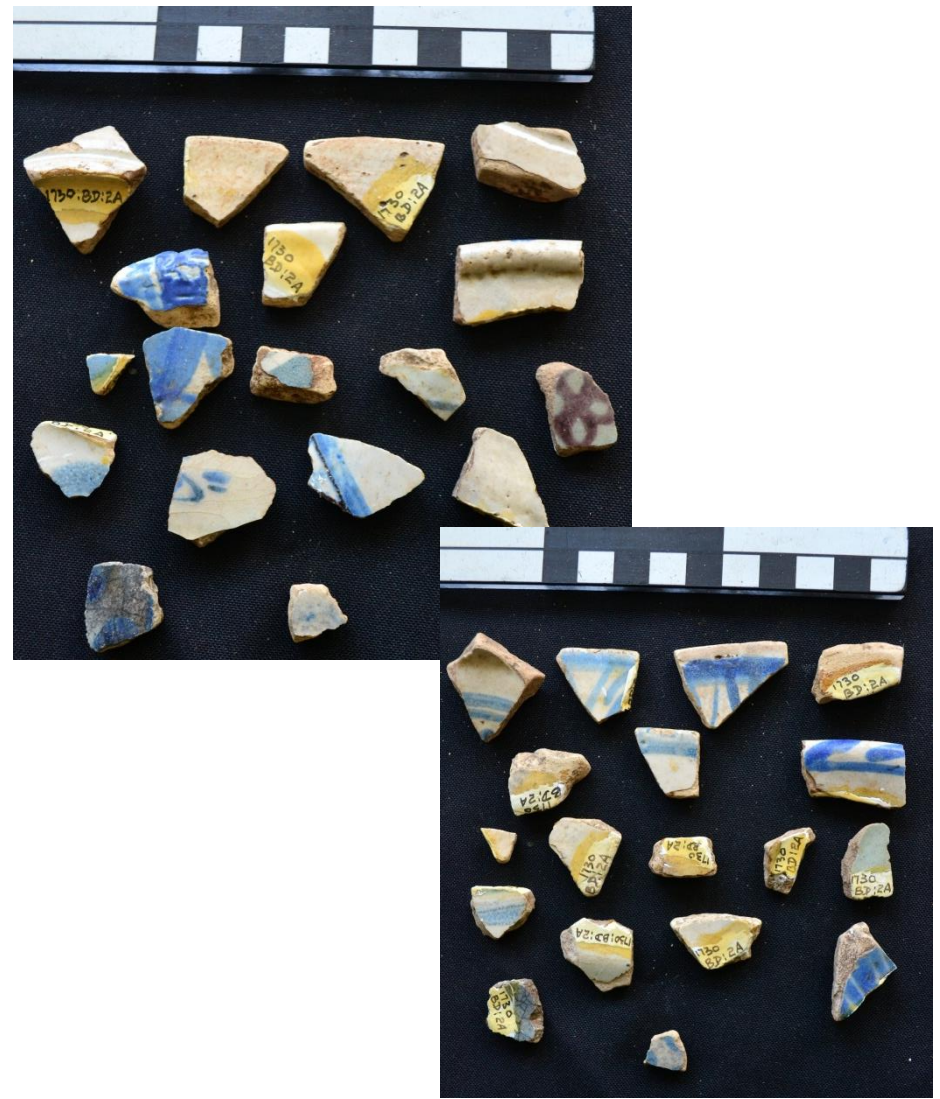
**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 4 rims, 2 bases

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** tin-glazed earthenware likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 069 - 070



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 55**

**Label/Notes:** "old china bits & [illegible] – numbered but [illegible] – [illegible]"

**Datasheet number(s): 1406 - 1410**

**Amount of sherds:** 5

**Body:** Stonepaste

**Decoration:** Thick bluish-white glaze with underglaze blue.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 base

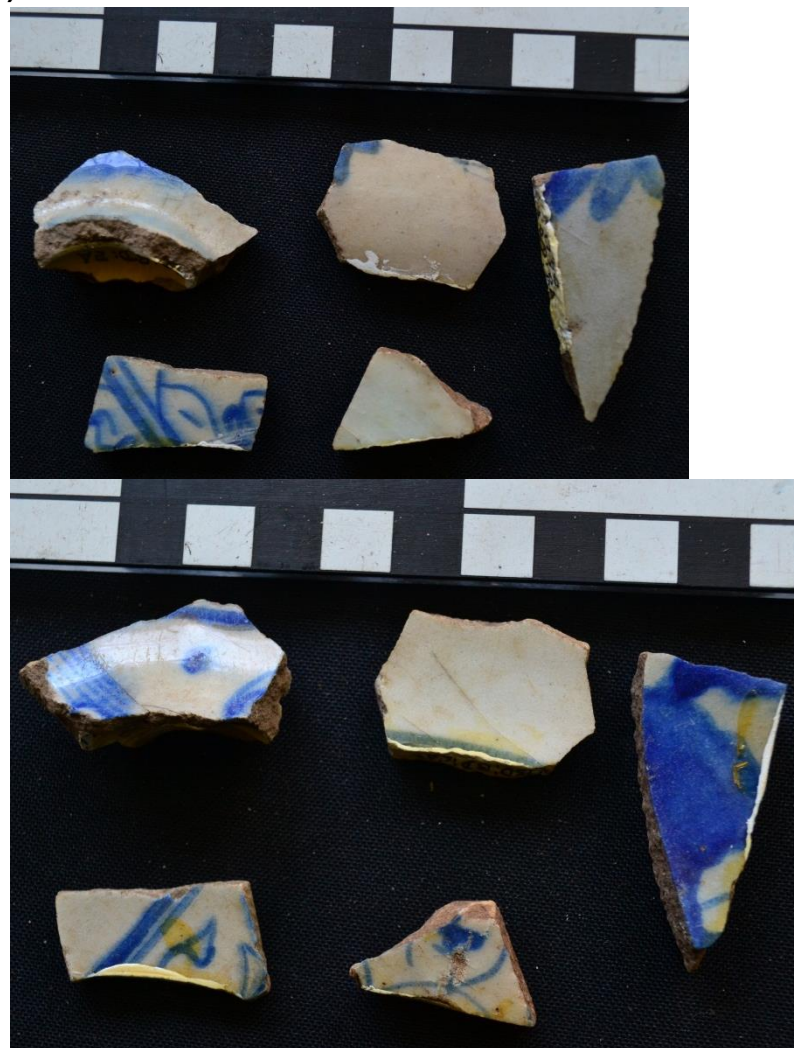
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 071 - 072**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 55**

**Label/Notes:** "old china bits & [illegible] – numbered but [illegible] – [illegible]"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1411 - 1452

**Amount of sherds:** 42

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Bluish white base with underglaze blue motifs. Various designs. 1 piece is reddish and unglazed – possibly a base?

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 3 rims, 7 footrings, unglazed

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 073 - 088

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 55**

**Label/Notes:** "old china bits & [illegible] – numbered but [illegible] – [illegible]"

**Datasheet number(s):1453**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body:** Stoneware?

**Decoration:** very weathered blue-gray stoneware

**Form:** uncertain

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 089 - 090**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 56

**Label/Notes:** "blue-and -white china; Jumbo area"

**Datasheet number(s):**1454

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** porcelain

**Decoration:** Thick, crazed, translucent glaze with green bands/design

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

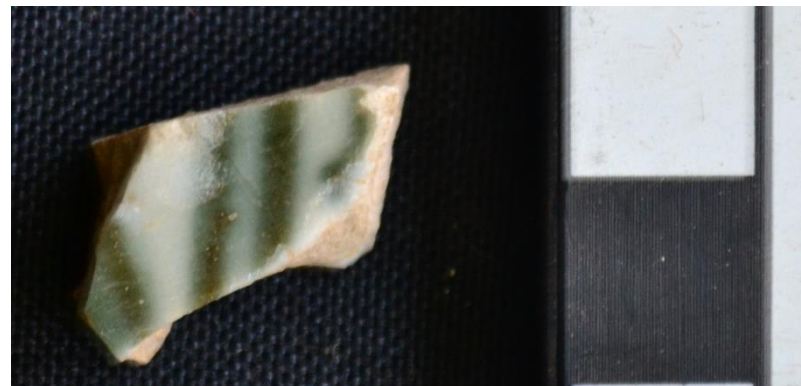
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Possibly Swatow or provincial wares (based on discoloured blue underglaze.)

**Photo Number(s):** 091 - 092

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 56**

**Label/Notes:** "blue-and -white china; Jumbo area"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1455 - 1506

**Amount of sherds:** 52

**Body:** Porcelain (thick)

**Decoration:** Bluish-white glaze with underglaze blue varying designs. On 3 pieces the exterior is unglazed – could be the base?

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 8 footrings (unglazed, base is unevenly glazed, and there is sand adhering to the footrings); 15 rims

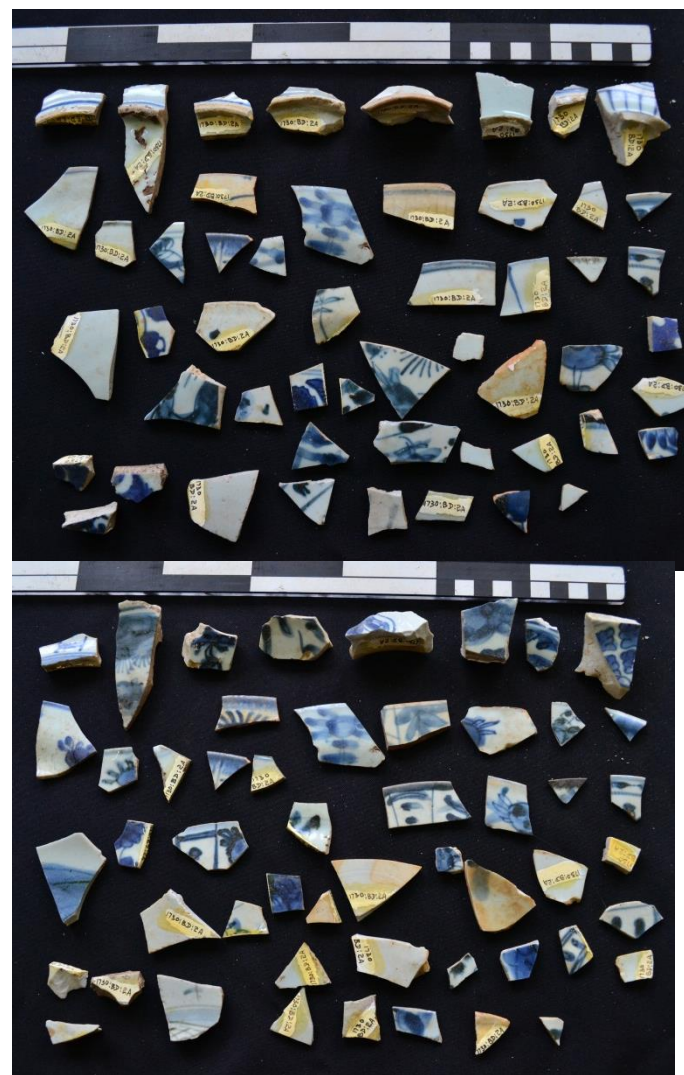
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** See photos in between for better detail of each sherd.

**Photo Number(s):** 093 - 136

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 57

**Label/Notes:** “[35]22 V. thick china sherds with blue lines and crackles. White and bluish china. Bottom pieces undecorated”

**Datasheet number(s):** 1507 - 1527

**Amount of sherds:** 21

**Body:** Porcelain (mostly thick)

**Decoration:** Bluish-white and underglaze blue (on some). Some are crazed/crackles

**Form:** hollow- and flatware mixed

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 17 bases (2 flat, unglazed bases; the rest have footrings, unglazed, with sandy accretions)

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 137 - 149

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 58

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1528

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain (thick, stone-coloured)

**Decoration:** Craze blue and underglaze blue. Exterior: double band

**Form:** Hollow. (Jar?)

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base (unglazed footring with sandy accretions)

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 150 - 154

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 58

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1529

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: bluish white translucent glaze. Interior: Bluish-white translucent glaze with underglaze blue design. Detailed. Unsure what the motif is, but I think it is a roof and then perhaps around it are panels.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 155 - 156

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 58

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1530

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Bluish-white translucent glaze. Interior: motif in underglaze blue – uncertain what it is, but may be clouds and a landscape scene?

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base : footring is unglazed

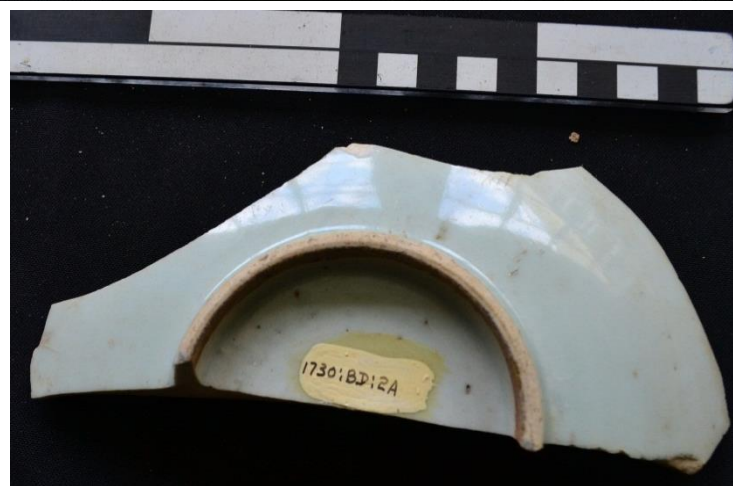
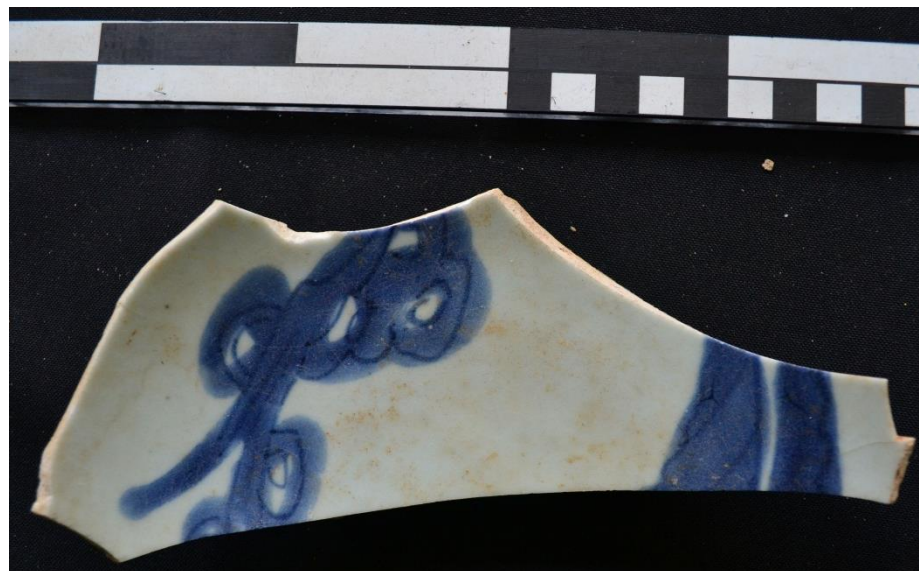
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 157 - 160

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 58

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1531

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Bluish-white translucent glaze with Exterior: underglaze blue band on base and around rim, with scrolling leaves. Interior: Scrolling leaves with double band

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base: unglazed footring

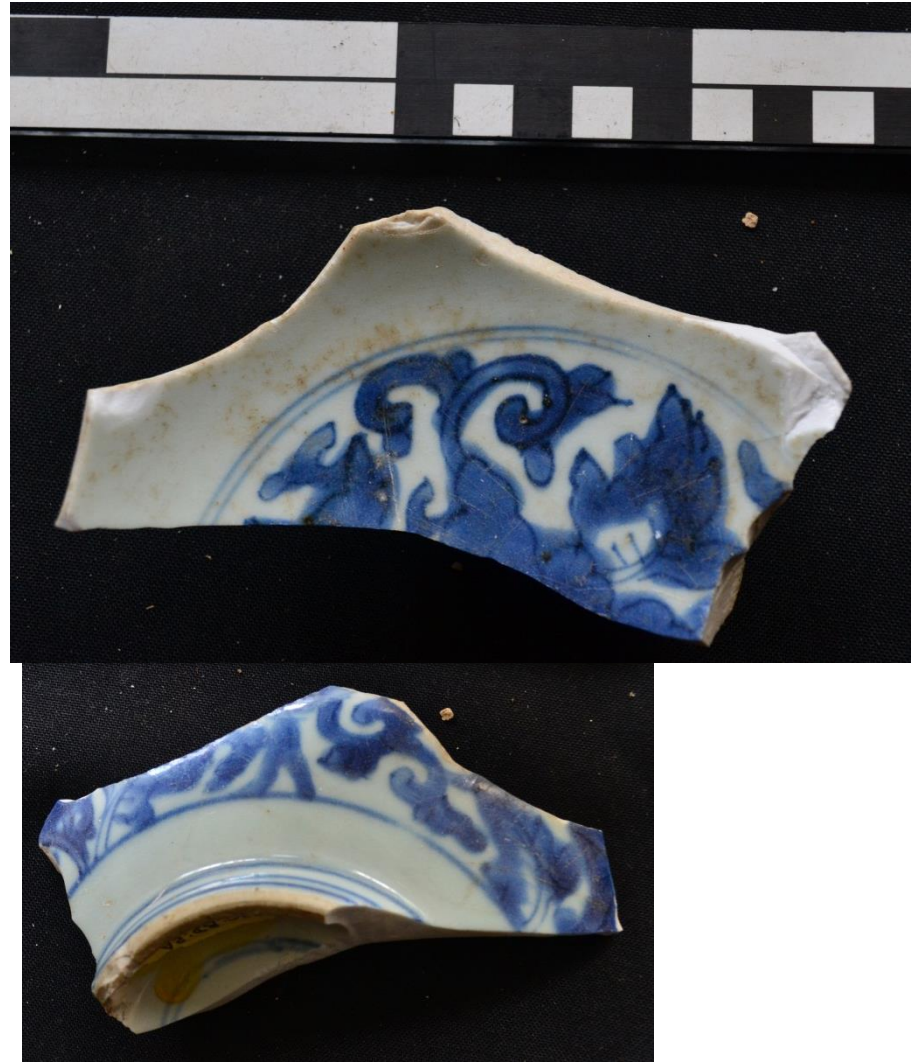
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 161 - 163

**Photo(s):**



Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe

Box #: 1

Accession number: 1730.BD.2A

Bag #: 59

Label/Notes: "[24]16 V. pale blue-on-white china."

Datasheet number(s): 1532 - 1550

Amount of sherds: 19

Body: Porcelain

Decoration: matte white ground (possibly weathered translucent glaze) with underglaze blue designs – faded. Some of the designs are quite crudely painted. One has a bamboo design.

Form: flatware

Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 8 bases – the footrings are unglazed, have unequal glaze around it, with sandy accretions to the bases; 2 rims (1 rim is unglazed and red)

Refit:

Related to:

Other notes:

Photo Number(s): 165 - 175

Photo(s):



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 60

**Label/Notes:** "Porcelain removed (4)" "blue-and-white china found Jumbo area [31]4-3"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1551

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stonepaste

**Decoration:** Thick white crazed glaze. Exterior: stained brown. Interior: Greenish blue design

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base sandy/uneven accretions

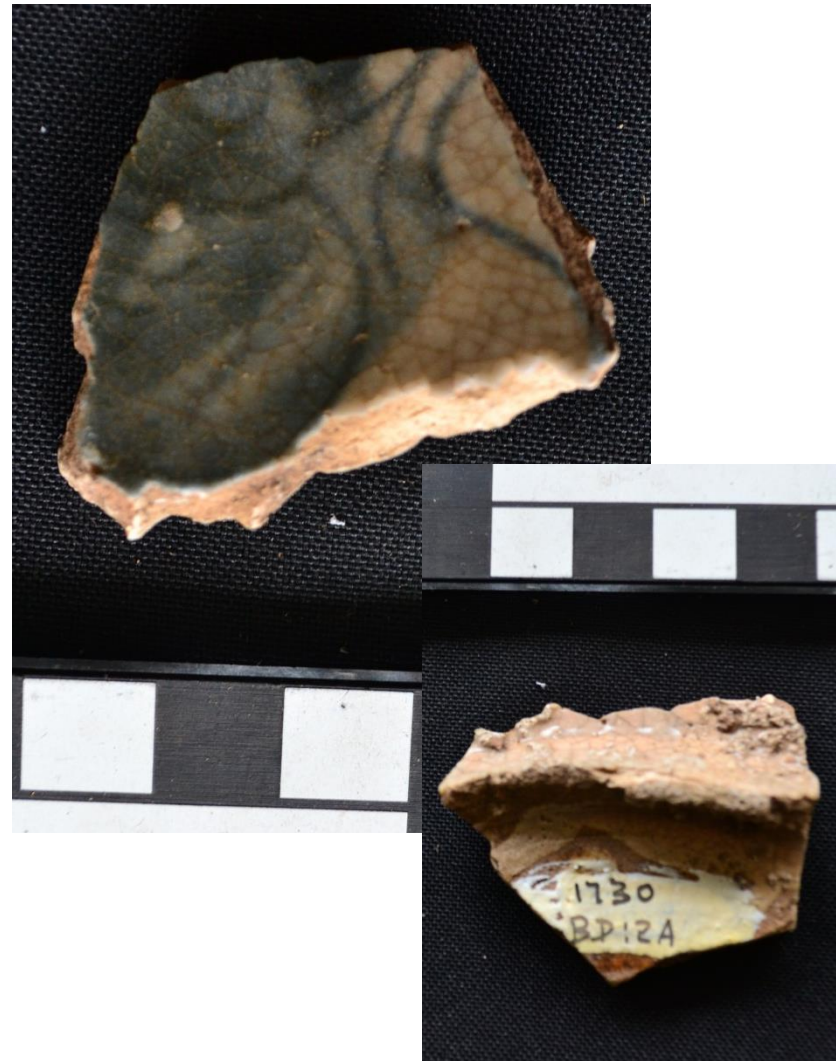
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 176 - 177

**Photo(s):**



<p><b>Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe</b> <b>Box #:</b> 1 <b>Accession number:</b> 1730.BD.2A <b>Bag #:</b> 60 <b>Label/Notes:</b> "Porcelain removed (4)" "blue-and-white china found Jumbo area [31]4-3" <b>Datasheet number(s):</b> 1552 - 1590 <b>Amount of sherds:</b> 39 <b>Body:</b> Porcelain (some are thick) <b>Decoration:</b> Underglaze blue and white. <b>Form:</b> <b>Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:</b> <b>Refit:</b> <b>Related to:</b> <b>Other notes:</b> See photos and miscellaneous as in notebook</p>	<p><b>Photo Number(s):</b> 178 - 230 <b>Photo(s):</b>SEE PHOTOS</p>
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**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 61

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1591

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Underglaze blue and white. Exterior: symbols? Interior: floral design circled by a double band

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base.

