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UNDERSTANDING THE FARMING COMMUNITY SEQUENCE FROM THE
MATEKE HILLS, SOUTH-EAST LOWVELD, ZIMBABWE



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Abstract:

This thesis for the first time establishes the archaeological sequence of Black farming communities over the past two millennia in south-eastern Zimbabwe. It makes use of material from two excavations by the University of Zimbabwe, my own field survey in the Mateke Hills region as well as preliminary work by earlier researchers. The resulting sequence, based largely on ceramic analysis, but including other aspects of material culture and settlement pattern, reveals several distinctive phases of occupation in the region. The first millennium AD is characterised by low intensity land use reflected in small and rather ephemeral scatters of artefacts mainly on drainage lines and occasionally on prominent hills. Evidence of occupation becomes much more prominent during the period c. 1000 – 1300 AD, especially at the major settlements of Chumbangula and Mwenezi. During this period the area was clearly important for its geographic position between the East Coast and the burgeoning Zimbabwe Culture. There is much less evidence of occupation during the period c. 1350/1400 to 1700 AD, probably as a result of climatic deterioration and the region being eclipsed in the East Coast trade. The more recent period when the archaeological evidence is significantly supplemented by oral histories, reflects an appreciable increase in occupation with the arrival of several new ethnic groups, as well as the troubled times of the 19th century.

Cover Illustration: Overview, Chumbangula Hill, taken from the west, from Lomolohoto Hill (photo P. Gray)

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Over the years of this research I have been helped immeasurably by many colleagues, mentors, friends and family who have taken part, encouraged, advised, guided and funded. Among those who need mention foremost are those from the University of Zimbabwe, who gave me access to the material from the excavations, as well as other sources, such as data, field notes and photographs. I thank Drs. Innocent Pikirayi, Gilbert Pwiti, Webber Ndoro, Robert Soper and Munyaradzi Manyanga in particular. Godhi Bvocho was most helpful in sharing his bead data. The staff in the Archaeology Unit of the Department of History, in particular Joseph Chirimbirika and M. Chifamba were most helpful. Permission was granted by the Research Council of Zimbabwe and the National Museums and Monuments to work in Zimbabwe and for access to the collections. I thank Dr. Godfrey Mahachi and his colleagues at the time for this, as well as the late Mr. George Mavenge. At the Museum of Human Sciences I received much help, interest and cooperation from the then curator Dr. Carolyn Thorp and from Lorraine Swan. Also in Zimbabwe, I am most grateful to colleagues and friends in the Prehistory Society of Zimbabwe for care and interest too. My visits and time in Harare would not have been possible without the generosity of the Freshman family who gave me accommodation, fuel and support. I also received cooperation and help with research papers and work from the Department of Archaeology at Uppsala University, in particular that of Jimmy Jonsson. Moving to the Mateke Hills area, the field trips and survey would not have been possible either without the

generous help and cooperation of the farmers who gave access to their land and upper parts of the Mateke Hills, as well as their time most willingly. In particular I mention the late Cliff Langenhoven and Christine Langenhoven formerly from Malumba Ranch and most of all Mike and Margaret Gawler from Sheba Ranch. Others in the district who gave of their time and help were the Viljoens and Wessels from Valley Ranch, Martins Grobelaar from Bar G, Boet Boshoff. Others who took part in guidance, explaining local custom and exploration were Sibangani Chadhebha, Ketani Tishebu, Jo'burg Makenani and Rina Mbedzi.

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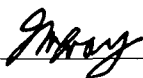
Lastly, I dedicate this work to the people of the Mateke region, a place imbued with memories, and a place of beauty and a spirit of endurance in a corner of the country often forgotten by the more busy centres.

Dr. Cran Cooke gave much to Zimbabwean archaeology over the years and I would like to think he would appreciate that the Matekes have been re-visited.

All photographs, except where otherwise acknowledged, by J. and P. Gray. Thanks to University of Zimbabwe for use of photographic material – see List of Figures.

DECLARATION

I, Jean Mary Gray declare that this thesis is my own unaided work unless otherwise acknowledged. It is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy, Archaeology, Faculty of Science at the University of Cape Town. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.



Date: 1st day of February, 2008

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Appendix One

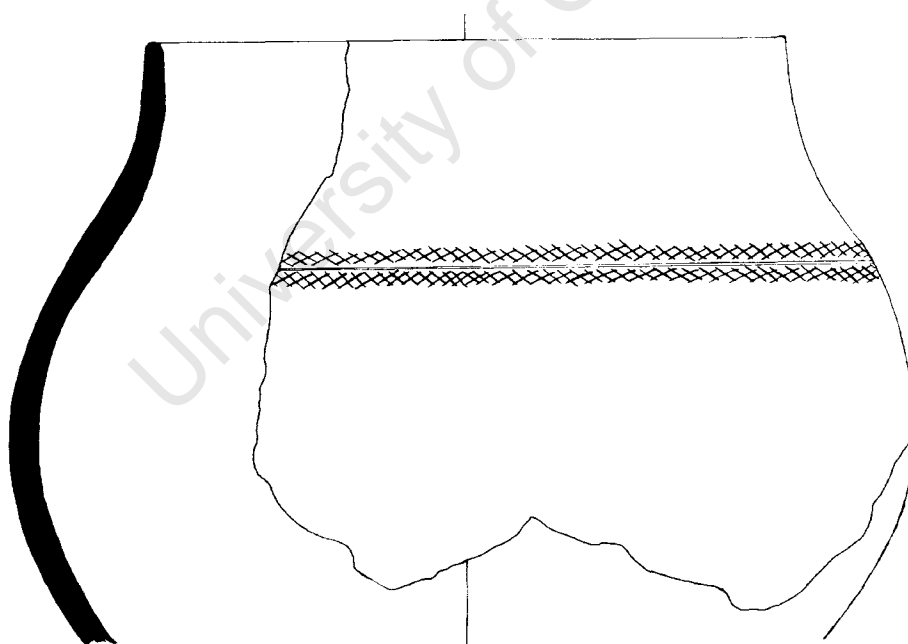
Example of Analysis Sheets Used for recording data for Pottery Analysis

Appendix Two

Table I - Pottery Table, set out in Stratigraphic Form for Test Pits for Chumbangula

Table II - Pottery Table for Trenches from Chumbangula

Table III - Pottery Table for Mwenezi Midden Trench



Long-necked, recurved pot with poorly defined shoulder, with double band of crosshatch at shoulder, heavily mineralised patina – Profile A4dd, provenance - Tr. IV L4

'Endless years pass. The names of the ancestors fade slowly from the minds of the living. The skies too change. The seasons begin to cry. No clouds. No rains. No gleaming blades of grass in the plains and valleys. The rain-bird is as silent as death'

Chenjerai Hove Ancestors

CHAPTER ONE THESIS OUTLINE, BACKGROUND AND GOALS

1.1 Introduction

The South-east Lowveld of Zimbabwe lies hot, dry and silent, in an arc between Beit Bridge in the south on the Limpopo River, crossing the Bubi and Mwenezi Rivers which flow into the Limpopo, towards the Save River on the east where the major tributary is the Runde River (Fig. 1.1). Across this area are scattered groups of hills, which have provided shelter, game, defence and better-watered areas for habitation from very early times (Cooke 1958). The hills that form the backdrop to this project are the Mateke Hills, which lie between the Bubi and Mwenezi Rivers (Fig 1.1, Fig. 2.1). The Malumba River, rising in the Mateke Hills, runs through the Malumba River Basin (Fig. 4.B) and an outer, south western 'ring' of hills, the Shangwenani Hills (Fig. 4.B) towards the Bubi River.

1.1i Main Goals

This thesis is directed towards understanding the cultural sequence of Farming Communities (Iron Age)¹ of the Mateke Hills (Figs. 1.1, 1.2, 3.1) with particular emphasis on the ceramics from the sites of Chumbangula in the Malumba River basin, and from the Mwenezi Farm site in the north western ambit of the Mateke Hills. Further to the analysis of the pottery, and comparisons with relevant published pottery assemblages, a survey of sites in the Malumba River basin looks at the spatial occurrence and historical spread of sites in the study area (Ch. 4, Fig 4.B). Since the south-east lowveld is an area where previously archaeological research has had little impact, this present research will fill in some of the 'gaps', noted on archaeological maps and reports of the 20th Century (Manyanga, Pikirayi & Ndoro 2000; Summers 1950, 1953, 1970). Significantly, the location of this project falls into the region between the important archaeological sites of the Shashe/Limpopo confluence and the east coast in the vicinity of Chibuene and the Save River mouth (Fig.2.1). This raises the question as to what part the Mateke area may have played in the dynamics of contact between the coast and the interior. The Mateke sites are also on a north-south axis between the Great Zimbabwe area and the eastern Soutpansberg and Pafuri area that may have had important ramifications too.

¹ The term Farming Communities, Early or Later, EFC or LFC has been used following Sinclair, Morais & Bingen (1979), by archaeologists in Zimbabwe in preference to the more technological term, Iron Age. It is felt to be preferable here as it describes populations by livelihood and can be used to describe a range of settlement patterns, which include both a farming and/or a foraging aspect (Pwiti 1996a:17). Since the terms EFC and LFC are now fairly commonly used in Zimbabwe, and since this thesis is based on artefacts and sites in Zimbabwe it was felt appropriate to use these terms.

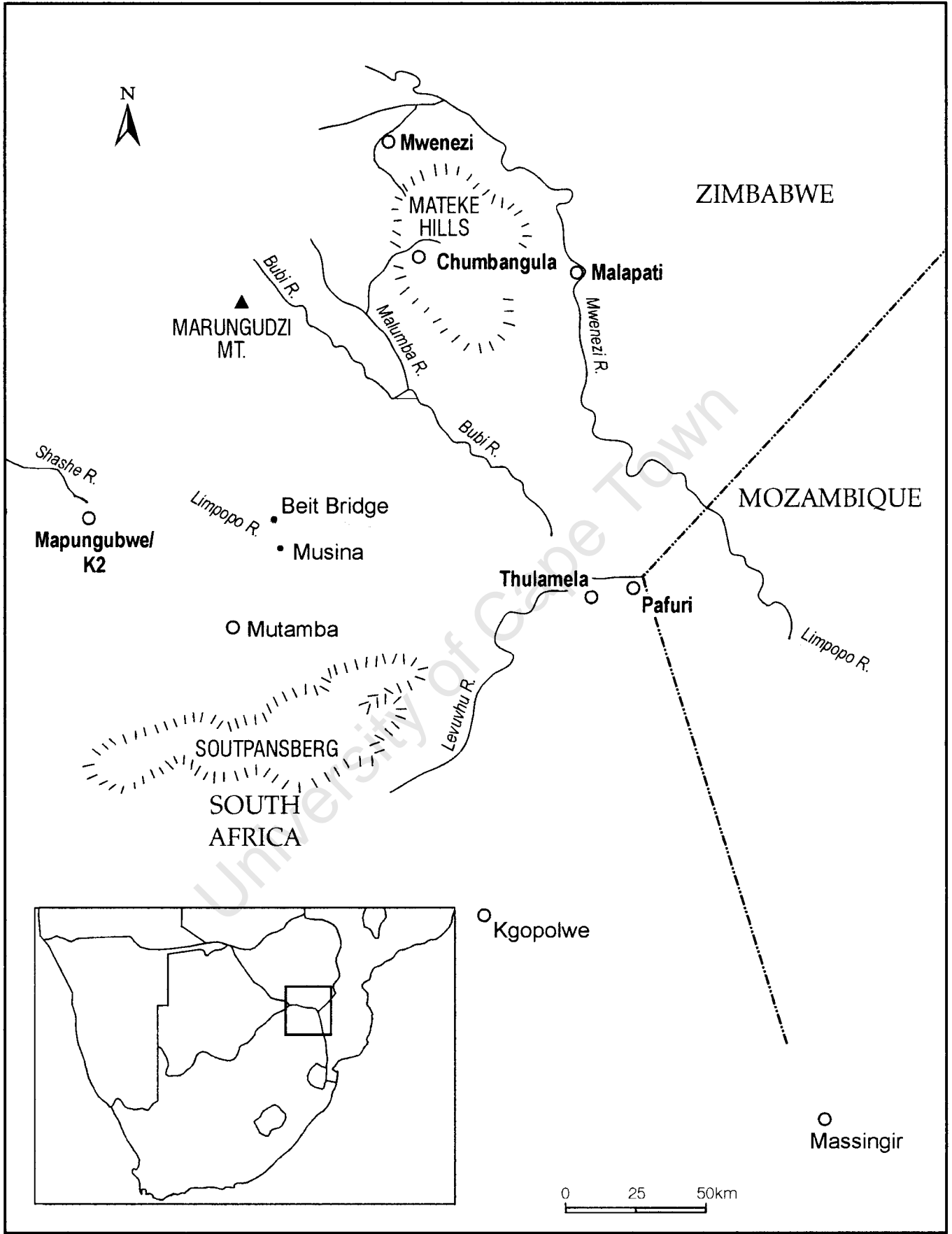


Figure 1.1 Broader Research Area showing Mateke Hills in relation to surrounding regions.

Research, including fieldwork and excavations, was carried out during the period 1994-2000 by a team from the University of Zimbabwe (UZ), as well as a series of field visits and surveys undertaken by myself, P. and Q. Gray (Ch. 4) to the Mateke area, to investigate further the findings of the 1958 Mateke expedition into this area (Cooke 1958) (Ch. 2). The hill, known as Chumbangula² (Fig 4.A, Fig. 4.1a) and identified in the Mateke report (Cooke 1958), had steep cliffs, walling and much scattered pottery that appeared to represent different periods, indicating that the pottery on the hill had certain similarities with that of the 'Mapungubwe' (Greefswald), sites on the south-west Limpopo as well as an unknown component (Cooke 1958:56). The informant Andries Chinana identified his original village as being below the walled hill, and the pottery from this was described as different from that of the pottery from the hill (Cooke 1958). The more recent historically known inhabitants were described as 'Mapfumbi' (*sic*). Our goal was to identify the sites reported by Cooke (1958), to gather information by survey, observation, notes, photography and local traditions, in order to begin to understand the archaeology and habitation history of the area in the vicinity. These would be used, in conjunction with data from the excavations carried out by the University of Zimbabwe, as the basis for building up a picture of the people who had occupied this part of the lowveld in the preceding two millennia.

Whilst it was known (Cooke 1958; 1960) that both earlier and later Stone Age people had inhabited this area, this research is aimed at understanding the period since the advent of farming and iron-using peoples. The History Department, Archaeology Unit, of the University of Zimbabwe had recently (1994 onwards) extended its programme of survey and archaeological research from the Save River area to include the southeast lowveld. This survey looked at the wider area of the Mwenezi District between Mwenezi and Beit Bridge (Manyanga, Pikirayi & Ndoro 2000:Fig. 1). This was as part of a larger regional project, entitled '*Human Responses and Contribution to Environmental Change*', aimed at examining the 'relationship between culture, bio-geography and climate in southern African regions from the Late Holocene, especially the last 2,000 years' (Manyanga et al 2000:69). Since this aims to identify periods and regions where the environment would have played an important role, the circumscribed climatic conditions of the Mateke Hills, which has a somewhat higher rainfall than the drier surrounding lands within the broader Limpopo River Valley, provided an ideal research area (Ch. 3). The question of how and where the landscape in the environs of the Mateke Hills was occupied is examined further to the question of how well this

² Material from this hill was originally accessed in the collections of firstly, the Museum in Bulawayo, and later transferred to the Queen Victoria Museum, now known as the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare, under the name of Chumbangula (as 2130DD:5). I have thus used this name as a measure of clarity and continuity. C.f. Ch. 2.2i and also see footnote 11 in Ch. 4.

dry, hot environment had been utilised in earlier times, and pursuant to the question of the improved rainfall and warm conditions which have been identified at certain times in the past 2000 years (Huffman 1996a, 2000).

The outline of this thesis is thus - The history of archaeological research in the region will be examined in Chapter 2, while the questions of the physical environment will be looked at in greater depth in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 discusses the survey of sites while the excavations and finds are the subject of Chapter 5. Chapter 6 lays out the methodology of the ceramic analysis and description of the ceramics. Pertinent historical events and population movements will be presented in conjunction with evidence for the more recent pottery in the site area in Chapter 7. The interpretation of the sequence, discussion and conclusions form the subject matter of Chapter 8.

1.1ii Further Comment on This Study

As stated, this study will concentrate on analysing and understanding the ceramic sequence from the two sites in the Mateke Hills. Where it is known, the archaeological and occupational history of the region will be used as a base, whilst at the same time identifying any different or unique facets of the occupations in the Mateke region. The pottery from the Midden Trench at the Mwenezi Farm site will be examined in conjunction with the Chumbangula pottery in order to compare and identify similarities or differences. Where there have been gaps in the knowledge of the archaeological past of this area (Ch. 2) (Summers 1950, 1970), I will aim to answer some of the questions, such as whether the Zimbabwe culture (Summers, Robinson & Whitty 1961) spread down into the drier lowveld country from the edge of the plateau. Secondly whether there was a denser occupation and concentration of sites at particular times in the past, as might be indicated with reference to climatic and archaeological data (Huffman 1996a, 2000). The ceramic analysis aims to establish whether the sites of Mwenezi and Chumbangula show an affinity to presently known assemblages in Zimbabwe such as the Gumanye pottery of south-eastern Zimbabwe (Huffman 1971a, 1971b, 1978a; Robinson 1961a; Sinclair 1986, 1991) or Zimbabwe Tradition phases (Periods III, IVa, IVb) (Huffman & Vogel 1991; Robinson 1961a). In north eastern South Africa Mutamba and Kgopolwe pottery has similar attributes to Gumanye (Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Loubser 1991). Another question is whether there is any relationship with Mapungubwe or its precursor at K2 (Cooke 1958, Manyanga 2000; Manyanga et al 2000; Meyer 1980; Robinson 1958) (Tables 4.1, 4.5). Other possible contemporaneous material is from research in the Kruger National Park, at sites in the northern regions (Meyer 1986; Plug 1989). In addition an EFC comb stamp type of assemblage has been

identified at Malapati on the Mwenezi River some 40 kms to the east of the Mateke Hills (Robinson 1961b) which has implications for early material seen in the Malumba River vicinity. I will also examine the more recent period of occupation as some of the material on the surface and top layers at Chumbangula indicates this component. This necessitates an examination of the recorded occupation (both written and oral) of this lowveld region by people of Karanga, Venda and Tsonga origins (Bannerman 1978, 1981; Beach 1980, 1994a, 1994b), along with an examination of relevant and contemporary pottery assemblages.

Early accounts and maps highlight the fact that a north-south route existed from the Soutpansberg in the Limpopo Province, RSA, through to the southern plateau in the Great Zimbabwe area. This route, running from east of the Soutpansberg, across the Limpopo River, across the Bubi River, past the western side of the Mateke Hills, and across the Mwenezi River towards the Runde River may well have been used for centuries (Baines 1968; Beach 1980; Bernhard 1970, 1971; Burke 1969; Liesegang 1970, 1977; van der Merwe 1962). This has a bearing in view of the historically known migrations over the Limpopo River, both from Zimbabwe, and from South Africa. The Limpopo River does not offer a difficult barrier geographically (Beach 1994a); so by implication similar movements could have taken place in earlier times, this being a useful route for communication and trade. There is also the question of the east coast trade routes to Chibuene and Sofala (Sinclair 1982) and contact between these entry locations and the Greefswald area.

1.1iii Growing State Complexity

The sites at Bambandyanalo (K2) and Mapungubwe in northwest South Africa, and related sites, have been the focus of studies dating back from the 1930's (Fouché 1937; Gardener 1963; Hanisch 1980; Meyer 1980; van Ewyk 1987) while recent research has claimed this as the first identified 'state' in a Southern African context. The sites revealed evidence of a growing complexity of society, with evidence for inter-continental trade first identified at Schroda and Pont Drift (Hanisch 1980), growing numbers of population (Huffman & Hanisch 1987; Huffman 2000a); and most importantly, a state where it has been shown that a separation of the ruling caste or 'elite' had taken place at K2, and then more clearly at Mapungubwe (Hall 1987; Huffman 1996b, 2000, Huffman and Hanisch 1987; Maggs 1984). It is pertinent therefore to examine these issues with regard to the sites being investigated in the Mateke Hills to see whether any signature of an 'elite' group is apparent in the assemblage or site layouts.

1.1iv Summary

- ◆ Thus the main research focus of this study is to further our understanding of the sites of Chumbangula and Mwenezi, particularly their ceramics (Huffman 1980a, Maggs 1980; Pikirayi 1993), in order to develop the sequence of farming communities in the Mateke area of the south-east lowveld.
- ◆ I will analyse the ceramics bearing in mind the question, do these sites represent a single occupation, or a multi-component one?
- ◆ I will compare these sites with related and significant sites in south-east Zimbabwe and northern South Africa (Bvocho 2001; Calabrese 2000; Evers 1988; Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Huffman 1978a, 1979a, 1996b, 2000; Jonsson 1998; Loubser 1991; Manyanga 2000; Robinson 1961a, 1961b; Vogel 2000).
- ◆ Other sites, particularly in the Malumba River basin, will also be examined where they can throw further light on the Mateke sequence.
- ◆ Research on past environmental and climate characteristics in the period under consideration (Table 3.3) will be taken into account (Huffman 1996a; Jonsson 1998; Smith 2005; Tyson & Lindsay 1992).
- ◆ The significance of the conclusions for Farming Community research will be outlined.



Fig. 1.2 View from the west, of the Mateke Hills and Malumba River Basin

CHAPTER TWO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK – A REVIEW OF PAST ‘IRON AGE’ RESEARCH

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine past ‘Iron Age’³ archaeological research in Zimbabwe, particularly in the southeast lowveld region pertaining to the Mateke Hills as well as in northern South Africa, from the 1930’s to the present (Fig 2.1, Table 2.1), in order to place this project in context. Present day research trends and areas are outlined, in both Zimbabwe and South Africa.

2.2 Background to the History of Research in the South-Eastern Lowveld

The southeast Lowveld of Zimbabwe has not previously been seen as an optimum area for human habitation so, despite the fact that there is evidence for occupation over millennia, from Middle Stone Age times through to the present (Beach 1980; Cooke 1958, 1960, 1962, 1970; Garlake 1966, 1967, 1968a, 1968b; Huffman 1971a, 1978a; Meyer 1986; Robinson 1960a, 1961b, 1961c, 1967a; Sinclair 1987; von Sicard 1961), there has been little research, or follow up work. Early in the 20th Century little was known about the south-eastern lowveld region, archaeologically, or even geographically. Early knowledge gained from the peripheries of the southeast lowveld, in the Save/Runde River basin (Caton-Thompson 1931), or the Limpopo/Shashe basin (Fouché 1937; Gardner 1963), did not extend into the southeast region. An ‘empty space’ was depicted on archaeological distribution maps in the region of the southeast lowveld (Bent 1892; Hall 1905; Hall & Neal 1972; Summers 1950, 1953, 1967). It was largely assumed that because the lowveld environment was not conducive to large-scale habitation, except in specialised ecozones (e.g. the Shashe/Limpopo basin) the lowveld did not warrant much closer inspection (Manyanga, Pikirayi & Ndoro 2000; Summers 1953). Some old maps gave some information, for instance those of Karl Mauch, which include his journeys through the region in 1868 and 1871 (Bernhard 1968; Burke 1969); Thomas Baines (1877), and the map in Hall and Neal (1904, 1972), which annotates places where known ruins sites had been identified. Generally those in the area between the lower Bubi (Bubi) and Nuanetsi (Mwenezi) Rivers were simply marked as ‘Important ancient ruins, not located’, or ‘Extensive ancient ruins (Baines 1877)’ with gaps in the area between the Save (Sabi) River, and the Mzingwane River. An old drift across the Limpopo was close to where Beit Bridge is today (Fig. 2.1), though most of the early white travellers chose routes to the west of the old Transvaal, across the eastern corner of Botswana to Fort Tuli, and then northeast towards what became Fort Victoria (Masvingo), which was the route of the Pioneer column of 1892. Otherwise the ‘main’ road to the

³ I use this term in Chapter 2 for this review of past research only, since this was the terminology then used commonly by researchers (Summers 1950, 1967a).

northwest was the Old Hunters Road (also known as the 'Missionaries Road') (Jacobson 1994; Moffat 1976; Thomas 1970), which led past Shoshong, to the Matabele town of Bulawayo, and on to Inyati. These roads avoided the low-lying country east of the drifts and towards Mozambique, where tsetse fly and fever were known. The southeast corner of the country was not entirely unknown, as hunters, mine recruiters and other adventurers had long frequented it since the mid 1800's, but this elicited no clear information of earlier settlements, and rumours of a 'lost city of the Zimbabwe type' remained just that (Bernhard 1971; Bulpin 1967; Burke 1969; Cooke 1964:55; Simons 1958:1, 1962:49; van der Merwe 1962). By 1925 maps had not changed much for this region, other than that the area of the Mateke Hills is vaguely marked as the Bepi Hills and there are some suggestions of the existence of copper mines. The country was being opened up to outsiders through settlement and cattle ranching, and a police post and 'Native Commissioner' had been established at Nuanetsi (Mwenezi) (Surveyor General, 1924) (Map 1.2). By the 1940's, the main trigonometric beacons at Mateke and Marungudzi had been established, but the nearest 'ruins' marked were still to the north over the Mwenezi River (Surveyor General 1943).

Iron Age research in Southern Zimbabwe, and neighbouring territories, prior to the 1970's, concentrated on only a few key sites and topics. These include Great Zimbabwe itself, some 100kms to the north of the Matekes, together with other impressive stone walled sites belonging to this Tradition (Caton-Thompson 1931; Garlake 1970, 1973; Huffman 1971c, 1978a, 1984b; Robinson 1959, 1961a, d, e; Summers 1953, 1961; Whitty 1961). Earlier research in South Africa relevant to southern Zimbabwe was concentrated at the Shashe/Limpopo confluence where Zhizo, K2 and the Mapungubwe sites were excavated (Fouché 1937; Gardner 1963; Garlake 1966, 1967, 1968a; Huffman 1972a; Robinson 1960a). The distribution of Leopard's Kopje and the Toutswe sites are widespread in Matabeleland, eastern Botswana and together with Khami sites have been widely researched and recorded (Denbow 1981, 1984; Garlake 1966; Huffman 1971b, 1974, 1979a, 1984a; Robinson 1959, 1960a, 1964, 1967b, 1968). Iron Age sites were also examined in Zimbabwe as to their proximity to known sites of ancient gold mining activity (Summers 1969); as well as the direction of movement and affinities of peoples (Huffman 1970, 1978b, 1979b, 1982; Hall 1987; Phillipson 1977, 1985). Research on 'Early Iron Age' (EFC) sites includes earlier material from Chibi (Robinson 1961c, 1967a) as well as slightly later Gokomere material from the Tunnel site (Huffman 1976; Robinson 1963; Gardner, Wells & Schofield 1940). Zhizo sites occur in the south-western regions (Huffman 1974; Robinson 1959, 1966a). The position of Bambata pottery at the

interface between forager/hunter and early farming societies remained unresolved (Robinson 1966b; Summers 1950, 1970).

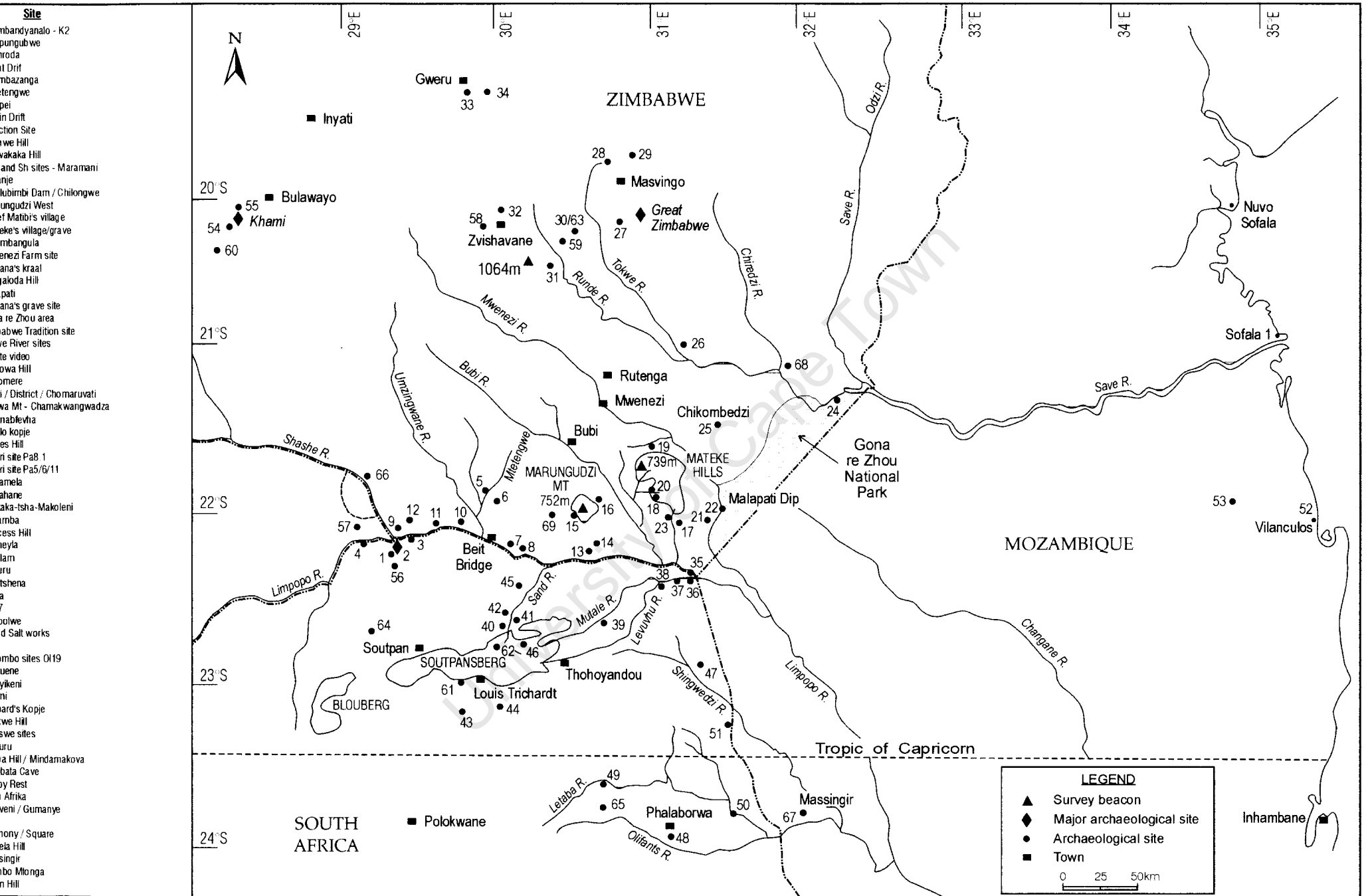
2.2i Previous Archaeological Research relevant to the Southeast Lowveld

Archaeological research in this region really began in the 1950's with the various expeditions of the Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society (RSES). Several of these expeditions focussed on the lowveld region, in the Mopane/Combretum Woodlands, with pockets of alluvial sands and riverine forest, in areas from 300 to 500m above sea level, in those areas where 'gaps' had existed on archaeological maps. They ranged from the Save/Runde Rivers in the east, to the Gona re Zhou and Mwenezi River area, across the Mateke Hills, to the Bubi River in the southeast and across to the Shashe/Limpopo confluence in the west (Fig. 2.1)⁴ (see Table 2.1, a tabulated outline of site areas, sites and pottery expressions). However the archaeological reports on the 'Iron Age' stemming from these expeditions are limited, in that the expeditions were of an exploratory nature, and though they give initial information on a range of sites from Gokomere-type, Zhizo, through K2 and Mapungubwe, Leopard's Kopje, Zimbabwe, Khami and later historically known sites, previously called Refuge⁵, there were few excavations and these were of an exploratory nature (Cooke 1958, 1964, 1970; Garlake 1966, 1967, 1968a, 1968b; Huffman 1971a, 1972c, 1973b; Robinson 1960a, 1961b). Information from the reports to the west of the Mzingwane River is that Zhizo, K2 and Mapungubwe sites occur there as well as Khami and later sites (Cooke 1963; Garlake 1966, 1967; Robinson 1960) but that Zhizo, K2 and Mapungubwe sites have not been found much to the east of this boundary (Fig. 2.1) (Beach 1980; Cooke 1958, 1964; Garlake 1968b; Robinson 1958, 1964; von Sicard 1961). Survey work and some excavation in the Beit Bridge District took place in the south (Fig. 2.1) (Robinson 1958, 1964; Summers 1953; von Sicard 1961). On the Mtetengwe River, some 30kms north of Beit Bridge, a Mapungubwe village site with no walling, was investigated; the finds illustrated are Mapungubwe ware (M1) as well as a couple of M2 sherds, more like the K2 material (Robinson 1958:93, Fig. 13:108). This is the closest Mapungubwe site identified to the Mateke sites, and as an open village site it is perhaps comparable with the 'low prestige' type site excavated in north-west Limpopo Province (Van Ewyk 1987), illustrating that Mapungubwe wares were used by

⁴ Relevant RSES Expeditions		1956 Matopos	1957 Makadikadi
1958 Mateke	1959 Tuli	1960 Sentinel	1961 Buffalo Bend
1962 Gona re Zhou	1963 Tshangula & Zhilo	1964 Malimbasingi	1966 Shashe
1967 Maramani	1968 Siyanje	1969 Bikita	1970 Chibi
1971 Runde	1972 Tshibidzini	1973 Buhwa	

⁵ I have used the generic term 'Recent Period' for denoting the period between c. AD1750 and c.1950. This is not a term for particular expressions of pottery, but for the period. See note 1 in Chapter 7.

Fig. 2.1 Past Archaeological Research and Sites in Greater Research Area, 1700-2000 AD



peasant farmers during the Mapungubwe period, dwelling in open villages, and were not only found on elite sites. The apparent ‘border’ of Mapungubwe sites, and wares, along the line of the Mzingwane River (Beach 1980; Robinson 1958) is also intriguing. There are no real geographical features between the west and the east of the lowveld to make movement difficult, beyond the geological nature of the rock – sandstone to the west, broken ground, dolerite dykes, ridges and granites to the east (Garlake 1968b). It presupposes the possible presence of people able to withstand pressures or contact from the Mapungubwe zone; or perhaps more likely, an area offering few attractive settlement possibilities as to land, shelter, game, water, tsetse fly free zones, temperature and soils (factors borne out by research in the Siyanje area (Garlake 1968b)).