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Footring is unglazed

**Photo Number(s):** 239 - 242

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 61

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1592

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown glaze; glazed base. Interior: bluish white translucent glaze with underglaze blue motif: willow tree and mountains. Brown-glazed Batavian ware/ Café au lait

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base (unglazed footring)

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 243- 245

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 61**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 1593 - 1594**

**Amount of sherds: 2**

**Body: Porcelain**

**Decoration: Underglaze blue and white**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit: No, but likely to come from same/similar vessel**

**Related to: Possibly to Q3**

**Other notes:** It is difficult to guess the shape or type of this vessel with such small fragments and little documentary resources to base the identification on.

**Photo Number(s): 246 - 248**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 61

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 1595 - 1597

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Earthenware (cream-coloured)

**Decoration:** Thick white opaque glaze, crazed, blue motifs

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

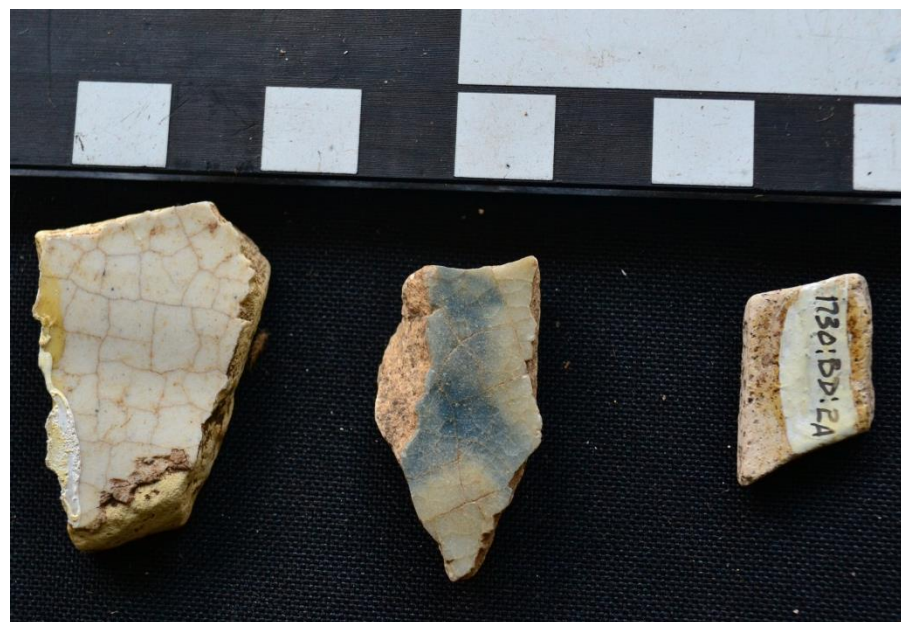
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s):** 249 - 250

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 61**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 1598 - 1600**

**Amount of sherds: 3**

**Body: Stonepaste**

**Decoration: Crazed white and blue painted glaze**

**Form: flatware**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

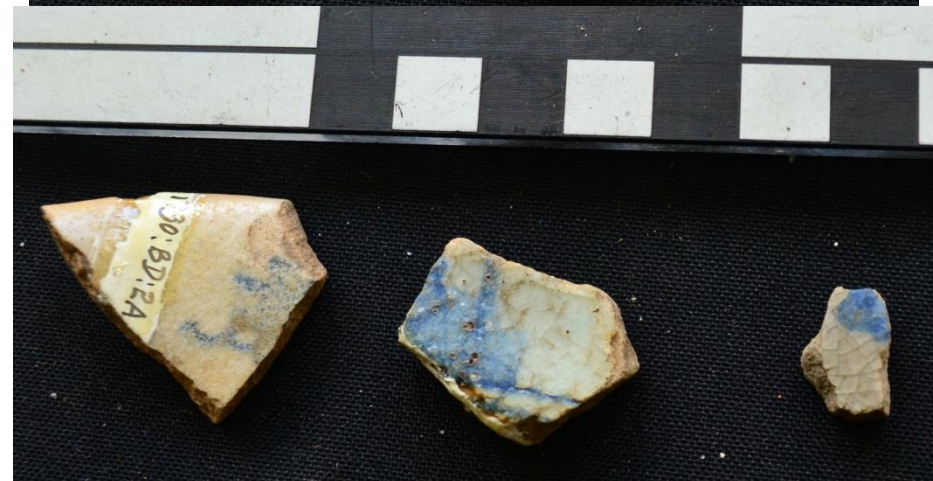
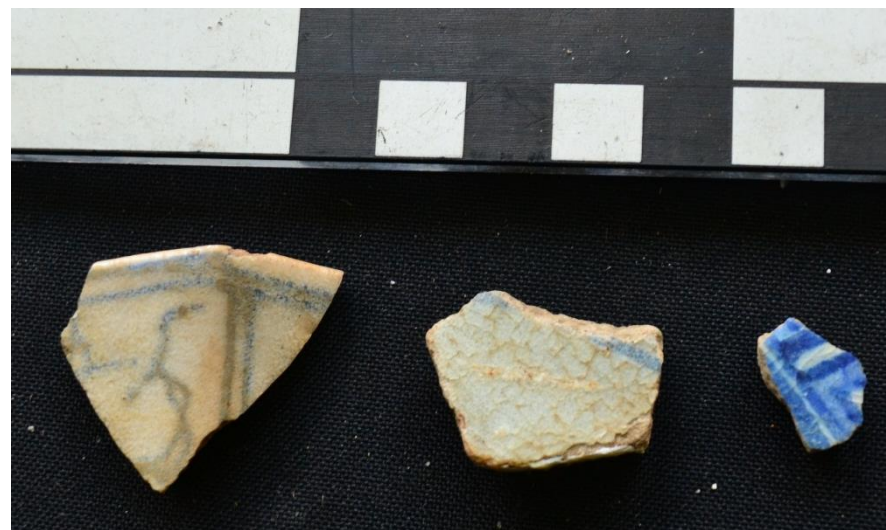
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 251 - 252**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 61**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 1602 - 1688**

**Amount of sherds: 87**

**Body: Porcelain**

**Decoration: Underglaze blue and white (see photos)**

**Form: flatware**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: some (see photos)**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

There may be some examples of Kraak porcelain in this group

**Photo Number(s): 253 - 256**

**Photo(s):also print these bigger**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 61**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s):1689**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Porcelain**

**Decoration: Underglaze blue and white. Exterior: symbols?**

**Form: flatware**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

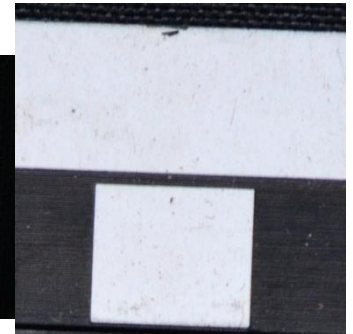
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 257 - 258**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 62**

**Label/Notes:** "4 sherds removed: Q36; Q20; Q23; Q3" "Mrs Goodall's sherd collection"

**Datasheet number(s): 1690 - 1697 + 1710**

**Amount of sherds:** 12

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Varies. Thick white opaque glaze with blue/ blue and purple/ turquoise designs. 1 sherd has a white interior and blue exterior

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 rim

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Photo: Top left to right: Q40; ???; Q38; Q15; Q34;  
Bottom: Q31; Q29

Also, see photo of accompanying document explaining the "Q"s

Tin-glazed earthenware, likely of Portuguese origin.

**Photo Number(s): 265 - 266**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 62

**Label/Notes:** "4 sherds removed: Q36; Q20; Q23; Q3" "Mrs Goodall's sherd collection"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1698

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Industrial stoneware

**Decoration:** Yellow-cream glaze: industrial ware

**Form:** uncertain, but likely hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** rim

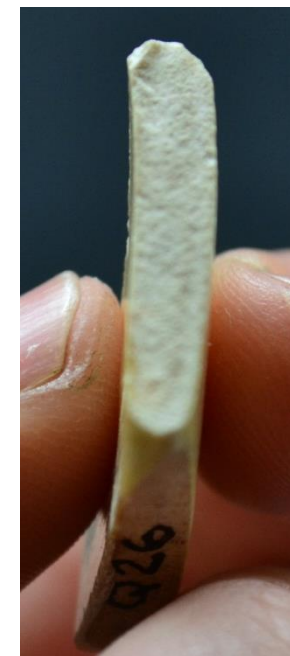
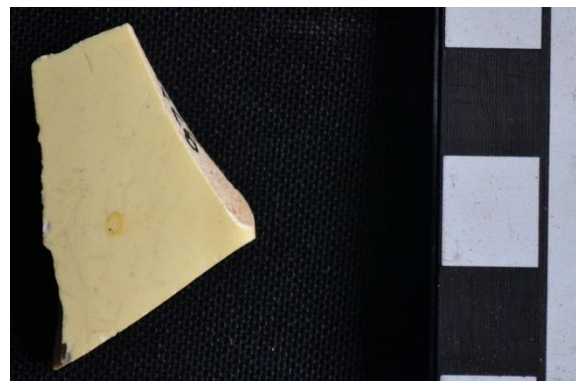
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Q26; Probably from later settlement.

**Photo Number(s):** 267 - 270

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 1**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #: 62**

**Label/Notes:** "4 sherds removed: Q36; Q20; Q23; Q3" "Mrs Goodall's sherd collection"

**Datasheet number(s):**1701 - 1708

**Amount of sherds:** 8

**Body:** Stonepaste

**Decoration:** grainy, sometimes crazed translucent white glaze with blue or blue and black designs

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 3 rims, 1 base

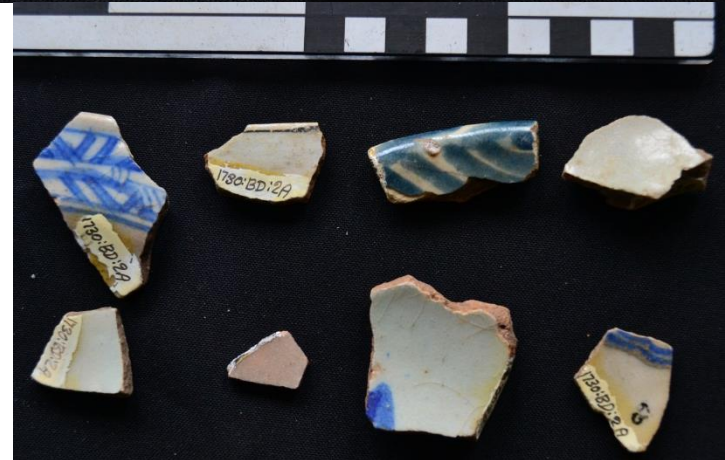
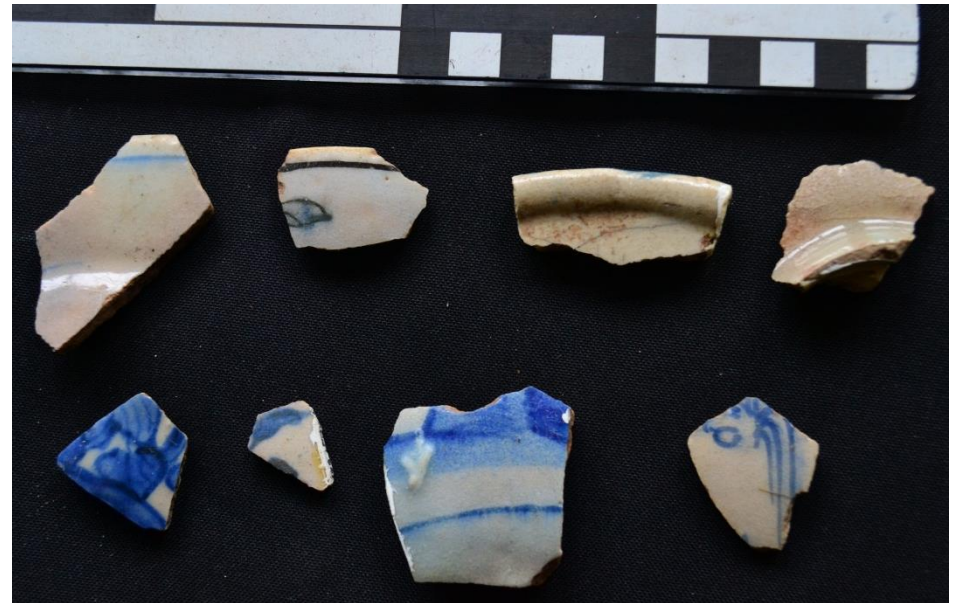
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** From left to right: Top: Q7; Q32; Q33; Q28(?); Bottom: Q12; Q10(?); Q17; Q9

**Photo Number(s):** 271 - 272

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 62

**Label/Notes:** "4 sherds removed: Q36; Q20; Q23; Q3" "Mrs Goodall's sherd collection"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1709

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stoneware (?)

**Decoration:** Thick, greenish-white glaze. Uneven and cracks

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** rim

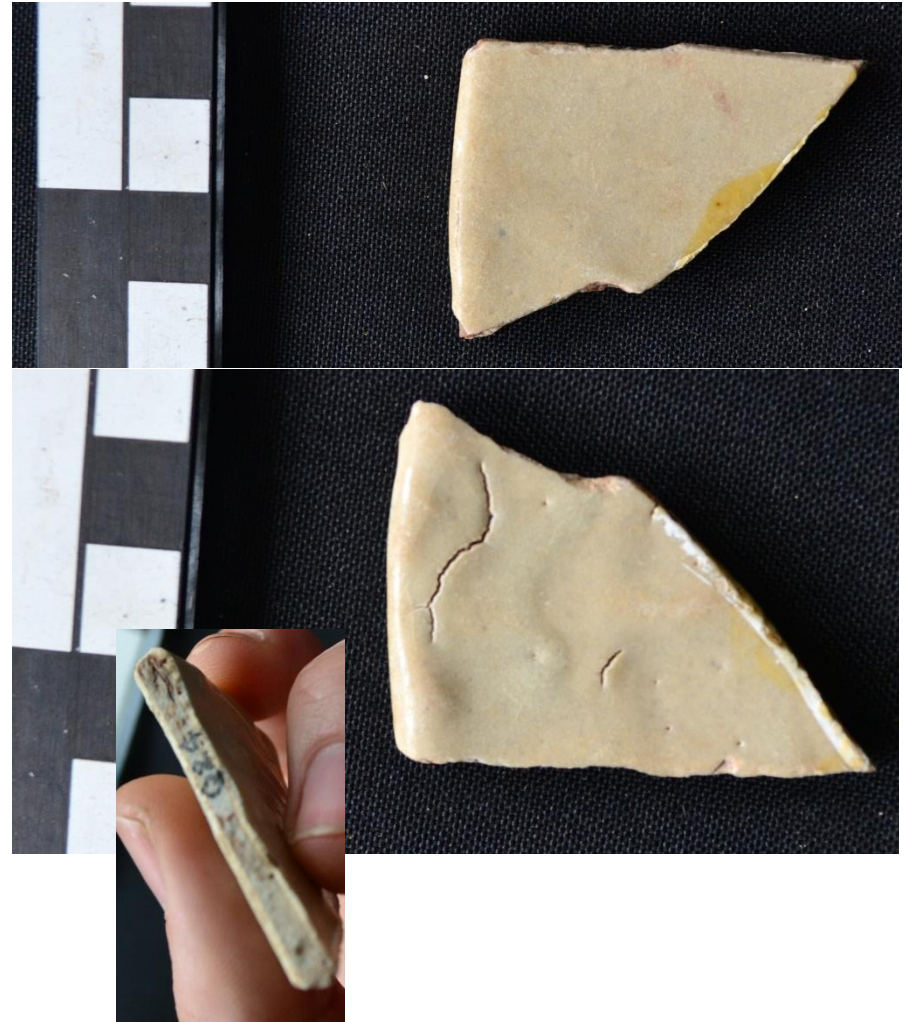
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Apparently Q24 is celadon. This is likely although the celadon is probably discoloured to this colour.

**Photo Number(s):** 273 - 276

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 1

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 62

**Label/Notes:** "4 sherds removed: Q36; Q20; Q23; Q3" "Mrs Goodall's sherd collection"

**Datasheet number(s):**1711 - 1712

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown; Interior: underglaze white and blue. Brown-glazed *Café au lait*/Batavian ware.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** rim

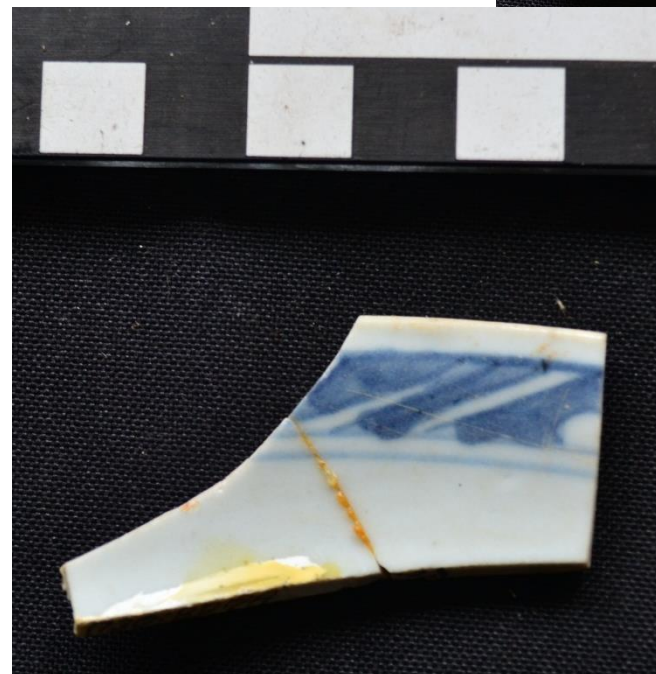
**Refit:** to each other – stuck back together

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** 1710 is with an earlier grouping; Q21

**Photo Number(s):** 279 - 280

**Photo(s):**



<p><b>Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe</b> <b>Box #:</b> 1 <b>Accession number:</b> 1730.BD.2A <b>Bag #:</b> 62 <b>Label/Notes:</b> "4 sherds removed: Q36; Q20; Q23; Q3" "Mrs Goodall's sherd collection" <b>Datasheet number(s):</b> 1713 - 1724 <b>Amount of sherds:</b> 12 <b>Body:</b> Porcelain <b>Decoration:</b> It varies, but underglaze white and blue <b>Form:</b> <b>Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:</b> 12 rims <b>Refit:</b> <b>Related to:</b> <b>Other notes:</b> Q25 has a red, unglazed rim. See notebook for photos</p>	<p><b>Photo Number(s):</b> 281 - <b>Photo(s):</b> see doc 1713-1724.</p> <p>SEE PART 1 AT END</p>
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**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 2

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.27

**Bag #:** 63

**Label/Notes:** "Stoneware – Garlake's class 4, Dambarare"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1725 - 1915

**Amount of sherds:** 191

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior and interior: Bark brown glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** I did not take specific pictures, seeing as I had little time, but also because these are of the exact same type of stoneware as seen earlier, eg bag 1.

**Photo Number(s):** 0013

**Photo(s):** These photos are in the file 2nov



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 2**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.27

**Bag #: 64**

**Label/Notes:** "Near stoneware: subjected to secondary firing – Garlake's C4"

**Datasheet number(s): 1916 - 1985**

**Amount of sherds:** 70

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior and Interior: Dark brown glaze. Badly weathered/vitrified

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 2 bases (flat)

**Refit:** Some are refitted and glued together

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 14-18**

**Photo(s): (representative sample)**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 2

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.26

**Bag #:** 65

**Label/Notes:** "1730BD26 Earthworks blue and white porcelain"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1986

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain (thick)

**Decoration:** Bluish white glaze: Interior: glazed with some grainy inclusions; Exterior: Underglaze blue designs

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Base (unglazed base)

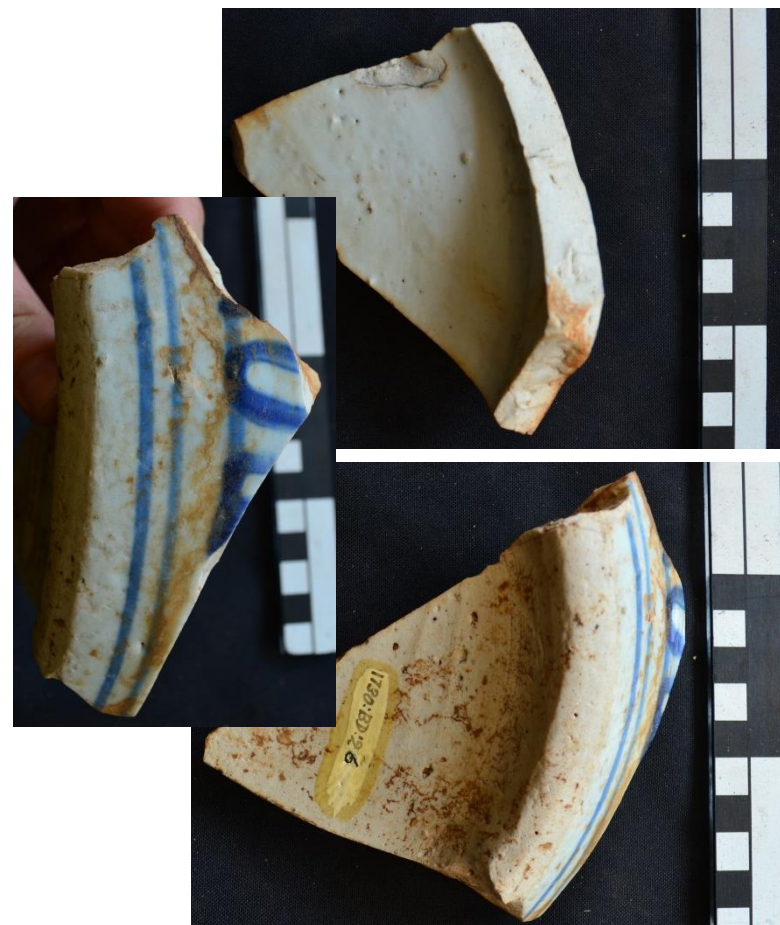
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 19 - 22

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 3**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.30**

**Bag #: 66**

**Label/Notes:** The label on the bag reads "Dombashava" but it could just be a reused bag? The accession number does fit in with Dambarare though (I think)

**Datasheet number(s): 1987**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body:** Porcelain (thick)

**Decoration:** bluish-white glaze with underglaze blue design

**Form:** Flatware?

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** base – unglazed footring

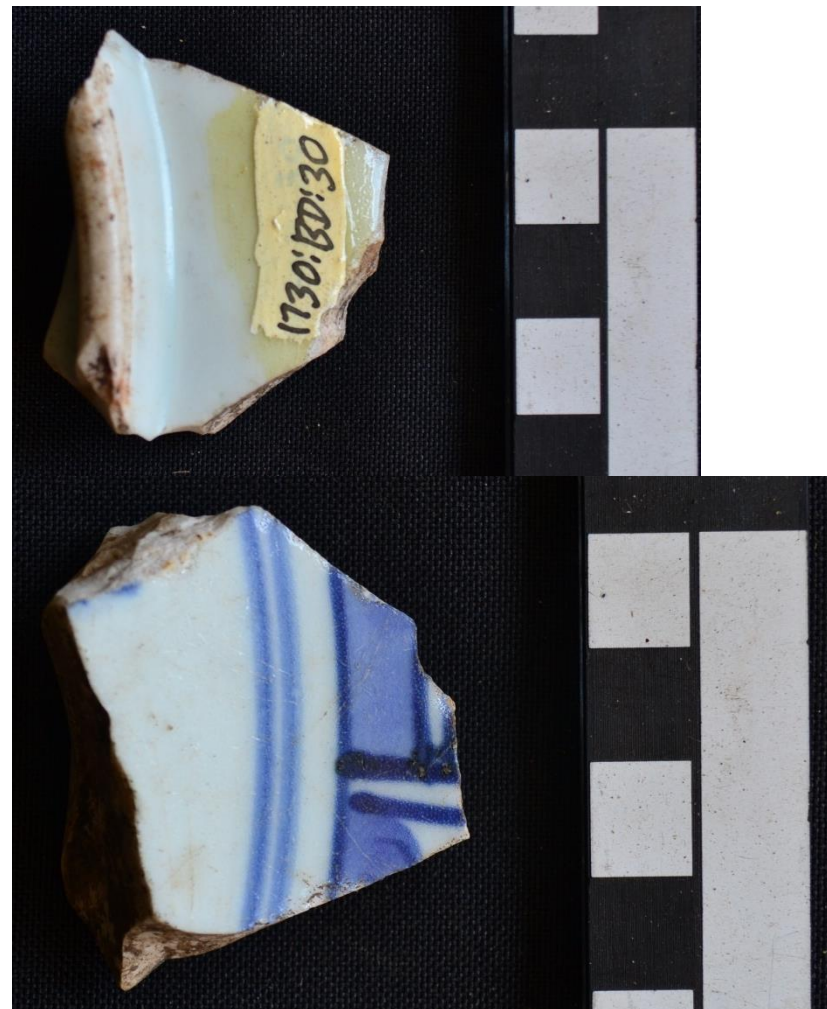
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 23 - 24**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 67

**Label/Notes:** "16/12/91, 1730BD20, Gr1 level 1, 0-20cm, 590 grams"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1988

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: dark brown (with some circular impressions);  
Interior: light brown glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 226-227

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 68

**Label/Notes:** "TR2 (Level1) 11/12/91"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1989

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Bluish-white glaze with underglaze blue. Exterior: blue line and design. Interior: Bright blue with darker borders

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

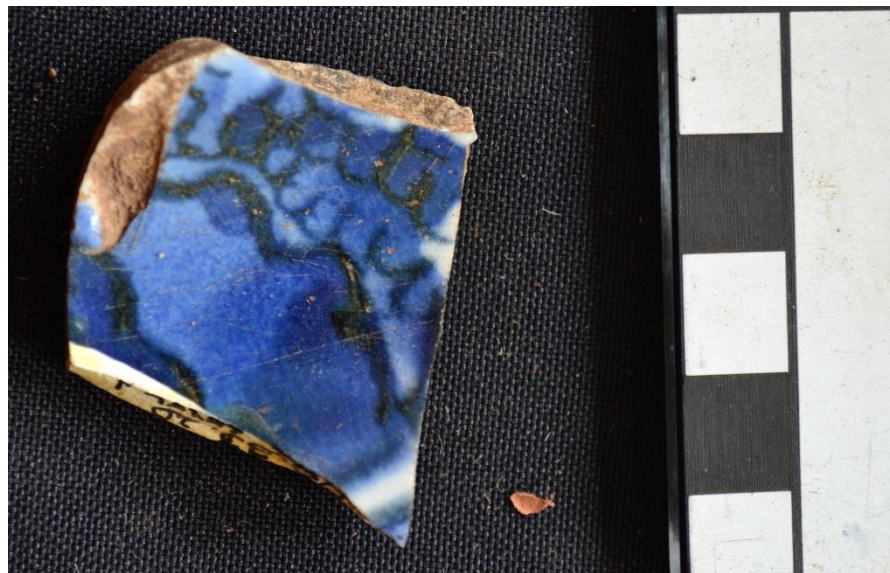
**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

:

**Photo Number(s):** 228 -229

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:**69

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare area Site 4 Dec '88 1730BD20"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1990

**Amount of sherds:**1

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: Dark brown glaze; Interior: light brown glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 232-233

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:**69

**Label/Notes:** "Dambarare area site 4 Dec '88 1730BD20"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1991 - 1992

**Amount of sherds:**2

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** bluish-white and underglaze blue with darker lines. The exterior is white only.

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

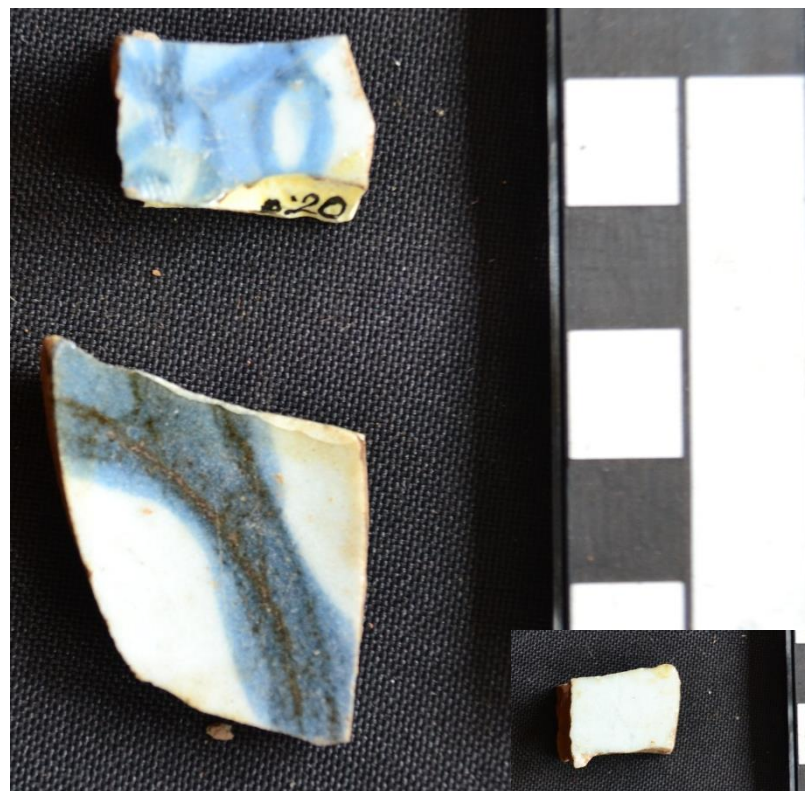
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 234 - 235

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 70

**Label/Notes:** "1730BD20 TR1 (Level1) 11/12/91"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1993-1994

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior and interior: dark brown glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 lip; 1 base (or rim?)

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Soot on exterior and interior

**Photo Number(s):** 236 -237

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 70

**Label/Notes:** "1730BD20 TR1 (Level1) 11/12/91"

**Datasheet number(s):** 1995 - 1998

**Amount of sherds:** 4

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** underglaze blue and white. Burnt/vitrified

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 2 footrings

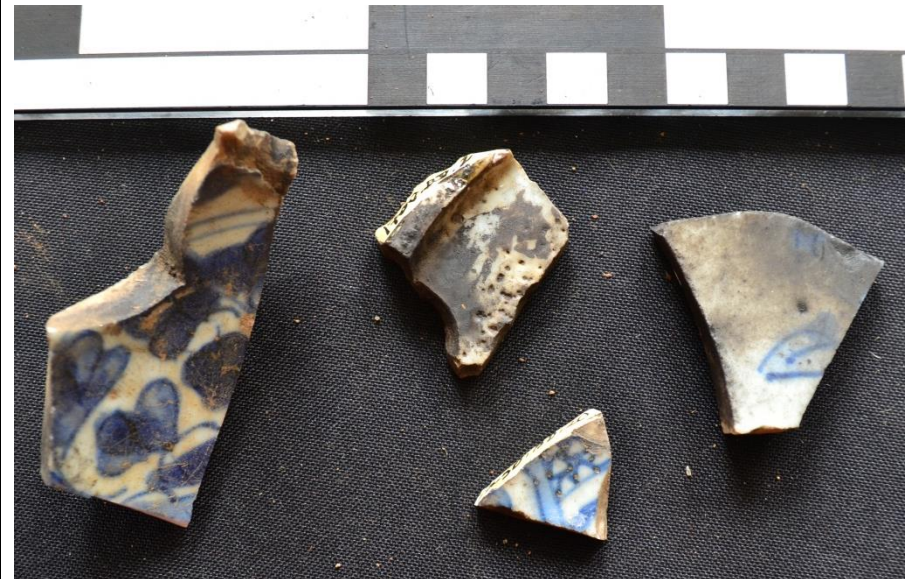
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** soot on interior and exterior of sherds

**Photo Number(s):** 238-239

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 4**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.71**

**Bag #:71**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 1999 - 2000**

**Amount of sherds:2**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration:** Exterior: dark brown glaze, uneven. Interior: light brown glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 287-288**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:**72

**Label/Notes:** "1730BD20 Dambarare"

**Datasheet number(s):** 2001

**Amount of sherds:**1

**Body:** Industrial porcelain

**Decoration:** Blue printed on white

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

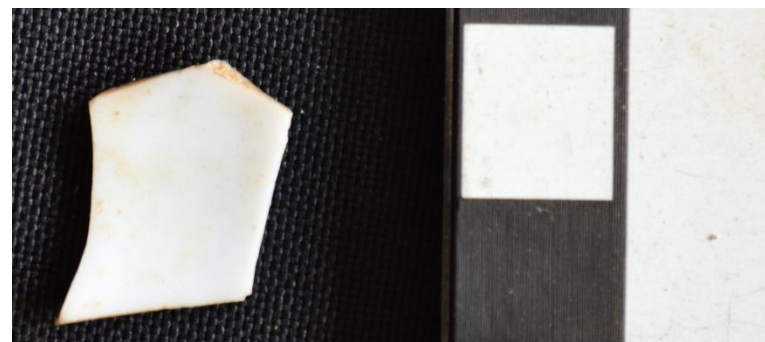
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely from a later occupation. Very thin body.

**Photo Number(s):** 251-252

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 72

**Label/Notes:** "1730BD20 Dambarare"

**Datasheet number(s):** 2002 - 2006

**Amount of sherds:** 5

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Underglaze blue and white – various designs

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 2 rims (1 is unglazed)

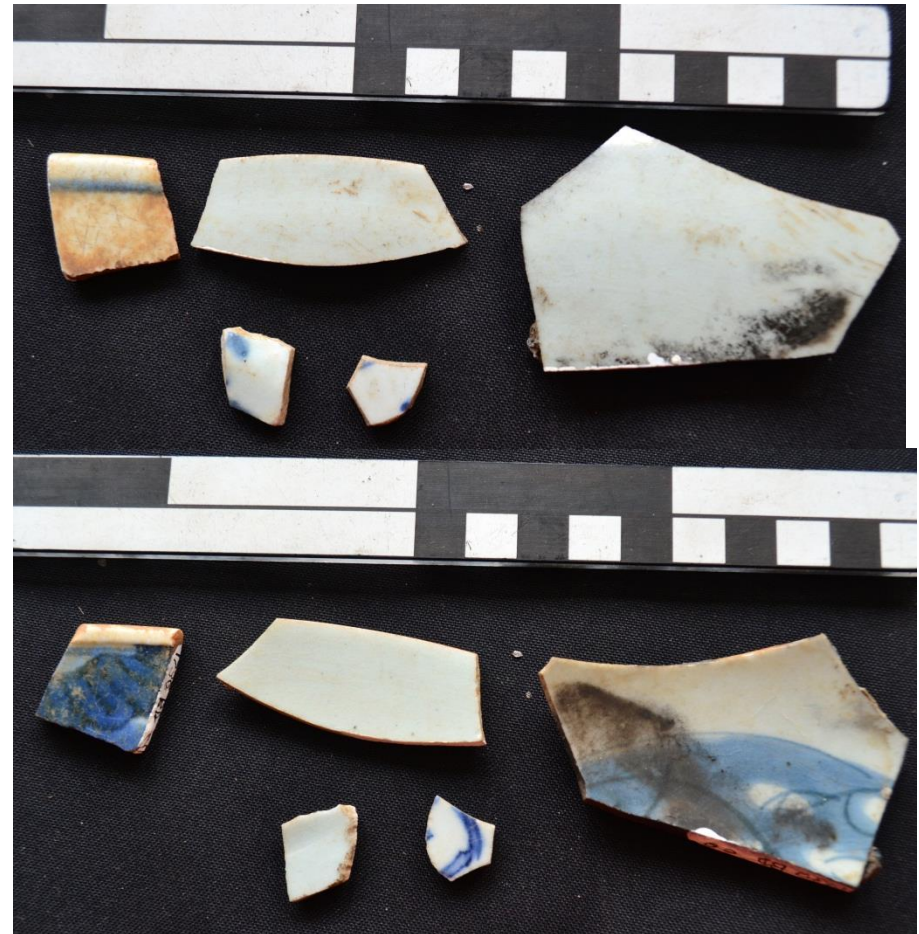
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Soot covering interior and exterior of sherds

**Photo Number(s):** 253-254

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 73

**Label/Notes:** "1730BD20"

**Datasheet number(s):** 2007 - 2009

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: dark brown glaze; Interior: either dark brown and lighter brown mottle/unglazed

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

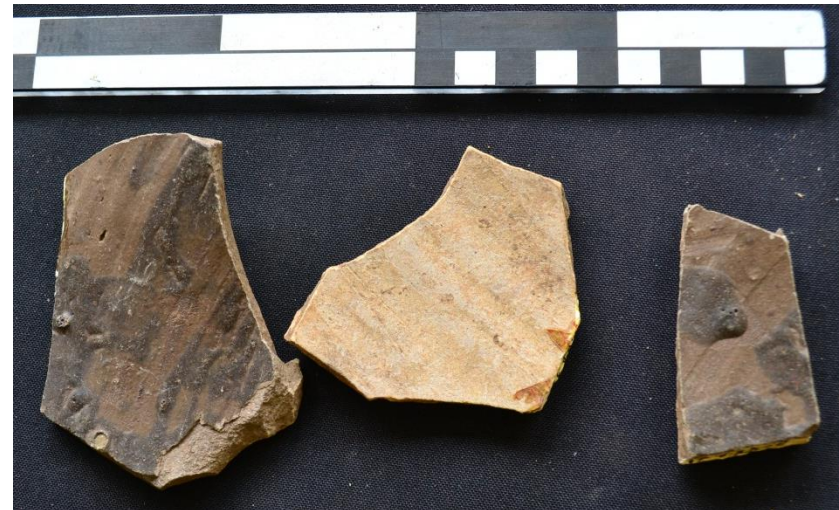
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** 1 sherd has part of a handle still attached

**Photo Number(s):** 290-291

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 4**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.20**

**Bag #:73**

**Label/Notes: "1730BD20"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2010**

**Amount of sherds:1**

**Body: Terracotta**

**Decoration: Exterior: weathered; Interior: brown uneven glaze**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 292-293**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 4**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.20**

**Bag #: 74**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2011 - 2012**

**Amount of sherds: 2**

**Body: Terracotta**

**Decoration:** Exterior: badly weathered, maybe olive glaze. Interior: weathered, brownish red glaze

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 25 -27**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 74

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 2013 - 2024

**Amount of sherds:** 12

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: dark brown; Interior: dark brown or light brown

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 unglazed base

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** 1 sherd has an incised line on the exterior

**Photo Number(s):** 28 - 29

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 75

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 2025 - 2030

**Amount of sherds:** 6

**Body:** Terracotta

**Decoration:** Exterior: either unglazed/weathered/olive yellow glaze;  
Interior: olive yellow

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** weathered

**Photo Number(s):** 30-31

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 75

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 2031

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** weathered. Exterior?; Interior: unglazed, whitish

**Form:** hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

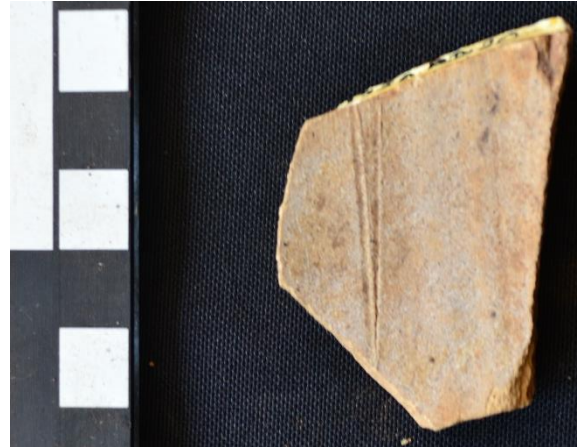
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 32-33

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 4**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.20**

**Bag #: 75**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2032 - 2039**

**Amount of sherds: 8**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration: Exterior and interior: dark brown glaze**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 34-35**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 76

**Label/Notes:** "Collected by Mr Hambrouck, history teacher at Prince Edward school, 1995" "Dambarare: - Pottery: 3 blue and white china, 1 local? [it is actually stoneware]. – notes inside" "pottery found at Dambarare (anc Portuguese feira near Jumbo Mine, Mazowe" "i. Location TR 763 762 – Map: concession 1730B4; ii: surface finds only: the pottery was found on a very low hill to the west of the dam & to the south oof the dirt road in close proximity of one another (see abovementioned map coordinates and indication and on the map "Portuguese earthworks"; iii: When: Sept 1995; iv: pottery: a. 3 pieces of blue and white china; b. 1 unidentified piece of local (?) pottery GLH; 06/11/95"

**Datasheet number(s):** 2040

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: dark brown glaze; Interior: unglazed, but with some dark brown glaze dripping lines

**Form:** hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 36-37

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 4

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 76

**Label/Notes:** "Collected by Mr Hambrouck, history teacher at Prince Edward school, 1995" "Dambarare: - Pottery: 3 blue and white china, 1 local? [it is actually stoneware]. – notes inside" "pottery found at Dambarare (anc Portuguese feira near Jumbo Mine, Mazowe" "i. Location TR 763 762 – Map: concession 1730B4; ii: surface finds only: the pottery was found on a very low hill to the west of the dam & to the south oof the dirt road in close proximity of one another (see abovementioned map coordinates and indication and on the map "Portuguese earthworks"; iii: When: Sept 1995; iv: pottery: a. 3 pieces of blue and white china; b. 1 unidentified piece of local (?) pottery GLH; 06/11/95"

**Datasheet number(s):** 2041 - 2043

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Underglaze blue and white (1 railing (top left photograph) and flowers; 1 scrolling flora?; 1 uncertain)

**Form:** flatware

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

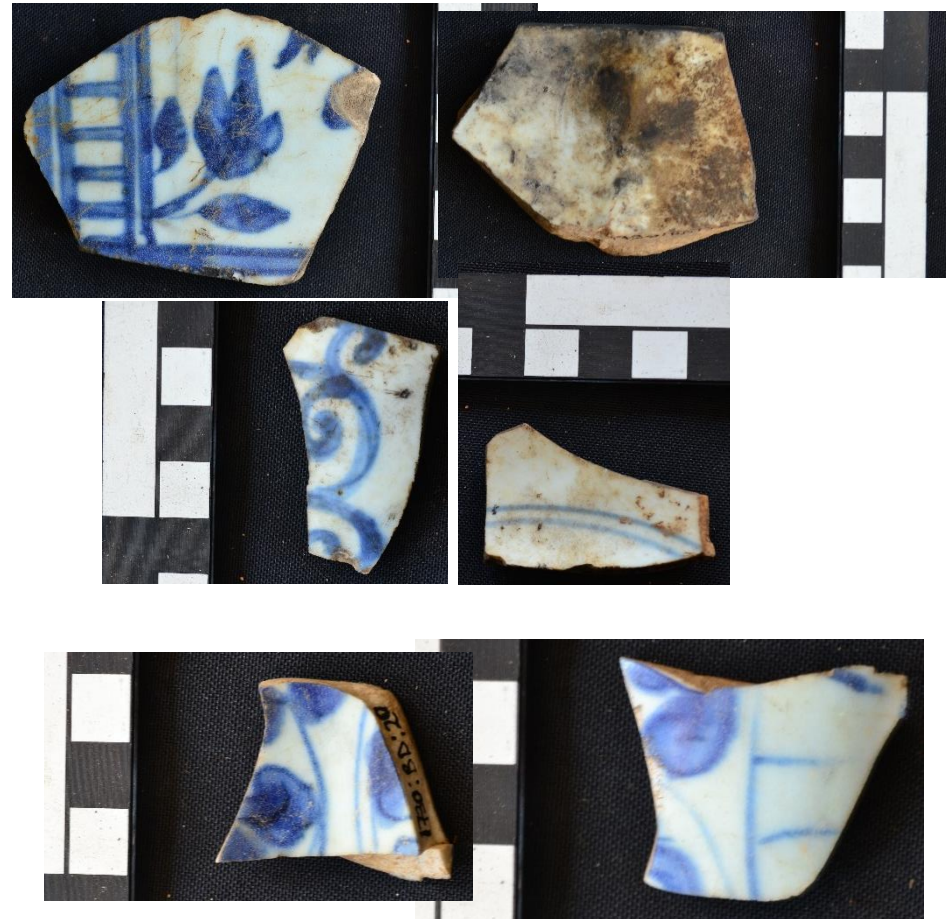
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Covered in soot

**Photo Number(s):** 38-43

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 5**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 77**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2044-2045, 2412**

**Amount of sherds: 3**

**Body: Terracotta**

**Decoration: 2 SHERDS: Interior and exterior: dark brown glaze. 1 sherd: unglazed interior and exterior (base)**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 2 bases**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** I once again counted wrong – there are 3 sherds here. So allocate 2412 to this group

**Photo Number(s): 54-55**

**Photo(s): (only one sherd)**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 5**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 77**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2046**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Earthenware (thick, cream-coloured)**

**Decoration: Interior and exterior: weathered, brown/purple glaze**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 46-47 OR 52-53**

**Photo(s): shown is 46-47**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 5**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 77**

**Label/Notes: Stoneware**

**Datasheet number(s): 2047**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Earthenware**

**Decoration: Exterior: whitish ridges and handle; Interior: unglazed**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 44-45**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 5**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 77**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2048 - 2198**

**Amount of sherds: 151**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration:** Exterior: dark brown glaze; Interior: unglazed/brown wash/ dark brown to brown glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 27 bases

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 48-51**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 5**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 78**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2199 - 2201**

**Amount of sherds: 3**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration: Exterior: olive glaze; Interior: unglazed**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 56-57**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 5**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 78**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2202 - 2214**

**Amount of sherds: 13**

**Body: Terracotta**

**Decoration:** Exterior: either unglazed/olive glaze/brown wash/yellow glaze; Interior: either: unglazed/olive glaze/brown glaze

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 2 bases, 1 rim**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 58- 59**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 5

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.2A

**Bag #:** 78

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 2215 - 2218

**Amount of sherds:** 4

**Body:** Earthenware (thick, cream-coloured)

**Decoration:** Interior: whitish-green (and some purple) crazed glaze.  
Exterior: dark brown/olive-green crazed glaze. Badly weathered

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 60 - 61

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 5**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 78**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2219 - 2221**

**Amount of sherds: 3**

**Body: Earthenware**

**Decoration: Interior: unglazed; Exterior: whitish/reddish wash**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 1 rim**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 62- 63**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 5**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 78**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2222**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration:** Badly weathered. Exterior; light green crazed glaze.  
Interior: unglazed?