The site of Dombazanga, in very much the same area as Mtetengwe, (Fig. 2.1) is a rock shelter with Later Stone Age material, though several Iron Age potsherds were found in the excavations; of these, one was a stamp decorated rim and one is interpreted as a possible Bambata rim, with three others possibly like the 9th C. pottery from Malapati (also EFC), and compared to similar decorated sherds illustrated by Cooke from his Bubyee/ Limpopo sites (Cooke 1958, 1960; Robinson 1964:10). These earlier types of sherds present interesting questions as to the nature of the Early Farming Communities’ presence in the lowveld region including questions about contact or communication with Later Stone Age people in the first millennium AD. The concomitant presence of these peoples is attested to by sites, microlithic stone tools, rock paintings and engravings attributable to them on both sides of the Limpopo (Cooke 1958, 1960, 1964; Eastwood 1999, 2003; Garlake 1967, 1968b; Hall & Smith 2000; Robinson 1960, 1964; Walker & Thorp 1997; Cooke & Simons 1969).

It is the reports from the expeditions east of the Beit Bridge area that are more pertinent (Fig. 2.1, Table 2.1). The primary report for the present research is that from the RSES Mateke Expedition (Cooke 1958, 1960). Cooke primarily identified ‘possibly three classes of pottery’ – that from the datable ‘old kraal’ (*sic*) sites, known to belong to the ‘Mapfumbi’ (*sic*) group of the expedition’s guide, Andries Chinana (Fig. 2.2), and who are said to have sheltered on the hill at Chumbangula during Nguni raiding periods (Ch. 7), as well as that from the Mateke Beacon and from Marungudzi Hill (Cooke 1958:56). Secondly, the assemblage from ‘the Chumbangula ruined walled kopje’ --- ‘certain pots have the appearance of some of the Mapungubwe ware from the Northern Transvaal’, and ‘other traditions, such as the band ware from Rhodesian (*sic*) ruins, and pottery from old sites at Chibi (Cooke 1958:56+58). Cooke had pointed out that the pottery on the hill had certain similarities with that of the ‘Mapungubwe’ (i.e. Greefswald), sites on the south-west Limpopo as

well as an unknown component (Cooke 1958:56). A possible third group was that represented by an unusual pot from the Dawn Hill Mine ruins (Cooke 1958:59, Fig. 7.15). He recognised that there was no pottery comparable with the 'band & panel Khami ware', but that there were a few sherds, which did not fit into any known types, with an unusual 'red' colouring and carinated profile (Cooke 1958:58, Fig. 7.12). Cooke noted the profiles of long-necked pots and shallow bowls, flat rims, the preponderance of crosshatched bands in the pottery, and that though some sherds were burnished, none showed any sign of graphite (Cooke 1958:58). Thus the Mateke report raised several interesting points regarding the pottery, walling, dating and occupation of the Mateke sites, particularly of Chumbangula, which the present research seeks to clarify.

The 'Early Iron Age' material excavated at Malapati, on the east bank of the Mwenezi River (Fig. 2.1) (Robinson 1961b), which had comb stamped and hatched wares with heavy rims, cross-hatching on rims, akin to those found at Happy Rest and Klein Afrika in the Soutpansberg (de Vaal 1943; Prinsloo 1974), provides comparative material for the scatters of EFC sherds found in the Malumba River Basin (Ch. 3, Table 3.1) (Robinson 1961b: 6-18 & Figs 1+ 5). Klein Afrika produces dates between the 5th and 7th centuries (Vogel 2000:53) which is earlier than Malapati, which gave a date of 850±100AD (SR-33)⁶ (but see discussion on this date (Ch. 2.2iii) (Thorp 2005a:12) + (Ch. 8.4iv)). It does seem that on present evidence there was little or no occupation of the region in the 8th and 9th centuries (Vogel 2000:53), but that Zhizo and other groups moved in towards the beginning of the warmer period around 900AD (Jonsson 1998). The Malapati pottery is somewhat younger than the pottery identified at Mabveni, where dates of 180± 120AD (SR-43) (seems rather early? unless Bambata?) and 570±110AD (SR-79) were obtained (Huffman 1980b; Robinson 1961c).

The area investigated in this earlier research, closest to the Mateke sites is that of Siyanje on the Limpopo River (Fig. 2.1, Table 2.1), some 50kms south of the western Mateke Hills, close to the Bubi/Limpopo confluence, and south of Marungudzi Mt. (Garlake 1968b). In general it was an area somewhat sterile in 'Iron Age' archaeology, and no material similar to that found on Chumbangula

⁶ These dates in this section, Ch. 2.2i, 2.2ii are from the earlier period of carbon dating, they are in the literature as obtained and corrected at the time and are quoted here as they appear in the original literature (therefore as obtained between the 1950's and c. late 1980's). Dates quoted here have not been calibrated against the newer calibration curve from Pretoria (Talma & Vogel 1993; Vogel & Fuls 1999; Vogel 2000), unless they are quoted from papers and research later than 1993 and understood to be so. The work by Vogel (2000:Fig. 1) provides a useful reference for the calibrated dating for the central Limpopo basin, for the period AD 900-1600 - the Appendix (Vogel 2000:56-57) lists dates calibrated for a range from the EIA dates for Klein Afrika at AD 440-660 through to the later period along the Limpopo River to the Soutpans-berg, post AD 1600's (when dating is becoming more difficult (Boeyens 2003:69; Vogel & Fuls 1999:99-100)).

Hill is reported, though pottery is identified as similar to that found by Cooke at Chinana's Kraal and Marungudzi as that of the '*Mapfumbé*' (*sic*); which he termed recent (Cooke 1958, Garlake 1968b:20-21). The expedition surveyed a wide area on the Limpopo where it appeared that virtually only this pottery from the previous 200 years was visible, characterised by coarse, poorly fired, largely unburnished pottery (Cooke 1958:57, 1960:106; Garlake 1968b:20). Sherds of 'Early Iron Age' stamp decorated ware were found at the west side of the Marungudzi crater, and sparse indications of the same EIA period were found at Zwenyambe Hill (Waterhole), Chumanyoka Cave and Sheba at Mateke (Cooke 1958: 57-58; Garlake 1968b:20; Gray 1999)(Ch. 4, Table 4.1). However no sites or pottery were found for the 'Late Iron Age' between circa AD 1000–1700 (Garlake 1968b:20) (i.e. no K2, Mapungubwe, Zimbabwe or Khami phases). The Siyanje expedition describes a site on Marungudzi (Table 4.1) (Cooke (1958:60), as a 'large settlement, with extensive rough stone walling, much of it free standing, and including square loopholes, with abundant pottery and a single large royal blue hexagonal bead indicating a nineteenth century date' (Garlake 1968b:20). This agrees with descriptions given by von Sicard (1961) for similar, recent sites in the Beit Bridge/ Mzingwane area, and is interesting in its differences to the walling on Chumbangula (Chs. 4, 5, 8). The reasoning behind the apparent dearth of material for much of the Later 'Iron Age' period is that the region along this north-eastern bank of the Limpopo River consists of low-lying, rocky ground of dolerite dykes, steep ridges, and broken topography, agriculturally poor soils, a low rainfall, with restricted numbers of game; and also only some 'ten miles' to the west of the limits of Summer's tsetse fly free area between AD 890 and 1400 (Garlake 1968b; Summers 1967b). This would have meant that it only needed a small extension of this boundary to render the area unsuitable for cattle-owning people (Garlake 1968b:21). In addition this may bear out the climatic data that indicates a drier, cooler period after 1300AD, called the Little Ice Age, making this already marginal land more unattractive to settlement (Huffman 1996a; Jonsson 1998; Smith 2005; Tyson & Lindsay 1992). It is difficult to escape the conclusion that this part of the Limpopo valley was largely uninhabited during much of the second millennium AD, given the paucity of evidence (Garlake 1968b), which makes the Mateke Hills area significant for both climatic and occupation research.

At Gona re Zhou in the Save-Runde River area some 100 kms to the east of Mateke (Table 2.1), the modern Hlengwe Tsonga population (1960's) in the area is outlined, struggling with the usual problems of heat, drought, poor soils; malaria fever, elephants destroying crops, and tsetse fly affecting the cattle, all of which are constraints lowveld dwellers have had to contend with through

the centuries in successfully coping with the environment (Ch. 3) (Carlew 1964; Cooke 1964). Useful illustrations of ethnographic material belong to the Hlengwe ('Shangaan' (*sic*)) (Carlew 1964:68) who are known to have migrated after AD 1750 up the river valleys from Mozambique (Bannerman 1978, 1981). There are archaeological expressions identified at Buffalo Bend and Chiredzi and associated sites that are quite recent, in line with that at Siyanje and Mateke (Garlake 1968b; Robinson 1961b:16; Thorp 2005a).

The sites at Chibi (Chivi), Lundi (Runde) and Mt. Buhwa ((Cooke 1970; Huffman 1971a, 1973b), in the Chivi/Zvishavane district, some 100-150 kms north of the Matekes (Fig. 2.1, Table 2.1), are at 600m and 900m above sea level at Buhwa, along the southern edge of the plateau, where the countryside begins to include the granite dome kopjes and the vegetation is of the *Brachystegia/Julbernadia (Musasa/munondo)* woodland. The vegetation zones, the slightly higher altitude, higher rainfall and grasslands, distinguish these sites from the lowveld surrounding the Mateke Hill, begging enquiries as to survival strategies such as that of transhumant cycles of grazing for livestock and the relationships between sites on the plateau with sites in the lowveld (Garlake 1978; Sinclair 1986:21).

Again these surveys were largely exploratory and at Chivi/Buhwa the type of sites surveyed included EFC (Gokomere and Zhizo), Gumanye (Zimbabwe II) and Zimbabwe Tradition sites of Zimbabwe (III, IVa, IVb) and Khami phases as well as the Recent period (Table 2.1) (Cooke 1970; Huffman 1971a, 1973b 1978a, 1979a). The Khami pottery here has a characteristic red colouring (Huffman 1978a, 1979a) and is interesting in that apparently none was found some 100kms to the south in the Matekes (Cooke 1958). Since the Mateke Hills and southeast lowveld sites fall geographically between these two site cluster areas (Shashe/ Limpopo environs and Great Zimbabwe/ Chivi/ Buhwa) (Fig. 2.1, Table 2.1) it would be unexpected if the pottery from the Mateke Hills did not show some similarities or influences to these. The presence or absence of any of these traits will be central understanding the sequence in the Matekes.

Most of this research was exploratory in nature, but some of the RSES results and others have been made more accessible through publication in series such as *Arnoldia* (Garlake 1968a Robinson 1964, 1967a, 1967b), *South African Archaeological Bulletin (SAAB)*, with the reports on the sites on the 'Bubye' and Limpopo (Cooke 1960) and the Chamabvefva ruins (Huffman 1979a) and *Occasional Papers of the National Museums of Southern Rhodesia (OPNMSR)* (Huffman 1978a;

Robinson 1958), as well as the reports from the excavations at Great Zimbabwe (Summers, Robinson & Whitty 1961).

2.2ii Later Years of Historical and Archaeological Research in Southern Zimbabwe

In the early years following the Independence in Zimbabwe in 1980, not a great deal of archaeological research took place, but the period since 1990 saw the introduction of new research programmes and directions (Manyanga, Pikirayi & Ndoro 2000). One of these is the opening up for study of the northern plateau, and Zambezi lowveld, and these research directions (Pikirayi 1993; Pwiti 1996a) have enabled a greater understanding of the past occupation of previously little understood regions (Pwiti 1996a, 1996b). Pwiti's research into the Zambezi Valley, and adjacent escarpment, show that in fact this region which was also regarded as marginal for human occupation attracted a considerable variety and number of occupations (Pwiti 1993, 1996a, 1996b). One of the other areas focussed on in the late 1980's was the Save River Valley, and attendant areas in Mozambique (Morais 1988; Sinclair, Morais, Adamowicz & Duarte 1993; Sinclair 1987) and this research also opened up new ideas regarding land use and environmental conditions (Sinclair, Pikirayi, Pwiti & Soper 1993). Research on the coast of Mozambique, particularly at Chibuene, produced evidence for east coast trade with inland sites in items such as glass beads and ceramics, (Sinclair 1982, 1987). Survey and new work in south-western Zimbabwe, on Zhizo, K2, Mapungubwe and Khami sites along the Limpopo River, is taking place with a view to a new understanding of these sites and their relationships to each other, and to the main sites at Griefswald and to their environment (Manyanga 2005).

The debate on Bambata pottery (Robinson 1966b; Huffman 1979b) continues, with its position still not fully defined (Hall 1987; Hall & Vogel 1980:447-8 after Huffman pers. comm.). One suggestion is that it is the early source of the Gokomere Central/Western Stream (Huffman 1982:136, 1989). The early phase at Mabveni has been suggested as Bambata (Huffman 1982) and therefore associated with the Early Iron Age, but Bambata is also strongly asserted by other researchers to be associated with pastoralist/forager societies (Hall 1987; Reid, Sadr, Hansom-James 1998:81-87; Walker 1983). The distribution of Bambata has widened (Reid *et al* 1998:Fig. 4.2, 4.3) but many instances are still found in cave shelters or with lithic scatters (Mitchell 2002 after Wadley 1987; van der Ryst 1998; Reid *et al* 1998), as well as instances with small livestock bones (Reid *et al* 1998; Walker 1983). There are claims for open village sites at Toteng (Huffman 1994, but see Reid *et al* 1998). The debate over Bambata highlights difficulties with the use of terms such as Iron Age and Stone Age,

especially where there is evidence for the use of lithic tools, herding and ceramics, but often none for metal working (Reid et al 1998:87).

Much of the research in central and southern Zimbabwe has widened the knowledge of Gumanye sites as well as looking at the spread of Zimbabwe phase sites, both peasant and elite, and the chronology of Great Zimbabwe has been further clarified (Huffman 1978a, 1996b; Huffman & Vogel 1991; Manyanga *et al* 2000; Sinclair 1986, 1987, 1991). Chivowa Hill in the Masvingo district, (Sinclair 1987, 1991) (Table 2.1), the most extensive Gumanye site yet investigated, yielded a large artefactual assemblage including quantities of undecorated, simple shape pottery (Sinclair 1991: Figs. 9-11). The radiocarbon dates cover a range from the 10th to the 11th centuries (Sinclair 1991:25), a similar range to other Gumanye horizons (Huffman & Vogel 1991; Robinson 1961a; Thorp 2005b). The site at Chivowa gives us the most comprehensive evidence to date of a Gumanye site, and extends the view of Gumanye sites as being small settlements on habitable hilltops, with some craft output, and some contact with trade networks (Sinclair 1987, 1991). Evidence of contact with K2 is shown in two garden roller beads as well as a possible bead mould (Sinclair 1991: 38+45). The reasons why the Gumanye people occupied small hilltops is still not fully clear, as though they are generally in defendable positions, this may not be the only reason (Huffman 1978a :98).

At Montevideo Ranch, southwest of Great Zimbabwe and first investigated by Robinson (1958), Zimbabwe III pottery, and more recent Karanga wares were identified (Fig. 2.1, Table 2.1). This is an open, unwalled commoner site dating to AD1340±40 (Pta-1920), while more recent excavations have extended the pottery range to include some Zimbabwe IV wares (Hall & Vogel 1980; Sinclair 1986). The site is of interest as it is a peasant site, where a similar range of artefacts like pottery and beads were used, concurrent with the occupation of Great Zimbabwe and the 'elite' sites, which tells something of the relationships between the differing levels of the Zimbabwe Tradition sites.

Further sites were surveyed in the southeast lowveld during mitigation studies - a Zimbabwe phase site in poor repair, and with fallen monoliths, was recorded in Matibi No. 2 communal lands on the road from Mwenezi Ranch to Chikombedzi, some 30kms north-east of the Mwenezi site (Fig. 2.1) (Archaeological Survey of Zimbabwe reported 1996). In the Tokwe/Mteri West Canal/ Runde River area, slightly further to the northeast, mitigation surveys have added to the numbers of sites recorded, which range from quite ephemeral evidence of early sites, to Zimbabwe and Khami phase sites, rock paintings, and round grinding hollows (Archaeological Survey 1995; Matenga 1995;

	similarities to Cooke 1958, 1960 Gray 2008							M. Jowanka Hill, Homba Hill - old mine workings copper, small glass beads, Robinson 1960 Mutungwa River site M. Robinson 1998	Communal Land BK site: Pinwa Hill, M1 - Leopard's Kopje 2	Hill AD 1160±95 SR-122 AD 1280±95 SR-115 Gatlake 1966, 1968	2 nd half 13 th century, Mutamba Kinsel 1992, Miller 1998, Steyn et al 1998, Vogel 2000	Mokwena AD AD 1325±70 Wits-1592 - 1350±90 Wits 1674 Mutamba: Princess Hill, AD 1180±80 Wits-1590 Loubser 1991	Hill / Southern Terrace Bumb- Hill Fouche 1937, Schofield 1937, Gardner 1963, Meyer 1980, 1998	
	Chimbananga: Malamba Masuku 2130 134-14 Lumbaloko 2130 134-16 See dates below							K2: Mqungubwe (M2) (the Ffyn Hill Jowanka Hill Homba Hill Sederberg Hill glass beads, garden rollers Robinson 1960 Malamba 2007	K2 (M2), Leangwad's Ngwe 1 sites SC - BK Gatlake 1967	Vozu Kopje AD 1070±90 SR-136 Gatlake 1968, 1967	Pafuri: Shogwabe Meyer 1986	Mutamba site 1 yshaka ka Mokwena Loubser 1991	K2: Bamhandevane AD 1050±65 Y-135-17 grave area, Fouche 1937, Schofield 1937 Gardner 1963 Meyer 1980, Vogel 1985 Calabrese 2000	
	Chimbananga: Makumba AD 1010 (1040) 1280 13-13194 Tsp 2 12 1020 (1100) 1210 AD 13-13192 Level 8 Tsp 5 1157 (1193) 1236 Pta-8535 Level 6 TR IV Gray 2008, Manyanga 2000	Mwenezi Midden Trench Level 3 A) 650. 96) 2o range Ma- 22802 - 23000 Manyanga 2000		Gumanye-Zirabalewe 2 A) 1075±151 M-914 Robinson 1961	Mabveni-Gumanye Hill Robinson 1965 Chavova Hill - Gumanye AD 1020±32 Pta-1916 Sinclair 1991	Chama-bfeshu - Gumanye Huffman 1973a - 1978a	Chama-kwangwadira Cave - Gumanye, small villages on isolated granite hills, some stone platforms Huffman 1974 + 1978a Cooke 1970	Bogops Hill - Gumanye Gatzke Kopje - Gumanye				Phalaborwa Mutamba phase - Vogel 2002 Kgwadwabe Phalaborwa 10 th - 13 th centuries Evers & v. der Merwe 1987 Pa 10-13 - 18 Pafuri, Meyer 1986	Mutamba: Pinesey Hill Muncyia: Bletton Mutamba Level - T2.5 AD 820-50 Wits-1590 Loubser 1991	
	Sheba Ranch Watershed, Mateke Survey, Dange 2131 C3-1 Split Boulder, Dange 2131.4 Sheba watershed Gray 2008 Survey	EPC sherds south Marunguda System, Gatlake 1968	Malapa Robinson 1961 AD 850±100 SR-73 Swinysent Camp Gray 2002	Site at Swin-awiti Camp, Mabolani, Gona-ro-Zhu e Malapa	Cigwa Hill Mindankwa Hill Robinson 1967	Zhuo sites, villages level sites, base of hills, between streams Huffman 1978a	Makuti-Rande Communal Land AD 690±65 N-1275 Pottery Zhuo type 8 th century, trade beads Huffman 1973	Stump ware - Jowanka Hill, Matombanku Hill Homba Hill Robinson 1960 Dombatzanga Shelter Robinson 1964	Zhuo sites, site Marungu, Gatlake 1967			Jayaba / Pa K (Malapa) Meyer 1986 AD 800-850 Plug 1989 (Late Zwa)	Shrode - Pont Drif / Zhuo Hansch 1980 Zhuo's tokwe - Leskwe Hill Calabrese 2000 Vogel 2000	
	EPC sherds at Zwergibi watershed - Chumanyoka Cooke 1958, Survey Gray 2008			Zirabalewe Class 1a AD 670±40 Pta-1983 Huffman & Vogel 1991	Mabveni-Gumanye AD 570±110 SR-79 Cigwa Hill AD 410±95 SR-119 Robinson 1961, 67, 67	Some Kaste, large villages, between hill and water, cave site, 2 sites Silver Leaves ware		El C Swinysent ware Dombatzanga Shelter Robinson 1964				Tsende Lef Meyer 1986 AD 830 Gumanye/Zwa tendencies Sh-4a + Pta developed Tsende 1 e 6 Plug 1986	Happy Rest (Matakanai Klen) Afrika, Tshaka, Verulam, Loubser 1991	
				Zirabalewe Class 1a AD 220±150 M-913 Huffman & Vogel 1991	Mabveni Class AD 180±120 SR-43 Robinson 1961, 1967	Huffman 1978a		Zambata Shelter Dombatzanga Shelter Robinson 1961				Happy Rest, Gdenburg, Silver Leaves Meyer 1986 Klapwink Huffman & K	Happy Rest, Klen Afrika Prudon 1974 Vogel & Plug 1984	Happy Rest pottery on Mqungubwe Huffman 2000 Meyer 1980 (VoyreEland)

Sinamai 1996; Swan n.d.(c.1995)). In addition new research along the Chiredzi River area (Fig. 2.1), has revealed EFC sites (some of the Gokomere type, and others of the Happy Rest type (Thorp 2004: 3-4, Fig. 3), as well as sites of the period AD 1000- 1300 (Gumanye occupations and possibly Mutamba linked); Zimbabwe phase and the later Recent period with sites pertaining to the Hlengwe Tsonga (Thorp 2004:4, 2005a). The numbers and complexities of sites surveyed in the south-east illustrates that there has been substantial human occupation in areas previously thought to be of little value.

2.2iii Later Research south of the Limpopo River

Research in the north-west of South Africa has, since the 1970's, re-focused on the Shashe/Limpopo confluence region at the Zhizo sites of Schroda and Pont Drift, as well as K2, the Southern Terrace and hilltop at Mapungubwe Hill (Eloff & Meyer 1981; Hanisch 1980; Meyer 1980; 1998; Voigt 1983). This was partly to consolidate and refine the earlier research carried out here (Fouché 1937; Gardner 1963), but also to examine new research directions. While the rich finds including the 'gold' burials, gold beads and copper artefacts helped to provide the impetus for these new initiatives, the work there revealed interesting evidence for social and economic organization (Hall & Vogel 1980:451). This shows that, beginning at K2, but finding its full expression at Mapungubwe, there was a separation of an elite, ruling class from the commoners, with the leader and his closest entourage moving to the top of the hill (Hall 1987; Huffman 1982, 1996b, 2000a). The socio/political and ideological changes at the Mapungubwe site have led to the interpretation of Mapungubwe as marking the beginning of the Zimbabwe culture (Huffman 1982:143-6, 1996b, 2000a). One of the most compelling reasons for the ability of large numbers of people to live in the Shashe-Limpopo Basin at this time is the use of floodplain agriculture, combined with the growth in wealth from external trade and cattle herds. This was only possible through a more favourable climate during the period under study during AD 900-1300 (Tyson & Lindesay 1992; Huffman 1996a, 2000a:24-27). This hypothesis has been demonstrated to be broadly correct through a recent research initiative into land use and environmental reconstruction (Smith 2005 pending). Other studies have begun to examine the relationships between the earlier forager-hunter populations in the region and their contact with incoming farmer groups (Hall & Smith 2000). Contact signals are strongest during the Zhizo period but show a decline during the K2 and Mapungubwe periods, indicating that forager-hunter societies found it increasingly difficult to exert their presence on the landscape (Hall & Smith 2000). Also in the Limpopo/Shashe basin, new research in the 1990's at Leokwe Hill (Fig. 2.1, Table 2.1), a K2 community, has been found in close proximity in space and

time with a Zhizo-type group, which opens up questions of contemporaneity and interaction between these groups, since it was thought that Zhizo was earlier than K2, and that Zhizo farmers had been forced out of the confluence area, probably westwards to the Toutswe communities (Calabrese 2000; Huffman 1978b, 2000; Vogel 2000; Vogel & Calabrese 2000). It now seems that these relationships may have been more complex (Calabrese *pers. comm.* 2006) and that some Zhizo people stayed on at the confluence area and co-existed with Leopard's Kopje (K2) people, though the exact mechanisms of this symbiosis are not clear yet (Calabrese 2000; Huffman 2000a).

The Zhizo expression of the Early Iron Age has been convincingly separated from Leopard's Kopje 1 (Mambo and K2) and Leopard's Kopje 2 (Woolandale and Mapungubwe) (Huffman 1971b, 1974, 1978b, 2000), with Zhizo as the last expression of the Early Iron Age and Leopard's Kopje now representing the beginning of the Later Iron Age in a northern and a southern expression (Huffman 1984a). While this is not in dispute, the exact mechanism or direction of this change has been debated and questioned (Hall 1983; Hall & Vogel 1980; Huffman 1978b, 1982, 1983; Maggs 1984; van Waarden 1998:117). Discussing the relationships between Leopard's Kopje and Gumanye, Huffman (1972a n. 28) notes that, while similar in time and some attributes, Gumanye (Zimbabwe Class 2) is not directly derived from Leopard's Kopje.

Another group which makes its appearance in the northern and western parts of South Africa is that of people whose pottery is called Moloko. A 14th Century Moloko assemblage was identified at Icon, in the northern Limpopo Province, south of the Greefswald sites, which is its northernmost known expression (Hanisch 1979) (Fig. 2.1). Though there has been dispute over the origins of this new expression, it is accepted that this pottery inherently belongs to the people known as Sotho-Tswana (Boeyens 2003; Evers 1981, 1988; Hall 1998; Maggs 1984, Maggs & Whitelaw 1991). One view of the origins is that it represents a continuity dating back to the Broederstroom communities (Mason 1981, 1983, 1986) while the other that it represents a new migration (Evers 1983, 1988; Huffman 1989). Moloko vessels (14th -16th Century) are characterised by multiple bands of incised, hatched or stamped (punctate) motifs, as well as bands of graphite or ochre burnish (Evers 1981:98, 1988; Hall 1998:Figs.13.4-5; Hanisch 1979; Huffman 2000b; Loubser 1991:165). After the 17th century, the Moloko (Sotho/Tswana) communities are associated with the large stone-walled aggregated settlements and the pottery becomes more plain (Hall 1998; Maggs & Whitelaw 1991; Mason 1986; Pistorius 1994). Moloko pottery does not appear to have a distribution north of the

Limpopo River, thus Moloko pottery traits probably have not had an influence on the Mateke pottery.

Two other regions in the northern Limpopo Province were the subject of surveys and archaeological investigations during the 1980's. The first of these covered the greater Soutpansberg range (Huffman & Hanisch 1987) in a study which looked at the full culture-history sequence, as well as the origins of the Venda state, using ethnography, oral traditions, settlement patterns, linguistics, survey and excavation (Loubser 1989; 1991:161; Maggs & Whitelaw 1991:23). Sites, covering much of the last two millennia (Fig. 2.1, Table 2.1), were recorded, dated and excavated, yielding associations ranging from Happy Rest pottery (Early Iron Age) (Loubser 1991:163; Prinsloo 1974:272; Voigt & Plug 1984:221-4), through Mutamba (dating and style correlated with Gumanye in the north), Mapungubwe, Khami, Moloko, Tavatshena, and Letaba (Dzata) (Loubser 1991:*passim*, Fig. 163). Mutamba pottery is more closely stylistically linked to the Kgopolwe material in the Phalaborwa lowveld area, rather than to classical Eiland (Evers 1988; Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Loubser 1991:218, 377-8 +387) and is of much interest to the assemblages from Chumbangula and Mwenezi. Conclusions pertinent to the project in the Mateke Hills are that there are three 'strands' to Venda origins (Loubser 1991:420). The first of these is the most interesting for our purposes, consisting of an early 'Shona' (Mapungubwe) and Ngona (Eiland) period (Loubser 1991:420, Figs. 152-3). (There may be some correlation between the Mapungubwe expression in the Soutpansberg and the Mutamba (Huffman *pers. comm.* 2005; Loubser 1991:380)). The second period included later Shona-speakers, (Khami) and early Sotho-speakers (Moloko), out of which a common 'Venda' (Letaba) identity and language is developed. A final Singo period (also a Shona-speaking group, the Rozvi), dating from the mid to late 17th century onwards, is the one most remembered in traditions (Loubser 1991). The Venda migrations which took place from the eastern Soutpansberg to Marungudzi (Fig. 2.1) across the Limpopo River, towards the end of the 18th century, after the long process of the forging of the Venda nation, are pertinent for the more Recent period in the Matekes.

In the second area, research carried out in the Kruger National Park (KNP) in the 1980's was primarily designed to establish the culture-history sequence (Maggs & Whitelaw 1991:15; Meyer 1986), though it also produced a comprehensive assessment of the hunting and herding strategies in a faunal study (Maggs & Whitelaw 1991; Plug 1988, 1989). It is the sites in the north-eastern region of Pafuri at the confluence of the Luvuvhu and Limpopo Rivers, as well as at Shingwedzi and Letaba, which are relevant here, producing evidence for occupation and use for much of the first two

millennia (Fig. 2.1, Table 2.1) (Meyer 1986:Fig. 110). Pafuri (Pa 8.1), Shingwedzi (Sh 14a), Letaba (Le 6, Le 7b) and Olifants (Ol 20) yielded evidence of Early Iron Age sites, with pottery called variously Tsende, Balule and Levubu (Meyer 1986:226-230, Figs. 86-88, 90-91 photos No. 430-473, 608-644, 646-695; Plug 1989). This pottery has similar traits to that from Malapati across the Limpopo River on the Mwenezi River (Meyer 1986; Plug 1989:63), which has traits in common with Happy Rest (Huffman *pers. comm.* 2000; Meyer 1986; Prinsloo 1974; Robinson 1961b), a Western stream or Kalundu expression (Huffman 1982, 1989; Maggs & Whitelaw 1991). It should be noted that earlier researchers placed the Malapati pottery as Gokomere related, or 'late Ziwa' derived (Meyer 1986:230; Plug 1989:63; Robinson 1961b; 1967a:1). The appearance of Western Stream pottery at Malapati and Pafuri is interesting in view of the fact that EIA Gokomere and Mabveni pottery (derived from Urewe and Eastern Stream origins (Thorp 2005a:12 after Huffman 1989:65)), occurs only some 100-150kms north of Malapati, Mateke and Pafuri (Huffman 1978a, 1982:Fig. 1; Robinson 1961c, 1963) as well as in the Chiredzi area (Thorp 2005a:12). A late phase in the tenth century, (Pta-1640: a.d. 950±70) of the Early Iron Age (i.e. Western Stream/Kalundu) comes from just over the border in Mozambique at Massingir (Hall & Vogel 1980:441-442 after Duarte *pers. comm.*; Morais 1988), which could correlate with similar examples found in the KNP (Meyer 1986). However, further north-east at Hola Hola (mid-tenth century) and on the coast at Chibuene (mid-sixth to mid-ninth century) comes pottery of the Gokomere/Ziwa cluster (Maggs & Whitelaw 1991:14; Sinclair 1987). These examples show the complexities of inter-relationships and contact zones of different groups and the need to look at questions beyond the identification of ceramic typologies, necessary as this is (Mitchell 2002:270). It is of importance to note that dates from Happy Rest and Klein Afrika in the Soutpansberg range from c. AD 400-650 (Evers 1981:71; Meyer 1986 after Prinsloo *pers. comm.*; Prinsloo 1974; Vogel 2000), which means there may be some difficulties with the timing of the Malapati/Happy Rest associations, unless the Malapati and KNP material represents a later Happy Rest/Klein Afrika phase. In this regard, note the suggestion that the Malapati date is anomalous, because of the similarities to the earlier phase of Happy Rest (Thorp 2005a:12). However, the pottery types, dates, climatic and botanical evidence (Ch. 5.3b, Ch. 8.) in the Matekes, Malapati as well as in the Kruger Park, suggest that the Malapati pottery did occur here in the later part of the EFC (Jonsson 1998; Meyer 1986:273; Robinson 1961b, 1967a).

Sites in the KNP at Sh 14.1, Sh 16, Pa 6.1, 11, 13 and 18 are associated with the Late Iron Age (c. AD 1000-1300), with wares called Shingwedzi/ Pafuri (Fig. 2.1) (Meyer 1986:Figs. 95-6, photos 740-771, 798-802, 817, 820, 827-9). These expressions relate to Mutamba and Kgopolwe (Meyer

1986:233-5, 299) and are noted to be similar to pottery found across the Limpopo (Meyer 1986:235). In addition, possibly a late type of Mapungubwe/ Lembethu is found at the Makahane site, Pa 21 (Fig. 2.1, Table 2.1) (Loubser 1989:55, 1991:165, 380; Meyer 1986:235, 284, photo 832-852). Some of this Makahane pottery is not unlike the Mutamba/Pafuri variants⁷. The walled site of Thulamela at Pafuri, close to the Luvuvhu River, was excavated in the early 1990's and the dates place the burials in the later Great Zimbabwe phase and in the Khami phase, in association with the stone walls (Miller 1996; Steyn et al 1998:). However, there is a Mutamba period here as well, which has been identified below the walling level (Miller 1996; Vogel 2000 after Huffman pers. comm.), which confirms the spread of this facies across the north and north-east of the Limpopo Province.

Letaba pottery, which appears in the wider region only after circa AD 1650 (Loubser 1991), is found in the northern parts of the KNP (Fig. 2.1) at Le 2.1 and Mo 1(Meyer 1986:Figs. 102-3, 892-5). Several pottery examples from the northern site Pa 6, bear a resemblance to Letaba pottery (see Meyer 1986:783-793). (Letaba pottery also occurs at Harmony, in the north-eastern lowveld and at the Phalaborwa/ Kgopolwe sites (Chatterton, Collett & Swan 1979; Evers 1979, 1981, 1988; Evers & van der Merwe 1987; van der Merwe & Scully 1971)).