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 64 - 65**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 5**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.2A**

**Bag #: 78**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2223 - 2411**

**Amount of sherds: 189**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration:** Exterior: dark brown glaze; Interior: dark brown glaze/brown wash/ unglazed

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** The photos are only of diagnostic sherds and one piece that has a green exterior (may have come into contact with oxidised copper perhaps?)

**Photo Number(s): 66 - 67**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 6**

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.57

**Bag #: 79**

**Label/Notes:** : "Dec '88, Dambarare, Site 1, Get site nr from [name crossed out – Mukarati PUNTSH] 1730BD57"

**Datasheet number(s):** 2412 – 2414 (please note that 2414 does not exist – I counted wrong – thus it is actually just 2412 -2413

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior and interior: dark brown glaze;

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 rim (unglazed lip)

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** HOWEVER – 2412 IS NOW TO COUNT 1 SHERD IN BAG 77

**Photo Number(s):** 68 - 69

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 6

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.57

**Bag #:** 79

**Label/Notes:** "Dec '88, Dambarare, Site 1, Get site nr from [name crossed out – Mukarati PUNTSH] 1730BD57"

**Datasheet number(s):** 2415

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Terracotta

**Decoration:** Exterior: dark green glaze; Interior: crazed olive glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

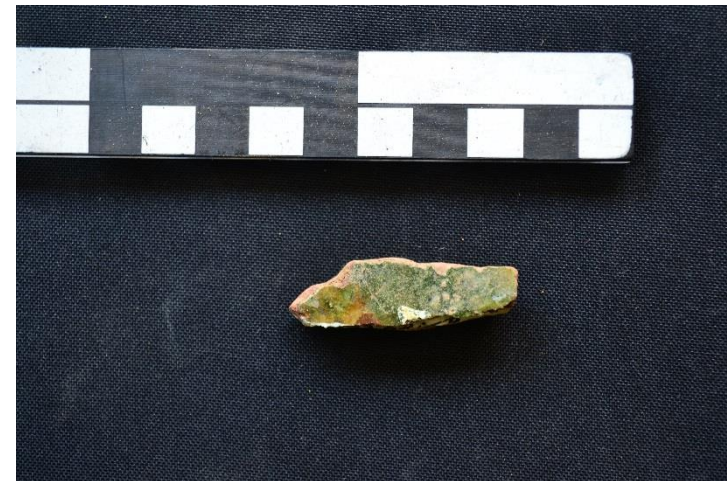
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 70 - 71

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 7**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.27**

**Bag #: 80**

**Label/Notes: "Red earthenware"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2416 - 2436**

**Amount of sherds: 21**

**Body: Terracotta**

**Decoration:** Exterior and Interior: either unglazed/brown glazed/ dark green glaze;

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 2 bases, 1 bottleneck

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** All weathered

**Photo Number(s): 72- 78**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 7**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.27**

**Bag #: 81**

**Label/Notes: "D9"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2437 - 2456**

**Amount of sherds: 20**

**Body: Earthenware (creamy brown)**

**Decoration: Exterior and Interior: dark brown – sometimes glossy**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 5 bases, 1 rim**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: weathered sherds and glaze**

**Photo Number(s): 79 - 80**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 7**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.27**

**Bag #: 82**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2457 - 2461**

**Amount of sherds: 5**

**Body: uncertain (perhaps porcelain?)**

**Decoration:** Interior: Bluish white translucent glaze, crazed; Exterior: Weathered, matte (bluish-white?) glaze with outlines painted in overglaze black/brown. Floral patterns and lines

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 81 - 82**

**Photo(s):**



<p><b>Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe</b> <b>Box #:</b> 7 <b>Accession number:</b> 1730.BD.27 <b>Bag #:</b> 83 <b>Label/Notes:</b> None <b>Datasheet number(s):</b> 2462 - 2478 <b>Amount of sherds:</b> 17 <b>Body:</b> Porcelain <b>Decoration:</b> Various designs – see doc 83 <b>Form:</b> <b>Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:</b> <b>Refit:</b> <b>Related to:</b> <b>Other notes:</b></p> <p><b>Analysis:</b> <b>Identification:</b> <b>Compared with: Collection:</b> <b>Ceramic accession number:</b> <b>Photograph number:</b> <b>Other notes:</b></p>	<p><b>Photo Number(s):</b> 83- 107 <b>Photo(s):</b> SEE DOCUMENT: BAG 83 <b>17 SHERDS</b></p> <p>SEE PART 2 AT END</p>
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**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 7

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.27

**Bag #:** 84

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 2479 - 2481

**Amount of sherds:** 3

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Unglazed interior; Exterior: crazed white glaze and a trailing motif. Blanc de chine?

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 3 rim/lid sherds (I think these are the sherds of a lid)

**Refit:**

**Related to:** probably to each other

**Other notes:** Seems like a lid.

**Photo Number(s):** 108 - 111

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 7**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.27**

**Bag #: 85**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2482 - 2524**

**Amount of sherds:**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration:** Exterior: red/white patinated OR brown glaze; Interior: unglazed/brown wash/ brown glaze

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit: several refits**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 112-113**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 7

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.27

**Bag #:** 85

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 2525

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Porcelain

**Decoration:** Interior: bluish-white glaze; Exterior: underglaze blue and white: floral motifs and swastika and lines at the top.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

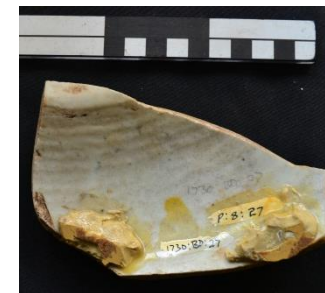
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** marked 1730:BD:27/P:8:27. This is probably the shoulder of a vase

**Photo Number(s):** 114 - 116

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 7

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.27

**Bag #:** 86

**Label/Notes:** "Stoneware/earthenware? Unglazed (both int and ext)"

**Datasheet number(s):** 2526 - 2652

**Amount of sherds:** 127

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** weathered; Exterior: dark brown glaze; interior: dark brown/ brown glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** the glaze is weathered and matte

**Photo Number(s):** 117

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 8

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.27

**Bag #:** 87

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 2653-2678

**Amount of sherds:**

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Interior: brown wash; Exterior: weathered glaze –dark brown/yellow/reddish with lines and ridges

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** rims – 2 refitted jars

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 145 - 148

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 8**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.27**

**Bag #: 88**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2679 - 2727**

**Amount of sherds:**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration:** Exterior: dark brown glaze; Interior: dark brown glaze and unglazed. Some are badly weathered

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** some lips and bases

**Refit:** some refitted together

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 149-151**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 9**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.28**

**Bag #: 89**

**Label/Notes: "1730BD28 Parkhurst pottery"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2728**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration: Exterior: black glaze; Interior: black glaze**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 220 - 221**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 9

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.28

**Bag #:** 89

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 2729 - 2730

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Earthenware

**Decoration:** Exterior and interior: opaque crazed white glaze

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

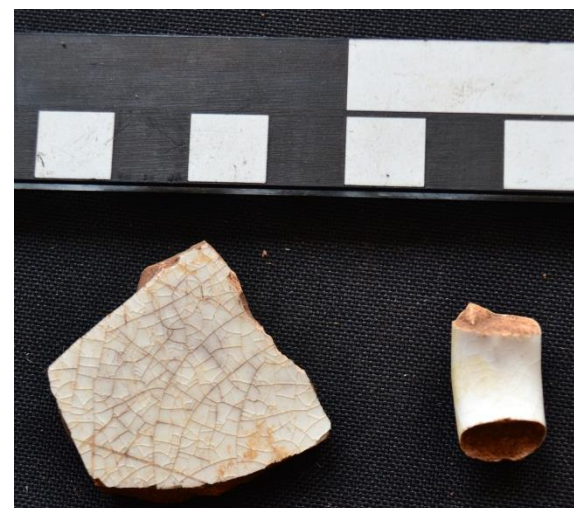
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s):** 222-223

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 3

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 90

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 2731

**Amount of sherds:** 1

**Body:** Stoneware

**Decoration:** Exterior: black glaze; Interior: unglazed

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** weathered

**Photo Number(s):** 244-245

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 3**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.20**

**Bag #: 90**

**Label/Notes:None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2732**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration: Exterior and Interior: opaque white glaze**

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: sherd is marked as 1730BD20 TR/2**

**Photo Number(s): 246-247**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 3**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.20**

**Bag #: 92**

**Label/Notes: "16/12/91 1730BD20 TR1 Level 3 25-30cm"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2733**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Porcelain**

**Decoration:** Exterior: thick white glaze; Interior: underglaze blue with darker outlines. Glaze is bubbly under the surface

**Form: flatware**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

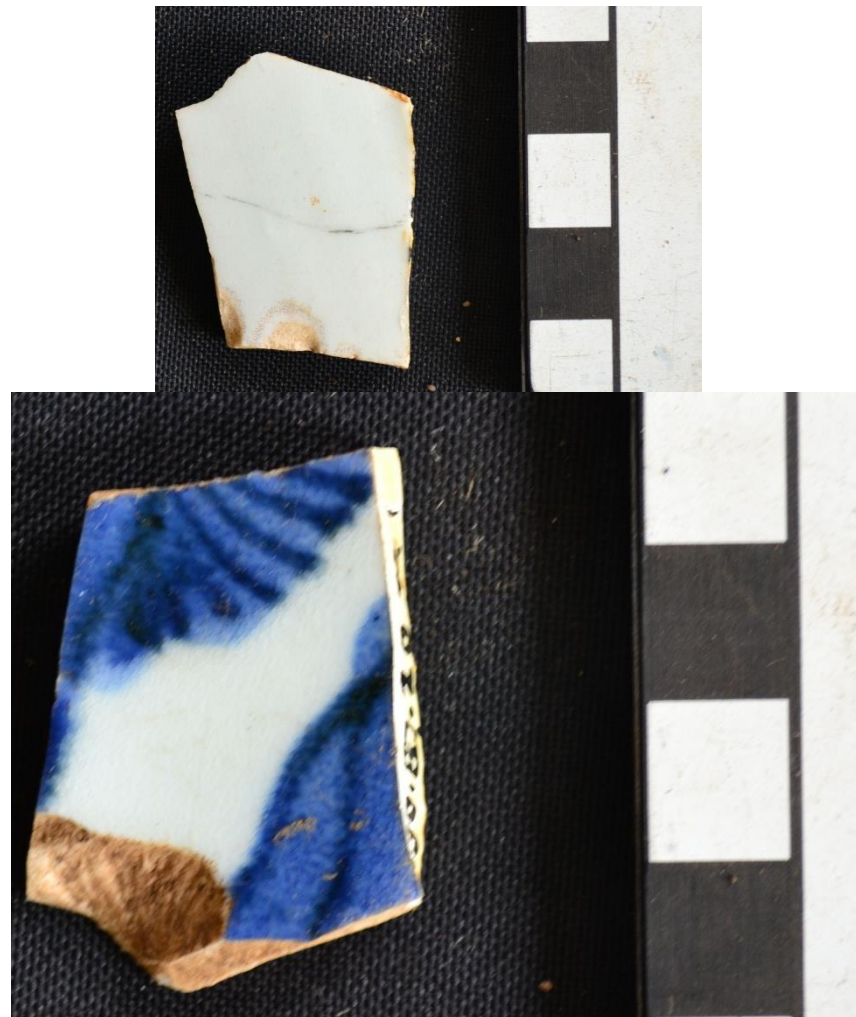
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 272-273**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 3

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.20

**Bag #:** 93

**Label/Notes:** None

**Datasheet number(s):** 2734 - 2735

**Amount of sherds:** 2

**Body:** Refined stoneware (industrial ware) (pink)

**Decoration:** Exterior and Interior: pink body with a glossy clear glaze

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 rim

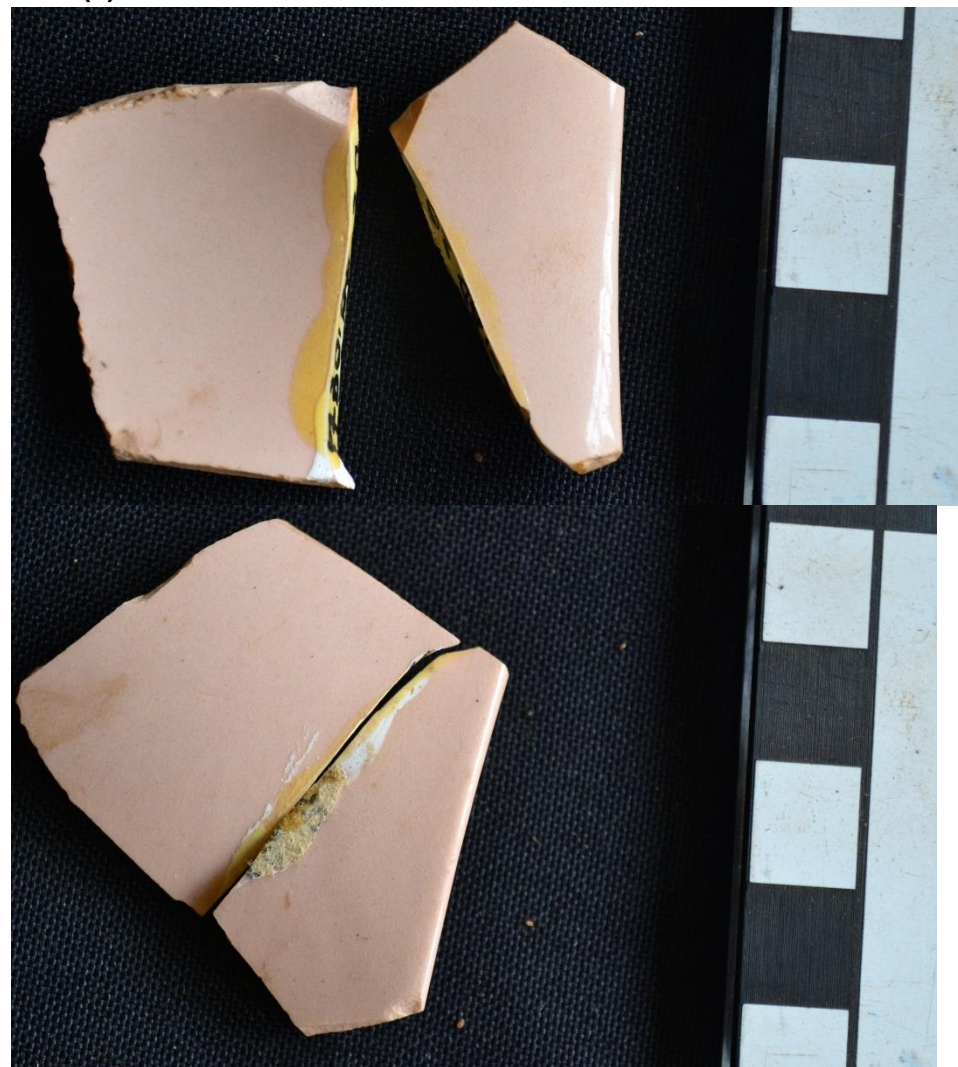
**Refit:** Refit together

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Probably from a later occupation

**Photo Number(s):** 277 - 279

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 3**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.20**

**Bag #: 92**

**Label/Notes: None**

**Datasheet number(s): 2736 - 2738**

**Amount of sherds: 3**

**Body: Porcelain**

**Decoration: Bluish-white glaze with underglaze blue decoration**

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

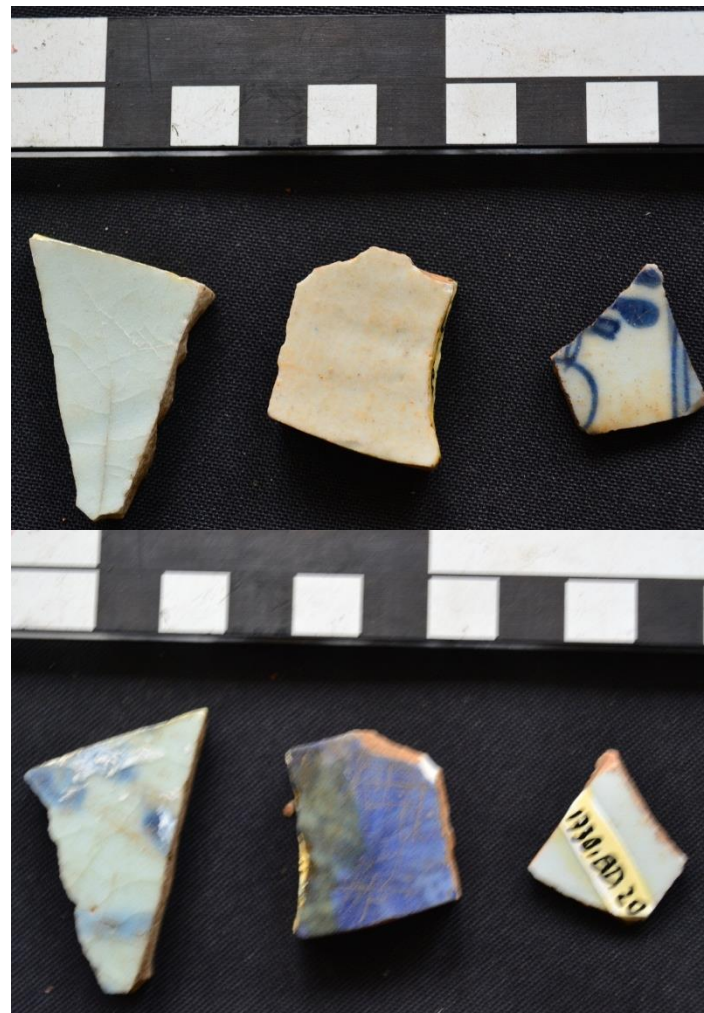
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 280 - 281**

**Photo(s):**



<p><b>Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe</b> <b>Box #:</b> 9 <b>Accession number:</b> 1730.BD.27 <b>Bag #:</b> 94 <b>Label/Notes:</b> None <b>Datasheet number(s):</b> 2739 - 2907 <b>Amount of sherds:</b> <b>Body:</b> Stoneware <b>Decoration:</b> Exterior: dark brown glaze; Interior: Dark brown glaze or unglazed <b>Form:</b> Hollow <b>Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:</b> 1 base <b>Refit:</b> <b>Related to:</b> <b>Other notes:</b> No photos were taken</p>	<p><b>No photos were taken.</b></p>
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**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #: 95**

**Label/Notes: Earthwork**

**Datasheet number(s): 2908 - 2911**

**Amount of sherds: 4**

**Body: Industrial porcelain**

**Decoration: Interior: printed blue and white motif; Exterior: White**

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 1 rim**

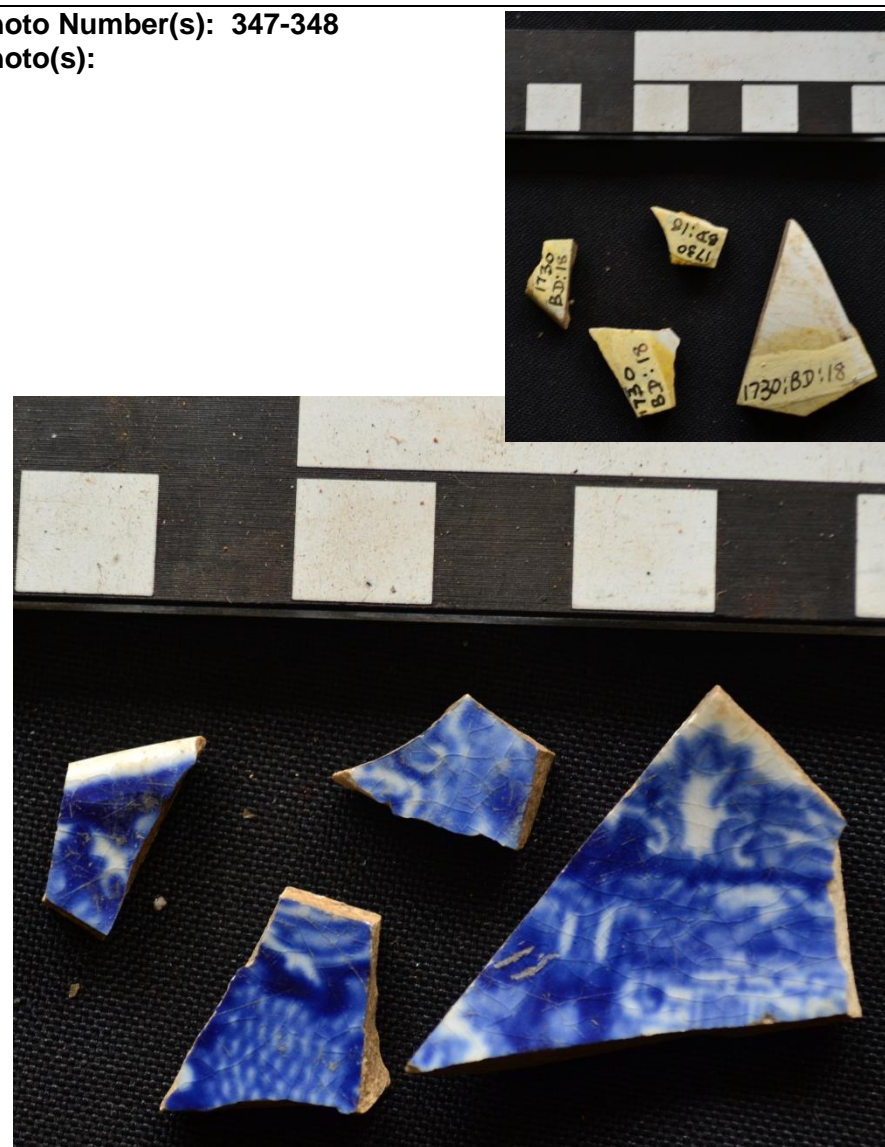
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: Likely from a later occupation.**