Other pottery, here called Lebombo, from sites in the north at Pafuri (Pa 6, 6.1, Sh 27) and at Olifants (Ol 17) (Fig. 2.1) (Meyer1986:236, 285, photos 857-891) along the eastern boundary with Mozambique, correlates closely with pottery from Massingir (called 'Cossa') (Duarte 1976) as well as the 'Gaza Nguni' ware from Chaimite in Mozambique (; Liesegang 1974; Meyer 1986). However, rather than being of Nguni origin this pottery belongs to one of the Tsonga groupings found in Mozambique, the Hlengwe Tsonga (Bannerman 1978, 1981; Liesegang 1974; Thorp 2005a) and is of interest to the period following AD 1800 in the Matekes. There is also evidence of pottery belonging to other Tsonga (Shangaan (*sic*)) groups around Pafuri (Maluleke) (see Meyer 1986:photos 819-823, 835-6). In general, the Kruger National Park sites do not exist in isolation since the KNP is not a separate geographical entity, but the variety of terrain as well as pottery types found there attest to the fact that over the centuries many groups have either occupied territory, or visited for shorter periods (Maggs & Whitelaw 1991:15; Meyer 1986:300-2, 311-12; Plug 1988, 1989) and that these are generally related to other known groups identified in the surrounding regions.

⁷ Note dates for Makahane of between AD1180-1440, which would match more closely some Mutamba dates in the Soutpansberg and the Mutamba at Thulamela (Loubser 1991; Vogel 2000)).

2.2iv Summary

The preceding seventy years of research in southern Zimbabwe, Mozambique and northern South Africa (Table 2.1), have consolidated the knowledge of Farming Community (Iron Age) occupations in the region over the last two millennia. Early Iron Age pottery along the southern plateau edge is of Gokomere pottery, centring on the 6-7th centuries, whereas there is a different expression at Malapati. Zhizo pottery appears along the Shashe/Limpopo basin, at Butiwa and in eastern Botswana, but has not been identified in the southeast lowveld of Zimbabwe. The few forays of research in the actual southeast have been low-key up until the 1990's, but showed that a succession of pottery types had occurred there (Cooke 1958). It was assumed that Zimbabwe Tradition phases were restricted to the southern edges of the plateau. Khami phase pottery centred on the south west and south central Zimbabwe and along the Soutpansberg, while there was apparently a gap in occupations in the southeast between the late 14th Century and the Recent period from c.AD 1750, when groups known from oral traditions and historical sources appear.

Thus the past research in the regions in proximity to the Mateke Hills has contributed to awareness that despite several environmental constraints against settlement in the lowveld, in fact over some hundreds of years people have settled along watercourses, or on and around the hills (Ch. 3, Ch. 4). The past research and the pointers that it provides for the presence of human occupation in the lowveld region over at least two millennia and earlier in the Stone Age (Cooke 1958), help to negate the earlier view of under utilisation of the lowveld and illustrates the point that the Limpopo River was never a geographical barrier. The present research proceeds with the knowledge that peoples living in the Mateke region would most probably have had interpersonal links, trade connections, and rivalries with similarly dated sites in the surrounding regions. This research will show that parts of the lowveld were indeed quite well utilised by agriculturists.



Fig. 2.2 Chief Chinana (seated in front), Dr. C. Cooke (standing) in the Mateke Hills 1958, on route through Shangwenani Hills, with other members of the 1958 Mateke Expedition (photo P. Gray)

CHAPTER THREE

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

3.1 Broader Region

The south-eastern lowveld of Zimbabwe is part of the broader Limpopo Basin, and in its entirety is referred to as the Save-Limpopo Lowveld (Beach 1994a), but for the purposes of this research we are more concerned with the Limpopo River system. The catchments of the Limpopo River in its middle reaches are the southern plateau of Zimbabwe, with the tributary rivers of the Mzingwane, Bubi, and Mwenezi, as well as the northern Soutpansberg with the Sand, Mutale and Luvuvhu Rivers making their way to the Limpopo (Fig. 2.1). It is a seasonal river, fed from its sources (the Crocodile and Marico Rivers) in the summer rainfall area of the high and middle veld. On the middle Limpopo the average altitude is 400-500 metres above sea level. Where the Bubi and further to the east, the Mwenezi rivers meet the Limpopo, the land drops away toward the great coastal plain of Mozambique. At this point the three countries of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa now meet. The rivers of the region are all seasonal and a feature is that they are all heavily clogged by sand, which means that in the summer months there is usually good water available below the sand.

The lowveld itself has always been sparsely settled, with its poorer soils, heat and lack of perennial water but, as Beach (1994a:18 + 27) points out, population was not as limited as has sometimes been thought. Environmental constraints have meant that the lowveld people settled along the watercourses, or on the few hills, using the resources of the natural vegetation, growing some crops, keeping some domestic stock, utilising the resources of the watercourses, such as freshwater mussel, and hunting the game which has always been plentiful in amongst the wooded hills and rivers (Bannerman 1981; Beach 1994a; Cooke 1958, 1960). The isolated hills have for centuries been important to those wishing to exert authority over others, as points of defence and of aggregation (Beach 1980, 1994a, 1994b). The size of the territory over which a group held sway was less important than the number of hills over which one had control (Beach 1994b). The hills and their watercourses, have been likened to 'islands in a sea of bush', and have been beacons in travelling the long distances between the more fertile Zimbabwean plateau to the north and the Soutpansberg to the south (Beach 1994a:27, 1994b:180-1). Disease such as *nagana* carried by tsetse fly (*Glossina morsitans*) has also been a constraint to the keeping of cattle at warm, low altitudes (Summers 1967b).

3.2 The Mateke Hills The Mateke Hills (Fig 3.1), which lie between the Bubi and Mwenezi Rivers, cover an area of approximately 30x30 kilometres and at their highest point, the Mateke Beacon, measure 740m. The contours of the surrounding land range between 500-600 metres above sea level. The hills lie between the co-ordinates of 21°45'S - 22°05'S and 30°53'E - 31°10'E. The Malumba River has its source up on the central plateau of the hills, and then flows down across the basin area formed by an outer ring of the Mateke hills, in a south-westerly direction through the Shangwenani Hills (Fig. 4.B, 4.10c), to join with the Vangambi River and then into the Bubi. These outer hills are a more broken area of smaller, boulder-covered kopjes, amongst which the sites of Chumbangula, Chumanyoka, Lomolohoto and others are found (Fig. 4.B & Table 4.1). Many of the recorded sites are in the lower parts of the Mateke hills, where water collects, or runs in seasonal streams. However, the upper plateau remains relatively unexplored in an archaeological sense, though Later Farming Community pottery associated with the 19th century movement and settlement of people has been recorded at the Mateke Beacon (Cooke 1958). Today cattle ranching is the main economic activity and, whilst cattle are kept at times up in the hills, there is still fairly plentiful game, amongst which are kudu, eland, giraffe, impala, jackal, hyena, baboon, leopard, lion, and up until not so long ago elephant could still be seen (M. Gawler *pers. comm.* 1999). The Mwenezi Farm site is at the northwest edge of the Mateke Hills, on a headland over-looking the Duvu River that arises in the north western part of the hills, before joining the Bumburudza River that in turn runs



Fig. 3.1 The western Mateke Hills and the Malumba River Basin

into the Mwenezi which then flows towards its confluence with the Limpopo River, in Mozambique territory (Fig. 2.1). The plains of the surrounding countryside here are more marginal and drier than that around the Malumba River.

3.3 Climate and Rainfall

The climate in the Mateke hills, like that of the surrounding lowveld, is generally hot and dry. The summer temperatures range between the minimum and maximum means of 25°C and 36°C, and

between 10°C and 30°C for the midwinter variations ($\approx 22^{\circ}$ annual mean temp.). The southern part of Zimbabwe is affected in the summer by the anti-cyclonic weather pattern centred over the Indian Ocean, which results in cool moist air being brought in by the southeast trade winds from the Mozambique Channel (these winds converge with the north-east winds in a zone known as the ITCZ, the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone) (Barnes, Hattle et al 1974). The Mateke hills act as a circumscribed climatic area (a higher rainfall 'island' in the lowveld (Simons 1958:3), so that rain that is brought in from the east coast by these prevailing winds, falls on the Mateke hills before it reaches the southern edge of the plateau (in the area of Great Zimbabwe). The rainfall average is 600 mm per year in and around the hills, declining to 500mm further to the west (Fig. 3.3) (Hattle 1971; Manyanga 2000:23 fig. 2.2). This is borne out by comment from a local informant, that there is higher precipitation in the Matekes than at 80 kms further to the west towards the main Beit Bridge, Masvingo road (M. Gawler 2001 *pers comm.*). Rainfall to the south in the Limpopo Valley declines to 400mm per annum.

The other weather patterns, which can affect rainfall in the lowveld, are the tropical cyclones which sometimes reach the Mozambique Channel, and which can bring unusually heavy rains. The floods of the summer of 2000 are a good example of much higher than average rainfall from a cyclone, resulting in the rivers in the area breaking their banks and causing severe flooding of roads, houses



Fig. 3.2 Standing water in Malumba River

and pastures, and loss of stock (*pers. comm.* M.Gawler 2001). In the winter a major trough (low), in sequence with a high pressure system can result in the warmer north-west winds being replaced by cold south-easterly winds⁸ which bring the cold, light drizzle known locally as 'guti' to the area (Barnes, Hattle et al 1974:30), though this can occur in the summer months too (Kelly & Walker 1976:554; Manyanga 2000:22-23). However, severe drought years are known, as has been demonstrated by the summer season of 2001/2, when water sources and vegetation dried up and loss

⁸ It has been suggested that these cold south-east winds may have influenced the direction in which hilltop settlements were placed (in an east-west direction) in conjunction with, or as opposed to, 'esoteric' reasons (Robinson 1985:33) (see Huffman 1996b).

Matekes, would have been most important to earlier inhabitants of the area and in the Malumba River basin in particular, appears to have encouraged settlement. The sites in the Mateke hills are placed along minor rivers flowing from the hills towards the larger rivers of the Bubi and the Mwenezi (Fig. 4.B). In the larger standing pools of the Malumba River (Fig. 3.2) populations of freshwater mussels must have flourished, as one can readily see the shells in the middens of many of the archaeological sites (Fig. 4.2b). Even today mussels can be seen around the dam on the river, while standing pools continue into the dry season after a good year of rains.

Unlike the major sites of Mapungubwe and K2 at the confluence of the Limpopo and Shashe Rivers, where there was a heightened opportunity for floodplain agriculture in the summer months (Huffman 2000a), here in the Matekes it is the microclimate of the hills themselves that encourage habitation both by humans and animals. But, as has been suggested for the Limpopo sites, the warmer, wetter period between 900 and 1300 AD called the Warm Medieval Epoch (see Ch. 5.3i below) (Huffman 1996a, 2000a; Jonsson 1998:31-33; Tyson & Lindesay 1992), would have had a similar effect of better crop success (facilitating the growth of crops such as sorghum and millet) around the Mateke hills. The Mateke sites fall in to the immediate area demarcated as having a higher rainfall relative to the surrounding region (Ch. 3.3i) (Manyanga 2000; Manyanga et al 2000). The more optimal conditions in the Warm Medieval Epoch have been one of the proposed reasons for an increased human population along the Limpopo/Shashe basin (Huffman 1996a, 2000a). An increased population would result from better food supplies, both in agricultural produce, from natural plant resources, in game drawn into the area by water and grazing, and importantly, herds of cattle were also able to increase owing to good grazing (Eloff & Meyer 1981; Hall 1987; Hanisch 1981; Meyer 1998; Voigt 1980; Voigt 1983). Research in Eastern Botswana also indicates that stock such as cattle were an important part of the economic strategies of the Toutswe communities at this period (Denbow 1981, Denbow 1984). The Mateke area could well have been more advantageous to habitation when the climate in the wider region became more marginal after AD 1300 (Jonsson 1998:107-114, Table 6.7; Manyanga 2000:92; Manyanga, Pikirayi & Ndoro 2000:75,).

Nagana may well have inhibited farming settlement at times in lowveld areas. However, one of the effects of human settlement, and the attendant clearing of lands, is to decrease the occurrence of tsetse fly, which spreads where there is shade and bush cover. In turn this decrease in the fly makes the area more attractive for human settlement, and for the keeping of livestock. It appears that this was the case in the period of AD 900-1300, judging by the cattle remains in Limpopo sites (Summers

1967b; Plug 2000; Voigt 1983), and at the sites on Malumba (Manyanga 2000). It is known historically that the fly had retreated down the Limpopo River into Mozambique by the later 1900's and the early 20th Century (Bannerman 1981; Manyanga 2000:31:Fig. 2.8; Summers 1967b: Fig.6).

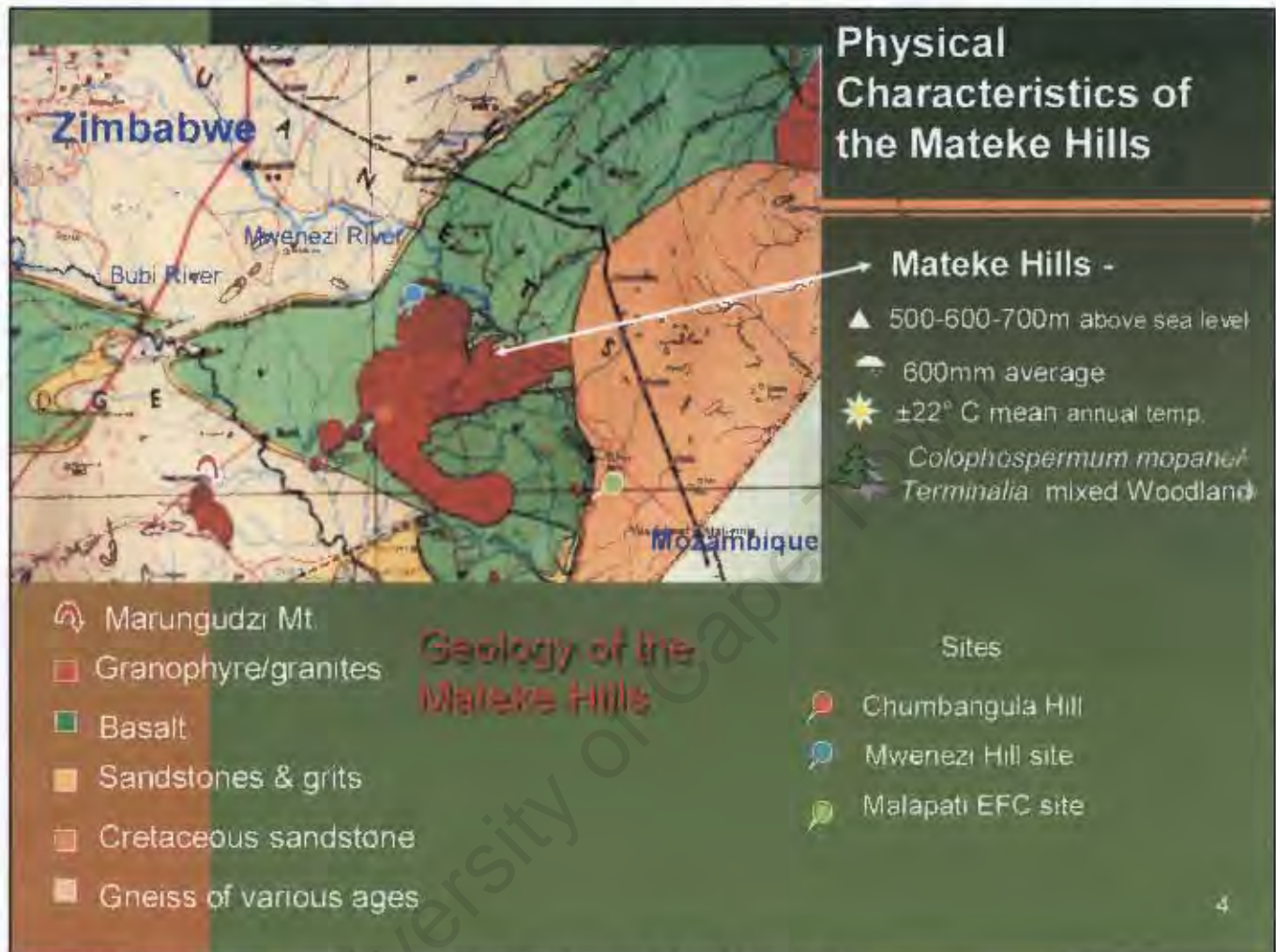


Fig. 3.3: Physical Characteristics and Geological map of the Mateke Hills area

3.4 Geology and Topography

The Mateke Hills falls into a geological region called the Limpopo-Sabi Depression, a granitic area bound by the Bushveld basin to the south and the low-lying marine plain of Mozambique (Hamilton & Cooke 1954). The geological base of the Mateke Hills and environs is the basement complex, composed of light-coloured Gneisses, characteristically forming low rounded hills (Anderson 1958). The Karoo System sediments consist of sandstones of Stormberg age, which are to be seen in a belt to the east of the Bubi River, and are important as a source of springs (Anderson 1958). These sandstones are also apparent to the northwest, and to the south of the Matekes at Shirugwe Hill. Overlying the sediments are flows of basalt, which outcrop over a quite considerable area, and run as far as the north of the Mateke Hills (Anderson 1958), in the vicinity of the Mwenezi site. In some

areas there are post-Karoo dolerite dykes, one of these is to be seen crossing the Malumba River, as it enters the Shangwenani Hills near Chumbangula, and one to the south of Lomolohoto Kopje. (see the darker stones in some of the walling on Chumbangula (Ch. 4.2ii, 5.2vi, 8.2iii).

The major geological feature of the area is the reddish coloured granophyre sheet, which forms the Mateke Hills (Figs. 3.3, 3.4) (Anderson 1958). Granophyre is an igneous rock, fine-grained granite with feldspars and quartz,

and some white micas

(Hamilton & Cooke 1954:72). These grains of mica can be easily seen in many of the potsherds from the excavations. The



Shangwenani Hills at the south-west.

Fig. 3.4 Reddish granophyre rock of Chumbangula Hill

are an extension of the Mateke Hills (Figs. 3.3, 4.10c) and they share the geological nature of the igneous granophyre rock. At the western end of the Shangwenani Hills where the Malumba River passes near Chinana's Old Kraal (Ch.4, Table 4.1), the granophyre sheet dips to the west where there is a breccia intrusion in the form of blocks of basalt (Fig. 3.3) (Anderson 1958).

The granophyres, as observed on the kopjes and hills of Mateke (Fig. 3.4), are subject to weathering, mechanical abrasion and chemical action, such as through wind and water action, creating distinctive shape boulders, and kopjes such as the overhanging 'beak' of Lomolohoto, meaning the 'mouth (or beak) of the hornbill' (Fig. 4.4a). This has created an evocative landscape, and distinctive topographical features, which are easy to recognise as landmarks⁹. The rock typically weathers from the inner surfaces (Fig. 4.2a,d), and erodes away to create shelters. These shelters created spaces for living, for storage of grain bins and pots, for graves, for small stock, and possibly for rain-making, as there is some evidence that at least one of the shelters on Chumbangula was used for rain-making (Bvocho 2001; Hulfman *pers. comm* 1998).

⁹ Quote "Old men such as him (Sebina) had been the —repositories of tribal history. It lived in their memories and so was preserved and passed on from generation to generation. Often, only a tree, a river bank, a hill or a mountain lingered in the memory as a scene where great deliberations had taken place —" (Head, 1984:120).

The chemical process that takes place as the granophyre rock weathers releases the potash from the decomposing feldspars, as a potassium aluminium silicate (Hamilton & Cooke 1954:36).¹⁰

The clay that is formed during this process is carried away and laid down as a clay deposit (Hamilton-Cooke 1958:80), which would then have been available for the making of pottery by the Farming Community peoples. This chemical process is very apparent in the virtual streams of sediment, which look like flows of ash, and can be seen on the north ascent route on Chumbangula (Fig. 3.5a). Many of the potsherds, and beads which have been recovered in the excavations, have a heavy patina, which obscures the decoration, or the colour (Fig. 6.1). The stones at the base of some walling on the kopje are encased in a virtual 'cement' (Fig. 3.5). The water of the area must in turn have been high in mineral content.



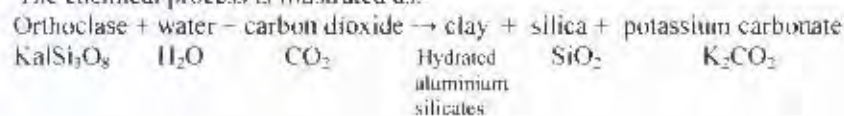
Fig. 3.5 'mineral sediment below walling section

Fig. 3.5a 'Stream' of sediment on Chumbangula

The geology around the Mwenezi site (Figs 2.1, 3.3) at the north western end of the Matekes is slightly different from that around the Malumba River. The basalt flow outcrops here and the granite is a coarse-grained grey. The site is located on the basalt belt. The plain of the Duvi River north of the Matekes is much drier than the area to the south in the Malumba River basin. There is a sandstone belt around the edge of the basalt, which gives rise to springs in good rainy seasons, important for human habitation (Manyanga 2000 after Cawood *pers. comm.*).

The associated hills of the Marungudzi Igneous complex to the west of the Matekes (Fig. 3.3), form a 'ring' structure, having an inner ring of syenite surrounding a flat crater-like depression whose floor

¹⁰ The chemical process is illustrated as:-



is a granitic rock (Anderson 1958). On the southern and western sides are two more half-developed ring-like structures. These hills have offered shelter for humans and animals from Stone Age times through to the modern period, as they are well wooded and grassed, and have seasonal water and game available. Stone tools, pottery and walling have been recorded here (Ch. 4) (Cooke 1958:57, 59-61; Garlake 1968b). Another complex mass, forming the core of a ring-like structure exists at the small Zwenyambe hill, close to the Malumba and Yangambi rivers (Anderson 1958) (Fig. 4.1). This is the site of an important permanent waterhole used through archaeological times (Table 4.1, 2130 D4:29, Fig. 4.10c) (Cooke 1960:100, Fig. 8; Gray 1998).

To the south in the Limpopo valley, there are alluvium deposits extending from Chikwarakwara at the confluence of the Bubi and Limpopo, and there are some smaller alluvial areas along the other major rivers, all of which support dense growth of riverine forest (Anderson 1958), and provide favoured crop-growing areas (Bannerman 1981:20).

3.4i Mineral Resources

There are some copper deposits in the Mateke region, which appear to have been known since early times. Copper artefacts such as wound copper wire and copper beads occur in the deposits, both at Chumbangula and Mwenezi (Bvocho 2001). In recent times, old copper ingots have been discovered in the area, as have mining activities, for instance one near the Dawn Hill ruin (Fig. 2.1) (Cooke 1958:59) and on Bar G Ranch (Martin Grobbelaar *pers. comm.* 1998). Copper deposits are marked on a 1924 map, to the southwest of the Mateke Hills, with the name Tshinana copper mine (Surveyor-General 1924). This is an interesting reference as the name of the maPfumbe guide/chief at the time of the Mateke expedition was Andries Chinana (and see Bannerman 1981:34, Map 6, name - Chinana 1930-1960; Cooke 1958:56), and the present incumbent lives at the Shirugwe hills (just to the south of the Mateke Hills). (See Ch. 4, S. Chadhebha *pers. comm.* 1996). Copper is an important metal in the African context, rich in meaning, colour and use (Bvocho 2001; Herbert 1984).

There is an outcrop of graphite at Chiturupadzi (Fig. 2.1), to the west of the Bubi River and as Cooke (1958) remarked, it is therefore surprising that so little of the pottery is decorated with graphite, since this is within reasonable distance from the Matekes (Ch. 6.6v). It would seem therefore that the application of graphite was governed by convention or meaning, and not simply the availability of material.

Serpentine forms a small mass at Dawn Hill (Fig. 2.1) to the west of Marungudzi Hill. This also formed during the metamorphic process on the rock, and the more translucent type is what we call 'soapstone', with the more fibrous type being asbestos (Chambers 1954; Hamilton & Cooke 1954:80; McIver 1966). Soapstone is known to have been used for carving stone bowls (at Great Zimbabwe (Caton Thompson 1931)), and here in the Matekes the bowl of a soapstone smoking pipe (Fig. 4.8) was found at the Malumba Ranch cattle dip, towards the Vangambi River (B. Boshoff *pers. comm.* 1999). This item is now in the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare. There is evidence of early 20th Century mining activity with several shafts into the hill at Dawn Hill, one of over 60 feet (Cooke 1958:46). Modern mines have been placed where there is evidence of ancient mining (Summers 1969) and the archaeologically known peoples of the area may have made their own investigations, since there is a walled ruin on this hill with a 'grain' pit built into the wall, and the small copper deposit is adjacent to this ruin (Cooke 1958:56, 59-60 + Fig.8), (Ch. 4, Table 4.1).

3.5 Soils, Vegetation and Agriculture

3.5i Soils: The soil zones in and around the Matekes are quite complex with pockets that derive soil from the parent rocks, such as gneiss, gabbro, granophyre, basalt, sandstone (Manyanga 2000:26). There are relevant soil maps in Jonsson (1998:22, Fig. 2.1, after FAO 1996, UNESCO) and Manyanga (2000:26, Fig. 2.5, after FAO1989), reflecting the soil zones. The larger part of the Mateke Hills region (including the Shangwenani Hills, where Chumbangula is located) derives some soils (moderately fertile) from the basement gneiss complex (Fig. 3.3). These soils are quite shallow and the sandy loams are greyish-brown to yellowish-red (Manyanga 2000:26, Fig. 2.5) and known as luvisols. These are chromic (Lc), calcic (Lk), as well as chromic cambisols (Bc); soils with bright colours, with some accumulation of clay (Jonsson 1998:Tables 2.1, 2.2; Manyanga 2000:26). (Using soil suitability categories, Lc is designated as category S1, which is suitable to very suitable for sorghum and millet, Lk is also S1, as is Bc (Jonsson 1998:Table 2.2, 21-22, after FAO 1977, 1978). The areas that receive runoff are considered suitable for the growing of crops such as pearl millet and sorghum (Manyanga 2000 after Anderson 1993:64). While offering good drainage, these moderately fertile soils can become waterlogged after heavy rains, and though this is important for water retention in dry conditions (Manyanga 2000), after particularly heavy rains and floods, it can lead to crop and stock losses – from water-logged pastures, and foot-rot (Gawler *pers. comm.* 2001). Included in the soil types found in the Mateke Hills are Lithic Leptosols (I) which are rocky, thin, weakly developed soils considered unsuitable (N2 = limitations of permanent nature) for the growth

of crops (Jonsson 1998:21-22, Fig. 2.1, Table 2.1, 2.2). The vertisols (V, Vp) which dominate the research area particularly around the northern Mateke Hills and in an arc down the western and southern peripheries (Jonsson 1998:Fig.2.1), consist of dark, clayey soil though with little organic matter and these features are indicative of soils in regions with distinct wet and dry seasons (ECD 2002:1307). These are dark brown to dark-red brown loam soils, (basalt derived, as well as the similarly but marginally less suitable soil from the granites) (Manyanga 2000:26, Fig. 2.5). While the soils have a low to moderate fertility (Category S2, marginally suitable) (Jonsson 1998:22), again along the drainage lines they are suitable for the growing of millets and sorghum (Manyanga 2000 after Anderson 1993).

3.5ii Agriculture

The Limpopo-Save Lowveld falls into Zone 5 of the agro-ecological zones (Jonsson 1998:25-26, Fig. 2.3, Tables 2.4-2.5, after Vincent & Thomas 1961, in Kay 1970; Manyanga 2000:29, Fig. 2.9, 88). This is generally regarded as agriculturally unsuitable, but can provide good winter grazing. Today crops such as sorghum and maize are cultivated in zones 4-6 (Jonsson 1998), (often with the aid of pumped water). The associated vegetation type is the *Colophospermum mopane* woodland, which generally receives less than 500 mm. per annum, rainfall and where mean temperatures in summer are 21-30°C. As noted however, the Mateke region, while adhering to these general types, has improved chance of rainfall, and is at a higher altitude than the surrounding river valleys. This means in effect that the area around and within the Matekes has some of the characteristics that are more intermediate between the regions of IV and V, where region IV receives rainfall of 400-600 (making it more suitable for cultivation), the topography is more broken, and the woodlands are more mixed (Manyanga 2000 after Vincent & Thomas 1961).

Crops, such as sorghums (*Sorghum bicolor var. caffra*) and millets, *Eleusine corocana* (Finger millet) and *Pennisetum typhoides* (*syn. P. Americanum*) (Bullrush millet) were grown by earlier agriculturalists (Huffman 1974, 1996a; Jonsson 1998:62-8, *pers. comm.* 2004; Klapwijk & Huffman 1996; Manyanga 2000; Smith 1995). *Sorghum bicolor var. caffra* seeds have been found in context at Chumbangula (Ch. 5) (Jonsson *pers. comm.* 2004) and are evidence for the ability of the area around the Malumba river basin to support some agriculture in the period dated AD 1000-1300. Also, *Eleusine corocana*, finger millet, colloquially known as 'rapoko' in Zimbabwe, was noted by members of the RSES expedition, growing around the villages they visited along the Bubi River, where the stems were described as sweet to the taste (Extracts from Personal Diaries - Elliot-Murray

1958:35; Jonsson 1998:82). This cereal (grass) is known to be cultivated by small farmers, and is derived from the wild species, *Eleusine indica* (Drummond 1958; Jonsson 1998; Drummond in Longman 1972:115). Sorghum needs 400-750mm of rainfall, as well as some 90-110 growing days (sunlight) at low altitudes, but does have some drought tolerance and night-time temperatures should not drop below 15°C (Huffman 1996a:55; Jonsson 1998:92, Table 5.6). Sorghum has a preference for soil with a pH of >5.0; the white varieties being grown for meal, and the brown for brewing of beer (Millenium Seed Co., Seed Manual 1999). Pearl millet (*Pennisetum glaucum*), bullrush millet (*Pennisetum americanum*) need only 70-100 growing days (70-90 days for finger millet, *Eleusine*) and can be grown in a wider variety of conditions, from 130-900mm of rainfall, producing grain heads over a prolonged period and are drought tolerant, withstanding extremely harsh conditions and can often be grown where maize or sorghum will fail (Jonsson 1998: Tables 2.6, 5.6; Millennium Seed Co. 1999, Seed Manual 1999). These crops are however intolerant of flooding (Jonsson 1998). At the Mwenezi site, the only domesticated crop found was the burnt seeds of *Voandzea subterranea* (groundnut) otherwise wild, palatable grass seeds such as *Eleusine indica*, which occur in the Mwenezi Midden, were probably gathered for food (Jonsson 1998:70, 93; Manyanga et al 2000).

The Hlengwe Tsonga, who are today resident in the southeast lowveld (Ch. 7), call the sandy soils ‘*nthlava*’ and practised a ‘shifting cultivation’ on them; these soils were good for pearl millet and sorghum (Bannerman 1981:20). They call the basalt soil ‘*tsovolo*’, and knew it as difficult to work before the advent of the plough, but it was known to be fertile, and could be cultivated for longer periods (Bannerman 1981:20). Alluvial soils near the river were preferred, called ‘*seke*’, and on these, various vegetables and maize, called ‘*xifake*’, were grown (Bannerman 1981:20). The Hlengwe have been called a ‘riverine’ people, and an old Hlengwe chief, Ngwenyenye Magawu is quoted:

‘...it was marvellous country. This was because we cultivated among the small streams along the Lundi (Runde) River. During dry spells we were always assured of having a crop. We could irrigate with water close at hand. We could grow pumpkins (*mahonti*) maize and sweet potatoes’ (*mihlata*) (Bannerman 1981:20).

The Hlengwe knew of at least seven varieties of sorghum, those with large heads for brewing beer ‘*maxalane*’, sweet varieties, ‘*xitishi*’ the white variety for porridge, as well as groundnuts ‘*timanga* and *tinyawa*’ (Bannerman 1981:20). However the growing of crops was still an uncertain business, and good crops could probably not be grown every year owing to frequent drought years, known as

the ‘*ma lembe a ndlala*’ (years of hunger) (Bannerman 1981:15). While the information from the Hlengwe pertains to the years from the late 1700’s AD onwards, the examples of the use of the different soils, and the riverine areas is useful for the possibilities offered those living in earlier times in the same area. As observed at present in the gardens at the Sheba ranch, along the Malumba River, the soil supports good vegetable and fruit growth as long as there is water available. A modern selection of maize, vegetables and fruits, which include onions, carrots, cabbage, beans; paw-paw, bananas and avocado all grow here. However this garden does rely on water being pumped for irrigation. This soil, like that around the close-by Chumbangula site on the Malumba River, is associated with the sandy derived soils (the gneiss), the granophyre, and the basalt intrusions.

3.5iii Vegetation

The overall vegetation type in this lowveld region is that of *Colophospermum mopane*, Mopane Woodland (Guy 1958; Jonsson 1998:23, Fig. 3.2). This predominates over the whole general area, with smaller pockets of more specialised vegetation, according to terrain. A tree Savannah occurs at medium altitudes, represented by the *Terminalia sericia* and dense pockets of *Androstachys johnsonii* which may be seen in dense swathes in the hills. The Mopane on the more shallow soils is represented by a Mopane scrub, associated with dry, early shrub savannah, which rarely attains full tree height (Guy 1958; Jonsson 1998:24). This can be seen in the flatter, drier open areas, occurring in large stands of dwarfed shrubs on the basalt soils (Drummond in Longman 1972). Where the Mopane appears to have been cleared in the past for fields, or for building, only the Mopane shrubs and trees have been cut out, leaving the associated species such as *Sclerocarya birrea* (marula), *Acacia nigrescens* (knob thorn), *Adonsonia digitata* (baobab), *Kirkia acuminata* (white syringa), *Combretum imberbe* (the leadwood) and the undercover of *Grewia* sp., which results in a savannah woodland (Boughey 1958:106; Jonsson 1998:88), with an under growth of palatable grasses (sweetveld) (Manyanga 2000:29 after Lightfoot 1975). The Mopane tree has many uses for those who live amongst it, which would have been important in the past as well. It is an useful hardwood, suitable for implements, furniture, hut-building, and firewood; the mopane worms of the emperor moth, *Imbrasia belina* are highly sought after as food by humans (van Wyk & van Wyk 1997), and the leaves provide valuable fodder for livestock.