**Photo Number(s): 347-348**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #: 95**

**Label/Notes: Earthwork**

**Datasheet number(s): 2912 - 2914**

**Amount of sherds: 3**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration: Interior: brown glaze; Exterior: dark green and yellow glaze with clay trailing**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

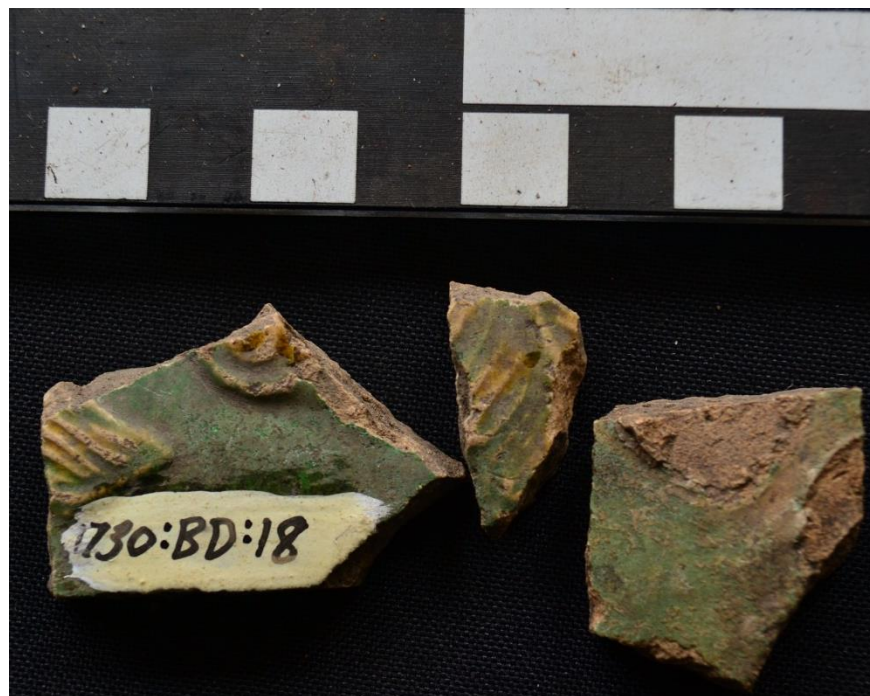
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 349-350**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #: 95**

**Label/Notes: Earthwork**

**Datasheet number(s): 2915**

**Amount of sherds: 1**

**Body: Terracotta/ red earthenware?**

**Decoration: Interior: unglazed? Exterior: mottled green and yellow crazed glaze. Base: unglazed.**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: Base**

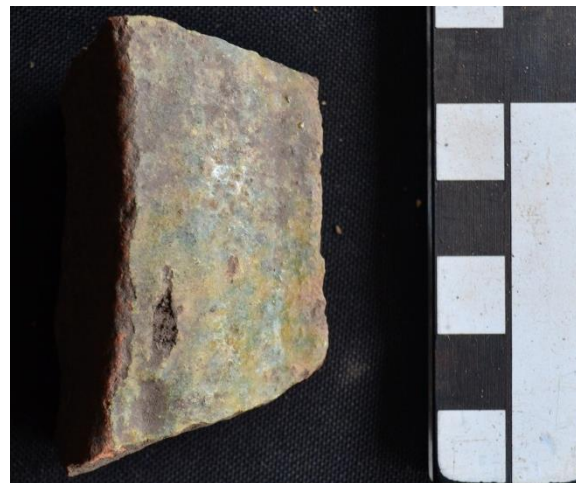
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 351-352**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #: 95**

**Label/Notes: Earthwork**

**Datasheet number(s): 2916 - 2917**

**Amount of sherds: 2**

**Body: Stoneware**

**Decoration: Exterior: dark brown glaze; Interior: brown wash**

**Form: Hollow?**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 353- 354**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #: 95**

**Label/Notes: Earthenware**

**Datasheet number(s): 2918 - 2931**

**Amount of sherds: 14**

**Body: Industrial stoneware**

**Decoration: Interior and exterior: crazed white glaze; The rims have a moulded relief pattern**

**Form: Flatware**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 3 rims, 1 base**

**Refit: 2 refits**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:**

**Photo Number(s): 355 -356**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #: 95**

**Label/Notes: earthenware**

**Datasheet number(s): 2932 - 2937**

**Amount of sherds: 6**

**Body: Industrial stoneware (cream/buff coloured)**

**Decoration: Cream/buff body with a clear glaze**

**Form: Hollow (bottle)**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: Base and neck**

**Refit: 4 pieces refit**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** the base is unglazed. A stamp on the lower part of the side reads "Doulton credited[?] 18 Lambeth"

From a later occupation at the site of Dambarare.

**Photo Number(s): 357 -361**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #: 95**

**Label/Notes: Earthworks**

**Datasheet number(s): 2938 - 2939**

**Amount of sherds: 2**

**Body: Industrial stoneware (cream/buff-coloured)**

**Decoration: Opaque crazed white glaze, Interior and Exterior. On the exterior there is a moulded motif**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 1 rim**

**Refit: yes**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: From a later occupation at the Dambarare site.**

**Photo Number(s): 362-363**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #: 95**

**Label/Notes: Earthworks**

**Datasheet number(s): 2940 - 2955**

**Amount of sherds: 16**

**Body: Industrial porcelain**

**Decoration: Interior and Exterior: white/cream opaque glaze; 3 have printed gilt lines**

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 2 bases; 3 rims; 2 handles**

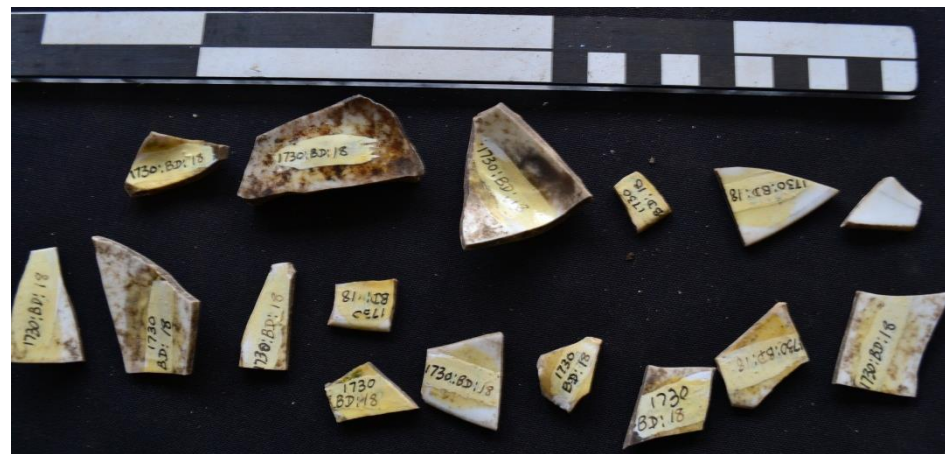
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: Some may be related, but none refit  
From a later occupation at Dambarare.**

**Photo Number(s): 364-365**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #:95**

**Label/Notes: "1730BD18 Earthwork"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2956**

**Amount of sherds:1**

**Body: terracotta or red stoneware?**

**Decoration:** Exterior (?): black opaque glaze; Interior(?): black base with green glaze (trailed at places to show black) and thick white paint (flower petals?) with gilt borders. Hand painted.

**Form:** Hollow

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Classified under "miscellaneous"

**Photo Number(s): 366-367**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #:95**

**Label/Notes: "1730BD18 Earthwork"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2957 - 2960**

**Amount of sherds:4**

**Body: Industrial porcelain**

**Decoration: Interior and exterior: white glaze with gilt printed lines**

**Form: Hollow**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind: 3 rims**

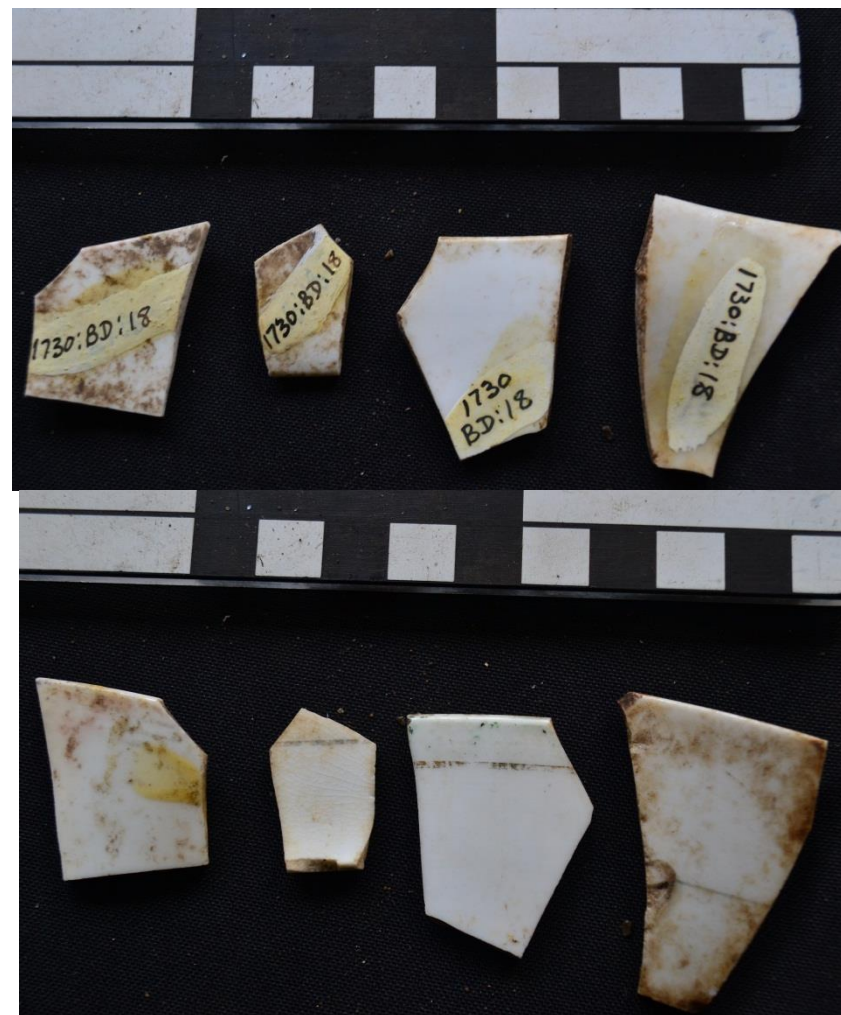
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes: From a later occupation at the Dambarare site.**

**Photo Number(s): 368 - 369**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #:** 11

**Accession number:** 1730.BD.18

**Bag #:**95

**Label/Notes:** "1730BD18 Earthwork"

**Datasheet number(s):** 2961

**Amount of sherds:**1

**Body:** Industrial porcelain

**Decoration:** Interior and exterior: white crazed glaze. On rim: overglaze gilt line, printed. Interior: Overglaze printed gilt, scrolling flora

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** Rim

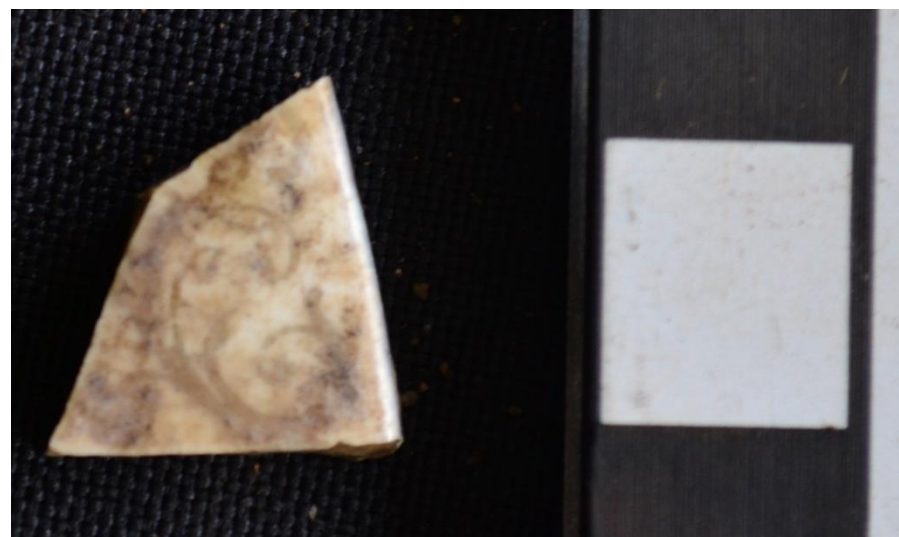
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely from a later occupation at the Dambarare site.

**Photo Number(s):** 370 - 371

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #:95**

**Label/Notes: "1730BD18 Earthwork"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2962**

**Amount of sherds:1**

**Body: Industrial porcelain**

**Decoration:** Exterior: white glaze; Interior: white glaze with overglaze printed (decal) green band and pink flower with green leaves

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** footring, unglazed

**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely from a later occupation at the Dambarare site.

**Photo Number(s): 373-374**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #:95**

**Label/Notes: "1730BD18 Earthwork"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2963**

**Amount of sherds:1**

**Body: Industrial stoneware**

**Decoration:** Exterior: opaque crazed white glaze; Interior: opaque crazed white glaze with orange-red and yellow hand-painted overglaze motif (with green stem)

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

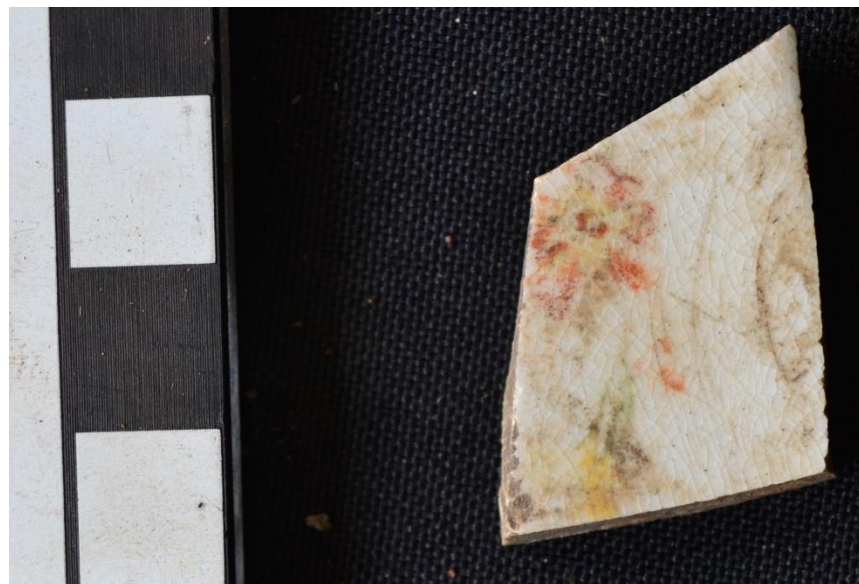
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely from a later occupation at the Dambarare site.

**Photo Number(s): 376-377**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #:95**

**Label/Notes: "1730BD18 Earthwork"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2964 - 2965**

**Amount of sherds:2**

**Body:** Industrial porcelain (thick, pinkish in colour)

**Decoration:** Interior and exterior: glossy light pink – unsure whether this is the glaze or the body – otherwise it is perhaps just a clear glaze

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

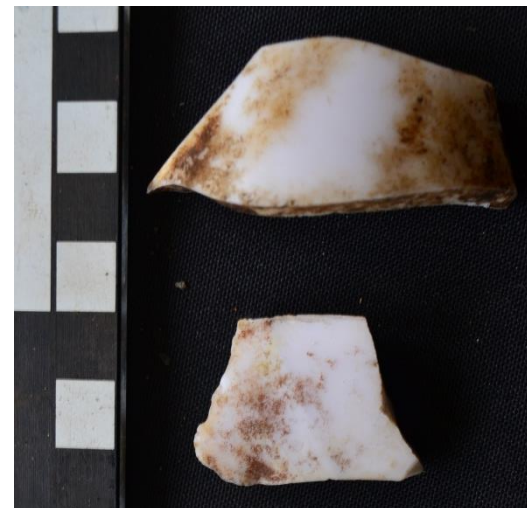
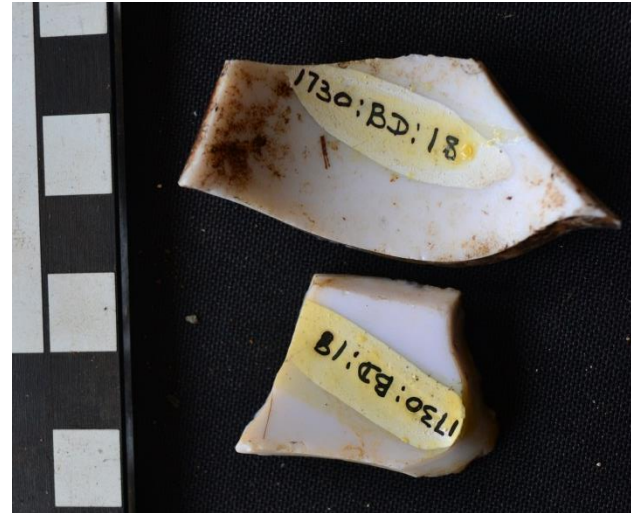
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Likely from the same/similar vessel. Probably from a later occupation at the Dambarare site.

**Photo Number(s): 378-379**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #:95**

**Label/Notes: "1730BD18 Earthwork"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2966**

**Amount of sherds:1**

**Body: Porcelain**

**Decoration:** Exterior: brown; Interior: bluish-white and underglaze "fern" scroll with double blue band around it

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:**

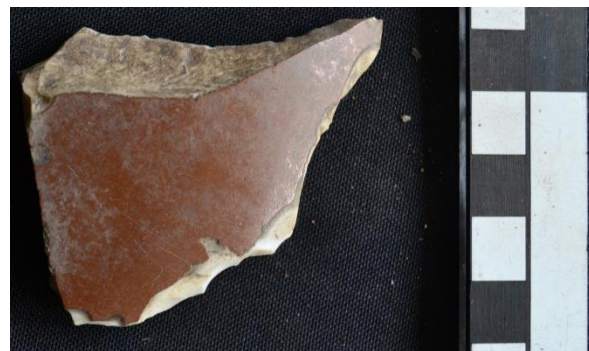
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Brown-glazed *café au lait*/ Batavian ware.

**Photo Number(s): 380 - 381**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #:95**

**Label/Notes: "1730BD18 Earthwork"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2967 - 2970**

**Amount of sherds:2**

**Body: Porcelain**

**Decoration:** Matte bluish-white glaze with underglaze blue motifs and lines of fruit and leaves (?) – interior and exterior

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 1 rim

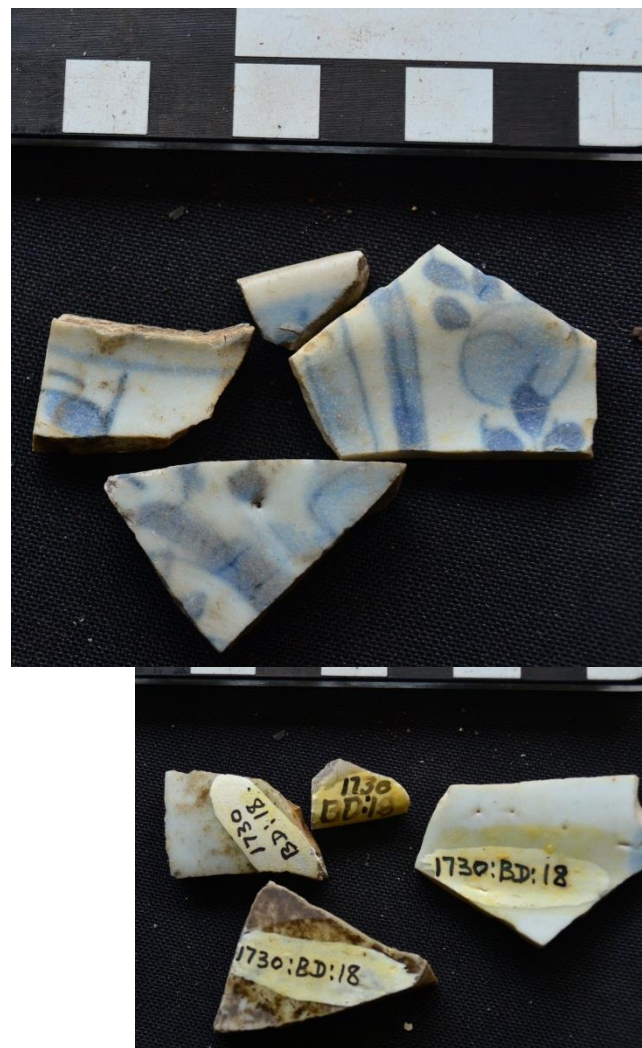
**Refit:**

**Related to:**

**Other notes:** Possibly from same/similar vessel. May be Kraak style porcelain (Rinaldi, 1989).

**Photo Number(s): 382-383**

**Photo(s):**



**Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Box #: 11**

**Accession number: 1730.BD.18**

**Bag #:95**

**Label/Notes: "1730BD18 Earthwork"**

**Datasheet number(s): 2971 - 2972**

**Amount of sherds: 2**

**Body: Porcelain**

**Decoration:** Exterior and interior: grey-blue glaze. Interior: underglaze blue design with dark blue outlines – roughly painted