The marula tree, *Sclerocarya birria*, known as *umganu* in Ndebele, and *mupfura* in Shona, and is common in the area. The fruits are highly sought after, the flesh is high in Vitamin C, and is either

eaten fresh, or made into an alcoholic beer. The kernels of the hard stones of the fruit are rich in oils, but difficult to extract. The bark is also widely used for medicinal purposes, with proven anti-histamine and anti-diarrhoea properties (Drummond in Bundu Book of Trees 1972; Coates Palgrave 1997; van Wyk & van Wyk 1997). The marula stones, with their three distinctive ‘loculi’ are common in and around archaeological sites of the Farming Community period. *Grewia monticola* and *G. flavescens*, with its distinctive four-angled branches, which can be seen sometimes as imprints in Dhaka lumps from these old living sites, also grows in and around these hills.

On a fieldtrip in 1999, we found cotton, possibly either *Gossypium herbaceum* var. *Africanum*, or *Gossypium arboreum* (Davison & Harries 1980), growing ‘wild’ up in the Mateke hills. The process of the wild cotton *Gossypium herbaceum* var. *Africanum* (called ‘legudu’ in Lebedu) being grown and spun into thread is outlined in Davison (1984:91 + Fig. 39A,B,C). In the southeast lowveld, cotton is now grown with modern irrigation from the Limpopo River. Cotton in the Limpopo region would seem to have been introduced at an early date from Central Asia and India, as the perennial types in Africa are regarded as primitive types (Davison & Harries 1980, after Hutchinson et al 1952). The presence of spindle whorls on sites dating from c. 1200AD onwards suggests that cotton had already been introduced to the Limpopo/Shashe River confluence area from India or Central Asia by then (Davison & Harries 1980; Hall 1987:82 Huffman 1971d). The instance of cotton growing locally is interesting in view of the spindle whorls that have been found in the excavations at Chumbangula (Ch. 5, 6.6viii).

Many of the trees and shrubs occurring naturally in the Mateke Hills region, have both useful applications, and associations attached to them, all of which, and more, must have been known to the people who lived in and around these hills in former times. Thus the flora present today indicates what may have been growing there in past times as well as providing both sustenance and more symbolic or medicinal uses.

3.5iv Grasses

Grasses collected by us from Chumbangula were identified at the National Herbarium in Harare, and compared with specimens in the collection (C. Chapano and Q. E. Kwembeya, *pers. comm.* 1998). The first was identified as *Cenchrus ciliaris*, otherwise known as blue buffalo grass, which has been identified growing on Iron Age middens and places originally used as cattle kraal areas (Denbow

1979). It was found growing on the summit of Chumbangula in association with the main midden deposit; in the lee of the hill on the northwest side; and on Sheba ranch, in front of Site No. 2131 C3 1 (Table 4.1). *Cenchrus* occurs on the basalt soils of the Limpopo-Save depression (Sinclair 1987 after Rattray 1960). The second Herbarium identified grass was *Panicum subalbidum*, which was found growing below Chumbangula on the northwest, on an area of black, drying soil. The members of the Mateke RSES expedition, observed many different species of grasses, including four varieties of *Panicum spp.*, in the region around the Bubi River, and the Mateke hills (Drummond 1958:124). Two palatable grasses were identified by Jonsson at Chumbangula, *Panicum maximum* and *Sporobolus pyramidalis*, in association with the sorghum seeds (Jonsson pers. comm. 2004). Though *panicum spp.* may be regarded as good indicators of suitable agricultural land for crops and livestock, *Sporobolus* is normally regarded as an indicator of overgrazing, or weed in pastures (Jonsson 1998:92, Table 5.7).

It has been observed that in semi-arid regions grasses can adapt to conditions, by growing rapidly in favourable conditions and producing large amounts of seeds, and becoming semi-dormant in dry conditions before resuming growth after rainfall (Manyanga 2000:28 after Kelly & Walker 1976:574). This is an important characteristic in the lowveld conditions. The Lowveld regions, below 600m, and receiving less than 650mm. rainfall a year, are characterised by 'sweetveld', which retains its palatability for stock into the dry season, while the nutritious leaves of the mopane augment this grazing (Lightfoot 1975; Sinclair 1987 after Huntley 1982:103-104). These 'sweet' grasses favouring the lowveld are in contrast to the sour and mixed veld grasses which are found at higher altitudes, which can be taken when young, but become unpalatable with age (Manyanga 2000:27 after Lightfoot 1975). Mopane trees provide valuable fodder for livestock, retaining food value into the dry months, where the leaves are shaded, and the fresh young mopane leaves in particular are important to domestic stock, and to wild animal browsers (Manyanga 2000:28). This combination of sweetveld grazing, and the mopane browse lengthens the season in which domestic stock can be successfully kept. These characteristics of the veld around the archaeological sites in the Matekes would have been noted and exploited by the Farming Communities. Bones of both cattle and small stock occur in the assemblages from Chumbangula and Mwenezi. Good grazing and browsing would also have attracted wild grazers, such as the zebra, wildebeest, sable, warthog and scrub hare; browsers like kudu, eland, giraffe, and grazer/browsers such as the impala and bushbuck. All of these added to the food resources available to the earlier inhabitants, and are represented in the faunal assemblages (Manyanga 2000). However, today the ranching of cattle in the more heavily

populated lowveld is dependant on water availability. Boreholes with pumps are constructed in the cattle pen areas and a dam is in use on the Malumba River (Gawler *pers. comm.* 1999). The cattle of earlier inhabitants would have been dependant on river water, standing pools, and good water runoff, a fact possibly limiting cattle numbers beyond the natural carrying capacity of the land. Note the large, natural 'water-reservoirs' on a hill just west of Chumbangula (Ch. 4, Fig. 4.4d, Table 4.1, D4:18; Ch. 8); these may have had great importance in the storage of water for earlier inhabitants.

3.6 A Summary of research on earlier climatic conditions in the Mateke Hills:-

Since much importance is now attached to the effect of environmental conditions and climate in the period between AD 900-1300 (see Chs. 1, 2, 3, 5, 8), the following summary is included.

Looking at the climatic data research, it is now accepted that the climatic conditions in the broader Limpopo region, were more favourable to human habitation and population growth between the 10th and 13th Centuries AD, as a result of warmer and wetter conditions, thus facilitating the growth of crops such as sorghum and millet (Huffman 1996a; Tyson and Lindsay 1992; Smith 2005). It appears that there was some occupation prior to AD600 in the broader Limpopo Valley region and environs, as Early Farming Community pottery, known in South Africa as Happy Rest, has been found on top of some significant hills such as Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe, as well as other sites (Huffman 1996a, 2000; Meyer 1980). In contrast there is little evidence for occupation of the Shashe/Limpopo region in the period dating between c. AD 600-900 (Huffman 1996a; 2000; Vogel 2000). This was followed by the Medieval Warm Epoch and it is known archaeologically that from c. AD 900 occupation increased in the Shashe/Limpopo confluence area, up until the end of the occupation at Mapungubwe Hill in circa AD 1290 (Hanisch 1980; Huffman 2000a; Meyer 1998; Vogel 2000). After this, the Little Ice Age followed during which period temperatures cooled, (with some warmer pulses) up until c. AD 1800 (Huffman 1996a; Jonsson 1998; Manyanga 2000; Tyson & Lindesay 1992;). Looking more closely at climatic data for the region, a study aimed specifically at the Limpopo region (Smith J. 2005) has examined the climatic evidence for land use and environmental reconstruction (Huffman 2000a) through the use of carbon and nitrogen isotopic studies on faunal remains from Zhizo, K2, Mapungubwe, and later Moloko/Khami assemblages (Smith 2005). This has shown that while the previously noted data are broadly correct, the model can be fine-tuned for the Shashe/Limpopo basin, showing fluctuations, for instance both within the period of AD 900-1300 and after. According to this data there was a drier, cooler period within the AD 900-1300 period (c. AD 1220-<1275). Possibly this period acted as one of the catalysts to change within communities, as it was at this time that the move to the Mapungubwe hilltop took place. After c.

1300 the climate became both colder and wetter (Huffman 2005 pers. comm. after Smith 2005), with possible warmer pulses. It is interesting that the period of the fluorescence of the Zimbabwe State apparently had a lower rainfall and temperature than most of the preceding Medieval Warm Epoch indicating perhaps better ecological factors here along the plateau edge.

Period AD	Revised Mean Rainfall	Revised Mean Temperature	Previous Climatic Model
AD 1450- 1700	Similar to present <500/ >350mm (NB as stated in Ch. 3.3 – present lowveld mean temperature can be 22°)	-19°C	AD 1500 to 1650 → Wet – warm within Little Ice Age
1220 – 1450	Wetter than present >500mm	-19 °C – 22°C (warmer pulses)	AD 1300–1500 Cool and dry. The Little Ice Age
Brief period within -1220 to <1275	Similar to present, drier periods, cooler <350mm	-19°C	AD 900 to 1300 } The Medieval
1050-1220	Wetter than present >500mm	-20°C	} Warm } Epoch
900-1050	Similar to present range <500/ >350mm	-20°C	Warm and wet
600 – 800 → 900	Colder	-19°C	Cooler period.

Table 3.1 Climatic data for Shashe/Limpopo Confluence Area

(after S. Hall for J. Smith at SA3 Conference 2004, Kimberley).

Also See Smith 2005:191:Table 6.1- A Revised climatic sequence for the SLRB and proposed mechanisms of agro-pastoralist settlement

3.6i Summary of Conclusions from Physical Characteristics

The south eastern lowveld, specifically this Mateke Hills region, has several attributes that aided the inhabitants living in this environment in archaeological times. The Mateke Hills, which also comprise the outer south-western ring of the Shangwenani Hills, are the dominant feature of the region. The hills are characterised by the granophyre rock formations, surrounded by basalt outcrops. These hills have a higher rainfall, which found its way into the rivers and watercourses running from and through the hills. The slightly higher altitude away from the Limpopo River was marginally cooler and moister as well. The hills, especially in good years of rain, gave good grazing in the sweeter grasses for livestock, and for wild animals, augmented by the browsing provided by the mopane woodlands. The wild animals provided additional food sources. It appears that during the times when humans occupied these hills with their livestock, that the threat of animal (*nagana*) and human (*sleeping-sickness*) tsetse fly-borne disease was able to be overcome.

The soils along the rivers though possibly poorer, provided areas where crops could be grown with available water; the soils from the granite/basalt were better, and crops such as sorghum and millet could be grown where there was enough water. The granite/basalt soils coincided with the areas around the smaller hills preferred for settlement. Wild plants and the mixed woodlands provided

fuel, fruits, food, building materials, and were used in social/ritual activities. The chemical action of weathering on the granophyre rocks provided a useful resource in the clay needed for pottery making. Shelter was available for man especially in the lower hills and amongst the boulders, as well as shelter from wild animals such as elephant and carnivores and they provided a refuge (Ch. 7) (Beach 1980, 1994b; Cooke 1958). Also there were some copper deposits available for exploitation. These hills were well placed on possible strategic routes from east to west, as well as north to south (Fig.1.1, Fig. 4.12).

The zone to the north-west of the Mateke Hills where the Mwenezi site is situated benefits from the rain water borne in the Duvi River, from the Mateke Hills, and possibly perennial springs in the nearby sandstone zone along the edge of the basalt. However, the evidence points to less availability of good grazing and vegetation except along the river. There is less shelter in this position, as the hilltop/spur of land it occupies is not surrounded by other hills. Again this site is strategically situated on the route past the Mateke Hills, from north to south (Ch. 5, Fig. 4.12). The position of the site above the river would also have provided a good vantage point for the hunting and snaring of animals coming to the pools in the river.

Therefore, contrary to previous opinion that the lowveld was not fully used in earlier times (Chs. 1, 2), it has been occupied throughout periods of the last twelve hundred years at least, by groups representing Farming Communities (Ch. 4, Table 4.1). In the Mateke Hills, this has probably been because of better local rainfall, soils, shelter and available natural resources, such as game and wild plants (Ch. 3) (Bannerman 1981; Beach 1980; Jonsson 1998; Manyanga 2000). People living here have clearly been able to contend with constraints such as drought, heat, tsetse fly-borne disease, by adapting to the local conditions and utilising the land near the rivers and hills. All in all the Mateke Hills provided a circumscribed environment (see below Ch. 3.6i), offering better shelter, water, soils, as well as a richer diversity of natural flora and fauna in the midst of the larger, possibly harsher, hotter and drier lowveld environment.



CHAPTER FOUR

SURVEY – MATEKE HILLS REGION

4.1 Survey by the University of Zimbabwe

The UZ survey in the southeast lowveld was a continuation of, and carried out within, the regional programme *Human Responses and Contributions to Environmental Change in Africa*, (Manyanga, Pikirayi & Ndoro 2000 after Sinclair 1997). Surveys and fieldwork were originally carried out in the Save River/Chiredzi area (Sinclair 1987; Manyanga, Pikirayi & Ndoro 2000) and this was extended to the more southerly region of the Mateke Hills, and the broader Limpopo River valley in the southeast. During the field seasons of 1993-1995, surveys were carried out in and around the Mateke Hills between the Mwenezi and Bubi Rivers (Figs 1.1, 4.B) where a range of sites were recorded, amongst which were the sites of Chumbangula Hill on Malumba Ranch, and Mwenezi on the Mwenezi Ranch; as well as one or two sites recorded as Zimbabwe Tradition; plus others such as a burial site on Cawood Ranch (Bvocho 2001; Manyanga 2000:33-34, 81-82, Figs. 3.1+ 6.2; Manyanga et al 2000). In particular the site at Mwenezi was identified as a possible Zimbabwe Tradition site, owing to impressive walling. Whilst there is walling on Chumbangula, it is less extensive (Cooke 1958, 1960). The possibility of Zimbabwe Tradition sites in the lowveld region, (Manyanga 2000; Manyanga et al 2000:71) are of interest as previously few Zimbabwe Tradition sites have been identified in an arid, lowveld region. One of the best known Zimbabwe sites in the greater lowveld region, is that of Manyikeni in Mozambique (Barker 1978, 1988; Garlake 1978; Sinclair 1987), so it is important to establish where in the Zimbabwe Tradition spectrum any sites between the Bubi and Mwenezi Rivers fit, as this would not only extend the known range of these sites, but research could help to identify what function these sites could have had in the Zimbabwe state (Manyanga 2000). One dimension that all the sites identified in the UZ survey have in common, is that they are in dry, hot, low lying country, on or near the Limpopo, Bubi or Mwenezi Rivers, or placed to take advantage of water run-off from hills or ridges.

4.2 Survey of Malumba River Basin Research Area

The survey undertaken by myself, P. and Q. Gray, concentrated on the area from where the Malumba River flows down from the main Mateke Hills, and across towards the outer ring of the Shangwenani Hills at the south western end of the Matekes (Fig. 4.B). The group of sites including Chumbangula occurs here. As the Malumba River basin is one of the most attractive areas for habitation (Ch. 3), it offered a good opportunity for possibly identifying a cross section of sites from Early Farming Communities through to the Later F.C.; and also a wider picture of the Chumbangula site and the

settlements around it. Since the University of Zimbabwe's survey had focused on the broader region of the Mwenezi District, along the Bubi River and the area north of the Mateke Hills towards the Mwenezi River including the site of Mwenezi (Manyanga 2000:Fig. 3.1), a survey of the more circumscribed area along the Malumba River and the southwest (Fig.4.B) is complementary to this.

Cooke (1958) reported on a number of sites, both Stone Age and 'Iron Age' (*sic*) in the western and northern sectors of the Mateke hills. We identified the Chumbangula site and others such as Lomolohoto in the immediate vicinity in 1994 (Fig. 4.B) (Gray 1994). On subsequent field trips, more recording work was done on the original sites and new sites were actively looked for. The method employed for this, given the size of the area and the vegetated, often wild and hilly nature of the terrain was to employ a local guide to accompany us who was familiar with the local terrain and who could translate for us when speaking to local inhabitants. The best time of the year for survey here is winter, when the vegetation is dry and thinner and the weather is cooler. Contacts had been established among the then farmers and local inhabitants for permission for access and their knowledge of the local terrain was invaluable. Since we had restricted time and 'manpower' constraints, we explored specific areas, for instance along the Malumba River, around the dam on the river, up into the main hills, in the leas of hills, below the ridge of the main hills, and on similar kopjes to those already known as well as one or two areas slightly further afield, like Valley Ranch, Zwenyambe and Marungudzi (Figs 2.1, 4.B). Certain flatter, drier areas were also walked. These methods were employed to obtain as full a record as possible of the above designated area, as a circumscribed area within the greater arid lowveld. We used the 1:50,000 topographical map series, as well as a GPS. Aerial photography survey was not likely to be as successful in this heavily wooded landscape as it had been in more open grasslands like the southern highveld, or eastern Botswana (Denbow 1979; Loubser 1991:168; Maggs 1976; Mason 1968).

A comprehensive record of all the surveyed sites is given in Table 4.1 - Sites Surveyed in the Malumba River Basin and on the Bubi River and sites are shown in Fig. 4.B. The Table is arranged according to areas, following the present ranch or area names. The numbering of sites in this Table follows those of the map sheet for the area (e.g. 2130 D4:1 (as in site no. 1)).

4.2i Description of Chumbangula Hill and important features

The excavated site of Chumbangula Hill (Figs. 1.2, 2.1) and its features are discussed first. This site, first identified in 1958 by Cooke during the RSES expedition to Mateke, is on the summit of the

small hill known locally as Chumbangula and situated just to the south of the Malumba River, (grid ref. TL871752, Map sheet Mateke 2130 D4:14) (Fig. 4.A). The hill (Fig.4.1a, b, c) rises between 20 and 30 metres from the surrounding terrain. The guide and informant, Andries Chinana, gave the name of Chumbangula for this hill to Cooke (1958)¹¹ and said too, that he had been born below the walled hill, but not on it (Cooke 1958:60). In Cooke's estimation, Andries Chinana was between 60 and 70 years old at the time (Cooke 1960:100).

Note that the second part of this word, 'angula' could refer to the Tsonga or Tjopi word for a large storage basket, the '*angula*' (Earthy 1968:58-9; Junod 1913:103-5). This basket was used specifically for storage of important items (Junod 1913:105) and for food supplies like ground-nuts or grains, and stood on a little reed platform in the hut (Earthy 1968:59), the '*buhiri*' (Junod 1913:105). These baskets could be at least three or four feet high and were either bottle shaped or globular, being made by the coiled basketry method on a foundation of grass, or '*lala*' palm (Tsonga *Nala*, Venda *Mulala*) (*Hyphaene coriacea* = *H. natalensis* (van Wyk & van Wyk 1997)), and sewn with strips of the '*lala*' palm (Earthy 1968), endemic to hot, lowveld watercourses such as the Limpopo and Bubi rivers (Ch. 3). The hill could be seen as having a similar shape (Fig. 4.1a) (Junod 1913:104-5) as the basket ('*ngula*'), and in addition the meaning could refer to the use of the hill as a grain repository – note the grain bin base found in the Summit Cave excavation (Ch. 5, Fig. 5.2), and numerous pieces of stick impressed dhaka found in the East Terrace Cave and eroding over the cliff edges. Also, the word '*mangula*' which is similar, means 'copper' in Kalanga (would be '*mangura*' in Karanga) and there are copper wire and artefacts in the assemblage and copper is known to have been mined in the area (Ch. 3) (Bannerman 1981; Berlyn nd.; Martins Grobbelaar *pers. comm.* 1998).

The hill itself is approximately 150 metres around the base, and the summit is between 90 and 100 metres in diameter (Gray 1996) (Fig. 4.A). The hill commands a 360° view of the surrounding area and the approaches, as well as the basin of the Malumba River, as it drains from the main Mateke Hills (Fig. 4.1a). The Malumba River runs some 200 metres to the north of the hill. It is the only hill in the immediate vicinity that visibly has grass cover and flat areas on the summit (Fig. 4.1a).

¹¹ Whilst the University of Zimbabwe have used the name 'Malumba' for this hill site, after the local Ranch and the Malumba River (Manyanga 2000) I have (see Ch. 1) used the name 'Chumbangula Hill', both because this was the local name for this hill and used by Cooke in 1958, and is thus used in the Museum of Human Sciences Catalogue system (Chumbangula 2130:DD.5). In addition, there are a number of identified sites on the Malumba Ranch, also accessed under original given local names (Table 4.1) and some of these (such as Lomolohoto, Chumanyoka) may warrant further investigation and excavation in order to further the understanding of the occupational sequence and thus could all fall under the generic Malumba, as for instance Malumba 1, Malumba 2 etc, thus possibly causing confusion.

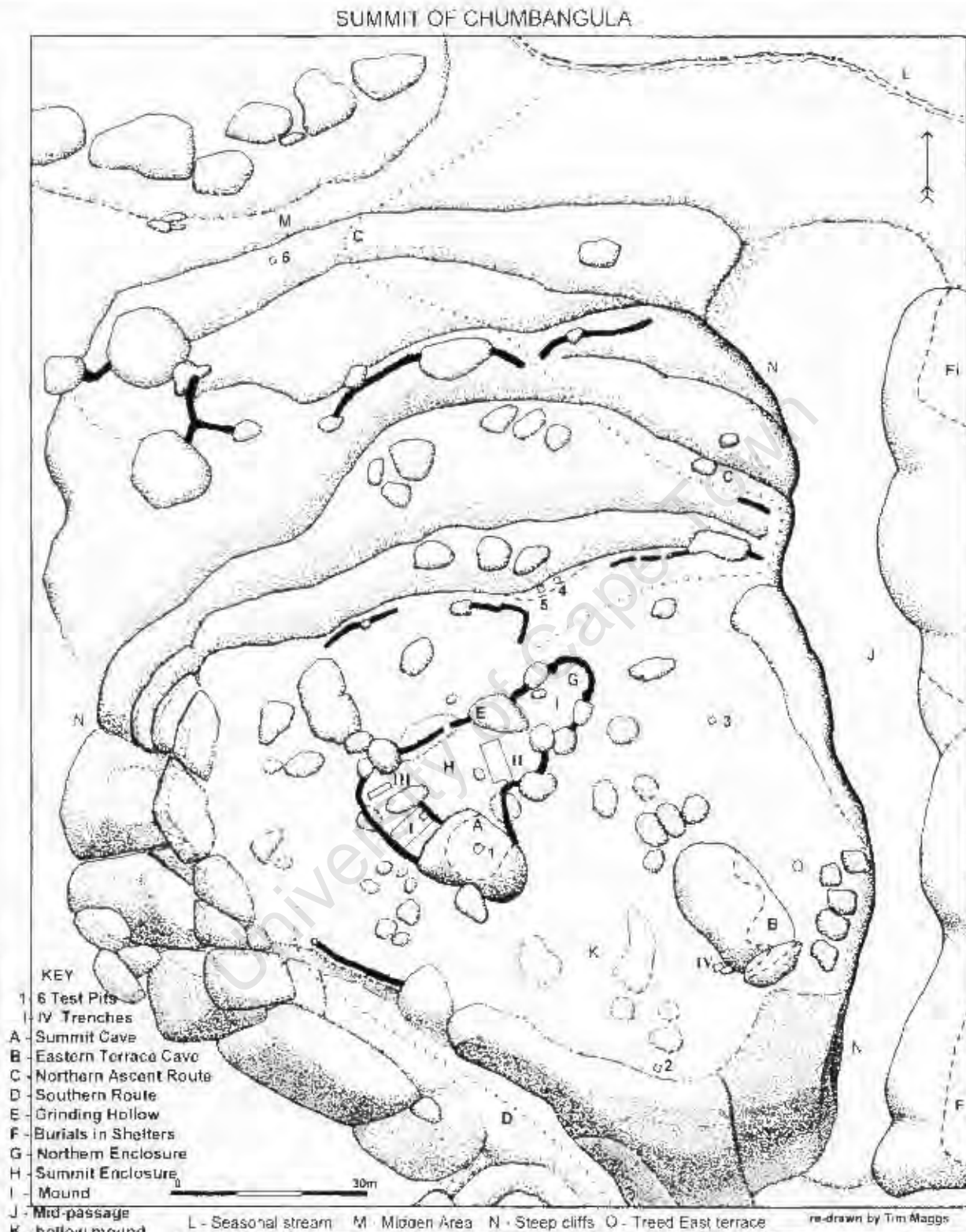


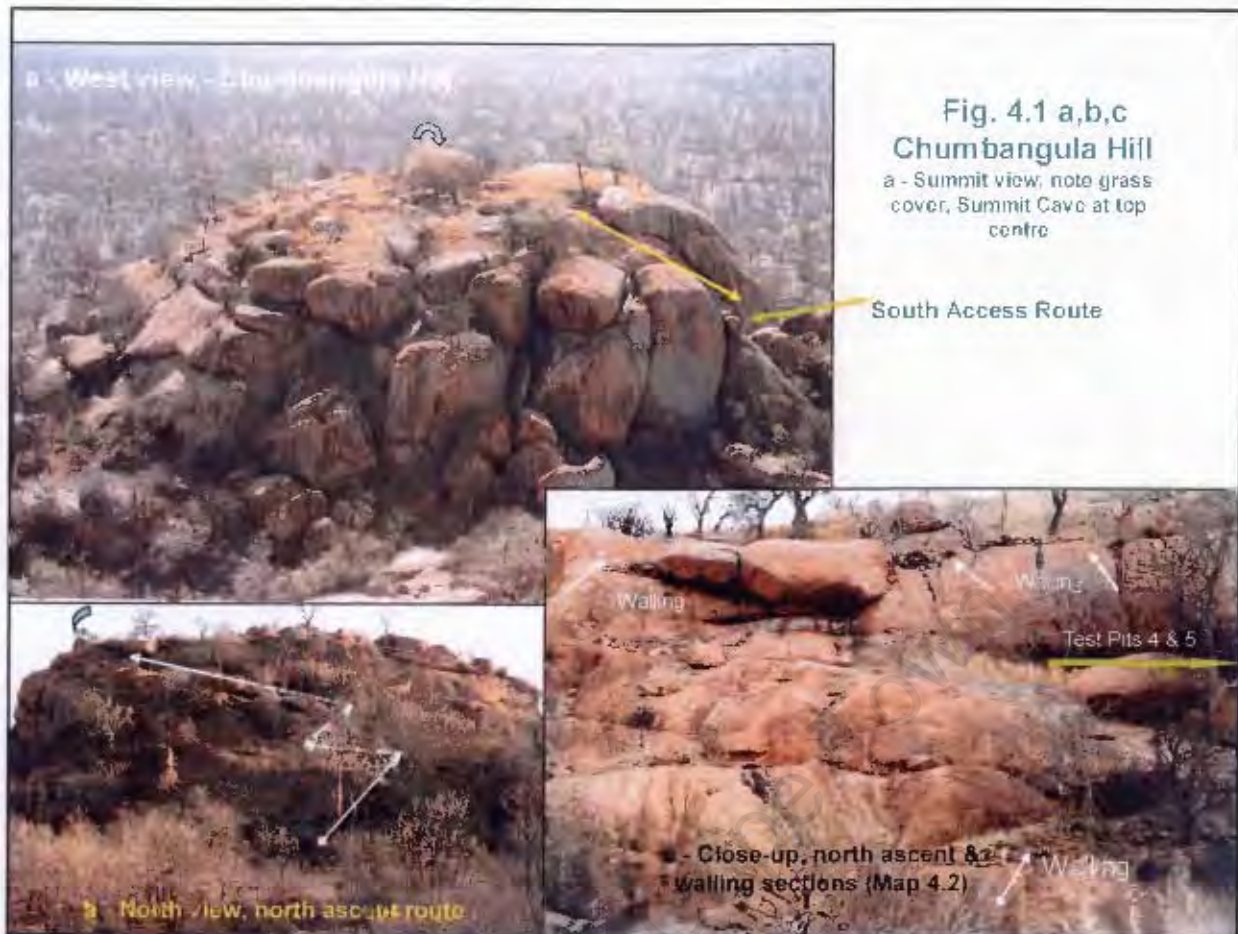
Fig 4.A Summit of Chumbangula Hill, showing enclosures, excavation positions, shelters, ascent routes and other key features (T. Maggs, after Chifamba 1999, Gray 2002).

It is rich in cultural debris, which has eroded out of the deposit on the hill and from middens and shelters on and around the hill. Soil has been brought to the top of the hill, and may have originally been used in the function of space on the hill, terracing, enclosures or for hut bases. Note that soil was also brought on to the summit at Mapungubwe, where this has been used in terracing, built up in areas of hut dwellings, as well as providing the medium for burials (Fouché 1937; Gardener 1963).

There are two routes of ascent to the hilltop, a ‘zigzag’ route from the north side and a ramp-like approach from the south (Fig. 4.A:C,D, Fig. 4.1a, b, c). The northern route is more exposed and rising through several stages, passes several remnants of low walls as well as a precipitous drop (Fig. 4.AC, N, Fig. 4.1b, c). The walling appears to have served for display and prestige purposes, judging by its positioning and the fact that in some cases rocks of darker contrasting colour have been included. While in general the walling is built of the local red granophyre rock, it is only in some of the walls flanking the northern ascent that contrasting blocks of dark basaltic rock occur¹² (Fig. 4.3c). (This material was noted in a dyke-like outcrop some half a kilometre to the south of Chumbangula Hill (and Lomolohoto) (Fig. 4.B, Table 4.1 2130 D4:23; Ch. 8.2iii) and has therefore been carried in from some distance – see Ch. 4.2ii). On reaching the summit this northern route leads directly to the entrances into the summit enclosures, as well as to the Eastern Terrace. Test Pits 4 & 5 were placed on a natural terrace two-thirds of the way up this ascent (Fig. 4.A, Fig. 4.1c). The southern route between cliff edge and large boulders follows a natural ramp (Fig. 4.A, Fig. 4.1a), which has however been modified by the removal and addition of stones to provide rough steps in places. This is more clearly seen towards the base where, although it is now overgrown, drought conditions enabled us to see the modifications through the undergrowth (Gray 2002). It would have been possible to drive livestock up this route which reaches the summit beside a wall which appears to have been at the back of the site.

The kopje has three noticeable levels on the summit (Fig. 4.A). The first is the lower terrace immediately above the sheer cliff on the northeast side (the Eastern Terrace, Fig. 4.A:N) and which rises gently to the northwest (Fig. 4.A:K). Along this terrace is a row of some ten small trees (Fig. 4.A:O), which are the False Marula, *Lannea Schweinfurthii* var. *Stuhlmannii*, known locally as *Mganukomo* (S. Chadheba pers. comm.1996). They produce an edible berry and are known for their medicinal and magic uses (Coates Palgrave 1997). It is believed that this tree harbours a

¹² See discussion in Ch. 8.2iii on the use of contrasting stone, often brought from a distance, being a feature of some Zimbabwe Tradition prestige walls, though this is more often seen in later sites such as Nalatala (Huffman 1996b).



benevolent spirit, which can be invoked to protect and heal (van Wyk & van Wyk 1997). At the far south-eastern end of this terrace is the large shelter, known as the Eastern Terrace Cave (Fig. 4.A:B, Fig. 4.2c). The shelter is not really suitable for occupation and has a low 'crawl' exit at the rear, exiting on the steep cliff edge, in proximity to the main summit deposit in which Test Pit 2 and Trench IV were dug (Fig. 4.A). There is evidence of dung (cf. dung in Summit Cave, Ch. 5) to the north in a smaller side shelter (Fig. 4.A :B, Fig. 4.2a, c). At the rear end of the shelter, the main summit deposit is visible with material such as bone and pottery protruding. When first viewed in 1994, the shelter floor was scattered with quantities of cultural material (Fig. 4.2c, d), which consisted of pottery, bones, worked bone, ostrich egg shell fragments, shell and glass beads, a stone with grooves, possibly for the shaping of shell beads, and a shaped stone with central bore (Fig 4.2d). The pottery appeared to be mixed; with one example from the earlier periods (Fig. 6.28:1), some from the Recent period (Fig. 4.2d; 6.26:2,4; 6.28:12) (18/19th Century) (see note ³ in Ch. 2 for the use of this term), and others which can now be correlated with the main assemblage from the excavations (Fig. 4.2d, Ch. 6, Fig. 6.25; 4.26:3,4).

It has been suggested that this mix of pottery could be indicative of the use of the shelter for rain-making purposes (Huffman *pers. comm.* 1995, Huffman 2000). Occasionally, sherds from the earlier EFC have been found on significant hilltops, such as at Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe hill, where it is suggested they may have a bearing on ritual/ rainmaking practices and the later appropriation of such sites (Ch. 8.2i) (Huffman 2000:16; Huffman & Vogel 1991; Meyer 1980; Robinson 1961a; Sinclair 1991; Schoemann 2006, *pers. comms.* 2004, 2005). It may thus have some bearing that EFC sherds were found at significant locations on Chumbangula - one in the East Terrace Cave (Fig. 6.28:1) (on hilltop), outside the Grave Shelter and one in association with the lower Northeast shelter, as well as at Chumanyoka Cave (Fig. 4.A, 4.B, Fig. 6.29:6). These site areas are associated with occupations of the second millennium Later Farming Community period (that is c. AD 1000-1300, Table 5.6). It is of interest here to note that Beach (1980:214, 306) documents the more recent rainmaking 'cave cult' of the Pfumbi Mbedzi (Chs. 4.2iii, 7.3ii, 8.2iv, Table 4.1, D4:13). Also, people interviewed in the Matibi 2 communal area (Bvocho (2001) stated that the hill has had a continued usage for rainmaking purposes, which implies some continuity of purpose.

The contours on the summit rise toward the north and west (Fig. 4.A). Test Pit 3 was dug at the eastern edge of the rise to the middle terrace. At this level there is an oval enclosure (the North Enclosure (Fig. 4.A:G), with low walls linked to surrounding boulders, while the walling at the head

of the enclosure is in turn linked to a flat stone extending into the enclosure. Two equal rounded boulder protuberances opposite each other, to each side, are also incorporated into the walling as well as a deep grinding hollow in the boulder on the south (Fig. 4.A:G). There appears to be a good deposit of soil in this north enclosure, and a small raised mound of soil towards the middle (Fig. 4.A:I). Future archaeological investigation would be useful in the northern enclosure and the summit enclosures, as well as the vicinity of Tr. IV (Fig. 4.A:IV).