**Form:**

**Number of diagnostic sherds, and kind:** 2 footrings – unglazed with grit still adhering.

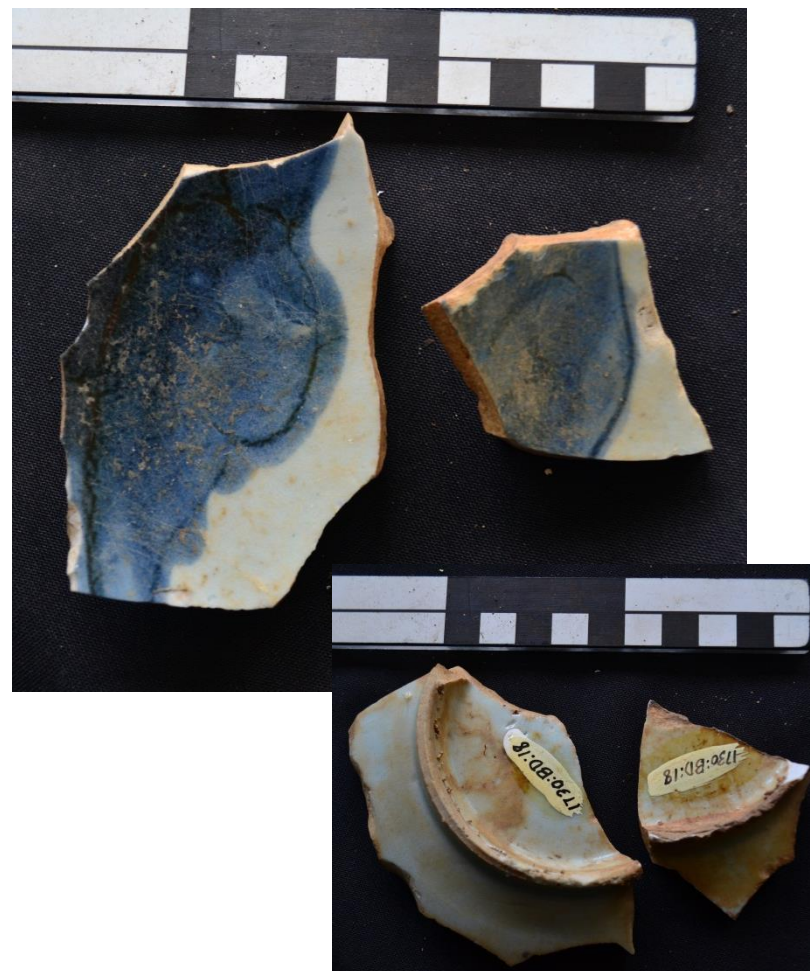
**Refit:**

**Related to:** each other, probably

**Other notes:** Glaze is uneven. Perhaps market/provincial wares.

**Photo Number(s): 384-385**

**Photo(s):**

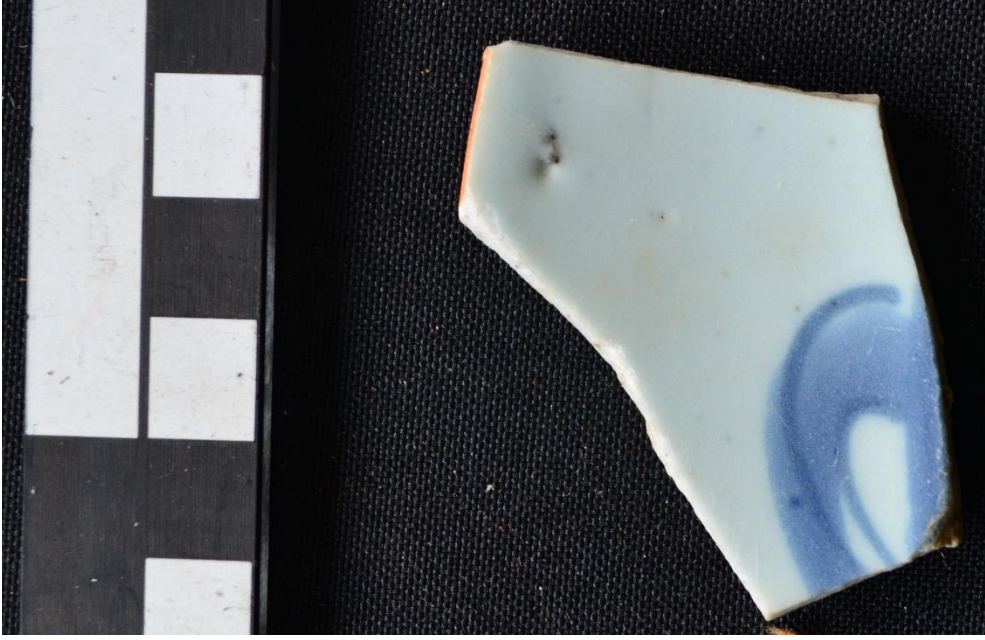


Part 1

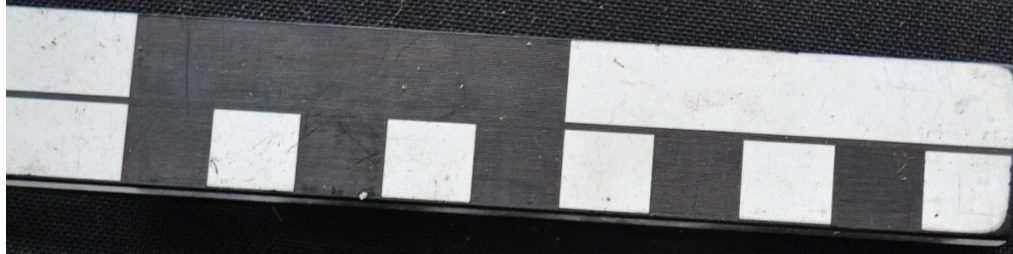


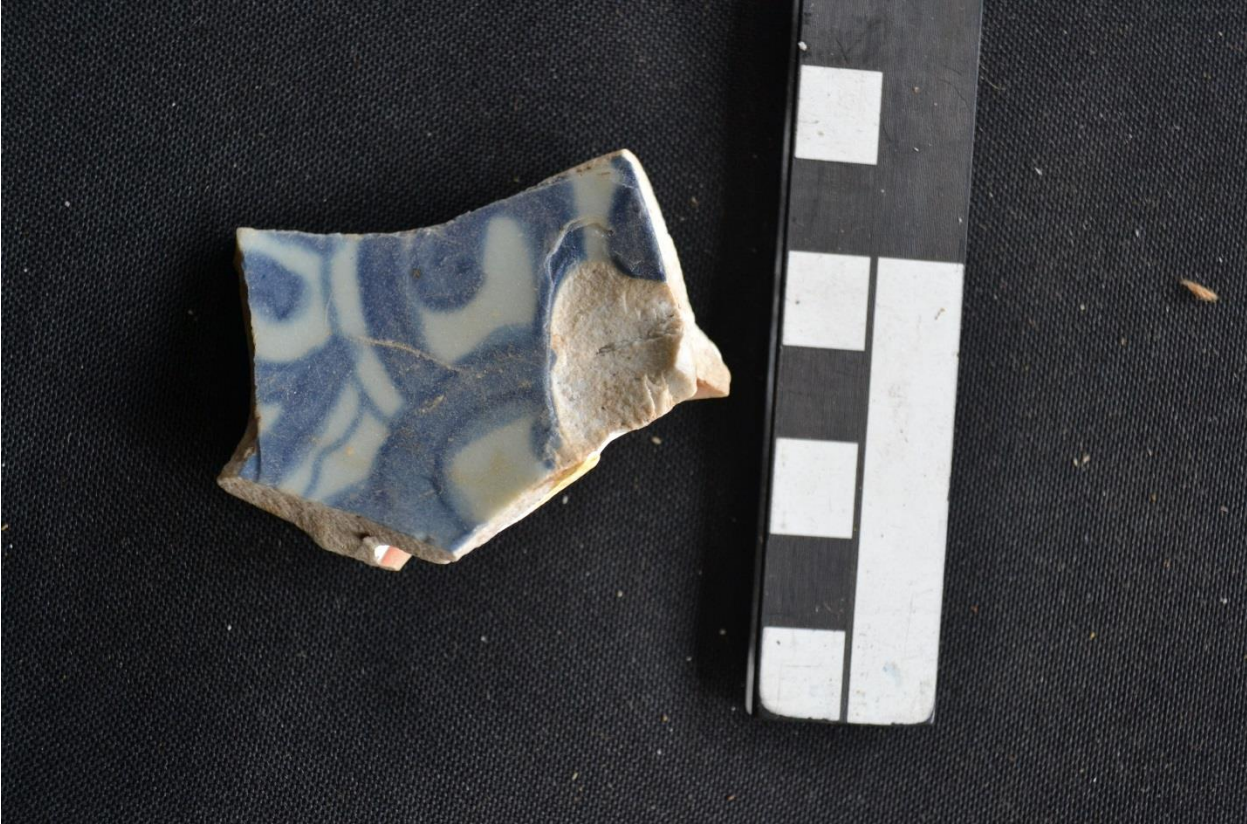




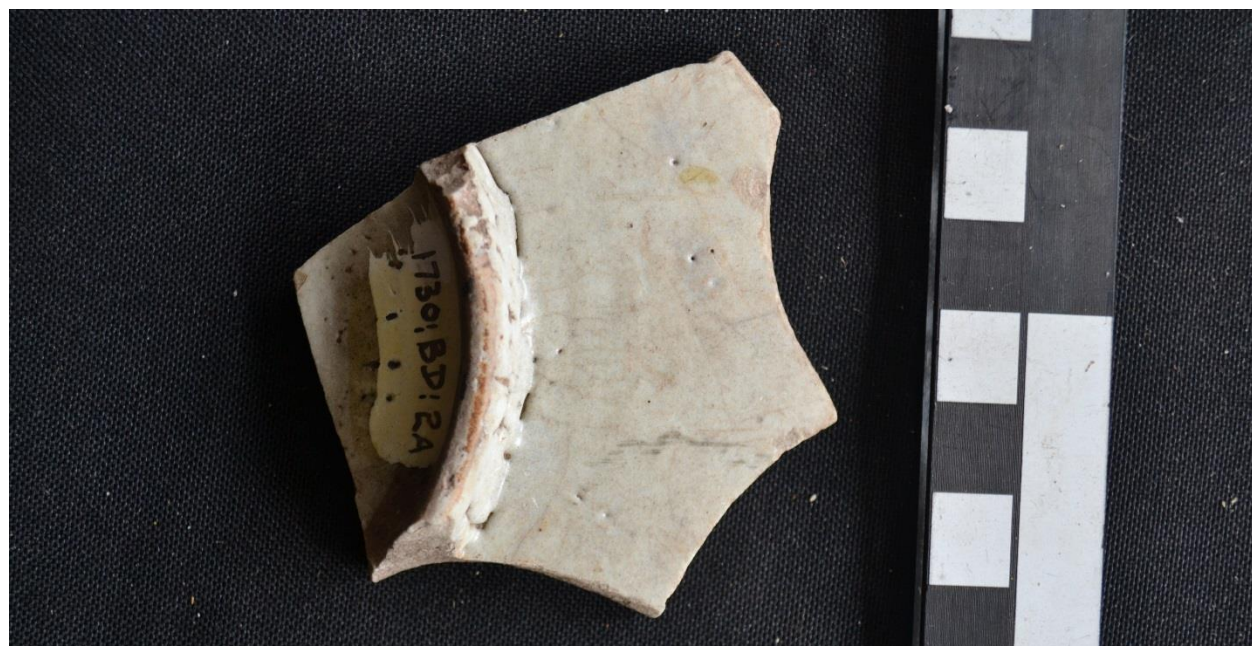


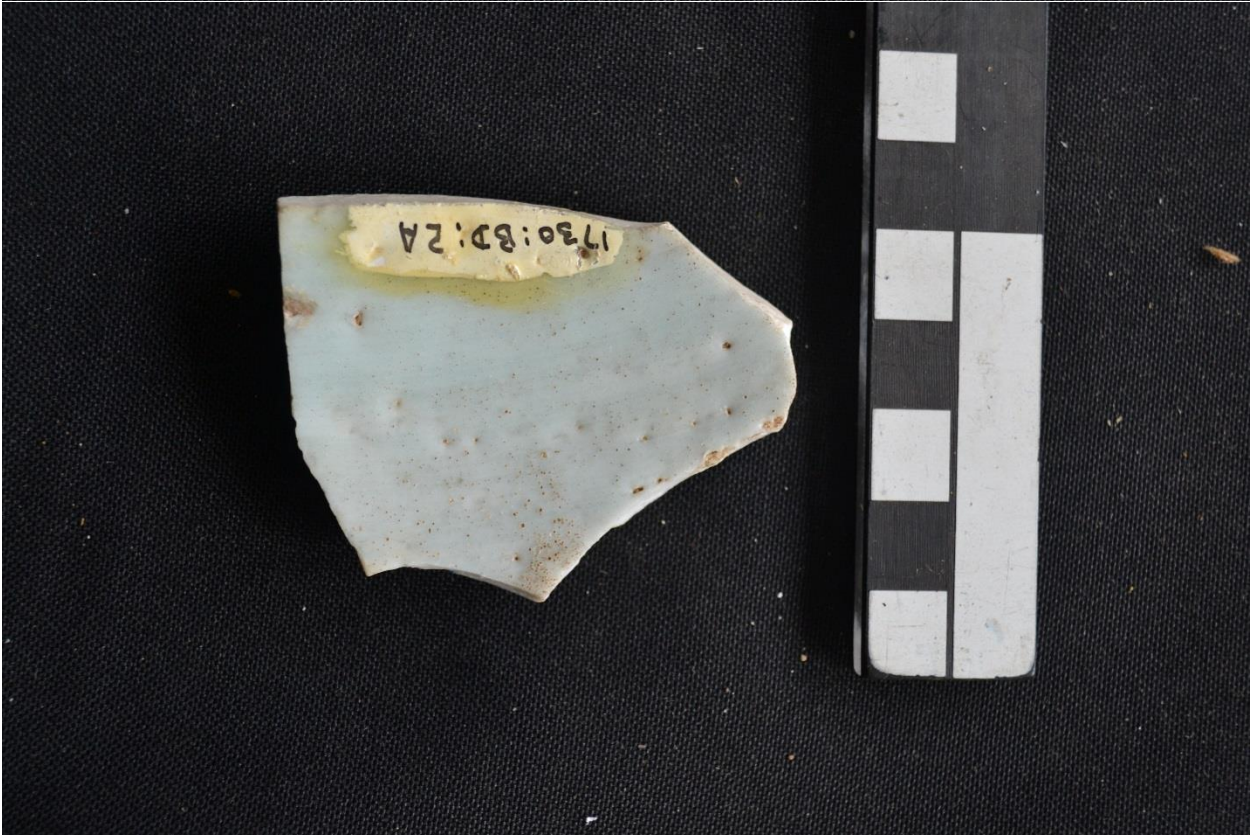




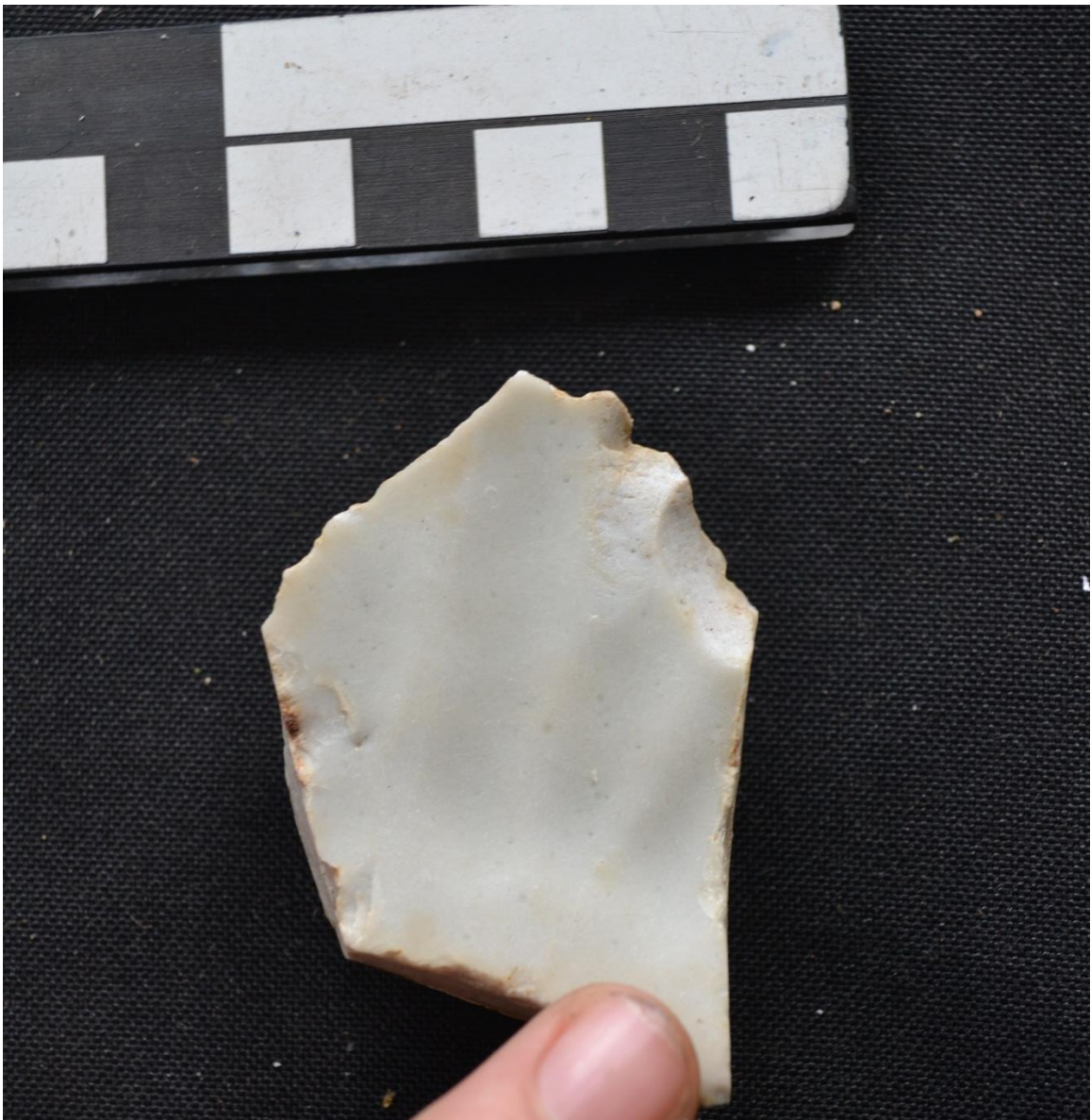


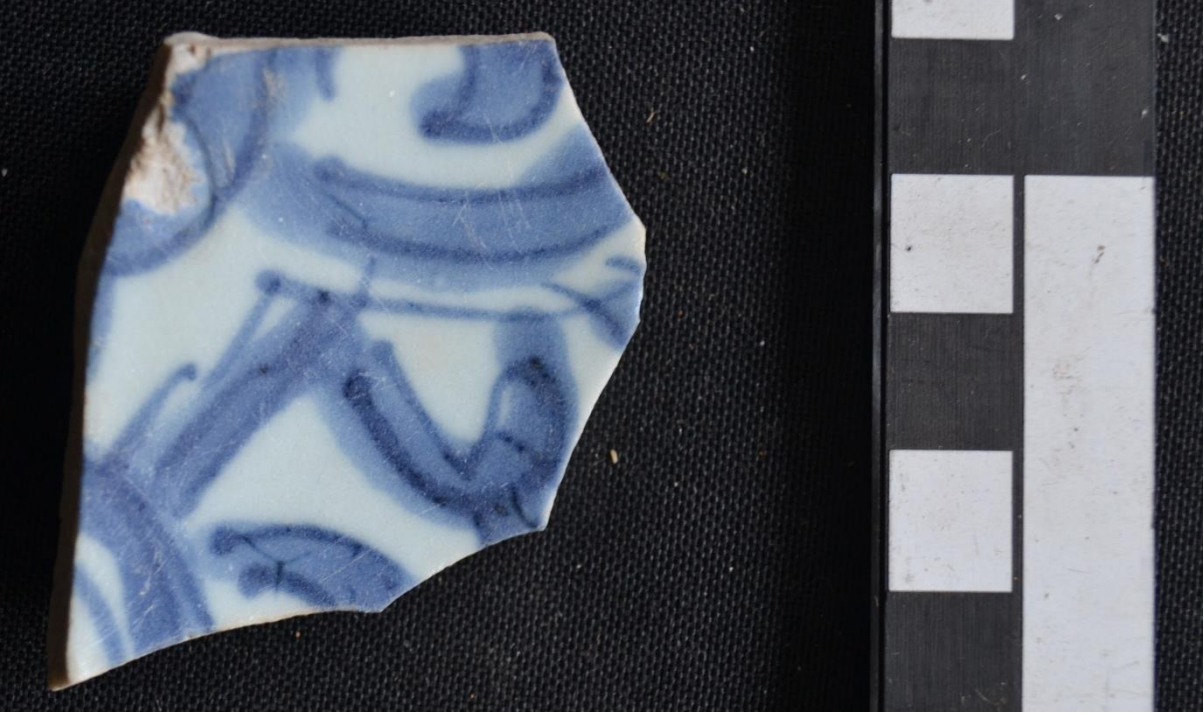




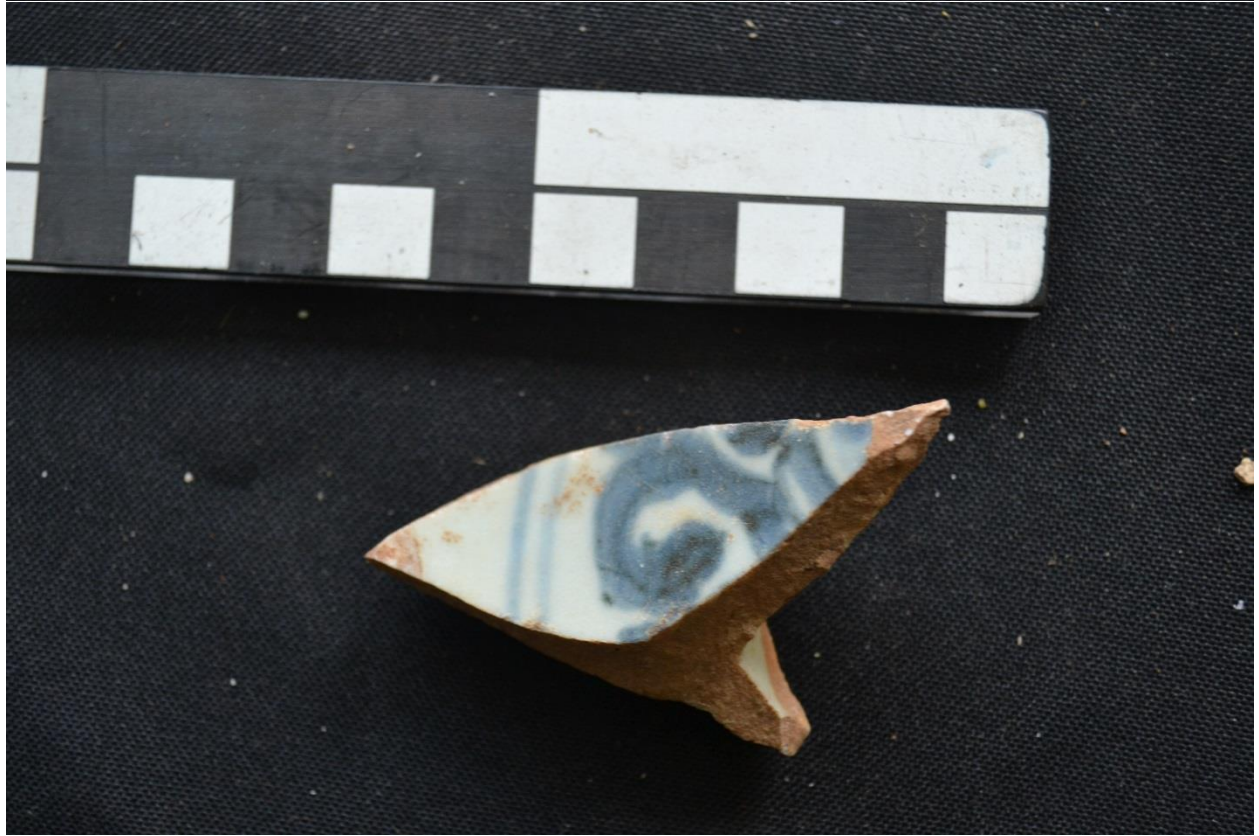






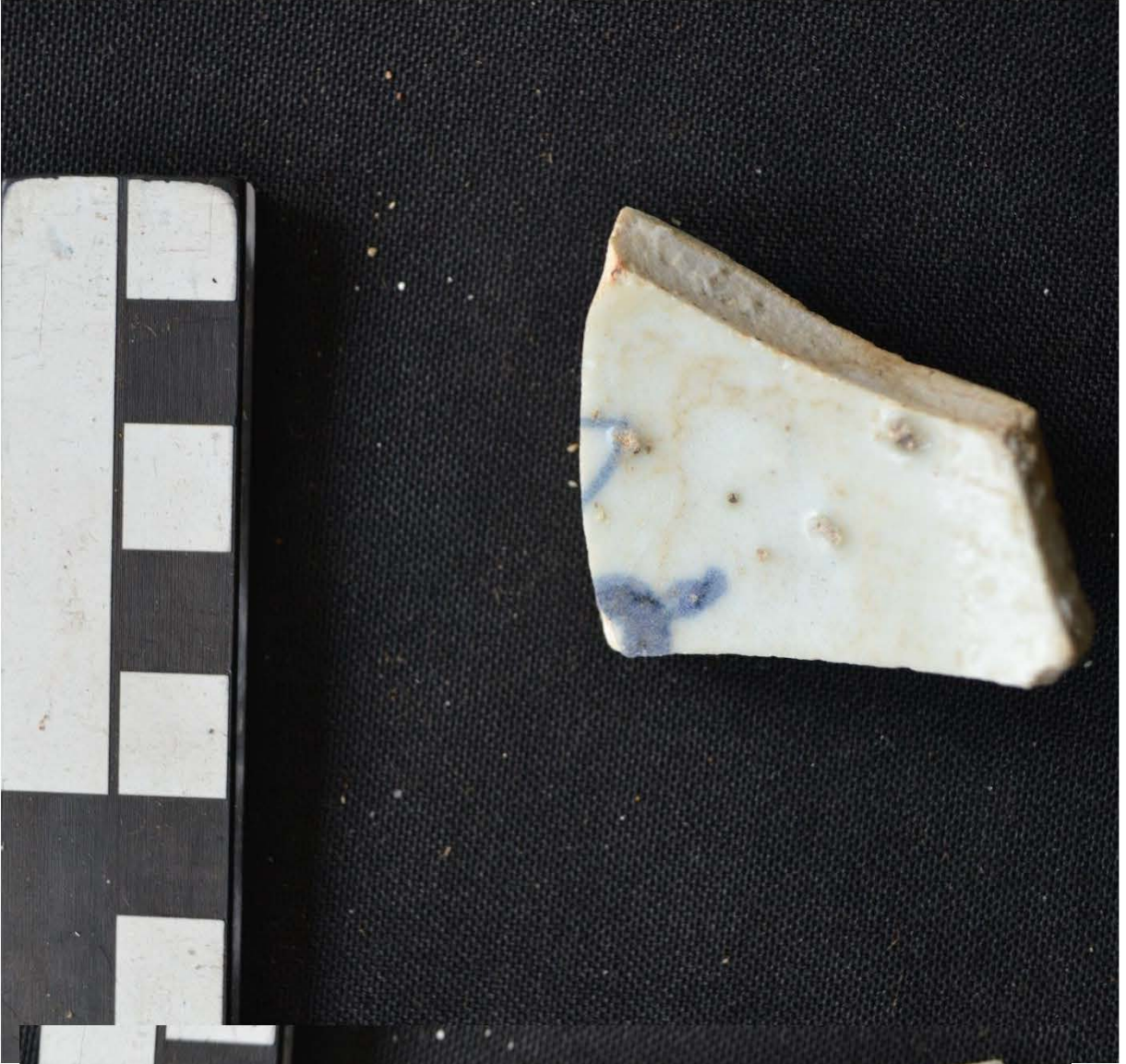




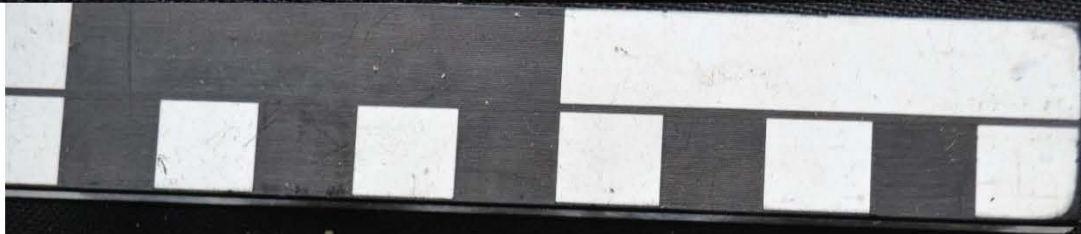


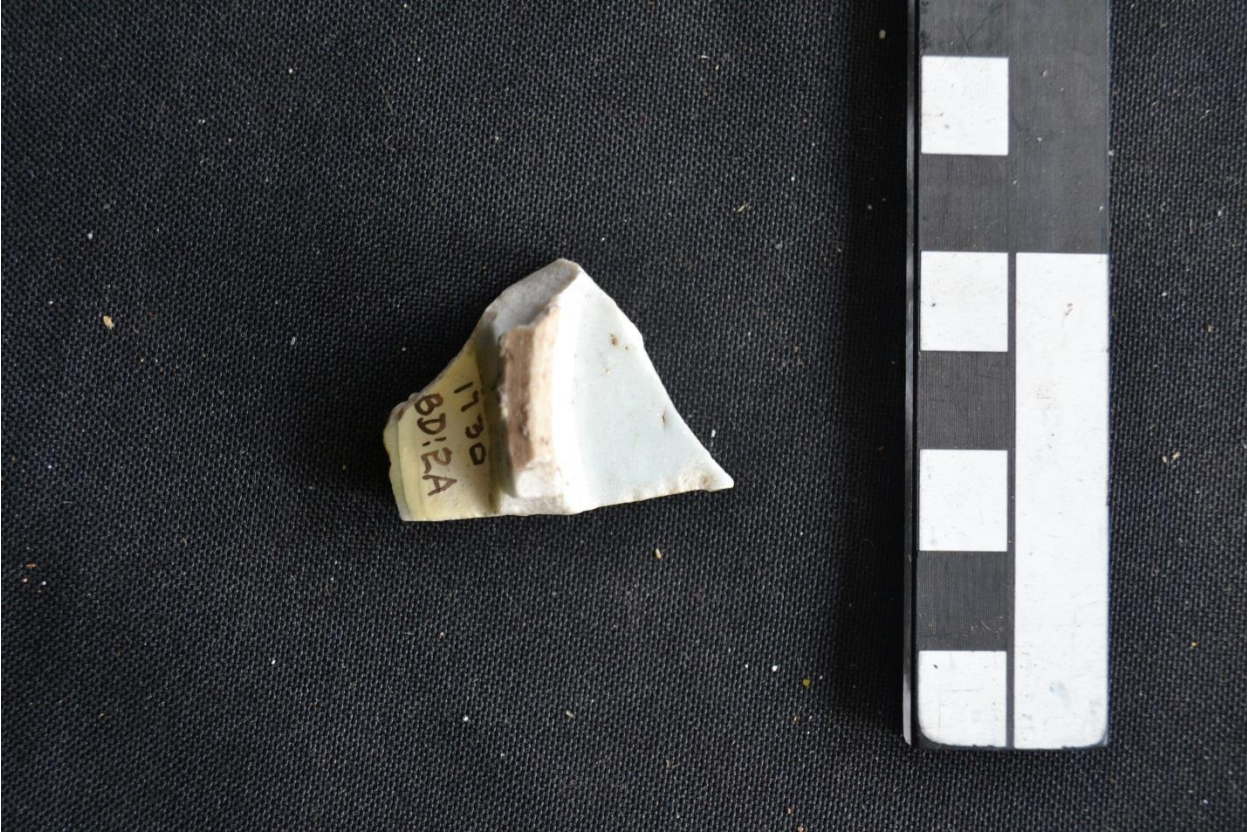


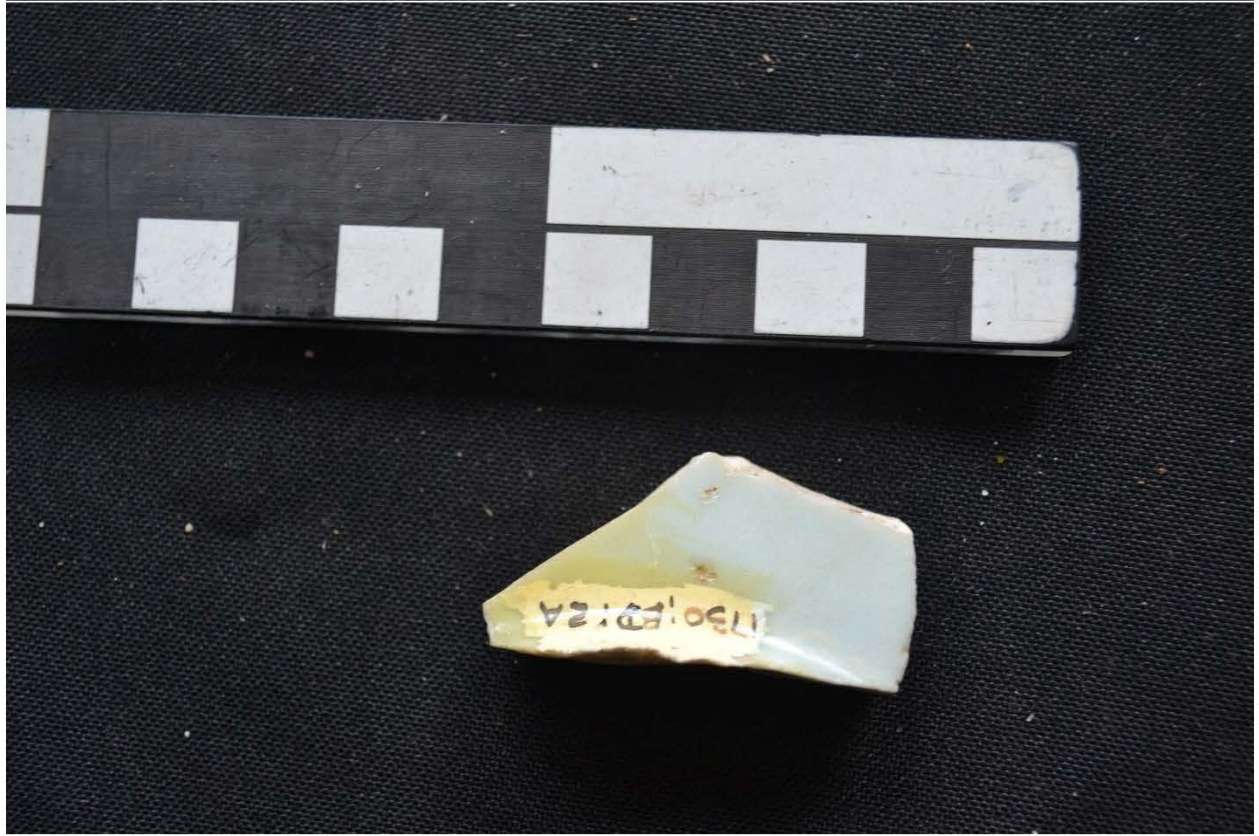




















Part 2

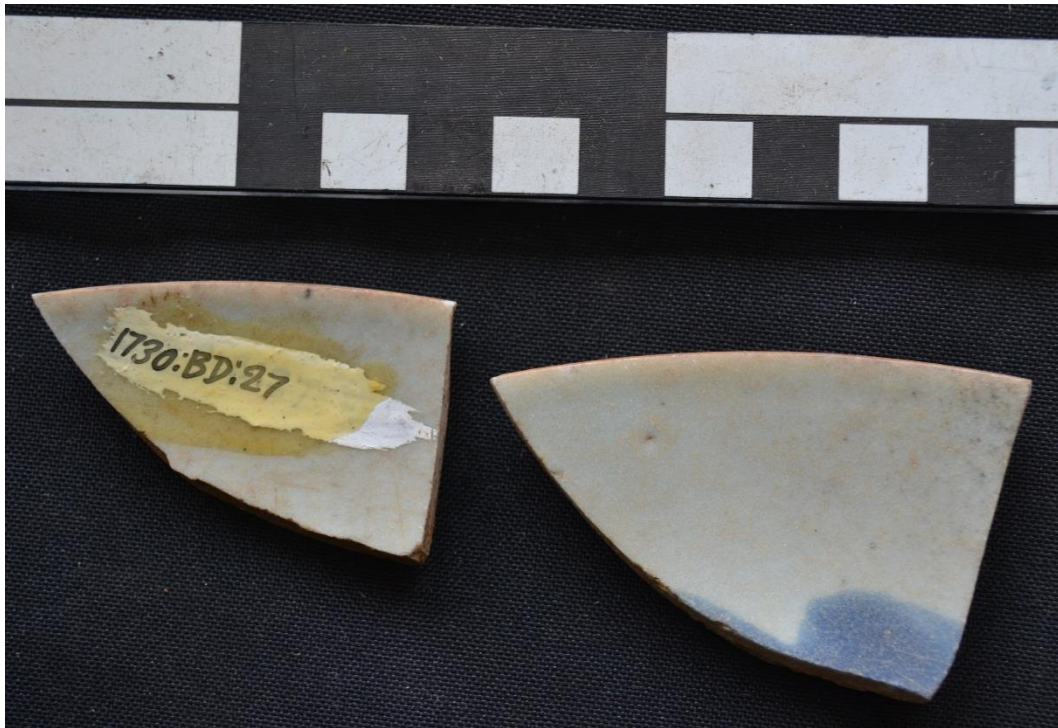
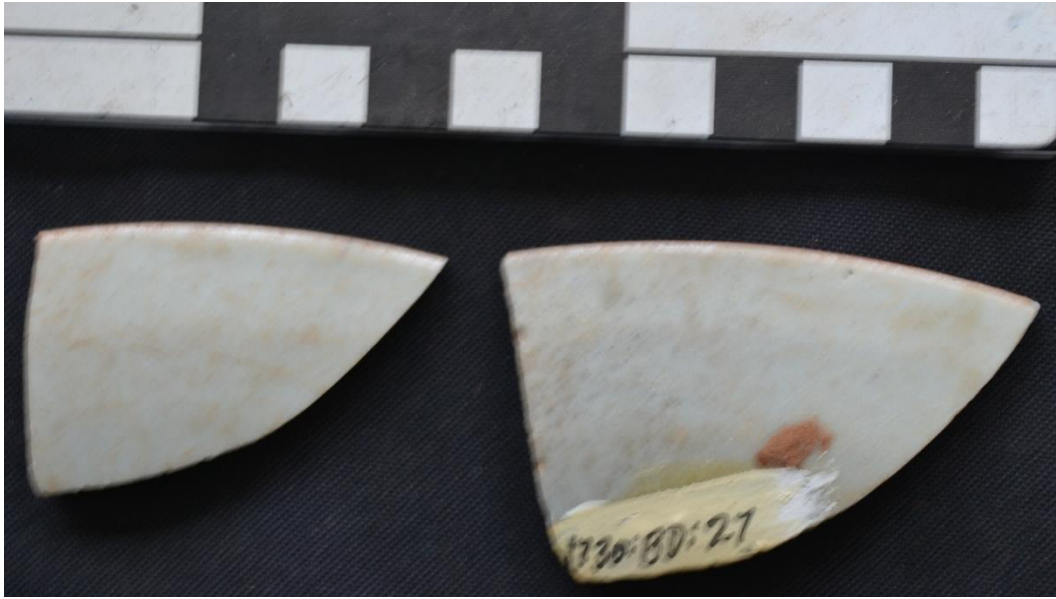