From behind the Eastern Terrace Cave, the ground rises some five metres towards the summit (Fig. 4.A:K). Long grass and bushes grow on this upper terrace and in the centre of this upper area, where the soil is somewhat hardened and the grass thinner, there is a hollow sound underfoot (Fig. 4.A: K). The summit was clearly the focal point of the settlement. Here a ring of boulders is linked by walling to form the largest enclosure (Summit Enclosure, Fig. 4.A:H). The entrance to this is at the north, next to a boulder with a round grinding hollow (Fig. 4.A:E). The largest boulder is hollow, forming the Summit Cave with its partly walled up entrance facing northeast into a narrow passage between boulders and stone walling (Fig. 4.2a, Fig. 4.A:A). The excavations were concentrated here with Test Pit 1 in the Summit Cave and Trenches I-III in the enclosure, Tr. I being within a subsidiary enclosure defined by boulders and an additional wall (Fig. 5.7). The cave's position at the highest point and 'at the back' of the main enclosure (Fig. 4.A:A) is similar to those described as being 'sacred space', used in ritual activities in various sites and associated with important ancestor spirits (Huffman 1996b:43-44).

Around the base of the hill, are several other features of note. To the northwest, in amongst rocks, where there was a great deal of evidence of midden deposit, Test Pit 6 was excavated (Fig. 4.A:M). Here animal burrowing has exposed Stone Age material, pottery from both the EFC and LFC and dhaka pieces. On the east side, a shelter near the base of the hill formed by a very large reclining boulder, the entrance to which is well concealed, has clear evidence of a burial, some two metres long which has a low, large constructed platform of branches, stones and hardened soil (Fig. 4.A:F Fi, Fig. 4.3a, Table 4.1, 2130 D4:15). Two pots were visible in the far corner in 1994 + 1996, but one was no longer there in 1999 (Gray 1994, 1999)¹³. In 2002, after an extensive drought reduced the vegetation cover, more shelters were visible, on the northeast (Fig. 4.3b) (Table 4.1, 2130 D4:

¹³ It is asserted that people come occasionally from the chieftainship in the Matibi No. 2 communal area for ritual visits to this site (Bvocho 2001:38; Manyanga 2000:35). This could possibly mean that this burial is of a later date than the hill top deposits, as the main historically known movements of people into the area have taken place since the later 18th Century – Tsonga, Pfumbi-Venda, related (Bannerman 1981; Beach 1980). However, it could also be visited as part of a continuity of 'ritual activity or 'remembrance'.

15b), the south and in a natural defile, or 'passage' between the two sections of the hill (Fig. 4.A:J), which contained much evidence of occupation, and at least three possible burials (Map 4.A:F, Fi). This passage had been partly 'stepped', and low walling was visible in places (Map 4.A:J). Pottery and faunal material was seen in all these locations. On the north eastern approach to the hill is a shelter, just off the valley floor, which also had a distinctive mound in the middle (probable burial, Table 4.1, D4:15b,15c, Fig. 4.3b). Walling at the back divides this from the adjoining cave which was accessed from the passage (J) to the west. This wall of small blocks had two stone implements embedded in the dhaka plaster and an EFC sherd, spindle whorls and other sherds were found on the floor (Gray 1994, 1996).

East of the hill is a large open area fairly devoid of vegetation, which may be an indication of past occupation. In the eroded areas around the dry stream to the north-east, and about 15-20cms below ground level, is a band of burnt-looking earth. However little pottery was seen in this vicinity (Table 4.1:D4:15a). This completes the description of the main site, Chumbangula and its peripheral features.

4.2ia Implications of the description of the Chumbangula site

The description given above gives a clear picture of an important regional centre (possibly a Level 3 /4 (Huffman 1982, 2000; Huffman & Hanisch 1987)), on an isolated, sheer hilltop (Figs. 4.A, 4.1), with two routes to the hilltop, namely a 'front entrance' which meanders past several sections of stone walling (i.e. a 'prestige display'), and a 'back entrance', more concealed, but also with a section of walling at the summit and leading to what could be termed the 'back' of the summit enclosures (Fig. 4.A:C,±). The major portion of the walling is on the actual summit(Fig. 4.A:H), indicating a 'prestige' area, and privileging the Summit Cave as a focal point which may have been used for ritual and/or grain storage, as well as other shelters, such as the Eastern Terrace Cave and Burial shelters. Commoners probably lived at the foot of the hill, both to the east, and in the sheltered lee of the hill between it and Lomolohoto Hill to the west (D4:14, 15a & 18) where there is further evidence of habitation, in the form of large pieces of dhaka, pottery and grinding hollows in the rock outcrops (Fig. 4.3d) (Table 4.1, 2130 D4:17) (noting here also the occupational debris in and around Test Pit 6 (Fig. 4.A:6). Note here that these features have structural similarities to high status Zimbabwe Tradition sites (see Ch. 8).

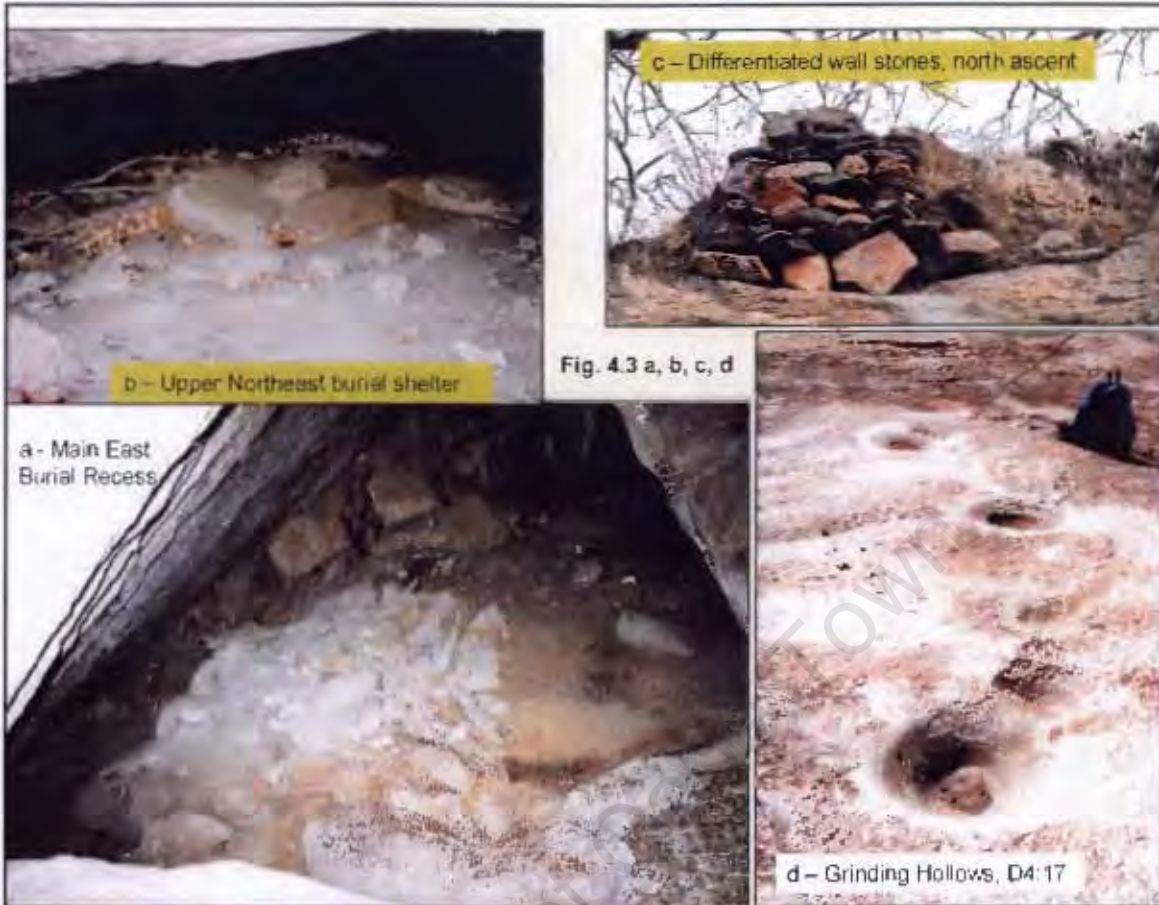


Fig. 4.3 a, b, c, d



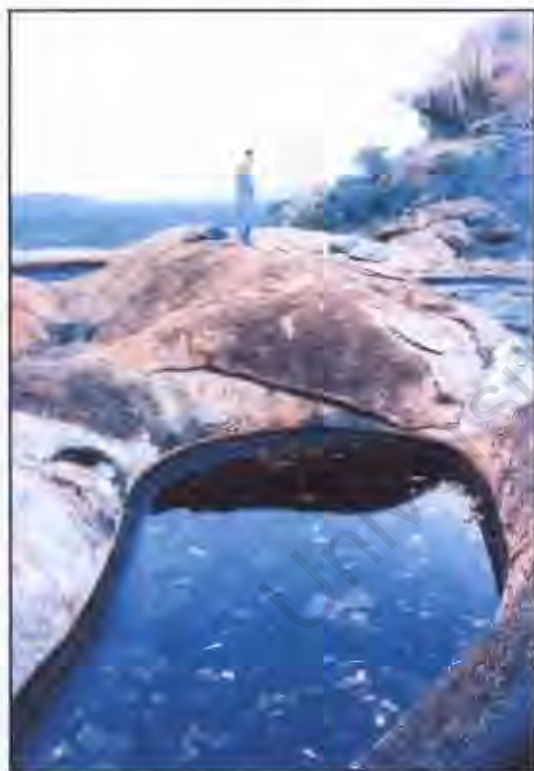
Fig. 4.4b 'Grainbin' shelter on Lomolohoto, north-east

Fig. 4. 4a, c Lomolohoto Hill, east view, showing 'lomo' or 'mouth' and north-east ascent



4.2ii Related features and sites in the immediate vicinity of Chumbangula

Other sites in the immediate vicinity are discussed in this section as they are part of the context of the site and pertain to the cultural landscape inhabited by those who lived on and used the hill of Chumbangula. The Kopje to the west of Chumbangula, being slightly higher, is the only hill that overlooks Chumbangula (Fig. 4.B) a natural shoulder with soil and grass just below the summit to the north and a rocky ridge to the south. There is not such a clear area here for habitation as on Chumbangula. On the surface some pottery and cultural material similar to Chumbangula was visible though some other surface pottery would appear to be from the Recent period. The walling consists of quite well laid granophyre blocks: on the east side this is a 7m long, 1m high section above the ground and ~60 cm wide (Gray 1994), and on the west has a large 'sunken' block set in. This hill is a prominent landmark, with a jutting 'nose' towards the north, which gives it the local name of Lomolohoto, the 'mouth/beak (*lomo*) of the hornbill' (*hoto*) (Fig. 4.b). On the flat rocky



'floor' under this beak, was a lot of cultural debris, including two broken lower grindstones, spindle whorls and pottery (Figs. 6.27:5.6). There was quite rough walling in places along the edge of this shelf, which extended to the east, where potsherds and faunal material were also visible. A multi-level shelter to the north of the ascent route, about halfway up, has a lot of deposit, much evidence of pottery, freshwater mussel shells, dhaka and several poles, one still upright in the ground perhaps indicating a grain bin (Table 4.1 D:16a, Fig. 4.4a,c). Again (as noted above) there is evidence of occupation, possibly of commoners, in dhaka pieces, grindstones in the rock, and pottery scatters below the hill, in the lees of the ridges and hills (Sites D.17, 18, 19, 27).

Fig. 4.5 Site 2130 D4:19 'Water-reservoir Hill', showing a 'rain-tank', in close proximity to both Lomolohoto and Chumbangula

To the north of Lomolohoto is a large freestanding boulder, around which Gokomere types of sherds were noted eroding out of the wash areas indicating an EFC site (Fig. 4.B, Table 4.1, D4:22).

Immediately south-west of Lomolohoto is a lower hill of granophyre rock (Table 4.1, D4:19, Figs. 4.10d, 4.5), in which there are several large, naturally weathered, 'reservoirs' or 'rock-tanks', which

hold rainwater for long periods after rain and thus may have been an important feature for the inhabitants at any time of occupation; these water features may emphasise the association between ‘rain-control’ hills and water (Schoemann 2006:156, 157, 159). Running approximately half a kilometre south of Lomolohoto Hill is a ‘dyke’ of smaller, darker iron stones, while the hills to the south of this consist of basalt rocks (Anderson 1958:132) (Fig. 4.B, Table 4.1 D4:17). It is from here that it is most likely that the evenly sized, darker stones interspersed in the walling on Chumbangula were sourced (Fig. 4.3c). It has been found that examples of these naturally broken stones contain an iron ore. This magnetite could have been used as an ore source for local smelting. Although no furnaces were located during the survey, slag was found in a shelter on the south side of Chumbangula and a pottery tuyere was found on the hidden ascent to Guhuhu (2130 D4:21).

Just to the northeast of Chumbangula, across a small seasonal stream, is a lower outcrop of large boulders and rocks, which conceal a large shelter, called Chumanyoka Cave (*nyoka* – snake), as given to Cooke by Chinana (Cooke 1958). The hollowed inside roof of this cave is shaped like a cranium, and stands on three points (Fig. 4.B, Table 4.1 2130 D4:20). This sizable shelter contains evidence of occupation, ranging from Early Farming Community sherds (Cooke 1960, Fig. 4:33; Gray 1999), to similar pottery to that on Chumbangula, spindle whorls and also to later Recent period pottery. There are many freshwater mussel shells. The main deposit on the west side is somewhat exposed along the drip line, while outside the shelter, potsherds, mussel shells and other artefacts had eroded. This cave has the reputation of having served as a shelter to one Peter Forestell, the ‘Native Commissioner’ from Chibi, during the 1896 rebellion (Beach 1980; Cooke 1958:56). Cooke (1958:58) also mentions finding a blue annular glass bead of the type traded in the 18-19th Centuries.

Another freestanding kopje directly to the north, just across the Malumba River, (Table 4.1, D4: 21), also has a large shelter towards the summit, on the south-east (Fig. 4.B). This is another feature of the natural weathering of the granophyre rock and being open at both ends is unsuitable for habitation, but there is evidence of habitation outside and on the south-western approach to the hill. This place is called ‘Guhuhu’ after the sound effect from the wind through the rocks of this shelter (Penny 1958:41 from Chinana *pers. comm.* 1958). There are two ascents to this hill, the first from the south-west, across the large boulders, rocks and terraces, leading upwards. There is also a hidden ascent behind the boulders (also at the south-west), around a large specimen of the Large-leaved Rock Fig *Ficus abutilifolia*, a fig that is known for its tendency to split the rocks with its roots, which

led directly to this upper shelter. Potsherds, similar to those on Chumbangula were seen. Pottery, akin to what has been termed 'refuge ware' was also seen. A whole, small pot (See Cooke 1960, Fig. 4: 21-22), was observed (Gray 1994, 1996). An old army rifle clip and a military brass button (c.f. 1896 War) (Fig. 4.6) were found above this hollow shelter (Boshoff B *pers. comm.* 1999). These have been accessioned with other material (soapstone pipe bowl (Fig. 4.8), metal adze), in the



Museum of Human Sciences in Harare (Gray 1999).

Fig. 4.6 Military button and rifle clasp, found on Guhuhu Hill (B. Boshoff) (photo J. Gray)

Immediate conclusions to be drawn from the above discussion in 4.2ii, are that several hills in the immediate vicinity around Chumbangula also contain walling, flattish areas which were occupied/or used near their summits, as well as deposits of pottery and other material. This applies equally to various rock shelters in and around the hills. However, none have anything like the amount of archaeological deposit or walling found on Chumbangula itself. Several flattish areas between the hills, especially around Chumbangula show evidence of substantial occupation. Note that in the Zimbabwe Tradition, this indicates occupation by commoners, with little or no stone-walling, but plentiful indications of midden deposits. Chumbangula itself occupies a strategic position within this cluster of sites (Fig. 4.B) (Ch. 8).

4.2iii The Survey of the Malumba River Basin and environs (Table 4.1, Fig. 4.B)

The other sites in the surrounding hills, the Malumba River basin, and some further afield are now discussed. We recorded a range of sites, some ephemeral, others more substantial. Refer to Table 4.1 and Fig. 4.B for the full list (key below for numbers used on Map Fig. 4.B), while several of these sites are discussed in more detail here.

Early Farming Community sherds have been found in several locations in the research area, the first of these already noted in the previous section (D4:22). On Sheba Ranch below the main Mateke Hills, where drainage lines collect (Fig. 4.B, site No. C3:1), a surface scatter of EFC sherds of the Gokomere-type (Fig. 6.28:2,3,5,7,10) (possible Malapati), occurred around an outcrop of an enormous, freestanding boulder (Table 4.1, C3:1). A corridor-like shelter at ground level in the main boulder contained surface EFC sherds and glass beads (C3:1a). Just south of this on an adjacent

outcrop, were three areas against the rock of what appeared to be broken down forge material and three iron arrowheads were found in the immediate vicinity (Table 4.1, Fig. 4.B, 4.4d, C3:2). A whole, rounded, short-necked pot, with a band of crosshatching on the neck was found in close proximity, the style similar to known wares from the more Recent period (Fig. 6.7a). The grass around this shelter, called ‘mbabani’ by the Hlengwe tracker Salani, is *Cenchrus ciliaris*, the same species as from Chumbangula (Gray 1998) (Ch. 3.5iv on Grasses). More sherds of the same EFC type were found nearer the Sheba Ridge (D4:4)(Gawler *pers. comm.* 1999)(Museum No.2130DD: 16)

Site Number	Site Name	Site Number	Site Name	Site Number	Site Name
2131 C3:1	1 Split Boulder	2030 D4:11	11 Grinding Grooves –Safari	2030 D4:21	21 Guhuhu Kopje
2131 C3:2	2 Split Boulder, Forge Site	2030 D4:12	12 Sheba Ridge	2030 D4:22	22 ‘Gokomere Boulder’ EFC
2131 C3:3	3 Junction Road	2030 D4:13	13 Rainmaking Hill	2030 D4:23	23 Outcrop/Dyke, south Lomo
2030 D4:4	4 Sheba – north of river	2030 D4:14	14 Chumbangula Hill	2030 D4:24	24 Malumba River sites
2030 D4:5	5 Fallen Boulder	2030 D4:15	15 East-side of Chumbangula	2030 D4:25	25 Chinana’s Kraal
2030 D4:6	6 Baobab Grindstone outcrop	2030 D4:16	16 Lomolohoto	2030 D4:26	26 Sites on lower hills
2030 D4:7	7 Crossroads	2030 D4:17	17 Grinding Hollows –dwala	2030 D4:27	27 Hut base
2130 D4:8	8 Outer Road	2030 D4:18	18 Lee of hill /Nek	2030 D4:28	28 Adze site
2130 D4:9	9 Airstrip – Stone Age & FC	2030 D4:19	19 Reservoir Hill	2030 D4:29	29 Malumba Dip Tank
2130D4:10	10 Safari Hill	2030 D4:20	20 Chumanyoka	2030 D4:30	30 Nyangambe Waterhole

Table 4.2 - Key to numbered sites on Fig. 4.B – Site Numbers with reference to Table 4.1:-
See Map, Figure 4.B, on insert between following pages, of the Survey area, Malumba River Basin.

To the southeast of this site, at another large free-standing boulder with a narrow shelter (Table 4.1, Fig. 4.B:5, D4:5), a distinctive sherd was found, with a distinct everted neck and equidistant stamped lozenge designs (Fig.6.27:3). These and surface sherds from the East Terrace Cave (Ch. 7, Ch 8, Fig. 6.26:1,2) relate to Mozambican material described by Liesegang (1974:61 Fig.1:32, 42-3) as Gaza, and by Duarte (1976:13-14) from Massingir and by Meyer (1986) as Lebombo. Cooke (1958:60) also described this ware from a midden near the old Bubi homestead on the Bubi River (Table 4.1:32, Fig. 6.28:11).

Several flat granite outcrops, known locally as ‘dwala’, in two areas in particular, were found with large numbers of long, narrow, boat-shaped grinding grooves. At the main site, on the road past the Malumba Dam on the route up into the hills (Fig. 4.B, No.6), and some 400m north of the Malumba



Figure 4.B Map of the Malumba River Basin, Mateke Hills, showing numbered sites from Survey – see Table 4.1, and key to sites.

River (Table 4.1, Site no. D4:6), was a dwala with seventeen grooves (Figs. 4.7, 4.7a), and two other grooved areas as well. In the immediate vicinity we found a few upper grindstones, which fitted into the grooves perfectly but were of different rock to the outcrops. The average length of the grooves was 400mm x 80-90mm wide (Gray 1994, 1996). Further east, below the ridge of the hills (Fig. 4.B, Site C3:3) several grooves were recorded, which were perpendicular to the ground on a rounded boulder. Another large group was situated on a flat outcrop of rock (Site no. D4:11) just north of the Malumba River and close to a low hill. Here too there were some 15 elongated grooves. These types of grinding grooves have been suggested as being suitable for the seeds of the domesticated grains such as sorghum and millet (Mitchell 2002 after Maggs & Ward 1984). It has also been noted that they are generally in the vicinity of water (Guy 1965). An area of rock was worn very smooth by rubbing for some purpose. Evidence of occupation on the west side of this hill (Fig. 4.B, D4:10) included pottery sherds that were different from those seen on Chumbangula, both of the main and the Recent assemblage. They were of a thick, reddish, unburnished ware, with quite distinctive rolled and everted rims and may have been c. AD 1500's (Fig. 6.27:1.2,4) (Huffman *pers. comm.* 2000). Note that reported Khami ware in the south east and south-central region is reported to have a distinct red colour (Huffman 1979a) (Table 2.1).



Fig. 4.7 + 7a Long grinding grooves, with upper grindstones at outcrop near Malumba River (site No. D.4: 6).

Another type of grinding hollow occurred in the flat rock outcrops just to the north of Chumbangula (Fig. 4.B, Fig. 4.3d, 2130 D4:17), which were round and ranged from shallow to a medium depth (5-15cm). Some of the grinding hollows ('dolly' holes) recorded elsewhere in the country are much deeper (Jones 1939; Swan 1996). There is one of these round grinding hollows in a boulder at the

north side of the Summit Enclosure on Chumbangula (Map 4.2:E) and another, deep one on the southern boulder incorporated into the walling of the North enclosure (Fig. 4.A:Fi).

Apart from these grinding hollows in fixed rock, several large lower 'portable' grinding stones (*guyo*) were seen in different locations, on the road to the dam on the Malumba River, below the 'beak' on Lamolohoto, and in situ in Grid 13 of Trench 1 on Chumbangula (Fig. 5.7a). Several of these were broken, though made in very large and thick portions of rock. One had a grinding surface on both the upper and lower surfaces of the stone and one had two of the narrow type of grooves. Some were turned upside down, and occasionally there was an upper grindstone, a *huyo*, in the vicinity (see Fig. 4.7).

Fig. 4.8 Soapstone pipe bowl, found by B. Boshof (on Malumba (site no 29, near Dip Tank)



The long, freestanding hill, the Sheba Ridge, to the southeast of the homestead on Sheba Ranch has some rough walling, terracing, and a section of walling, about 8 m in length, on the summit (Fig. 4.B, D4:12). Here we found pottery similar to that illustrated by Cooke (1958, 1960; Fig.4:1-21) from 'Chinana's Kraal', and therefore probably of mid to late 19th early 20th century. The lower, midsection of this Ridge (called *Nyamambishi* (raw meat)) is said to be taboo to anyone but those of the Pfumbi people: it is said that any others venturing up there will be 'attacked' and that the 'drums of the people' can be heard. The story is told of a previous farmer who went up there, despite warnings and when he came back after some time, he did not know himself, his skin was 'scratched and pecked all over', and he had to be brought round with 'snuff' and much talking (Oral sources, Sibangani Chadveba, Sugar, and Ketani Tishebu, Notebooks Gray 1996, 1999). These informants say that it is many years since anyone who now lives at Sheba went up there (Gray 1999). At Cigwa Hill at Chivi similar stories are told of forbidden access and the sound of 'ancient, unknown people, the *mupa*' (Robinson 1967a:2).

Cooke's guide Andries Chinana (Fig. 2.2) said that his old village had been deserted in about 1896, at the time of what was colloquially called the 'Matabele Rebellion'¹⁴ (*sic.* Cooke 1958:56).

¹⁴ (Note that the correct name for this war is the Ndebele-Shona War of 1896-1897 (Beach 1986, 1994b).

Chinana attested that before this it had been occupied for about four generations of his people (during 19th C) (Cooke 1958:56). The site identified as Chinana's Old Kraal is at the western entrance to the Shangwenani Hills (Figs.4.B, 4.10c, 2131 D4:25), which is on the route taken on foot by the RSES team on the 7th May 1958, on their way along the Malumba River into the Mateke Hills. At the place where they could not go further by vehicle, they chose a campsite 'on a low plateau out of the reach of the elephants' (Barbanell 1958:19). This site was said by Andries to have 'housed his home kraal when he was a boy' (Barbanell 1958:19). Today, pottery and evidence of cleared areas amongst the rocks can be seen (Gray 2002), and the view now is as it was then described, 'Our view is into the Matekes on our left, and in front and to the right it is across the way we have come (i.e. from the west); the hills rise up again behind us' (Barbanell 1958:19). The Malumba River would have been just to the south, in front of them. From here they were led on foot by Chinana along an old foot path, towards the east, which he indicated led from his old kraal, past the hill next to the ruins which 'had a most distinctive overhanging rock giving the appearance of a hornbill's head' (Lomolohoto) (Fig. 4.4a) and all the way through the hills to Gezani's kraal (to the south of the Matekes) (Barbanell 1958:19). The mention of Gezani is pertinent, as this name is of one of the Hhengwe Tsonga chiefs (Bannerman 1981). The Communal Lands area to the south of the Matekes is today called Gezani, as is the clinic, and village there. There are other sites in this dense area of kopjes along the Malumba River, with some scatters of potsherds, these are marked on Fig. 4.B and described in Table 4.1 (2130D4:24). Most seem on appearance of the surface pottery to be of the Recent period (Fig. 6.7, 6.27-29).

Fig. 4.9 The 'twin-peaked' 'Rainmaking' Hill

A freestanding hill with two 'peaks' on Sheba Ranch (Fig. 4.9, Fig. 4.B, D4:13), to the north of the Malumba River, is used occasionally for rainmaking



purposes up to the present time (Gawler *pers. comm.* 1996). A black goat is used for the ceremony, which takes place on the top of the hill where a hut (*banya*, spirit medium hut, Chadheba *pers. comm.* 1996) is situated, and in which the rain instruments/medicines are kept. This custom probably dates back to when the Pfumbi people (Chinana clan) used to live in the Malumba River basin prior

to the 1960's (Ch. 7.2ii) (Bannerman 1981:34, Map 6). The Pfumbi, originally related to the Mbedzi Venda of the Vhumbedzi area of the eastern Soutpansberg, more than likely brought the rainmaking customs of their chiefs, the Luvhimbi, across the Limpopo to the Marungudzi Hill (Figs. 2.1, 3.3) which is known as a sacred centre of the Raluvhimba cult (Ch. 7.2ii, Ch. 8.2iv) (Beach 1980: 214, 306; Loubser 1991:269)). The rain making custom today centres on the present '*Chief Chinana (the junior)*' who is the '*rain man*' for the '*Vapfumbi people*', and who comes '*with his few men and women to tell their ancestors, and ask for rain near the Sheba homestead (on the hill) at the western side*' (S. Chadhebha pers. comm.1996). '*When it becomes dry and hot, they go to him with snuff, tobacco and goats as gifts. He then tells his ancestors, and the rain comes. Those who are 'told are called the Midzumu*' (S. Chadhebha pers. comm. 1996). '*The people come from an area between Matibi and Gezani, from his place at Dalala, near the school at Shurugwe*' (Chadhebha pers. comm.1996; Ketani Tishebu pers. comm.1999). Little pottery was seen on or around this hill, but a large complete grindstone was seen on the northern side, and two potential graves to the south of the hill, as well as lithic scatters in the vicinity.

Walking the flatter areas between the river and the road into the Mateke Hills (Fig. 4.B) did not produce any sign of FC habitation or in the rocky basalt hills to the south-east. Similarly, the rocky, basalt hills on the north west of the basin (Figs 3.3, 4.B) did not produce any sites. Seemingly the basalt hills, with their broken ground were not found suitable for occupation.

4.2iv Sites adjacent to the western Mateke Hills and Bubi River

Several sites that are slightly beyond the Malumba River basin as defined by its course through the south western Mateke Hills are included in this survey. Some were visited originally by the RSES expedition, while local people pointed others out to us during our enquiries.

The Zwenyambe waterhole is near the Nyangambe hill (Fig. 4.B, Table 4.1- D4:30), and situated in a syenite dwala (Barbanell 1958). A large rock covers the permanent eye, which is in a circular hole in the rock, about 1.50m deep (Cooke 1960:Fig. 8). The covering rock was broken when the then farmer took us to the site in 1998. Just next to the hole is a large rounded boulder, with many small cupules in it (Fig. 4.10c). Some of these are quite covered in patina, while some seem fresher. One explanation was that women used these small cupules to 'grind' marula nuts, while they waited for the eye to fill with water (Barbanell 1958:19); and another from the guide Andries Chinana was that each person who used water from the hole should rub a stone in one of the cupules (P. Gray 1958).

(The cupules on the sides of the boulder would have been difficult to grind nuts in). Note that ‘cupules’ in other contexts are ascribed to earlier hunter-gatherer populations, operating in relation to worldviews and are often appropriated as sites of power or potency by later farming populations (A. Schoeman 2006 & *pers. comm.* 2004, 2005; van de Ryst et al 2004:1-11). Cooke (1958:57:) described the pottery from here as probably belonging to earlier pottery traditions, one sherd in particular having a thickened section and incised and stamped impressions, (much like a rim sherd from the Malapati pottery (Ch. 6.9, Fig. 6.28:9) (Cooke 1958, 1960:Fig. 4.32; Robinson 1961b). From the nearby hill came pottery more like that from Marungudzi Hill and Chinana’s Kraal and there was a short length of walling (Cooke 1958:57).

The walled site attributed to Mateke is just north of the present road south of the Matekes, where the Valley and Battlefield ranches meet (Table 4.1, C3:36, Fig. 4.B). According to our guide, Jo’burg Makanani, this is a ‘Shangaan’ site (Hlengwe Tsonga), and is the village and the burial site of Chief Mateke. Jo’burg said that ‘*this is a very, very old place, and the peoples have left long ago and are buried beneath (pasi (Huffman 1996a)) the surface*’ (J. Makanani *pers. comm.* 1999). Jo’burg himself is a MaPfumbi, from the Marungudzi area and was then very old, having lived in the district all his life. The walled area covers about 50 sq. metres (Gray 1999). The walling seems to have been about one metre high, well structured in places, but has now largely collapsed and is roughly in a rectangle, $\pm 33 \times 22$ m, of piled black basalt stones. A square shaped mound of piled rocks to the north of the ruin may be a grave. The obvious opening is to the north, some 3 metres wide. Only a few, small plain pieces of pottery were found, too fragmented to ascribe to any style. Nearby this site, to the northeast, is a perennial spring (Makanani *pers. comm.* 1999). There is a local legend that the first Chief Mateke arrived in the hills, now called Mateke, naked except for a calabash, and alone. The ‘people’ ran away, and Mateke settled there with his own people (Chadhehba *pers. comm.* 1996). This tradition may be to infuse his name and memory with an aura of power and mystery.

A short way to the east of the Mateke site is the grave of Chinana (Table 4.1, C3:37). (It is often difficult to tell which generation is being spoken about as a name is not restricted to one generation). There is little to see other than a pair of large Marula (*Sclerocarya birrea*) trees and between them a stone-lined grave. This is of Andries Chinana, and next to it is another, newer grave, of one Phineas Chinana, on which there was a pair of old tyre-sole sandals (his quite elderly widow was still living on the Battlefields Ranch (1999)). Jo’burg Makanani tells that his father buried Andries Chinana here. The Pfumbi come here also to do rainmaking rituals at the graves of their ancestors. Beer is

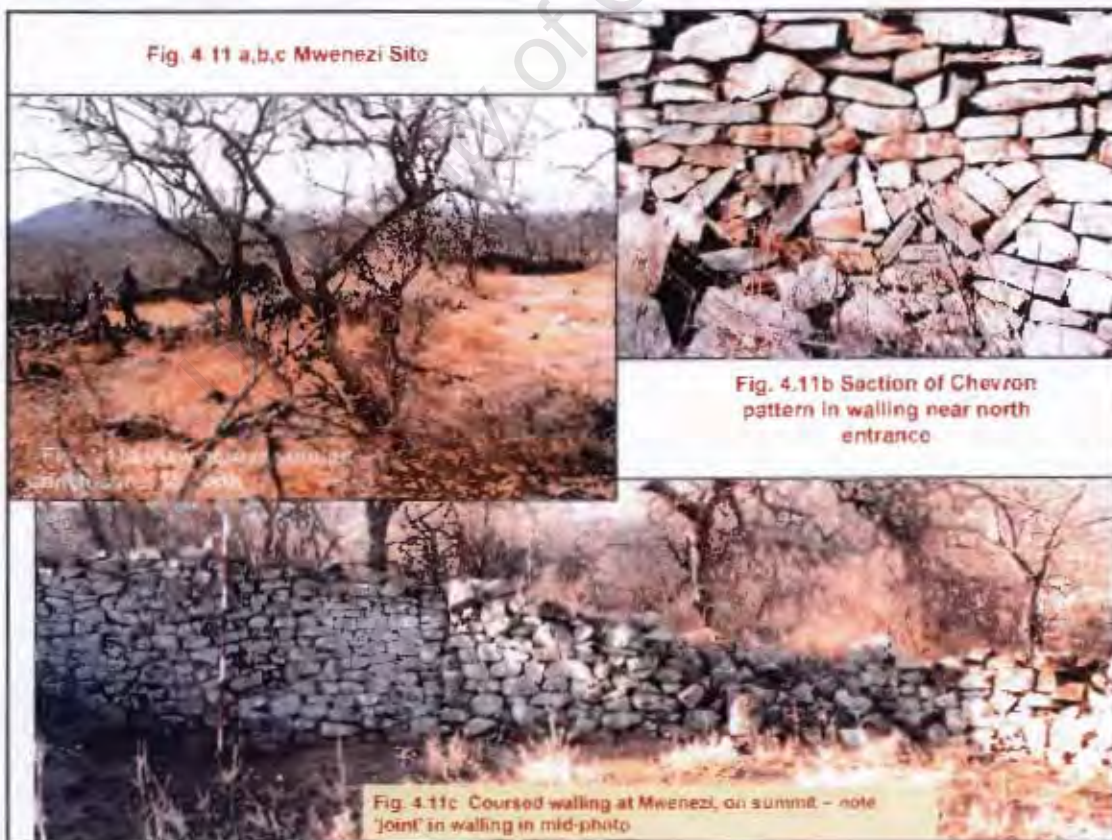
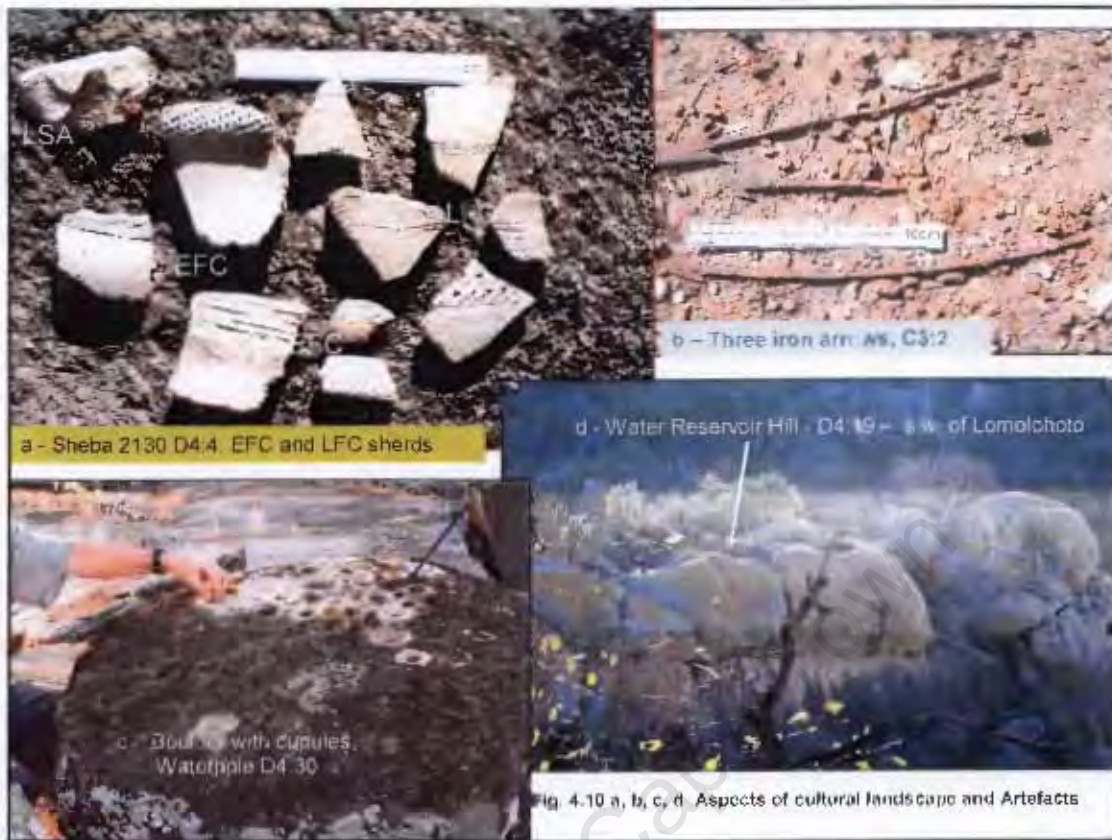
brought to this place when rain is needed, some is consumed there, and some is left, while meat is prepared and eaten back at the village (Jo'burg Makanani *pers. comm.* 1999).

On the south side of the Bubi River, but north of the Marungudzi complex of hills, on a rise on the road towards the Bubi River, is the old kraal of Chief Matibi, (Table 4.1, D3:33) (Barbanell 1958: 21) who lived in this area in the latter part of the nineteenth century. He was a Pfumbi of the Mbedzi clan and it is reported that he fought on the side of the Matabele in the 1893 rebellion (Ch. 7.2ii) (Beach 1994b). There is a large ashy-looking midden spanning the road, with pottery and bone visible and a large lower grindstone was noted, plus a further broken one. Two of the Communal areas in the district are named Matibi 1 & 2. Following practice, he had two centres, one, a more administrative site to the north at Lasa and the southern one, close to the sacred mountain at Marungudzi (Fig. 2.1) (Beach 1994b:181-2). It became customary to 'retire' to Marungudzi and to die there.

Closer towards the Bubi River (Fig. 2.1), near an old drift which leads towards the old Bubi homestead (Table 4.1 2130 D4:32), is another walled site, below a low hill (Table 4.1, D3:31). Ananias, the late headman from Marungudzi, led us to this site. There is a rectangular structure, some 8 x 33 metres, with two arms of walling on the east side protecting the entrance and it was roughly coursed with an infill of stones (Gray 1999). A deep well-like feature, contiguous with the walling had been filled in with stones in recent times to prevent cattle from falling in. Though the local people could not tell what this structure had been used for, it could possibly have been used as a cattle kraal.

Northeast of this site and closer to the river was a cattle kraal and a line of about five Marula trees, under which were two graves, one more defined with stones than the other (Table 4.1 D3:32). Since Marula trees are regarded as sacred in the lives of lowveld peoples (van Wyk and van Wyk 1997), both for the fruit, nuts and oils and for medicinal and magical purposes, it would appear that the choice of these trees as gravesites is not random.

The area surrounding and including the Marungudzi crater (Table 4.1 Fig 4.B, 2230 BA:34, BA:35) is today regarded as sacred and has limited access for people wanting to visit the area, thus we could not explore Marungudzi Mt. personally (P. Gray 1994). It is associated, to the present day, with the rainmaking cave cult of Rhalavumbi (Beach 1980:214; Loubser 1991:269). The pottery that Cooke



found was fragmentary, but appeared to be similar to that from Chinana's old village, but one pot had a longer neck profile (similar to Chumbangula) (Cooke 1958:Fig.5:3; Garlake 1968b). A blue glass, faceted bead was found, similar to one in the Chumanyoka Cave (Cooke 1958) and one found in 1994 in the Summit Cave on Chumbangula (Gray 1994). The walling in the hills is quite extensive, overgrown with vegetation and extending well up into the hills (Barbanell 1958:22). People and their stock are said to have taken refuge in the crater here during the Gaza Nguni and the Matabele raids in the 19th century and there are reports of a muzzle loader gun barrel dating from the 1850's having been found (Cooke 1958:60).

A site just west of the Marungudzi area was identified as the old asbestos mine called Dawn Hill Mine ruin by Cooke (1958:59) (Ch. 3) (Map 4.2, Table 4.1, 2131 2130D3:41). The ruin on the side of the hill consisted of walling, in two contiguous circular features and built into the wall was a pit, which may have had a 'plastered' (dung?) lining and may have contained grain (Cooke 1958:60, Fig:8). One reconstructed pot, found in association with the walling, had an unusual design motif (Fig. 6.26:1) which had some similarity to one from Chumbangula (Cooke 1958:Fig. 7:15 +14). There is also an old copper working nearby (Ch. 3).

The area around the Mateke Beacon (2130 D4:39) is known as the *Illalu se Mateke*, the Chair of Mateke (Chadhabha *pers. comm.* 1996). The beacon was visited (P & Q Gray 1994), and we surveyed the area up in the hills towards the beacon area (1999). The impression gained is that there was historically less occupation in the hills themselves in comparison to that along the rivers in the basin and along the sheltered areas below the ridge. Pottery from here, and a site north of the Beacon Hill, was considered by Andries Chinana in 1958 to be of the same age as that from his old home kraal (Cooke 1958:57).



Fig. 4.12 View towards the south from Mwenzezi Hill, past the western Mateke Hills

4.3 Description of The Mwenezi Site

This hilltop site is located on the south-western spur of a hill which overlooks the course of the Duvi River, a tributary of the Bumbaradza River flowing into the Mwenezi (Fig. 2.1, Fig 4.12, Ch. 3, Fig.3.3). The site is approximately 30 kms. north of Chumbangula, and has a good view of the route past the western side of the Matekes (Fig. 5.15) thus it would seem ideally situated to monitor movements along this route between the Bubi and Mwenezi Rivers. Though situated on a hilltop, the site is not defensible from the western side as the site is virtually open to the low hills on that side (Table 4.1, Madzenweni, 2131 C1:38 TM993038) (Fig. 5.2) (Manyanga 2000: Fig. 3.4). There is quite extensive walling, with the entrance to the north, at which point there is a short section of chevron decoration on the left (east) side of the entrance (Fig. 4.11 b). The long section of walling at the north (Figs. 4.11c) has been identified as being of the Q style (Manyanga 2000 after Whitty 1961), though there is some question about this. The walling, though coursed, does not look like the Q walling identified at Great Zimbabwe by Whitty, and generally looks more like that of the P style, or at the most like PQ (Hall 1987:107, Fig. 2. from Whitty 1961). Much of the walling on the north-western side and within the site has collapsed (Fig. 5.11) but it does demarcate enclosures on the northern half of the site. There is a mound just within the entrance and what appear to be house foundations within at least two of the enclosures in which excavations were carried out (Figs. 5.11, 5.12) (Jonsson 1998; Manyanga 2000). This site, unlike Chumbangula, is not in obvious close proximity to other possibly related sites. It is the largest site recorded in the area by the survey conducted by the University of Zimbabwe (Manyanga 2000). As will be seen (Table 5.9) the dating from Mwenezi may indicate an earlier component, a later one at around AD1270, as well as a later date (Ch. 8). Generally the top of the hill has little depth of soil and deposit by comparison with Chumbangula and the bulk of the faunal assemblage that was analysed came from the Midden Trench (Manyanga 2000) as did the pottery.

4.4 Significance of findings from the survey

4.4i Early Farming Community

Relatively few Early Farming Community sites were identified in the Mateke Hills. EFC sites occur below the Mateke watershed area and in front of Lomolohoto Hill and EFC sherds have been recovered on and around Chumbangula, in Chumanyoka Cave and Zwenyemba Waterhole, all in isolated instances (Map 4.B, Table 4.1) (Cooke 1958: Fig. 4:32-4). No sherds were found large enough to fully infer the profile of the vessels (Fig. 6.28). The EFC sites in the Matekes are placed either in lower-lying, open positions, around large boulders or the lower parts of hills, as well as

below the ridge of the main hills, in reach of small water courses. There are no visible site structures or walling, and only the surface scatters of potsherds as identification. Some are in the same areas as Late Stone Age material (Table 4.1, D4:9 and 22). Sites are apparently fairly small, though this may be the impression created by the scatters of surface sherds only. They may well be larger, as the material may generally be buried. Robinson (1961b:17) has noted that early sites at Malapati are exposed only where erosion has taken place. This has been noted at Swimuwini at Buffalo Bend, Gona re Zhou (Gray 1999; Table 4.1: Mwenezi SF-36-5: 39). The other sign is lack of normal growth in the vegetation (Robinson 1961b). The site around the large freestanding boulder in front of Lomolohoto is probably visible because of water erosion around the boulder. The animal-burrowing present in this whole area may also be responsible for disturbances of potsherds, as with LSA lithics. In sum, EFC sites have low visibility, and low frequency in the Malumba River basin. The existence of an EFC level has been suggested at Mwenezi (Jonsson 1998; Manyanga 2000) but though there is an apparently relevant date (Table 5.5) and gathered wild grass seeds (Jonsson 1998:68-70) the pottery evidence does not support this suggestion (see Chapters 5, 6 and 8).

While the sites are within reach of seasonal runoff and the Malumba River, so far none have been identified directly on the actual banks of the river, as with many other EFC sites such as the Malapati site on the east bank of the Mwenezi River (Robinson 1961b), as well as the site we noted eroding from the high river bank in the Swimuwini Rest Camp at Buffalo Bend in the Gona re Zhou Reserve (Gray 1993) (Table 4.1, SF-36-5:41). The early sites recorded in the northern Kruger Park also tended to be on river banks, with some at river confluences, for instance Pa8.1 at the Limpopo and Luvuvhu River confluence (Table 4.1 Site 44) (Meyer 1986:Table 1, 229; Plug 1989:63, Fig. 2). The flat outcrops with the multiple grinding grooves (Fig. 4.7, 4.7a) may have associations with the Earlier Farming Community period for grinding of the earlier FC crops such as sorghum and millet (Mitchell 2002:272 after Maggs & Ward 1984), but the evidence is not conclusive. Similar shaped grooves at Kasteelberg in the Western Cape Province have been associated with a pastoralist society and the grinding of ochre (Smith 1986:94). As in other instances these Mateke examples are only a short distance from water (Derricourt 1986; Guy 1965; Schoeman 2006).

Present evidence places the Mateke EFC sites at a similar period to those at Malapati, the closest EFC site to the Matekes, which is dated to AD 850 ± 100 (SR-33)¹⁵ (Robinson 1961b, 1967a) (Map 2.1). Looking at this date for Malapati and similar dates from sites in the KNP at Pa8.1, Sh14a, Ph9,

¹⁵ Dating and refs. quoted in this section are as taken as published from the referenced works and generally indicate uncalibrated dating. I have used them here as they appear in the literature. This question of the dating of the EFC in the south-east lowveld of Zimbabwe really requires more research and new dating.

Le 6, 7b Ma4 and Ol20 (all 9th century) (Fig. 4.A) (Meyer 1986:228-230; Plug 1989:63, Table 1), it appears that farming communities moved in to the areas along the eastern Limpopo-Sabi Depression, as well as the Shashe/Limpopo, as a warmer period was beginning (Huffman 1996a, 2000; Jonsson 1998), and this is most likely when EFC sites in the Mateke Hills were occupied too.

As noted EFC material in south-east Zimbabwe and north-east South Africa, has been suggested as being stylistically related to both Gokomere/Ziwa (Meyer 1986; Plug 1989) and Happy Rest as has Malapati (Evers 1981; Huffman *pers. comm.* 2000; Meyer 1986). Certain features, such as 'on the rim' cross-hatching at Malapati (Robinson 1961b:Fig. 5 & 6) are associated with material from Happy Rest, Klein Afrika, the Kruger Park (Ma34, Le6, Le7b) and sites in the Soutpansberg (de Vaal 1943; Huffman *pers. comm.* 2000; Loubser 1991; Meyer 1986; Prinsloo 1974; Voigt & Plug 1984). This feature is seen at Zwenyambe waterhole near Chumbangula, and at Dombazanga (Beit Bridge) (Fig. 2.1) (Cooke 1958:Fig. 4:32; Robinson 1964) (Fig.6.28:9), thus placing it in the southeast lowveld as well. The pottery types and dates (Ch. 5.3b, Ch. 8.) in the Matekes and the Kruger Park, suggest that the Malapati pottery did occur here in the later part of the EFC (Jonsson 1998; Meyer 1986:273; Robinson 1961b, 1967a). Though there is evidence for Silverleaves/Matola both in the old northern Transvaal (Silverleaves), the Kruger Park (Ma38, AD 470±50), Mozambique (Massingir, Matola) and at Buhwa in Chivi (Fig. 2.1) (Evers 1975; 1981; Duarte 1976:11, Fig. E054-054; Hall & Vogel 1980; Huffman 1978a; Klapwijk 1974:19-23; Klapwijk & Huffman 1996; Maggs 1977; Meyer 1986; Morais 1988; Plug 1989; Sinclair et al 1993), there is no sign of this in the Matekes. The dating of this Tradition in the earlier warmer period, before c. AD 600 is thus earlier than that indicated in the Matekes, at Malapati and the northern KNP.

During the variable colder, drier period between AD ± 600-800's (Ch. 3.6) there is no evidence for occupation of the southeast lowveld, the Limpopo Valley (Huffman 1996a, 2000; Vogel 2000:54) and Mateke Hills and it is only after this hiatus that it appears that groups moved into the region (Jonsson 1998:31). Early regional evidence for occupation after the variable cold period is at Le 6 (KNP) at AD 790±50 (Pta-3491) and at Makuru (AD 690±65 N-1275) in the Runde area (Fig. 4.A) (Huffman 1973a, 1996a; Maggs & Whitelaw 1991:15; Meyer 1986; Plug 1989:Table 1), both of which sites have chopped cylinder glass beads, indicating that they fall in to the period after contact with the east coast trade, as at Schroda, Zhizo and Leopard's Kopje (cf. chopped cylinder beads at Chumbangula (Ch. 5.3c)) (Bocho 2001:37; Hanisch 1980; Huffman 1974; Maggs & Whitelaw 1991; Sinclair 1982:163; Wood 2000:78-9, 86, Fig. 3B, 3C). The dating for the northern KNP and

Malapati (early 9th century onward) sites associates them, at least in time, with Zhizo sites to the west (Schroda, Pont Drift, Leopard's Kopje) and north (Buhwa, Makuru) (Map 2.2) (Hanisch 1980; Huffman 1973a, 1974, 1978a) and to the similar-dated levels at Chibuene (Sinclair 1982; Sinclair et al 1993).

4.4ii Later Farming Community: Chumbangula and Related Sites

Using the detailed evidence now available from Chumbangula, including the excavated assemblage (cf. Chs. 5, 6), we can more clearly define this period of occupation by farming communities (Table 4.1). Chumbangula Hill (D4:14) was the focal point of quite an extensive settlement which included the flatter areas surrounding the hill (D4:15a, 18). The hill to the west, Lomolohoto (D4:16), has walling en route to the summit and shelters showing evidence of occupation. The lower hill on the west, with the rock cisterns (D4:19), was probably used during the same period, as were the grinding hollows in the flat rock outcrops between the hills and the river (D4:17). Chumanyoka Hill (D4:20) and Guhuhu Hill (D4:21) to the north also show evidence of occupation from this period and were all therefore probably functional parts of this same settlement (Table 4.1, Map 4.B). Graves, which could well relate to the same time as the occupation on Chumbangula, are evident in shelters around the hill (D4:15, 15b, 15c). Shelters on and around the hill have been used for grain storage and possibly for ritual activities (Fig. 4.A). Surface material from the other sites includes potsherds, bones, beads and copper and iron. A question to be examined here in the analysis of the excavations and the pottery, is whether the walling and associated features represent a Zimbabwe Tradition phase (Manyanga 2000:34-37), or whether there is an earlier component to the LFC period (Tables 5.6, 5.8) (for instance at the Hill Ruin, Great Zimbabwe), since the excavated pottery is largely representative of what can be termed the main assemblages at Chumbangula and Mwenezi (Ch. 6).

There is evidence (archaeological, oral and literary) that the hill was used in the 19th century during the long period of Nguni raiding and tribute seeking and it would appear that incoming Hlengwe (Tsonga) and Pfumbi (Venda) groups interacted with the southern Karanga speakers in this region (see Ch. 7) (Bannerman 1978, 1981; Beach 1974, 1994a; Cooke 1958; Bernhard 1971; Burke 1969). Surface pottery, found especially in the Eastern Terrace Cave bears testimony to this (Ch.3 & 6), and this may provide the link for the suggestion that this cave may have been used for rainmaking rituals in this later period (Bvocho 2001; Huffman *pers. comm.* 2000).

Further north-east up the Malumba River towards the main Mateke hills are sites below the ridge along smaller seasonal runoff areas, and around free-standing boulders, which have mixed surface finds, indicating multi-component sites (e.g. C3:1, D4:4) (Table 4.1, Map 4.2,). Whilst there are surface sherds on these sites which resemble those found on and around Chumbangula, the impression is that sites towards the head of the valley are peripheral to what must have been the main site of Chumbangula, which was placed at the vantage point at the southern entrance to the valley (Map 4.B). At least one site (D4:10) produced sherds indicating a slightly later occurrence (Fig. 6.27:1,2,4), but not as late as Recent pottery expressions.

The Later Farming Community period at Mwenezi to the north-west edge of the Hills is also defined by the impressive walling and layout of this walling. Indications are that the walling represents a Zimbabwe Tradition phase, as do the house and dhaka remains inside the enclosures. It remains to be seen whether the bulk of the excavated pottery is from this walled period, or from an earlier period. The dating indicates a wide divergence of periods (Table 5.9) (Jonsson 1998:68-70; Manyanga 2000:38-42).

In all, this period has greater visibility and frequency of sites on the landscape than those of the Early Farming Community. They are often associated with hills, with hilltop occupation, with walling, with a range of artefacts, including trade items such as glass beads. In the Malumba River basin, they are clustered around the south-eastern part of the Shangwenani Hills, within reach of the river and had good visibility over the surrounding countryside. Sites do however occur around the head of the Malumba River valley and along the contour below the main hills and sometimes occur on the same sites as those with an Early Farming Community presence.

4.4iii Sites relating to the Recent Period

The frequency of the later sites is relatively high on the landscape, and they are widely spread. They are placed from the south end of the Mateke Hills, at the chief's burial sites, across west to the Marungudzi hills, through the more central region of the Malumba River basin and to the northern part of the hills (Map 4.B). They range from surface scatters of sherds; some walling at more open sites, such as at Mateke's site, and the 'elongated' walling on Marungudzi Ranch (D3:32); refuge's in the hills (Marungudzi crater, the Shangwenani Hills); old village sites on the edge of the hills (Chinana's Old Kraal); surface artefacts mixed with the other periods on the same sites, such as Chumbangula, at the Boulder area below the Mateke ridge; on hilltops, like the Sheba ridge or the

Zwenyemba hill (next to the waterhole), where they may have had short term uses, as lookouts or refuge (Table 4.1). There are sites where the evidence is seen in the extent of the ashy soil (D4:7, D3:34). The burial sites are outside the hills, or on flat areas around them, as opposed to those on Chumbangula in shelters, which may date to an earlier period. In the hot, dry environment, the sites again are often either below the hills, in water runoff areas, or again within easy reaches of the river. In other parts of the broader region sites previously described as 'refuge', often from the 19th century Nguni raiding period, were characterised by site placement on inaccessible hills, defensible rock shelters, some rough stone walls and simple forms of pottery decorated with a single band of crosshatch or parallel lines, which was often hard to distinguish from earlier Gumanye wares (Cooke 1970; Huffman 1971c, 1978a; Robinson 1961b, 1967a; Sinamai 1996; Swan 1997; von Sicard 1961). It seems likely that there should be some evidence of these types of sites in and around the Mateke Hills, for instance on Sheba, Mateke Beacon and at Marungudzi (see Ch. 7) (Table 4.1) (Cooke 1958, 1960; Garlake 1968b).

This survey of sites in and around the western Mateke Hills, shows that, contrary to previous opinion (Ch. 2), that this part of the lowveld was not fully utilised for occupation, it has indeed been occupied throughout much of the last twelve hundred years by groups representing Farming Communities (c.f. Ch. 2, Ch. 4, Table 4.1, Ch. 8). This has probably been because of better local rainfall, soils, shelter and available natural resources, such as game and wild plants afforded by the Mateke Hills environment (Ch. 3) (Bannerman 1981; Beach 1980; Jonsson 1998; Manyanga 2000).



TABLE 4.1 SITES SURVEYED IN MALUMBA RIVER BASIN AND ON THE BUBI RIVER (see Map Figures 2.1, 4.B)

Heading/Name of Ranch/Area	Map Sheet and Site Number ¹	Site Name/ ² Description	Map Grid / GPS Reference	Attinity/ Dating/ Period (all AD)	Terrain/Features
SHEBA	Dange 2131 C3.1	Split Boulder	11943788 515m	Gokomere-type 8-10C EFC	Boulder area below ridge. Potsherds around
SHEBA	Dange 2131 C3.2	Split Boulder - Forge Site - Pot Site	11944784 499m	China (1000-1300AD) LFC	Forge material, below ridge. Three arrowheads. Pot in situ, behind boulder
SHEBA	Dange 2131 C3.3	Junction Road	11937799	Mateke LFC	Boulders below ridge. (Old walling
SHEBA	Mateke 2130 D4.4 (2130DD:16)	Sheba - North of homestead and river	11886764 480m	Gokomere-type c. AD700-900 (Malapati?) EFC	Open scatters of potsherds. EFC; Fig 6.1
SHEBA	Mateke 2130 D4.5	Fallen Boulder	11925767	Hlangwe Recent LFC	Rock shelter among large boulders below ridge
SHEBA	Mateke 2130 D4.6	Baobab Grindstone	11924807 483m	Early Farming Communities	Flat rock outcrop multiple grinding grooves
SHEBA	Mateke 2130 D4.7	Crossroads Ashy Mound	11905791	Later Farming Communities	Open area, ashly midden mound in road 4-5 sq.m
SHEBA	Mateke 2130 D4.8	Outer Road, Large Baobab Boulder Outcrop	11893789	EFC & LFC	Broken boulder outcrop, Large grindstone, grave?
SHEBA	Mateke 2130 D4.9	Airstrip Stone Age Site & Pottery	11894776	LSA & Pottery EFC	Large open area, scatters of lithic tools, & pottery very fragmented. East of Airstrip
SHEBA	Mateke 2130 D4.10	Safari Hill	1191057795	Later Farming Community LFC	Low rock terrace, eroding deposit, rough wall, sherds with very everted rims, red unburnished bodies.
SHEBA	Mateke 2130 D4.11	Safari Hill Grindstone Outcrop	119105779	Early Farming Communities	Adjacent multiple grooves, low rock outcrop, close to Malumba River, north side
SHEBA	Mateke 2130 D4.12	Sheba Homestead Ridge	11892766	China Later Farming Communities	Rough walling, terracing, 8m wall on ridge summit. Forbidden area on hill
SHEBA	Mateke 2130 D4.13	Rainmaking Hill	11871772	China/Pfumbi LFC	Hill with two ridges, 'medium' but 'banya', grindstones, possible Graves. LSA lithics scatters in hill vicinity

Heading / Name of Ranch/or Area	Map Sheet	Site Name	Grid Reference, GPS Position	Dating /Period	Terrain/Features
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:14*	Chumbangula Hill - all areas on summit of hill * See Map 4.A	TL871752 21°55'07"S 30°56'30"E	Malapati-type FFC Mateke AD1000-1300 Zimbabwe Tradition? Chinana and Hlengwe - Recent Period LFC	Hilltop settlement, low stone walling, on approach route & enclosures, two shelters (1 with excavated grainbin), pottery, spindle whorls, dhaka, glass and shell beads, seeds, faunal material, worked bone points, iron & copper wire, occupation deposit, dung, <i>Cenchrus Ciliaris</i> grass. Many sherds in East Terrace shelter, mixed pottery types EFC, LFC, Recent.
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:15	Recess Grave Site, on East side of Chumbangula	TL872753 21°55'10"S 30°56'35"E	Malapati/GokomereEFC Mateke 11-13 C LFC Recent/Hlengwe	At lower east side. Concealed grave shelter, constructed platform, stones and branches, pots, EFC sherd at entrance, outside shelter. Two pots at end of shelter, one with 'lozenge' motif.
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:15a	Open, flat area to east of Chumbangula	TL87427	Mateke 11-13 C LFC	Large, open area, with little vegetation, possible occupation area. Where erosion gullies have formed, a 'burnt' layer visible some 25-20cms down.
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:15b	Mid lower north-east, grave shelter	TL872754	Mateke 11 - 13C LFC	Shelter hidden behind bushes, similar rock mounds, some bone material eroded.
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:15c	Open shelters, north-east, south-east, mid-passage	TL872750	Mateke 11 - 13C LFC	Shelter at lower north-east is closed at back with stones and dhaka (LSA tool in dhaka), shelter at rear is accessible from mid-passage. Other s shelters in passage, east side and at lower south. Pottery etc. in all.
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:16 2130 D4:16a	Lomolohoto - 16a Under 'beak' Grain Bin shelter	TL867752 21°55'05"S 30°56'00"E	Mateke 11-13 C LFC Chinana 18-20 C LFC	Hill terracing and walling, pottery, grindstones, grain bin material in large, 'double' level shelter entrance from mid north-east side, Pottery, spindle whorl, broken grindstones, on platform underneath 'beak' rock. Recent pottery also noted.
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:17	Grindstone grooves in 'dwala'	TL869754 21°55'06"S 30°56'14"E	Mateke 11-13 C LFC Chinana 18-20 C LFC	Grindstones in rock outcrop, N of hill, round and long types, dhaka material, hut base
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:18	Lee of Hill/Nek Lomo/Chumb.	TL869753 21°54'58"S 30°56'10"E	Mateke 11-13C LFC Chinana 18-20C LFC	Pottery and dhaka, north lee of nek between Lomolohoto and Chumbangula, Mopane thicker
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:19	Reservoir Hill	TL865748 616m 21°54'58"S 30°56'00"E	Mateke 11-13 C LFC Chinana 18-20 C LFC	Group of some five large natural rock cisterits (hold water), pottery
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:20	Chumanyoka Cave	TL872754 21°54'53"S 30°56'22"E	Malapati 8-10C EFC Mateke 11-13C LFC Chinana 18-20C LFC	Low hill, large hidden shelter, midden material at front/West side of cave eroding under boulder, pottery of different periods, spindle whorl, beads, historical association - Forestall, NC from Chibi, 1896.
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:21	Guhulu Kopje	TL865759 21°54'36"S 30°56'00"E	Mateke 11-13C LFC Chinana 18-20C LFC	Some walling, large open cave near summit, deposit, tyyere, historical rifle clip & military button
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:22	'Gokomere' Boulder & Stone Age / Burrow/hole	TL866753 21°56'84"S 30°56'46"E	Gokomere/Malapati 8-10C EFC LSALate Stone Age	Pottery on N below Lomo hill, around and north of large free boulder. Stone tools, stone of varying types used, exposed by burrowing. (LSA - see Cooke 1960, Figs. 1-3)
MALUMBA/SHEBA	Mateke 2130 D4:23	'Dyke-like' rock outcrop of evenly sized blocks - rocks of magnetite	TL866746 -type	Mateke 11-13 C LFC	Some half a kilometre to south of Chumbangula Hill and Lomolohoto on Malumba Ranch (Fig. 4.B), and seen across access road from Mateke Rd. to Sheba Ranch farmstead, outcropping of naturally small broken dark rocks with magnetite properties. Seen in some walling on Chumb.

Heading/Name of Ranch	Map Sheet	Site/Name/Description	Grid Reference, GPS Position	Dating/Period	Terrain/Features
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:24	Sites along Malumba River in Shangwenani hills	TL858748 21°55'16"S 30°55'30"E	Chinana 18-20C LFC	Scatters of pottery on lower part of hills, thick riverine bush
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:25	Chinana's Old Kraal	TL847743	Chinana 18-20C LFC	Site at western entrance to Shangwenani Hills, on Malumba. Pottery, cleared areas, view to west (See Cooke 1958)
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:26	Granite Hills behind Lomolohoto	TL859743 21°55'30"S 30°55'35"E	Chinana 18-20C LFC Hlengwe LFC	Pottery on lower terraces of Granite hills. Basalt hills to south, appear drier, stony, no occupation.
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:27	Hut/grain bin base, and grinding holes	TL864753	Chinana 18-20C LFC	Hut base Dhaka, through narrow defile into hills,oulder with round grinding holes.
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:28	Shangwenani Hills	TL845742 21°55'36"S 30°54'45"E	Chinana 18-20C LFC	Adze of type used by 'doctors' a ' <i>hogwa</i> ' in hill terrain north of Malumba R. Type still used
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:29	Malumba Dip Tank	TL779738 21°55'10"S 30°51'40"E	Chinana 18-20C LFC	Soapstone smoking pipe Area between two streams north of Malumba R.
MALUMBA	Mateke 2130 D4:30	Zwenyambe Waterhole (Nyangambe Hill)	TL802724 21°56'30"S 30°52'12"E	Late Stone Age - EFC Mateke LFC Chinana 18-20C	Large flat outcrop of granite rock, natural covered waterhole, stone tools, pottery, boulder with 'ground' depressions
MARUNGUDZI	Tshamatanga 2130 D3:31	Walled Site near Bubi River	TL638786 21°53'20"S 30°42'50"E	Chinana - 18-20 th C LFC	Elongated walled site 1m. high. Adjacent to low rocky hill, grassed & bushed. Well/pit been infilled
MARUNGUDZI	Tshamatanga 2130 D3:32	Old Kraal Site near Bubi River, just south of river - old drift across river - (& close to Old Bubi Homestead, just on north bank)	TL653767 21°54'20"S 30°43'50"E	Chinana - 18-20 th C LFC	Cattle kraal. Marula trees, apparently planted. Two graves, one with arranged stones, and ash mound. Old Bubi Homestead on north bank of Bubi R., close to the RSES camp site. c.f. Cooke (1958) report, sherds relating to Hlengwe motif of parallel lines, dots, groups
MARUNGUDZI	Tshamatanga 2130 D3:33	Chief Mutibi's old Kraal Site	TL586693 21°58'33"S 30°39'66"E	Chinana - 18-20C LFC	Open terrain, on rise of road, view of Marungudzi, ash mound, pottery, bone and grindstones.
MARUNGUDZI	Map sheet 2230:BA:34	Siyanje 2230:BA:1,8 (Girlake 1968b)	Museum of Human Sciences Harare Archaeological Survey	Chinana LFC	Sites at Siyanje, between Limpopo River and Southern Marungudzi Mt.
MARUNGUDZI	Map Sheet 2230:BA:35	Marungudzi, Siyanje (Cooke 1958, Girlake 1968b)	Museum of Human Sciences Harare Archaeological Survey	Chinana 18-20 th C LFC	Walled sites on Marungudzi
VALLEY/ BATTLEFIELD	Dange 2131 C3:36	Mateke's Walled Site	TL997666 21°59'55"S 31°03'30"E	Hlengwe Tsonga Site, 19 th C LFC	Open terrain, grass and bush, low walling, local basalt stone. Site of Mateke's grave

JUMBO/ VALLEY	Dange 2131 C3:37	Chinana's Grave Site	UL007666 21°59'77"S 31°04'31"E	Chinana 18-20 th C LFC	Open area. Two trees. Unmarked grave & stone lined grave (Andries Chinana). Used for rainmaking in present times.
MWENZEI	Madzenweni 2131 C1:38*	Mwenzzi, walled hilltop site, on Leadwood section of Mwenzzi Ranch	TM993038 - position - refer to U. Z. Dept. of History/Archaeology	Gokomere/Malapati LFC Mateke LFC Zimbabwe III/IV Recent later LFC	Walled site. Situated on spur of low hill, on the Duvi River, tributary of the Bambaradza R. Extensive walling to north & east, some chevron motif, hut features, dhaka, pottery from different periods, large midden on south side of kopje, rich in faunal & pottery material.
MATEKE BEACON / HILL	Mateke 2130 D4:39	Hill to the north of the Mateke Beacon. Sites also 2km N of beacon	TL913865	Hlengwe - Recent - later LFC (Cooke 1958)	Pottery described as the same age as that from Chinana's Old Kraal (Cooke 1958).
MARUNGUDZI Kayansce Ranch (see Manyanga 2000:82 Fig. 6.2)	1:500 000 Pafuri 2130:40	Marungudzi Hill complex and ruins (Von Sicard 1961; Note 25; Map no.7 Griesbach)	22°10'S 30°10'E	All periods noted by researchers (Cooke 1958, Garlake 1968b) EFC & LFC	Complex of two igneous, volcanic syenite rings. Springs and shelter in interior, difficult of access, vegetated, as well as regarded as sacred for rainmaking, by Mutibi's Plumbi descendants (Beach 1980, 1994b; Loubser 1991; von Sicard 1961:67). Extensive walling and sites noted, ran up sides of hill (Anderson 1958; Barbanell 1958; Cooke 1958, Garlake 1968).
DAWN HILL	1shamatanga 2130 D3:41	Dawn Hill (von Sicard. Note no. 24, Map No. 8)		Possibly 11 th -13 th C LFC (see Chumbangula, Cooke 1958:).	To north-west of Marungudzi Mt. Cooke (1958) reported walled enclosure and unusual pottery (Cooke 1958:Fig. 7:15), possibly same period as Chumbangula. Old copper workings, more recent asbestos mining.