84

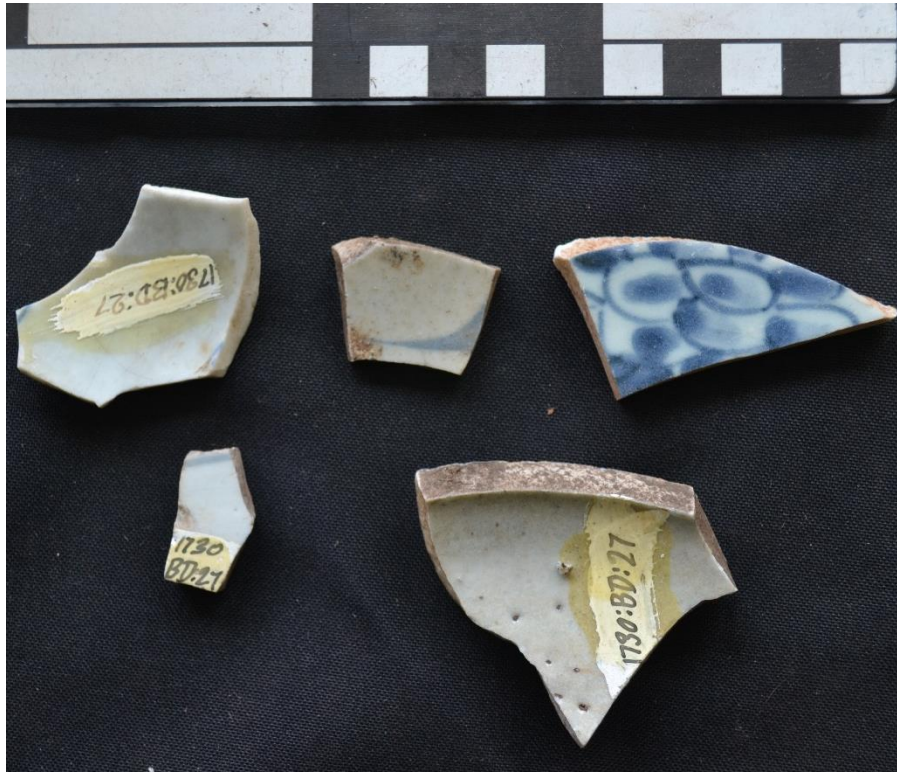


BAG83

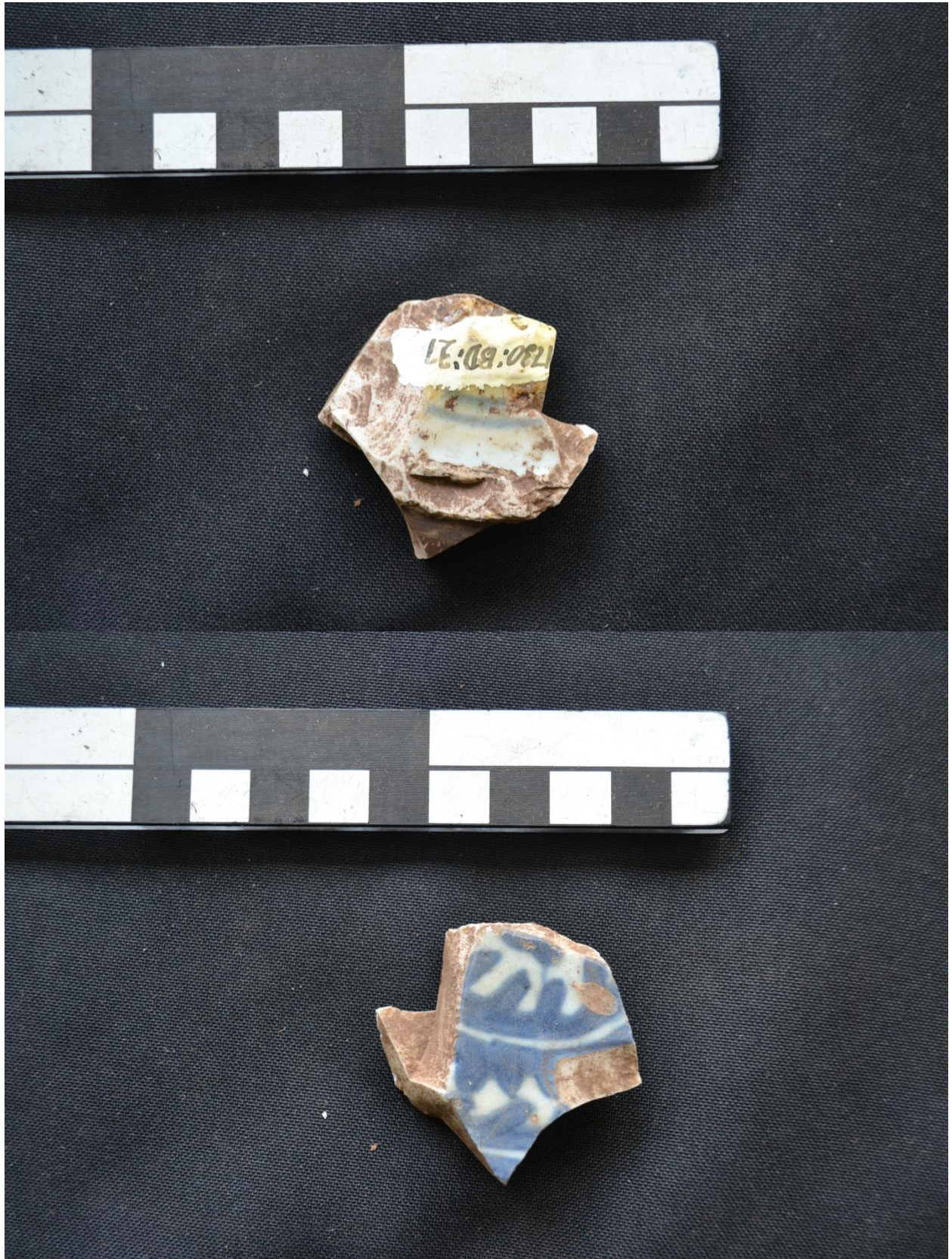
85 - 87



BAG83

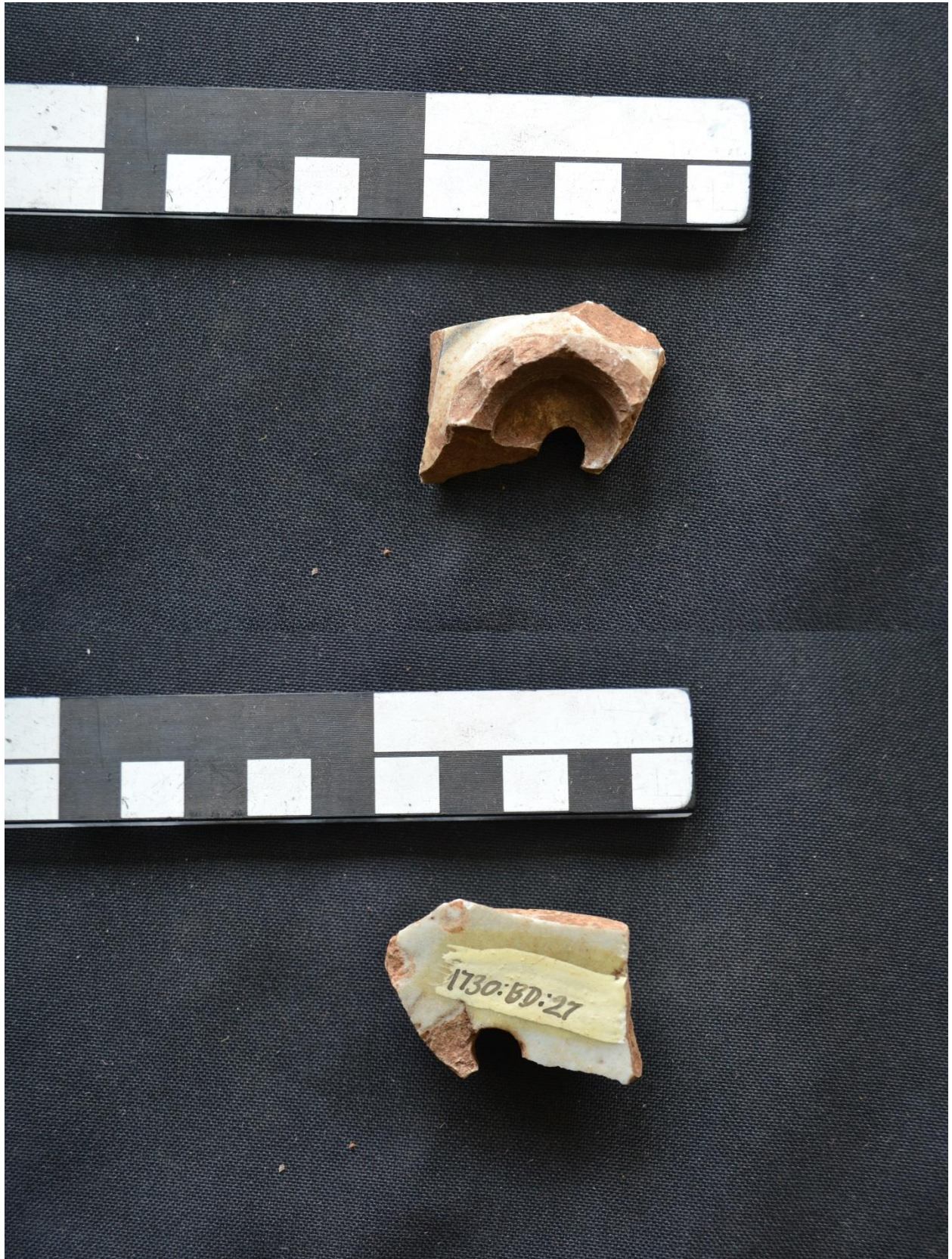


90 - 91



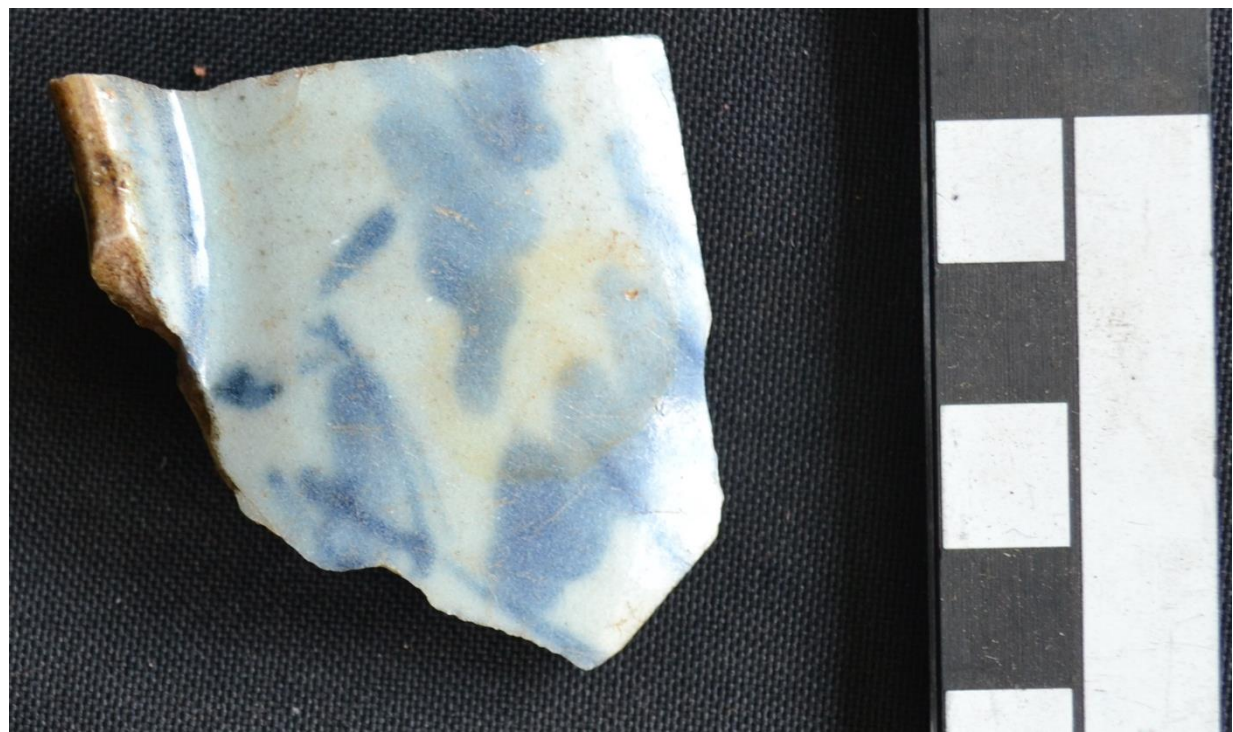
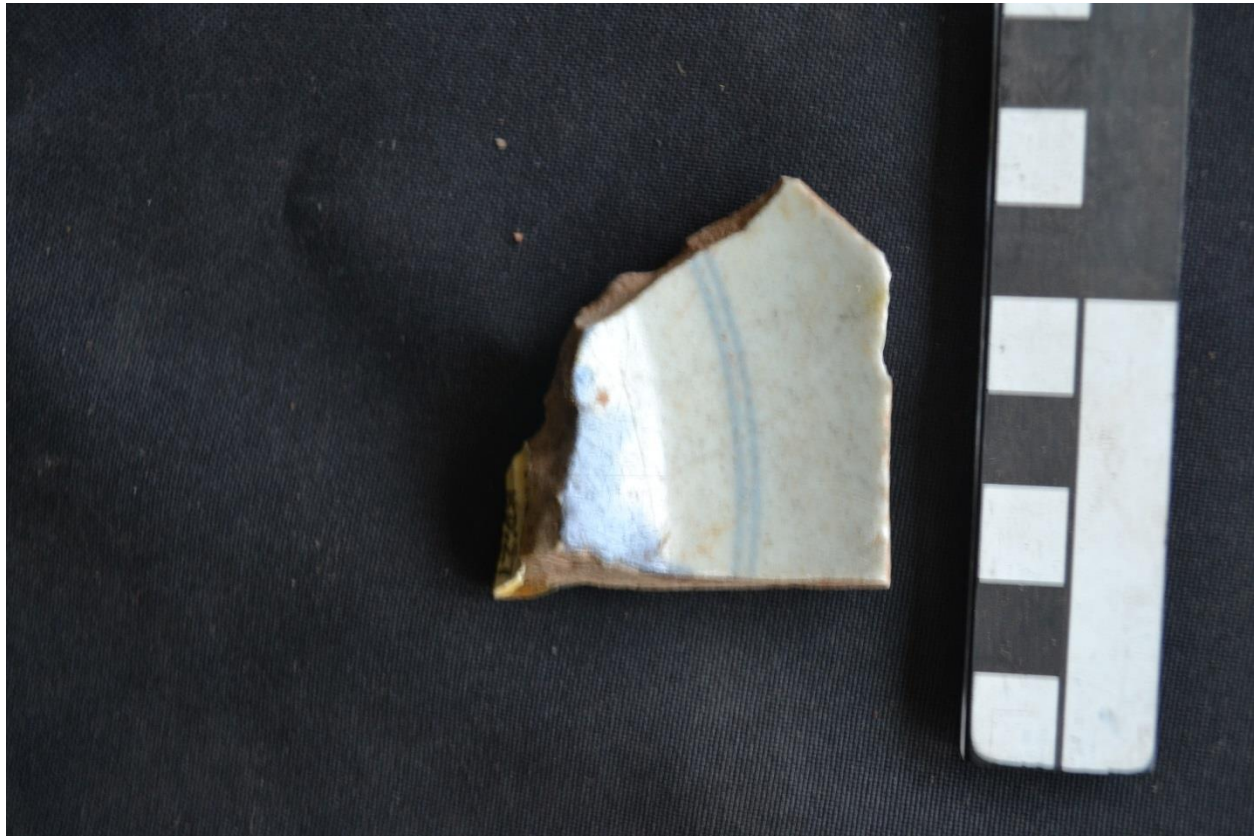
BAG83

92 - 93



BAG83

94 - 96



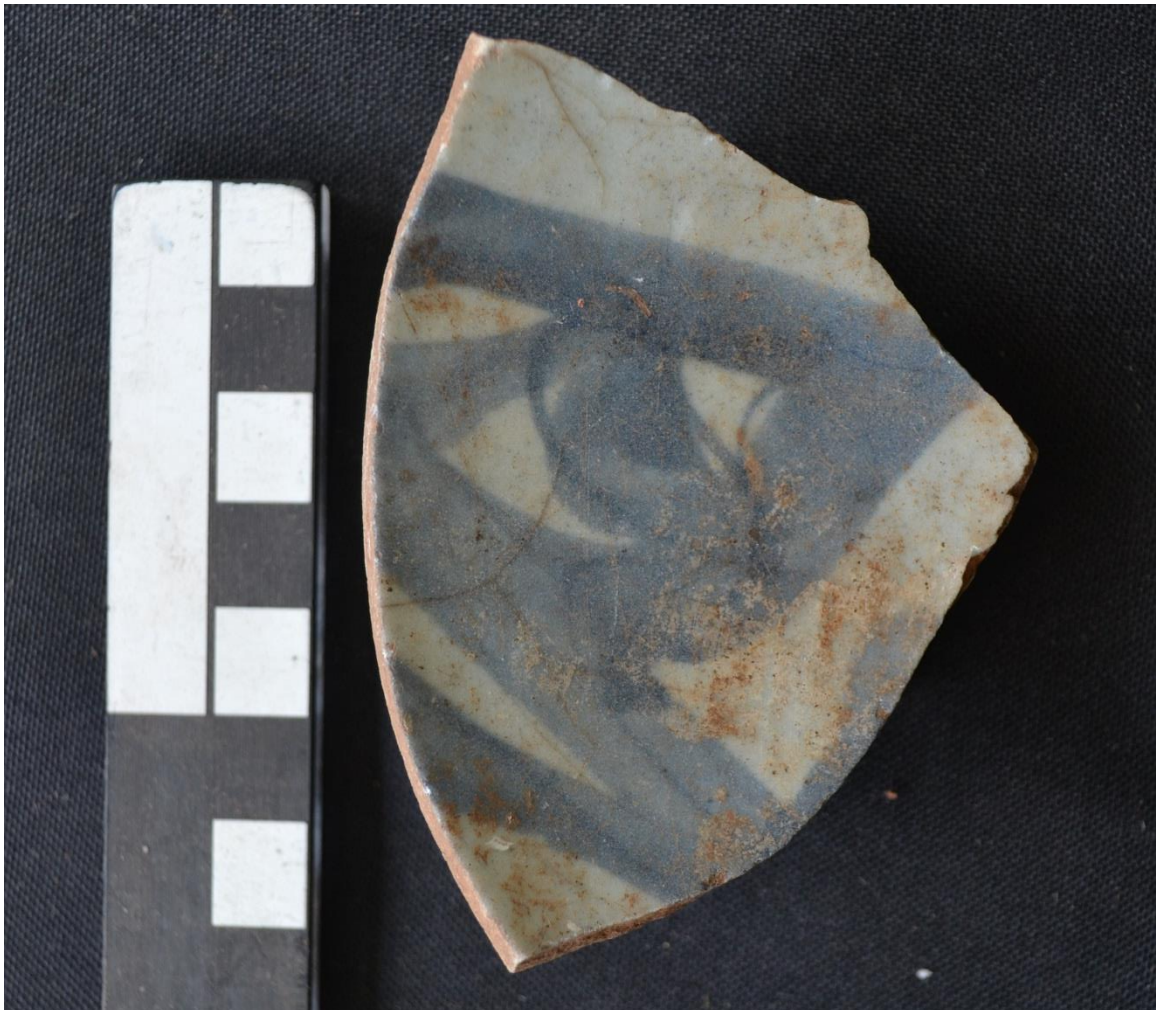
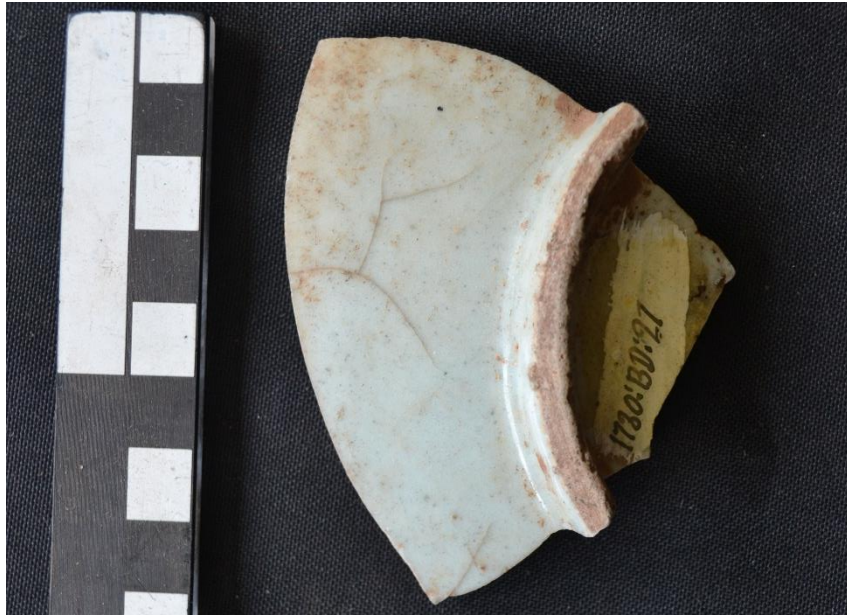
BAG83

97 - 98



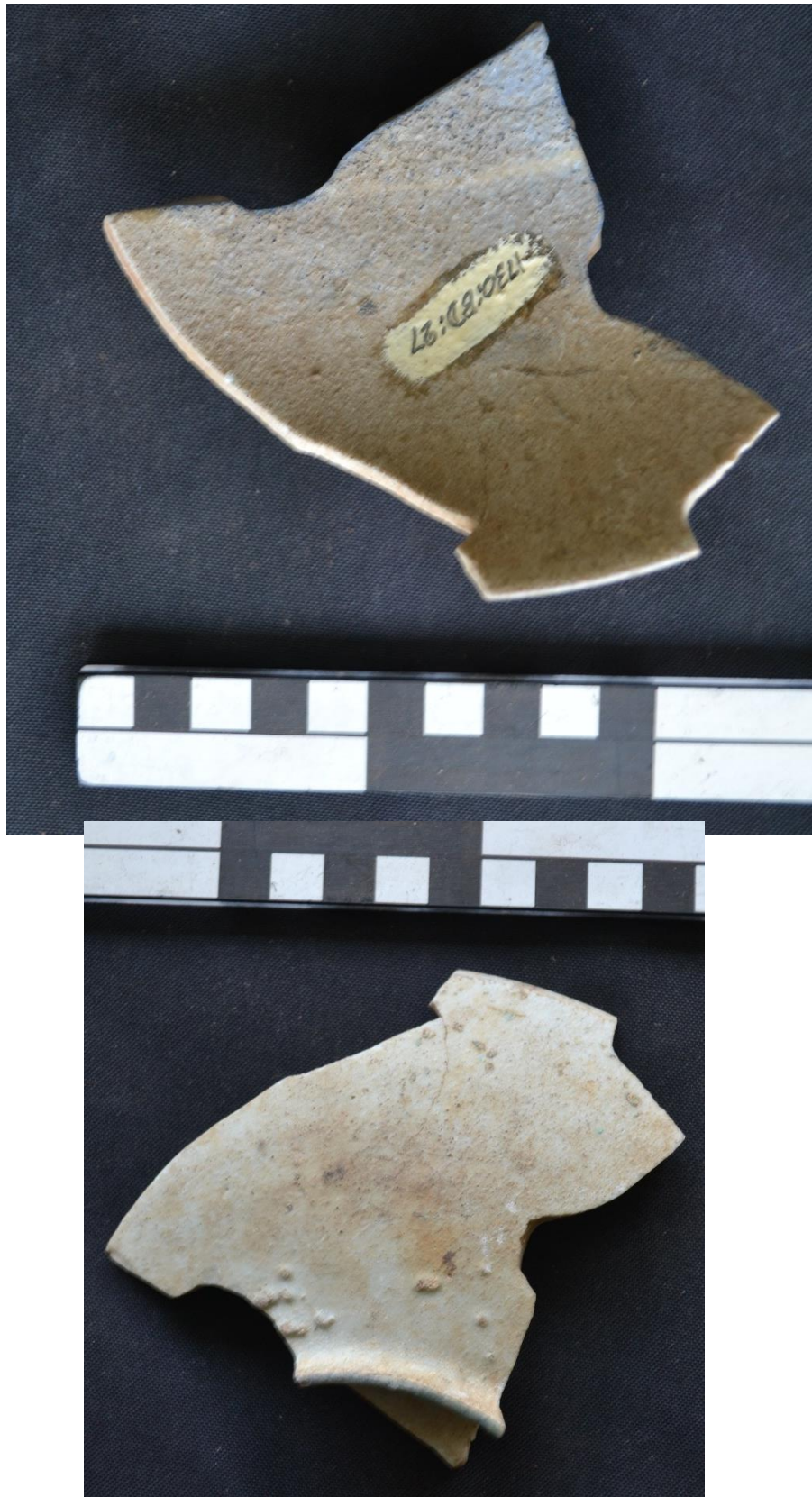
BAG83

99 - 102



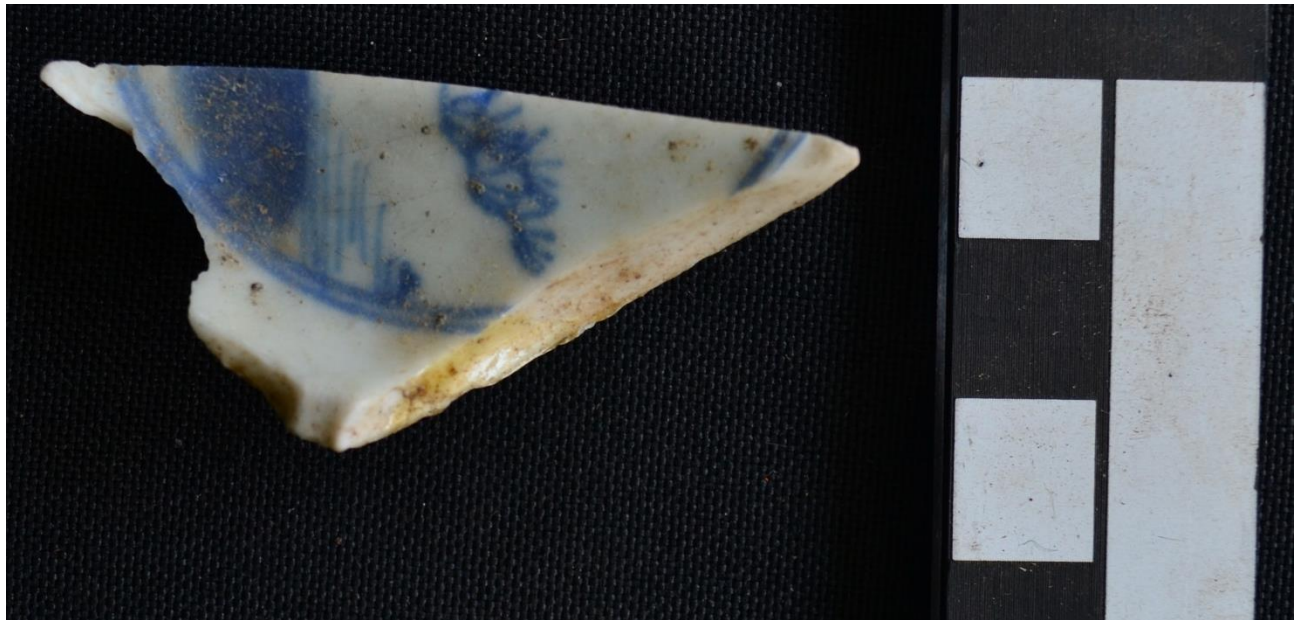
BAG83

103 - 104



BAG83

105 - 107



BAG83