TABLE 2.2ii RELATED SITES TO THE EAST AND SOUTH OF THE MATEKE HILLS

Heading/ Area	Map Sheet	Site Name	Grid Reference GPS Position	Dating/Period	Terrain/Features
GONA RE ZHOU/ BUFFALO BEND ⁷	Mwenzzi SF-36-5:42 1:250,000	Swimuwini Camp, Buffalo Bend	UL 4776	Malapati 9 th C. EFC Tsonga/Hlengwe LFC	Site is on high bank on the great bend known as Buffalo Bend, in Swimuwini Camp, in central portion of camp. Pottery is eroding out of the bank, site is in danger of being trampled by visitors. Some pottery very thick, some has incised designs, and cross-hatching. See Robinson's Malapati pottery, M.H.Sc Harare
BUFFALO BEND - Gona re Zhou Mabalauta Region	Messina SF-36-9:43 1:250,000	Chagaloda Hill	UL 3 6 No. 5 on Robinson's map in Buffalo Bend report, RSES 1961.	Tsonga/Hlengwe, Chinana, 18-20 th LFC (Robinson 1961b)	Historical site, on road from Malapati Dip to Gezani Dip. Robinson (1961b) says the site is attributed to Maharule, who was Hlengwe/Tsonga. Pottery in Museum of M.H.Sc Harare, Chinana, (ref. Robinson - resembles Letaba), of unpolished ware, with single band of deco mostly crosshatch, on or below rim/neck, but a few sherds have multiple bands of cross-hatch which is Hlengwe.
MALAPATI/	Pafuri 2231AB:44	Malapati Dip	2231:AB:2 - No. in Museum of Human Sciences, Harare. No. 17 on Robinson's	Malapati 9 th C. EFC (Robinson 1961b) C14 date - 850 ± 100	Site on east bank of the Nuanetsi (Mwenzzi) River: remains of pole-and-daga structures, huts or grain bins, were eroding out due to cattle activities connected with the dip. Sherds of pottery with stamped impressions were found in excavation in association with these structures 1960. The stamping is often

			map in Buffalo Bend report, RSES 1961	A.D. (SR 33, uncal.) Dates in KNP $\pm 830 + 850$ AD (Plug 1989) EFC	combined with incisions, or grooves. No beads, figurines, or metal found. Pottery similar to that at Mabveni, but with differences (Robinson 1961b). Pottery similar to Meyer's Tsende and Levubu in the Pafuri and Shingwedzi region of the KNP (Meyer 1986:272-6), and to Happy Rest (de Vaal 1943; Voigt & Plug 1984).
PAFURI	Pafuri 2231AB:45	Pa 8.1	UL245200	Gokomere/Malapati (Levubu – Meyer 1986) EFC	Site on the south bank of the Limpopo River, on the sandy banks on floodplain, above the confluence of the Luvuvhu River, just north of place called Crooks' Corner. Comb stamped and incised Pottery, and bones, affinity to Malapati (Meyer 1986:71,229-30,277:ph646-695). Pa 7 on sandy height at confluence of two rivers.
PAFURI	Pafuri 2231AB:46	Pa 10 Pa 11 Pa 12 Pa 13 Pa 18	UL228217 UL214212 UL204179	{Mutamba LFC 11 th – 13 th C's {Pafuri- Meyer 1986) LFC (Cooke 1958,1960)	Sites on South side of Levuvhu River. Industry called Pafuri by Meyer (1986:234-5). This material has affinities to the Chumbangula excavated material, and to some later period material, particularly surface, in Mateke Hills. (Also see Kgopolwe (Evers & van der Merwe 1987:98-99); Mutamba (Loubser 1991:250-1,441-2). Spindle whorls in Pa 5, Pa 18, Slag, dhaka in Pa 8. Pottery in all sites (Meyer 1986:281,2, :photos,817-829) - Pa 10 & 20 on rocky slopes. Pa 11 on sandy height. Pa 18 on sandy floodplain (Meyer 1986:71).
PAFURI	Pafuri 2231AB:47	Pa 6 Pa 11 Pa 5	UL221181 UL214212 UL206179	Later Pafuri? (Meyer 1986) (Chinana - Cooke 1958, 1960)	Pottery, glass beads & shell beads, midden & charcoal in Pa 6. This pottery has affinity to historically known pottery in the Mateke region (see Chinana and Hlengwe). (Meyer 1986 photos 783-816). Pa 6 at foot of hill. Pa 11 on sandy height (Meyer 1987:71).
PAFURI	Mabiligwe 2231AC:48	Pa20 Pa21	UL194186 UL0012	Makahane(Lembethu) (Meyer 1986:)(see Mutamba/ Thulamela (Vogel 2000)	Spindle whorl, pottery, bones, metalwork, midden. Glass beads and shell beads at Pa 5. Gold at Pa 21. Freestanding stonewalls at Pa 21, dhaka at Pa 20. Widespread finds. Pa 5 & 21 on hilltops/ridge, Pa 20 on hillside (Meyer 1986:71).
PAFURI	Pafuri 2231AC:49	Pa 6 Pa 8	UL221181 UL245200	Lebombo (Gaza) (Meyer 1986:) Hlengwe Tsonga LFC	Pa 6 has an ash heap as does Sh 27. Pa 6 has glass and shell beads, bone fragments, and all have pottery with 'lozenge' designs, motifs of lines or punctates in small separate groups or motifs, on neck or shoulder (Meyer 1986:236:photos 857-891). See Gaza, (Liesegang 1974, Duarte 1976)Site Pa 8, is on a riverbank, while Pa 6 is on the plain at the foot of a hill (Meyer 1986:71).
SHINGWEDZI	Shingwedzi 2331AB:50	Sh 13 Sh 27	UK269367 UK163483	HlengweTsonga, LFC	Site Sh 13 & Sh 27 are on riverbanks (Meyer 1986:71). Sh 27 has an ash heap. Carbon date from Sh 27 is 1830 \pm 45 AD (Pta 3467).
THULAMELA	Pafuri 2231AC:51	Thulamela		Mutamba LFC Khami/Zimbabwe LFC	Walled hilltop site close to Luvuvhu River in KNP, component dating to the pre-walling period with Mutamba-type pottery (Vogel 2000 after Huffman). Walling and pottery dating to post 1400AD, with elite signature, burials, with gold artefacts and glass beads. An important site, at interface between a late Mutamba occupation (in eastern Soutpansberg related to a Mapungubwe occupation and a Zimbabwe/Khami related one (see Table 8.1). (Refs. Miller 1996; Steyn & Nienaber 1998; Vogel 2000).

¹ Note that all map Sheets are 1:50 000, except where otherwise stated.

² Names of sites are either those given or known locally, or after the most obvious topographical feature.

³ Note that in this table, and for the purposes of this research, Gokomere-type denotes sherds with comb-stamping and/or incisions, i.e. EFC, and may be related to Malapati/ Happy Rest – see Ch. 4.4i.

^{4 5 6} See Ch. 8.2ii,iii, iv, 8.3ii for Pottery definitions, MATEKE, CHINANA and HLENGWE.

⁷ Other pottery collections from various sites in southeast Zimbabwe, associated with the Hlengwe Tsonga, are held in the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare (see enumeration in Ch. 4, Table 4.1.) These include Chagaloda Hill (2231:AB.9), Sengwe (2131:CD.1), Buffalo Bend (2131:CD.2), Swimuwini (Gray 1993) (all Mwenezi River region), Lojani Weir on Lone Star (2131: BB.3), Chidumo (2131:BB.2) and at Malilangwe, all in the Chiredzi district (Thorpe 2004, 2005a, *pers. comms.* 1999, 2001, 2005)

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* Excavated sites by University of Zimbabwe. ● Excavated by Robinson 1961. ✓ ■ Excavated and reported by Meyer 1986.

► Original Chumbangula site map Ref. number from 1958 collection in Museum of Human Sciences was Mateke 2130 CC:5. This has been changed in Museum Site numbering to 2130 DD:5. On comparing site grid references from 1958, with readings from 1990's, the originals appeared out.

Using the 1989 Map printed by the Surveyor General, Harare, the Map Reference is Mateke 2130 D4; (here site no.14).

■ Denotes sites from Cooke (1958, 1960), Garlake (1968) and Meyer (1986) included here for reference/comparison with present survey of Mateke Sites.

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CHAPTER FIVE FIELDWORK - EXCAVATIONS AND FINDS

This chapter discusses excavations carried out by the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) at the two sites of Chumbangula¹⁶ (on Malumba Ranch) and Mwenezi in the Mateke Hills during the field seasons between 1996 and 1998. I was present for part of the 1998 excavation at Chumbangula. The excavation reports include relevant layout and stratigraphic details, together with an outline of finds.

5.1 Excavated Sites: Chumbangula Hill and Mwenezi Farm Site¹⁷

The sites on the Malumba and Mwenezi Ranches were chosen for excavation by UZ because of the apparent importance of these sites, given the size, geographical setting, at the south-west, and the north-west of the Mateke hills respectively (Ch.1, 4, Map 1.2) and the clear indications of a range of artefacts, from ceramics, to beads, faunal material and some iron and copper wire articles, all of which were particularly plentiful around the site of Chumbangula on Malumba. The coursed walling on Mwenezi indicated a site of some interest and importance. The walling on Chumbangula was less impressive, but did indicate the importance of the hilltop, while the deliberate introduction of darker basalt stones with the local granophyre stone in some of the walling also hints at the site's significance. These excavations were aimed at establishing the dating, the cultural history, sequence and subsistence strategies for these sites and for the immediate area (Manyanga 2000).

The two sites, Chumbangula and Mwenezi, were chosen as representing complimentary, but possibly different occupation histories. Chumbangula appeared to be a fairly small defensible hilltop site (Ch. 4, Fig. 4.1a), within the ambit of the Mateke hills, with a reasonable depth of occupation deposit and two shelters which offered occupation evidence as well. The Malumba River and the surrounding hills offer water, resources and shelter for habitation, domestic stock and crops (Ch. 3, Ch. 4.2i). Mwenezi (Ch. 4.3, Fig. 4.5), to the north-west of the Mateke Hills, is in a dryer plain and the site offers an excellent view to the north, south and east (Fig. 5.15).

5.1i Excavations on Chumbangula

This section includes notes on the methodological approach to the excavations undertaken by the University of Zimbabwe on Chumbangula, followed by more detailed descriptions of the individual excavations and finds. Six Test Pits were excavated (Fig. 4.A, N^{os} 1-6), and four Trenches (N^{os} I-IV). The stratigraphy did not differ markedly between one pit or trench to the other. Generally the excavations were measured in regular spits, of either 10 or 20 cms¹⁷ while differences in appearances

¹⁶ See footnotes 1 (Ch. 1) and 11, (Ch. 4), for use of name.

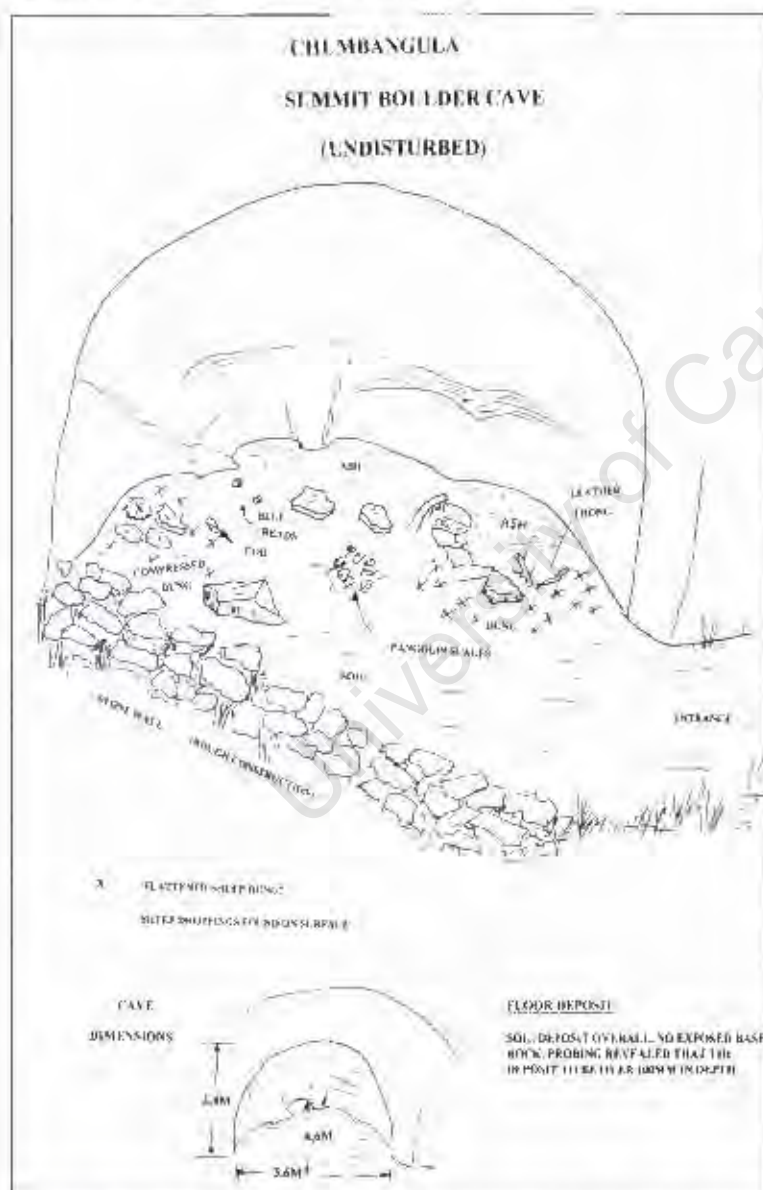
¹⁷ Full name for this site on the Mwenezi Ranch. From here on I refer to it simply as Mwenezi

or textures of soil, ash, dung, dhaka, or floors and other features were noted in units (Figs. 5.2, 5.4, 5.6, 5.7, 5.9, 5.10, Tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.4, 5.5.5.9). The six Test Pits were placed in a variety of areas in order to test different parts of the site, such as the Summit Cave, the summit deposit, one of the natural terraces and the lower midden (Fig. 4.A). The Test Pits were designed to give a representative sample of the site's assemblage, but not to identify activity areas as they were limited by their small size. Four radiocarbon dates were processed by UZ from these deposits (Table 5.6). The Trenches, dug in 1998, were concentrated in the enclosures around the Summit Cave with the fourth in the midden deposit to the rear and immediately southwest of the Eastern Terrace Cave (Fig. 4.A) and were designed to provide a more comprehensive picture of site activity. Trench I and Trench II particularly covered a larger area (Fig. 4.A). However they were generally fairly shallow, as the deposits in the summit enclosures were not as deep as the main deposit to the south of these summit enclosures. Trench III was small, only four square metres and yielded little. Trench IV (1.5 x 1.5m sq.), in the deeper part of the main summit deposit, was the most prolific in terms of finds and had a stratigraphic depth of 1.30m and a fifth C¹⁴ date was processed from here (Table 5.6). (This Trench was excavated at the end of the field season and ideally would have been further explored. However, economics and politics have dictated that further planned fieldwork in this area by UZ did not take place.)

Artefacts such as pottery, recorded and removed from the Eastern Terrace Cave, were stored with the local farmer and later taken to Harare and are now with the collection at the University of Zimbabwe (Gray 1996, 1998), or have been accessed at the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare (Gray 1999). The spread of the surface artefacts visible at the time of the excavation was recorded in a grid, before the collection of surface material (Fig. 4.2c). All material from the excavations was sieved through a 2mm. sieve, in order to retain the small items like beads (Bvocho 2001). The sieved material was pre-sorted on site, into categories, and placed in numbered, catalogued bags for further analysis at the University of Zimbabwe. Soil samples were taken, as were charcoal samples. Photographs and field notes were also recorded. A 'Malumba (Chumbangula) Finds Catalogue' was drawn up by UZ (1998), with preliminary details and numbers of finds according to catalogue numbers. A detailed survey of the hill, its summit and immediate surrounds was taken and a map of the summit was produced (Chifamba 1999, *pers. comm.* 2001), here reproduced in Fig. 4.A (re-drawn Maggs 2005).

5.2 Outline of the Individual Excavations and of Finds

5.2i Test Pit 1 (Fig. 4.A). When we first viewed the Summit Cave a number of surface items were recorded and a layer of dung was noted, as well as ash (Gray 1994). These items included a number of scales from a pangolin (*Manis temminckii*), loose rocks, of both granophyre and basalt, a blue hexagonal bead, fine dung and some pellets (sheep?), ash from fires, a leather thong, a desiccated maize cob (Fig. 5.1 & see Fig. 4.2a). During the excavations in 1997, surface finds in the shelter included eight shell beads, seven pieces of iron; dung and shell, and a small, reshaped pottery disc towards the back of the cave (Fig. 5.1). The test pit, measuring 1.5m x 1.5m, was placed in the centre of the shelter floor. An extension of half a metre was added to the north-east section of the



excavation, in order to further expose the clay feature (Fig. 5.2) (Manyanga 2000:37). The soil units overlay each other un-evenly and the depths given are for individual units (Table 5.1). The surface, consisting of the compacted dung layer and ash, was found to be over-lying a floor and a clay feature (Fig. 5.2) (Manyanga 2000:37; Manyanga, et al 2000). Ashy soils were identified in units 1, 4 (C¹⁴ date here Table 5.6) and 7. The deposit in the s/w corner, unit 4, is clearly darker in places, as if burnt (Fig. 5.2) (a hearth?). These ashy soils may be important, as correlating with similar layers (units) in other test pits and trenches (Tsp. 3, TR. 1, II, IV).

Fig. 5.1 Cave dimensions and surface artefacts before excavation

The removal of the dung, ashy soil and floor (Surface & L.1) exposed the 'top' of the clay feature (Fig. 5.2), apparently the base of a grain bin (Fig. 5.2)(UZ Field Notes 1997). The upper part of this structure appears to have been broken

off, but the supporting sticks are still visible around the perimeter (Fig. 5.2), the base and lower portion of its walls protruding up into the preceding layers. The top of this feature was found at ± 20 cms and the excavation removed material (not tested?) from inside the grain bin (Unit 9), which included a small, roughly made child's pot (Fig. 6.12:1) or possibly a vessel to contain 'medicines' as it was found at the base of the grain bin¹⁸. The broken grain bin is also interesting in light of the findings in the northern Limpopo Province, on sites on steep sided hills, in shelters or areas with small stock dung and old grain bin material, associated with hollows/cupules in the rock, which have been possibly connected with ritual or rain-making activities, at similar periods (Ch. 4.2iv, Fig. 4.4c) (Table. 5.6) (Schoeman 2006, *pers.comm.* 2004; van der Ryst et al 2004).

Unit / Level	Test Pit I	Stratigraphy / Description	Depth
Surface		Compacted layer of dung below surface dust and soil	0-20cms
Unit/Level 1		Grey, ashy soil (floor)	15
Unit/Level 2		Darker soil	16
Unit/Level 3		Greyish, brown coarse soil	8
Unit/Level 4		Dark ashy soil (C ¹⁴ date)	11
Unit/Level 5		Brown, reddish soil	9.5
Unit/Level 6		Light brown, coarse soil	7
Unit/Level 7		Grey, ashy layer with darker soil patches	7
Unit/Level 8+9		Base of grain bin wall, sticks protruding, + inner area of grain bin	to ± 40

Table 5.1 The stratigraphy of Units/Levels 1-9, which overlay each other unevenly; the depth measurements are for the individual units.

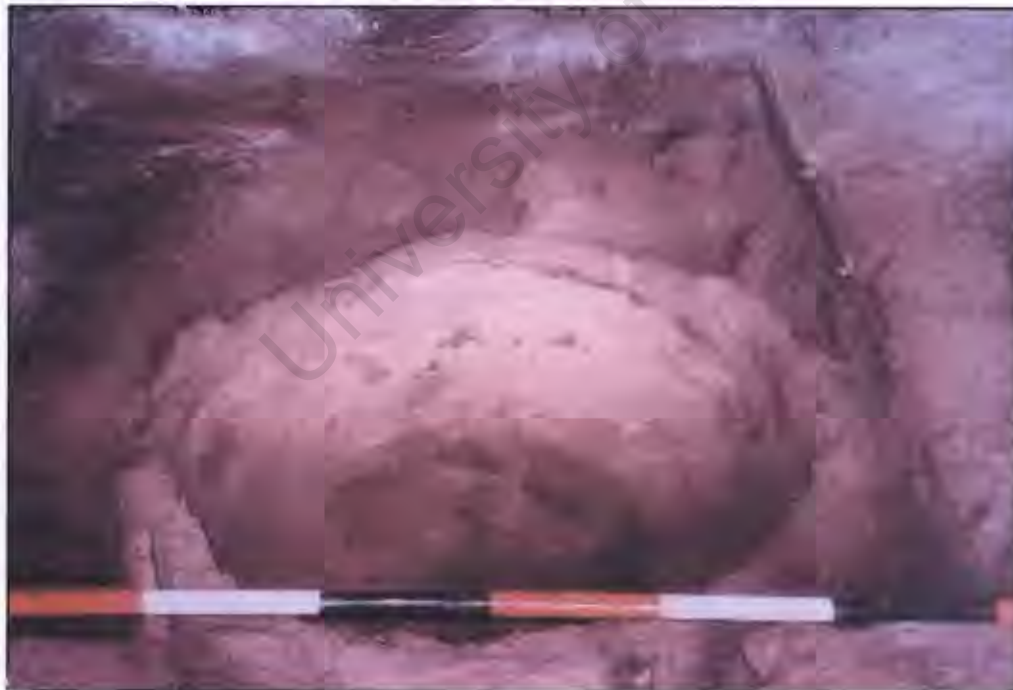


Fig. 5.2 Clay feature, lower portion of grain bin in the Summit Cave

¹⁸ In other cultural activities, such as the smelting of iron ore, it is the practice in some African societies to place 'medicines' at the base of the forge or smelter; and a finished pot is treated with 'medicine' to strengthen it; these are activities of 'transformation' (Barndon 1996:763; Herbert 1996; Saetersdal 1996:756-7).

The pottery found in Tsp. 1 is characterised by a long-necked profile; hemi-spherical, open-mouthed bowls and decorative motifs including cross-hatching, horizontal lines and some burnishing. Two small pottery discs were recovered (Fig. 6.11:1,2). Since the analysis and description of the pottery from the excavations are the subject matter of Ch. 6, (Figs. 6.1-28), the pottery in this section on finds has been treated only in general terms (see Tables 6.2-6, Tables I, II App. 2). Faunal material recovered from Levels 2, 5 and 7, included sheep and sheep/goat bones from adult specimens, as well as domestic cow, duiker, tortoise, hare and zebra. Cut marks on some of the bones would indicate human agency (Manyanga 2000). From Levels 2 and 7 bones were recovered from the femur and pelvis of *Bos taurus* (cattle), which may reflect meat apportionment; this has social and/or status connotations in some societies (see below) (Huffman 1996a:118; Manyanga 2000:62 after Marshall 1994, + Appendix 4:107). Glass beads (170) were found, especially in Unit 6; this information, with the data from the other test pits and trenches (Fig. 5.) is summarised in Tables 5.7, following Bvocho (2001). Ten shell (sp. unknown) beads came from both the surface and from Level 6. Three rounded copper beads were also found in Unit/L. 6 (Bvocho 2001:26:Fig. 6). Iron fragments were found at L. 2. A number of seeds from broken seed heads were found at L. 2 in the extension opened to expose the clay structure (Finds Catalogue 1999). These have been identified as being *Sorghum bicolor* var. *caffra* (Jonsson pers. comm. 2004; Manyanga 2000:88, after Jonsson 1998) and associated with the 13th century date (Table 5.6). This test pit was closed up before bedrock was reached, in order to preserve the archaeological record for the future, with a view to further understanding of the deposit in the shelter (W. Ndoro pers. comm. 1998). Although some stone tools were found in the other excavations, for instance in the nearby Trenches I and II, none were recovered from the assemblage in the Summit shelter.

Discussion: The surface finds such as the dried maize cob, blue hexagonal bead (Kinahan 2000; Wood 2000), leather thong, and pangolin scales¹⁹ indicate that this cave was used in more recent times (Fig. 5.1, 4.2a). The dry atmosphere in the cave would have had the effect of preserving the more perishable items, so it is not clear whether we are talking about a time of up to 50 years ago and

^{19*} The presence of pangolin scales is of interest as this animal is classified in an ambiguous category by many peoples in Africa, in that though the pangolin is a mammal, it has scales instead of fur (Douglas 1966). The Lcle people of central Africa take part in a ritual where the pangolin is killed and eaten - in a sense, confronting ambiguity, in a ritual confronting death (Douglas 1966:170). The pangolin is regarded as being for tribute to a chief in Zimbabwe, and must be presented to him (Bourdillon 198?). Amongst the Lovedu in Limpopo province, if a pangolin is found it must be taken to the royal kraal, being regarded as potent medicine, and anyone who finds the creature, must immediately set off with it, but may hand it on to another if he is questioned as to the purposes of his journey, and the questioner in turn must carry on, until he too is questioned (Maberly 1963:269). The Tswana people of east Botswana use the scales in various rainmaking medicines and rites (Schapera 1971). These examples illustrate the metaphors and multiplicity of meanings inherent in an animal like the pangolin. The scales thus present in the cave could indicate that the cave was used for ritual purposes.

earlier, when it is known that the area was occupied by groups of the Hlengwe Tsonga and the Pfumbi people of Chinana (Bannerman 1981:34:Map 6; Beach 1980), or whether the material represents a time earlier than that (cf. Cooke's (1958:60) comment that 'Chinana attested to being born in front of the hill, but no-one had lived on it for four generations'. Chinana was estimated to be 70 years of age at this time (Cooke 1960)).

The pottery is fairly sparse and occurs in Units/Levels 1 & 2 (Table 1, Appendix 2) and except for one particular sherd in L.1 (more recent) does not indicate any real differences in type, though the occurrence of black burnishing on small well-decorated open bowls may be of interest (Ch. 6, Fig. 6.5:9, Table 6.6). The pottery points to the main use of the cave being in conjunction with the main occupation of the hill, though the radiocarbon date, ranging from 1275(1300)1410 AD is slightly outside the other dates (Table 5.6, Ch. 6).

The remains of the grain bin and the seeds identified as sorghum show that the cave was used as a significant place for grain storage (Jonsson *pers. comm.* 2004 after Ndoro *pers. comm.*; Manyanga 2000:88) and may have been an elite storage place associated with the ruler (Huffman 1996b:44). The walling indicates that the cave was secluded and the wall at the entrance controlled the approach (Figs. 4.A, 5.1). The rough, small (child's) pot (Fig. 6.12:1), found in conjunction with the grain bin, also raises interesting questions about the use of the grain bin and the cave. The dung level was quite compacted and dung was seen amongst the wall stones (Fig. 5.1). Since the dung layer was on the surface and into the top of Unit 1 (Table 5.1), and the 'floor' was noted as 'below' this (Field notes UZ 1997), thus presumably over the top of the grain bin walls and base, this is an indication that the grain bin pre-dated the dung and floor and may have been broken off before the floor was laid. As will be noted, there is a floor at the outside to the west of the cave in Enclosure 1, Trench I, also in level 1, which may thus correlate in time and/or use. The summit cave may not have been occupied at the lower levels, but it may have been used for ritual and storage purposes. The pangolin scales* on the surface also suggest a ritual use for the cave in more recent times. In addition, the pelvic and femur examples of cattle bones, which had cut marks, could have some meaning reflecting social relations (Manyanga 2000:62). It may well be significant that the grain bin and these bone specimens were found in this shelter near the rich assemblage in Trench I (Ch. 5.2vi), as they could indicate a food storage area for the chief, including the storage of threshed grain for the making of ritual beer (Huffman 1996b: 42/44). The shelter would be large enough to hold sheep or goat domesticates and the dung layer found in the cave would indicate this. An unusual piece of worked

bone from Unit 7 was a portion of tibia bone shaft, polished and worked into a bone whistle (Manyanga 2000:62-3). The species could not be identified but would fit into Bovid II, or small carnivore, size category (Ch. 8.2ii) (Manyanga 2000:Appendix 2:106).

5.2ii Test Pit 2 (Fig. 4.A) was excavated on the southern edge of the summit deposit, where the grassed deposit ends near the precipitous drop to the valley floor below (Figs. 4.1a, 4.A). All along this exposed rock slope are numerous pieces of dhaka material, much with stick impressions, potsherds, bones, shell bead or fragment and an occasional stone flake, which have eroded out of the summit deposit. Over the years many of these artefacts have fallen over the edge of the cliff. The Test Pit was dug into the edge of the soil/midden deposit, 1x1 metre. Five levels were noted, the soil throughout was a fairly uniform brown, coarse soil and the levels were marked in uniform spits, which followed a stepped system. The pottery throughout conformed to the main Chumbangula assemblage (Fig. 6.2-5, Table 6.3, Table 1, Appendix 2). Several large plain sherds had thick soot covering on the inside of the vessels. Two small pieces of blue and white glazed ceramic ware were noted in Level 2 (see below).

In association with the pottery were a small number (13) of glass beads, a slightly larger number (22) of shell beads, shell fragments; and three broken ivory beads in level 3 (Bvocho 2001; Finds Catalogue 1998). The shell beads are ostrich, land snail (*Achatina* sp.), and mussel (*Aspatharia* sp.) (Bvocho 2001).



Fig. 5.3 Ivory bead

Bvocho (2001) records 19 ivory beads in total from Chumbangula (Bvocho 2001:22; Finds Catalogue 1998). One of the ivory beads, somewhat larger than the others, also had an unusual double perforation (Fig. 5.3 after Bvocho 2001:22, Fig. 2b. 5). Faunal material identified was again from both domestic, including cattle and sheep, and non-domestic species, including zebra, impala, hyrax, hare, the house rat, *Rattus rattus* and fresh-water mussel (Manyanga 2000; Manyanga et al 2000). A radiocarbon date, calibrated to 1010(1040)±080AD (Ua-13192) was taken from charcoal in Level 2 (Table 5.6).

Discussion: This Test Pit generally indicates a homogeneous occupation, taking the stratigraphy, pottery, beads and faunal material into account and suggests that this area of the site was part of the main occupation of Chumbangula and, as will be noted, largely matches that from the nearby Trench IV. Note that the radiocarbon date with a mid-range of AD 1040 indicates that this part of the

deposit may be earlier than the level tested in the Summit Cave. This area where the Test Pit was placed could well have been an occupied area, but further investigation would be needed to look for but floors/post holes/curbs (note the copious dhaka material seen on the exposed rock surface to the south of the deposit (Fig. 4.A). The soot on the insides of the pots could indicate that some substance, such as fat, was being rendered down (see tests done on Khoi pottery from Kasteelberg in the Cape, which indicated the cooking of seals for the fat (Patrick, Smith & de Koning 1985)). The soot may of course be from the normal course of domestic cooking, but then there is a lot of burnt food indicated, as these sherds have been noted from several of the excavated locations. The two small fragments of blue and white ceramics may indicate some later mixing of the deposit, as one would only expect to see these well after the period of European contact had begun on the east coast, therefore Khami-phase which only began after AD 1450. On present uncertain evidence it is unclear whether the two sherds are Oriental porcelain (& see two similar fragments from TR. III), or simply later glazed earthenware, in which case they would be more recent.



5.2.iii Test Pit 3 (Fig. 4.A) was placed in the open grassed area on the northeast side of the hilltop, midway between the lower and middle levels. It had a depth of up to 1.15m, with five levels distinguished; a clear band of ash, or compacted dung at the fourth level, at $\pm 70-90$ cms (Fig. 5.4). The pottery was similar to the other Tests (Table 6.3, Ch. 8, Table 1, Appendix 2). Faunal material again included domestic cattle, sheep/goat and non-domestic, impala, wildebeest, eland, tortoise and the only example of a bush pig (Manyanga 2000:Fig. 5.2).

Fig. 5.4 Stratigraphy, of Test Pit 3

Thirty glass beads (L. 2+3) were largely of the small blue/green translucent variety (Table 5.7); as well as five shell beads (Bvocho 2001). Four cylindrical copper beads came from Level 4 (Bvocho 2001:26). A radiocarbon date from Level 5 has been calibrated to AD 1180(1250) 1280 AD (Ua-13193) (Table 5.6).

Discussion: The stratigraphy is similar to that from Test Pit 2, as are the artefacts, since the pottery, although sparser, displays similar characteristics, as does the faunal material. The compacted dung or ash layer at Level 4 is interesting, given a similar layer which will be seen in Trench IV, an ashy

level in Test Pit 1 at Units 4 and 7, and an ashy level in Trenches I (I. 4) and II. The glass beads, whilst of similar small size (Table 5.7) (Bvocho 2001:Ch. 3, Figs 2, 3, 4), are more numerous than in Test Pit 2, while the shell beads are less so.

5.2iv Test Pits 4 & 5, (Fig. 4.A) were excavated on a natural terrace, under large sloping boulders somewhat overhanging the terrace, two-thirds of the way up the north side of the kopje and west of the north ascent route (Fig. 4.1c). Though the tests were close to each other, Tsp. 4 was relatively shallow, up to 60cms and having only three levels. Though sparse, the sherds represent the same type of pottery as noted for Test Pits 2 & 3. One obliquely decorated sherd has been reworked, with a smoothed edge and is a portion of a spindle whorl (this sherd is similar to a decorated fragment in Level 4, Tsp. 3). The faunal material included a perforated piece of ostrich eggshell, mussel shell, cattle and sheep bones (Manyanga 2000). Ostrich egg shell beads mirror those found in other areas of the site (Bvocho 2001:20-21).

Test Pit 5 on the other hand, had a deeper deposit, reaching Level 8, at a depth of some 1.50m. The pottery followed the same pattern as before, but with more abundant sherds and two examples of spindle whorl fragments (Fig. 6.11:3, 4, Ch. 6.viii, Table 6.7, Table 1 Appendix 2). Faunal material yielded an example of elephant (*Loxodonta africana*) (sesamoid bone), which showed traces of human modification (cut marks?), as well as carnivore tooth marks (Manyanga 2000:52). The caracal, which represents a non-food source, appears at Level 7, and there are examples of kudu, sable, zebra and barbel, as well as domestic animals (Manyanga 2000). An unusual fragment of perforated, worked bone was found in Level 8 (Bvocho 2001) (Fig. 5.5, after Bvocho 2001:24; Fig.4), which had two perforations, one complete and the other where the artefact had been broken (Ch. 8.2ii).



Fig. 5.5 Perforated bone from Test Pit 5

Thirty-six glass beads were recovered; most of these being black or yellow oblates (Table 5.7) (Bvocho 2001). Twenty shell beads, three of which are incomplete, were found at the lower levels (Bvocho 2001; Finds Catalogue 1998) (no species given). Burnt seeds were recovered from Level 1 (Finds Catalogue, 1998) (no species given). A calibrated C^{14} date, AD 1020 (c.1100)1210 (Ua-13194) came from Level 8, (Table 5.6).

Discussion: This terrace is large enough for a living area and would have been well placed as a 'guard' point, near the 'prestige' sections of walling on the north ascent route. The date's range fits

in well with the others and the artefacts match those from the other tests, with the added interest of the worked bone. Pottery and faunal material were found at all levels, except 6. The larger faunal examples indicate successful hunting strategies. Most of the shell beads are from lower levels and it is possible that the shell beads were manufactured on site (cf. shell fragments in excavations and bead-shaper stone (Fig. 4.2d)). The perforated bone had very possibly been worn as a pendant around the neck or waist, typical of those worn on a necklace by traditional healers (Bvocho 2001:24; Manyanga 2000 after Thorp 1984).

5.2v Test Pit 6 (Fig. 4.A), was placed in a large midden area more or less at the north-western base of the hill, amongst some large boulders. The soil was fairly homogeneous and loose, as at this locality there was evidence of burrowing activity that may have disturbed the stratigraphy. However, there was considerable material and despite the small extent of the test pit it yielded a representative sample of artefacts, from a fairly deep deposit, to Level 9, which was at 80-100cm. The surface collection yielded some sherds that resemble pottery known from sites of the Recent Period (Fig. 6.7:4). Overall, the assemblage follows the same pattern as that already noted (Fig.6.3-5)(Table 6.3, Table I, Appendix 2). One body fragment from L. 4 was of particular interest, in that it had a heavy body, buff-coloured clay, rough finish and could possibly fit in with known pottery from the EFC period (Fig. 6.12:6). Burnished, ochred sherds and three small portions of spindle whorls occurred (Fig. 6.11). Faunal material was found in all levels and again has both domestic and non-domestic components, including again barbel and mussel shells (Manyanga 2000). Glass beads numbered 102, from level five downwards and over half were black (Table 5.7) (Bvocho 2001; Finds Catalogue 1998). A number of shell beads were recovered, from different levels, but mostly from level 9. Many were of ostrich eggshell, with some of either Achatina or mussel shell (Bvocho 2001). Burnt seeds (sp.?) occurred at L. 3.

Discussion: Since this test pit was most probably not a habitation location, but a midden, it could possibly be expected to have a different stratigraphic signature, but in fact it largely agrees with the findings from the other test pits. The faunal material is found throughout, and the presence of freshwater mussel and barbel indicates a period when the rivers were permanent enough to support water species. The pottery was found in all levels, though in larger numbers in levels 1, 5 and 9, and aside from some of the surface material, was similar to the other samples. Differences noted will be expanded upon in Ch. 6 & 8. Several of the heavy plain sherds had the same inner heavy soot encrustation found in Test Pit 2. The glass beads (see Table 5.7) were found in the lower levels and the shell beads in the upper and the lower levels.

5.2vi Trench I (Fig. 4.A) was dug in the small enclosure known as Enclosure 1, to the west of the Summit Cave boulder. The grid was laid out over some 28sq. m. between the walling at the north, the boulders at the west and to its east, the Summit Cave boulder (Fig. 4.A;L.A. Fig. 5.6). The thirteen excavated squares were dug in 1x1 metre squares (Fig. 5.5) uncovering evidence of dhaka flooring, burnt dhaka lumps, grind stones, a possible hearth depression and walling. The deposit was quite shallow, with the soil becoming coarser at about 20cm and reaching a depth of 50cms at L. 4 (Table 5.2). A number of quite large stones were found in Square 1 (Fig. 5.6) and an upper grindstone in the lower southeast corner, along with some dhaka lumps (UZ Finds Catalogue 1998). Square 5 was taken to Level 1, where a floor with a hearth-like feature was noted; an ash soil sample was taken from the top of this feature (Fig. 5.6). This floor continued in Squares 4, 4b, 5a at Level 1, which was noted as being eroded in 4b and the coarser gravel-like soil that is noted as occurring at 20cms in several squares, could be linked to this floor.

Trench I	Surface above	Grass, humus, upper wall stones and fallen wall stones (Fig. 5.7a 1 b)	Depth
Level 1	Squares 1,2,3,3a,4b,5,5a,6,7,10,11,13	Fine grain grey soil, with humus above stones. Compressed floor material, hearth-like feature, Eroded floor in 4, 4b, 5, 5a. Some ash/soil in 5 & 6	0-20 cms
Level 2	Squares 3a,3b,4b,6,7,10,11	At 20cms, soil change to coarser, light grey soil. Burnt dhaka lumps, Soil changes to darker grey to southwest	20-30 Cms
Level 3	Squares 3a,6,7,10	Hard grey gritty soil, continuing below wall NB ash in 3a, 7 and 10, at the lowest levels of Level 3	30-40 Cms
Level 4	Squares 6,7	Soft ash material, to 50cms, below wall stones and the level 3 hard grey gritty soil (See) Table 5.4a	40-50- Cms

Table 5.2 Schematic view of Trench I - Stratigraphy

TRENCH I Level 1 Grid Layout	13 stones lower grind stone	11 Large Stones	11 Boulder stones	Boulder	Boulder → Nw	Wall
Features at Level 1	ash at level 3 in south of 10	10 wall	wall 10			Wall
Square 1 Stones, dhaka, upper grind stone	2 Soil change at 20cms Coarser	3 beads, stone-tools stones	4 eroded floor	5 ash/soil, floor, feature hearth	6 ash and soil, fallen wall rubble	7 Wall + rubble
			4b			Wall Summit Cave ↓

Fig. 5.6- Trench I, Overview, Level 1, Squares excavated are shaded. Squares which exposed wall are 6 & 7 at right (see below Fig. 5.7, 5.7a)

Lumps of burnt dhaka were also found in L.1 of Square 1 & L.2 of 3a (UZ Notes 1998). An ashy level occurred at Level 2 of Sq.3, and is also seen at the lower southwest corner of Sq.10 (to L.3). Square 10 exposed along a two-metre length on the west side, a row of stones, which were further visible along the edge of a large boulder in square 11 (Fig. 5.7). These appear to have been a superficial wall whose base only extended to a shallow depth within the deposit. Square 10 was taken down to Level 3, to the base of this row of stones overlying a larger flatter stone, with an ash layer at the south. These stones appear to be linked to the stones and lower grindstone exposed in square 13. It is possible that stones in Sqs.1 and 3 may be linked to those in 10, 11 & 13, or originate from the same feature. Most importantly for the sequence in Trench I are Squares 6 & 7, which include the stone walling at the north of the enclosure, which was exposed and removed as the excavation proceeded. A number of stones from collapsed walling had fallen into square 6 at Level 1 and the adjacent part of square 7 (Fig. 5.7a+b). The wall appears to have been ± 30 -50cms high but may have been somewhat higher originally (including buried portion).

The walling was only partly coursed, unevenly constructed of different sized stones, some of which probably had to be carried up to the summit, as interspersed amongst the stones were some darker basalt blocks, which have an iron-rich property (Fig. 4.3c & see Chs. 3.4, 4.2ii:8 & 8.2iii:17). The fine-grained soil found in conjunction with the wall in Squares 6 & 7 at Level 1 included some ash, with coarser soil at 20cms (Table 5.2, 5.3). Levels 2 and 3 consisted of a light grey hard gritty soil, described as being 'between the stones' and which also included bone fragments 'right at the edge of the wall' and which 'go right into the wall' in Sq 6 (Table 5.3) (UZ Field Notes 1998). An ash level at L.4, in Sq. 6, underlay the wall stones, which were contiguous with the top level of Level 4, and continued into Sq. 7, where the hard grey gritty soil overlay the ash (Table 5.2, 5.3). Thus the soft ash material occurred, *below* the wall, and *below* the 'hard, grey gritty soil of Level 3 (my italics)' (Fig. 5.7, 5.7a). This is significant, as it indicates that the base of the wall is reached by 40cms (see Tables 5.2, 5.3), by the upper part of level 4, and therefore below this an ash level is encountered, which pre-dates the walling. Though the rest of the wall on either side of Sqs. 6 & 7 was not excavated, it continued to the boulders on both sides (Fig. 4.A, Fig. 5.7, 5.7a).

5.2via Finds from Trench I: Pottery was found at all levels in the squares dug, including those in conjunction with the wall and with the soft ash material in Sqs. 6 & 7 (Table 5.3, Fig. 5.7.5.7a). Generally, the pottery from Trench I was rather fragmented and though not as numerous as other locations, it was representative of sherds from the other excavations (Table II, Appendix 2).

Fig. 5.7a

Overview of Trench I

Note squares 6 & 7, position of walling under which ash layer found



Fig. 5.7b View of Square 7 looking at south section - other units fore-shortened by photograph - base of walling and soil (L 3), before wall stones removed in 5.7a above (L4)

Potsherds numbering some 500 came from this Trench, of which 38 were identifiable as to profile class (Ch. 6.6, 6.7, Fig. 6.4:3, Table 6.6, Table II, Appendix 2). An understanding of the pottery in Sqs. 6 & 7, will be critical to the interpretation of the sequence at Chumbangula (Ch. 8). Four fragments of spindle whorls were found, one from L. 4 of Square 6 made from a decorated sherd, and two from Square 3a (Fig. 6.11:7, 10, 14) in conjunction with the large number of beads. Some sherds may be more reminiscent of more recent pottery, though this is not conclusive as some of the attributes may equally apply to the main assemblage. Bone fragments were found at all levels, (Table 5.3) from the ash level in Level 4 upwards and were described as being found right up against, amongst, and below, the level of the stones of the wall i.e. in the ash level (UZ Notes 1998). Of over 1500 bone fragments found in Trench I, 918 of these came from squares 6 & 7 in conjunction with the walling (UZ Finds Catalogue 1998).

Amongst the bones identified from level 2 overall were sheep, sheep/goat, and domestic fowl bones (Manyanga 2000:Fig. 5.7), as well as a number of larger indeterminate 'Bovid II and III' size bones, which may indicate sheep, large antelope or cattle sizes. Among the non-domestic food sources were hyrax, steenbuck, tortoise, hornbill, guinea fowl (Manyanga 2000), which are all smaller game

and most could be caught with snares. An example of a bullfrog, barbel and mussel again indicate permanent water in the vicinity at the time of occupation.

This Trench provided the largest numbers of glass beads, at least 1500, with 753 being found in a 'cache', in Level 1 of Square 3a alone and 416 in Sq.3 (Fig. 5.4.?) (Table 5.7 after Bvocho 2001). A point of interest is that there are only 40 glass beads in squares 6 & 7 (Table 5.3) compared to the much larger numbers in the area around sq. 3, but they appear to be typologically similar (Table 5.?) (Bvocho 2001; Tables 1-4; UZ Catalogue 1998). The larger proportion of the glass beads at Chumbangula came from this cluster in Trench I (Square 3, 3a) (Figs. 5.5, 5.6, Fig. 4.A, Ch. 8). A large number of shell fragments were found, along with 39 shell beads, which are not differentiated in the Catalogue (1998) as well as some Achatina shells and an ostrich eggshell. Several copper and iron artefacts were recovered, including a copper ring, a copper 'chain' with a reddish bead (Sq. 1, level 1), some wound copper from Level 2, and again an object with associations of the Recent period; that of a cartridge casing from Level 1 (UZ Catalogue 1998). Three rounded copper beads were found in L.1 (Bvocho 2001:26:Fig.6). The iron objects included an arrowhead, coiled wire, a piece of slag; and four stone flakes/tools came from T.1 (UZ Catalogue 1998).

Levels/ Surface	Square 6 Finds in conjunction with wall	Wall/ Stones	Square 7 Finds in conj. with wall
1- 0-20cms	Rubble/ stones fallen from the wall. Fine grain grey soil, with some ash. Coarser, gravel-like soil at 20cms. 29 Plain body sherds (Pbs), 3 deco rims, 1 deco frag, 1 spindle frag, 15 glass beads, 2 shell beads, 5 shell frags (sp?), 1 snail shell, 138 bone frags (unidentified), iron arrow head, charcoal.	Wall, from Sq. 6 – Sq. 7, greater portion in Square 7	Fallen rubble / stones Fine grain grey soil in between stones Coarser soil / gravel-like at 20cms. 12 Plain body sherds, (Pbs), 2 deco frags; 3 snail shells, 1 shell frag; 109 bone frags.
2 – 20-30cms	Grey gritty gravel soil, coarser. 13 Pbs (soot encrust) inside; 3 glass beads, 2 shell beads, 3 shell frags; 68 bone frags. (see above for sp.); charcoal	Wall	Light grey gritty soil, coarser, in between the stones; 13 Pbs, 6 deco, rims & frags (3 reconstruct to one pot); 20 glass beads; 6 shell frags; 308 bone frags (see above); wound copper, charcoal
3 30-40 cms	– 'bones right at the edge of the wall' & bones "go right into the wall stones" Change in soil Light grey, hard gritty soil; 18 Pbs, 1 deco frag; 4 glass beads; 88 bone frags.	Wall Base of stones	The 'level' below the bones'. Light, grey, hard gritty soil, continuing to below the stones: 20 Pbs, 2 rims; 3 shell beads, 3 shell frags; 47 bone frags; charcoal
4 – 40-50 cms	Soft ash material below the wall stones, to 50cms, loose stones amongst ash; Pbs, 12 rims & deco frags, 1 spindle frag; 3 glass beads; 5 shell beads, 30 shell frags, 1 snail shell, 89 bone frags; 4 frags worn iron, charcoal	ash	Soft ash material, below the gritty soil; 10 Pbs, 4 rims/deco frags; 7 shell frags, 71 bone fragments; charcoal

Table 5.3 Trench I. Schematic and Stratigraphic depiction of Squares 6 and 7, including soils and finds

5.2.vib Discussion on Trench I: As argued above, the ash material in Level 4 of Square 6 and 7 pre-dates the wall which is significant for the interpretation of the sequence. The early component of the occupation (Table 5.6) was followed by the construction of the wall, the base of which rests at the base of Level 3 (Tables 5.2, 5.3). There are certain linkages between the sherds in T. 4 and the

upper levels, (e.g. long shouldered, recurved pots, similar motifs at similar positions), which tie in with the main Chumbangula assemblage (Ch. 6, Fig. 6.4:13 & Ch. 8.). Thus the earlier part of this occupation pre-dated the wall, but it is apparently in some continuity with the main occupation (Table 5.3). There are also components in the pottery which could be associated with more Recent period pottery and this would accord with the findings that some of the glass beads are from Recent European contact (Bvocho *pers. comm.* 2002) and that some post-depositional disturbance had taken place. That the wall was buried by up to ± 40 cms, points to the fact that the wall dates from a relatively early phase of occupation. Also the bones found in conjunction with the ash material in L.4 and soil amongst and in conjunction with the stones of the wall at Levels 2 and 3 are important: the wall was probably in place while the bones and other discarded material accumulated while the area within the walling was in use. The arrangement of the walling on the summit and its proximity to the centrally important Summit Cave indicates the importance of demarcated areas in use around the summit enclosures and the Summit Cave (Fig. 4.A, Ch. 8). There are several well-decorated potsherds, with burnish, graphite or ochre, which would indicate that the pottery here was not just for cooking or preparation, but also possibly for an individual of higher status (Figs. 6.4:1,3,7, 6.12:5). The spindle whorl fragments indicate the spinning of cotton thread, but these have been found in most sectors of the site.

The floor found at Level 1, Squares 4, 4b, 5 and 5a is at the same level as dhaka lumps in Squares 1 & 3a, L.1, and overlays an ashy area that occurs at level 2 in squares 3a & b, which included burnt dhaka. This floor (Sqs. 4, 4b, 5 & 5a at Level 1) with the hearth-like feature in Sq.5, and the dhaka, indicate that a sizeable building existed in this enclosure, during a relatively late phase of occupation. The floor must have been laid down later in the sequence than the ash level (L.4) and ashy material below the hard gritty soil (L.3), as the evidence for the floor is mostly in the lower strata of Level 1, and in Level 2 (burnt dhaka). This floor is in association with the large numbers of beads in Level 1 in the adjacent Squares 3, 3a & 3b.

The numbers of glass beads (1500 in Level 1), particularly in one small area (Sq. 3a, 753), suggest that an activity or storage area existed here and also indicates that the area (and the person/s associated with it), were probably of higher status and possibly controlled the output of ornaments or trade. The shell beads (13, no sp.), shell fragments (e.g. 257 from Level 1 alone) and snail shells could have been used in the making of shell beads as some beads are noted as being incomplete (UZ Catalogue 1998). The category of shell beads would also include those made from freshwater

mussel shells of which twenty-three mussel shell beads were recovered (Bvocho 2001:20: Fig 1(a)). Some stone tools were found and these have been noted as contemporary with pottery at similarly dated sites at Malilangwe (Thorp 2004, 2005b). Thus the variety and numbers of artefacts in Enclosure 1 indicate that this area was a place of some importance, possibly in association with the adjacent Summit Cave, though the indications are that the activities and uses of this enclosure were integral to this space. The bones found in conjunction with the wall indicate a disposal area, possibly in conjunction with activities either in this area, or the adjacent main enclosure (Fig. 4.A:H).

5.2vii Trench II (Fig. 4.A) was excavated in the main part of the summit enclosure to the north of the Summit Cave. The Trench was placed in a north north-west, to south direction and the grid extent was 24 square metres of which twelve-1x1 metre squares were opened (Fig. 5.8). Three levels were recorded, to an average depth of 45 cms, with a fourth level being taken out in Squares F, G, G ext, I & H which was devoid of artefacts (Table 5.4, 5.4a). At level 3, an area of ashy soil appeared in Square H, I and below the wall in G, Ext. G, which is interesting in view of the possibly corresponding ash soil level found in Trench I, Level 4, in Squares 6 & 7 (Fig. 5.7, 7a).

Trench II	Area	Stratigraphy	Depth
Level 1	A,C,E,F,G,GextH,I,J,K,N,O	Grey, soft, granular soil, with stones and dhaka lumps, Collapsed wall stones in G & wall in G ext	0-15 + 15-25 cms
Level 2	A,C,E,F,G,Gext,H,I,J,O	Hard, grey-brown gritty soil, many dhaka lumps, with ashy soil appearing in H, O and extending to E, at level 3 contact	15-30 + 25-35 Cms
Level 3	C,E,F,G,Gext,H,I	Dagga floor in C, continues towards wall, brown gritty soil. Ashy soil, at base of, and below, wall stones in G and G ext.	35-45 + 30- 50cms
Level 4	F,G,Gext,H,I	This is a grey soil depression, excavated below the brown gritty soil and ash, sterile	50-65 cms

Table 5.4.- Trench II, Stratigraphy

Grid layout	Level 1	K rough gritty soil- Glass beads	J rough grey gritty soil-Stone flakes/ tools: shell		O grey gritty soil - Seeds		↗N
Wall		I grey gritty soil + stones	H gritty soil- dhaka lumps; Stone Tool	Pottery and bone were found in all squares dug	N grey gritty soil - Seeds, beads		
G ext. Top soil - Wall stones.- dhaka, glass beads; shell frags.	G stones-wall - dhaka- < bones: shell frags.	F rough surface: large stones:Dhaka: shell frags.	E grey soil; dhaka area + lumps-	D	C grey gritty soil - dhaka area + lumps, ; seed: beads	B	A soft, grey gritty soil - bones, Pottery

Table 5.4a - Trench II Overview, Grid Layout, showing Level 1, with characteristics and finds

Despite the extent of the Trench, the numbers of artefacts found was sparser than that for Tr. I. The pottery followed much the same pattern as that for Trench I, but in lower numbers and was found in the first three levels (Table II Appendix 2). The bone fragments found were sparser in number than in Trench I, as only 514 came from all levels. Of these, the larger number of 314 came from square G, and G ext. in conjunction with the wall at levels 1, 2, and 3; however none of these have been identified (Manyanga 2000). Glass beads were also much fewer, numbering 40 in all, most coming from Level 1 in square K, and only a few from the wall area in G ext. also at level 1 (Table 5.4a). Only seven beads came from Level 3, in sq. I (Table 5.7). Several of the Level 1 beads were pink with a few whites, indicating a more Recent period (Bvocho 2001).

5.2viii Discussion on Trench II:- Whilst there were fewer artefacts from Trench II, the picture gained is similar to that from Tr. I. The pottery from Levels 1-3, numbered 144 sherds of which only 15 can be classified as to profile (Table II, Appendix 2). Some of the plain body sherds also had a heavy encrusting of soot inside. In general the sample fits the general pattern from the site. Importantly, pottery from level 3 at the level of the ashy soil, below the wall, fits in with the main assemblage, which would agree with the findings from Trench I, also in conjunction with an ashy soil, as here again occupational debris in the form of an ash midden predates the construction of the wall. A dhaka floor was found in C at level 3, at 44-47 cms depth, with many dhaka lumps above this level in squares A,C,E,F,H,I,N, which is evidence for a building at this level. This floor is then at the same level as the ashy level in G and G ext. below the wall.

It is interesting that again the bone fragments came in larger numbers from the squares in closest association with the wall. Did this area have some activity that contributed to this, possibly associated with the area being a men's assembly area (Huffman 1996b), or its proximity to the Summit Cave? There are a large number of shell fragments, although no beads, which come from all three levels, and one hundred of these are in association with the wall in G's extended square. Seeds indicate food storage or preparation (but no species given (Manyanga 2000)). The stone tool flakes were found at levels 1 & 2 and the question is, do these have any associations with the shell fragments and beads found on this site (cf. the four LSA stone tools found in Tr. I and the five in Tr. II)? Thus again in this Trench we have evidence of an area with a quite rich assemblage and evidence of a living area and food consumption (the dhaka floor and lumps, seeds, bones and pottery) and of possible activity areas (the beads, shell, stone flakes and pots).

Many of the glass beads from Level 1 have characteristics of the more Recent period, such as the pink and white beads and two blue annular beads, though others are probably earlier (Table 5.7) (Bvocho 2001; Wood 2000). One or two pot rims that resemble pottery from the more Recent Period occur in Level 1 (Fig. 6.7.1,6,8), in conjunction with mostly pink beads (UZ Catalogue 1998). The charcoal sample taken from below the wall in Sq. G ext, would again be useful to have processed for greater understanding of the occupation of Chumbangula.

5.2viii Trench III (Fig. 4.A), which was dug at a slightly lower level to the west side of Enclosure 2, only comprised two excavated squares, Square 1 to Level 2, and Square 4 to Level 3. These provided a sparse number of artefacts. Only a few sherds had any profile, or decoration and the majority were plain, body sherds, with only one or two burnished or ochred (Table 6.3 + Table II, Appendix 2). There was one small fragment from a spindle-whorl. Two fragments of glazed ceramic, one white, one blue, were recorded from Square I, Level 2 (UZ Catalogue 1998) (see discussion re Tsp. 2, Ch. 5.2ii). Twenty-nine glass beads came from all three levels and here they did not include any of the later annular or hexagonal beads, but in the main were translucent blue and green (Table 5.7) (Bvocho 2001). The faunal material was also sparse and fragmented (Finds Catalogue 1998). There were 63 shell fragments, but only one shell bead.

5.2ix Trench IV (Fig. 4.A) comprised one 1.5 x 1.5m square, with six levels, dug in the deeper part of the main summit deposit, to the west/rear of the large boulders forming the Eastern Terrace Cave. There are six levels. A charcoal sample from Level 6 provided a radio-carbon date calibrated to 1193AD (Pta-8535) (Table 5.6), placing this similarly to the other dates.

Level	Stratigraphy of west aspect	Depth in cms
Surface	Grass and humus	
Level 1	Grey-brown loam, and brown loam	0-10
Level 2	Ashy soils	10-30
Level 3	Ashy, brown soils	30-50
Level 4	Ashy/stony brown soils	50-70
Level 5	Stony brown soils	70-90
Level 6	Ashy, stony brown soils with large stones	90-110

Table 5.5 Stratigraphy of Trench IV

A large rock was revealed on the east side of the trench and bedrock was reached at 1.40 metres from the datum point (Fig. 5.8). It was expected that a representative sample of the artefacts would be obtained, as surface material could be seen from the deposit close to the opening at the back of the Eastern Terrace Cave. It is possible that some of the artefacts from the surface in the cave have eroded out of the back of the main deposit, but this should not have affected the deposit of Trench

IV, as this was sheltered from erosion by the boulders at the south-east of the trench (Fig. 5.8). The data bear out the expectations and the largest quantities of pottery and bone came from this Trench (Table II, App. 3). There were just over a hundred identifiable sherds, a similar number of decorated fragments and close to a 1000 body sherds, as well as three portions of spindle whorls in Ls. 1, 4, & 6 (e.g.s in Figs. 6.3-6.6, 6.11, 6.13 (see List of Figures and numbers for Ch. 6 – end of chapter)). The majority of the pottery matches the main assemblage with some differences in the use of decorative motifs between Levels 4 & 6 (e.g. Fig. 6.3:8,9, 6.4:2,5,6) with a sterile L. 5 in between (Table II, Appendix 2). However the appearance of a few sherds of the Recent period (Figs. 6.7:2,7, 6.13:2,4) indicates some possible mixing of the deposit.

Faunal material was numerous, with close to 1500 fragments, of which some 90 were identifiable (Manyanga 2000:57:Fig. 5.8: Finds Catalogue 1998). The bone came from all levels, with the major portion from Level 4. Identifications were mainly domestic cattle, sheep/goat and fowl, with non-domestic including zebra, kudu, impala, duiker and tortoise (Manyanga 2000). An interesting identification, given the name of Lomolohoto Hill, was that of the hornbill (*hoto*). Many of the bones, both domestic and non-domestic bore chop/cut marks, some were crushed, or broken, and



many of them were burnt (Manyanga 2000). A broken fragment of worked bone was found in Level 1, which was like those found in the Eastern Terrace Cave (Figs. 4.2d, 5.9) (Gray 1996). These are mostly quite short sections of broken bone points, and some have a faceted finish. Though they are most likely to be the broken sections of bone points like those found in several of the Kruger National Park sites (Plug 8: Fig. 11.7:145), they could almost be identified as pegs.



Fig. 5.9 Broken bone points, and 'Bead-shaper' stone, Eastern Terrace Cave

Glass beads were few, and only found in Level 4 - of these 31, 29 were translucent blue and green (Bvocho 2001) (Table 5.7). However more shell beads were found than glass: the Catalogue count is 61, the majority of which came from L. 4, and over 200 shell fragments, largely from Levels 2 and 4 (Finds Catalogue 1998). In this regard, note again the 'bead shaper stone' found in the Eastern Terrace Cave (Fig. 5.9). Two stone tools and a piece of iron slag came from L. 3, an iron arrowhead in fragments and a 'sharpened' wooden stick from L. 4 (Finds Catalogue 1998). Dhaka lumps were found, especially in Levels 4 and 6. Some 2000-3000 carbonised, unthreshed seeds of *Sorghum bicolor* var. *caffra* along with carbonised seeds of *Panicum maximum* and *Sporobolus pyramidalis* were found at the 60cm level in L. 4 (50-70cm) (Jonsson pers. comm. 2004), associated with the larger quantity of pottery (App. 3, Table II). Additional samples of *Sporobolus pyramidalis* (18 seeds) were recovered from a soil-filled pot (Fig. 6.810:1) also from this level, while a single seed of *Brachiaria eruciformis* was found (Jonsson pers. comm. 2004). These are wild grasses with some cereal values (Jonsson 1998).

Discussion: The Trench IV deposit indicates a homogeneous occupation of this part of the site, and the deposit matches largely that found in the nearby Test Pit 2 (Fig. 4.A) (Ch. 5.2ii p.3) There is an apparently sterile gap between Ls. 4 and 6 which may need to be borne in mind when looking at the pottery from these two levels (Table II, Appendix 2, Figs. 6.3-6.5). By the numbers of finds, especially pottery and bone, it is most likely that this part of the summit was a discard or midden area

(outside the rear of the Eastern Terrace Cave) (Fig. 4.A). Note here again the large numbers of stick-impressed dhaka fragments scattered across the top of the cliff eroding from this main deposit, which would tell us that somewhere in this vicinity an occupation area of huts must have existed, or an extensive grain-bin/storage area (also note the many dhaka lumps in Tr. IV, Levels 4 & 6). While glass beads were relatively few, they indicate a homogeneous group (Table 5.7), but none came from Level 6 with the largely punctate-decorated pottery (c.f. the fact that at Mwenezi there are no glass beads with the predominantly punctate pottery assemblage). The glass and shell beads, shell fragments and worked bone again give indications of possible activities or discard patterns here.

5.3 Summary of findings from Chumbangula:

5.3a Radiocarbon dating:

Feature	Location	Lab. No.	Age BP	Cal. Date AD* (1-sigma range)
Test Pit 2, Level 2	Edge of midden on south of hilltop	Ua-13192	990 ± 75	1010(1040)1180*
Test Pit 5, Level 8	Shelter, halfway up hill, north-side	Ua-13194	965 ± 80	1020(c.1100)1210
Trench IV, Level 6	Behind Eastern Terrace Cave, on southeast hilltop	Pta-8535	900 ± 50	1157(1193)1236 ¹
Test Pit 3, Level 5	Open area on east of hilltop	Ua-13193	840 ± 75	1180(1250)1280
Test Pit 1, Level 4	Cave on hilltop	Ua-13191	690 ± 95	1275(1300)1410

Table 5.6 Radiocarbon Dates for Chumbangula Hill, South-East Lowveld, Zimbabwe (See Fig. 4.A) Manyanga (2000) *using Pretoria Calibration curve S. Hemisphere 1998 (See Vogel 2000)

¹ Pretoria Calibration S. Hemisphere (Talma & Vogel 1993) updated 2000

The radiocarbon dates for Chumbangula range from the early eleventh century into the fourteenth century, with a stronger emphasis for the eleventh to thirteenth centuries AD. This would place the site and its main assemblage into the same period and broader region as K2, Leopard's Kopje 1, the Gumanye/ Zimbabwe 2 sites, as well as the Mutamba and Kgopolwe sites in northern South Africa (Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Hall and Vogel 1980; Huffman 1974, 1978a, 2000; Huffman & Vogel 1991; Loubser 1991; Meyer 1980, 1986, 1998; Robinson 1961a, 1966a; Sinclair 1986, 1991; Vogel 2000). The range of dates Ua-13191, Ua-13193 and Pta-8535 include the period which saw the rise of the Mapungubwe and Southern Terrace settlement, as well as the rise of Great Zimbabwe in Zimbabwe Periods III, IVa (Huffman 2000; Huffman & Vogel 1991, Meyer 1980, 1998; Robinson 1961a; Summers, Robinson & Whitty 1961; Vogel 2000), both of which sites saw the beginnings of walling as enclosures and for prestige or status (as did certain of the Leopard's Kopje 2 sites like Mapela Hill and Taba zika Mambo (Fouché 1937; Garlake 1968a; Robinson 1966a). The hill site of Mapungubwe came to an end towards the end of the thirteenth century AD, but there are somewhat later dates for sites with Mapungubwe pottery in the north-eastern Soutpansberg (Loubser 1991) as well as later dates for a Mutamba level at Thulamela (Huffman *pers. comm.* 2005; Vogel 2000).

These factors will be of importance in the discussions and conclusions on the pottery and the outline of the sequence in the Mateke Hills (Ch. 8). For the future, for a closer analysis of the dating at Chumbangula, it would be extremely useful to have radiocarbon dates processed from the charcoal samples that were taken from each level of Trench I, Square 6 (Malumba Finds Catalogue 1998), in order to obtain a fuller picture of the occupational sequence, in connection with the walling here and to compare this with the other dates. Extra dates from the other levels in TR. IV would also round out the picture, as it is useful to have a suite of dates from one site (Vogel 2000).

Ref	light blue	blue trans	Green trans	Yellow	black	dark green	red	White	pink	unc	Total	Total	% Tr/TP
TR I L1	470	110	31	103	0	136	318	100	48	88	1404		
TR I L2	39	2	0	9	0	13	19	2	10	5	99	1503	77.3
TR II L1	0	3	0	1	1	0	3	3	19	3	33		
TR II L3	0	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	7	40	2.1
TR III L1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3		
TR III L2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	3		
TR III L3	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4		
TR III L4	3	4	7	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	19	29	1.5
TR IV L4	0	26	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	31	31	1.6
TP 1 L6	70	8	9	16	0	21	33	3	6	4	170	170	8.7
TP 2 L1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	3	0.15
TP 3 L2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	1	7		
TP 3 L3	2	1	13	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	23	30	1.5
TP 5 L2	0	1	0	13	1	0	0	0	0	0	15		
TP 5 L4	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	13		
TP 5 L7	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	5		
TP 5 L8	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	36	1.8
TP 6 L5	0	2	1	0	17	9	5	0	0	0	34		
TP 6 L6	0	0	0	0	33	6	0	6	0	0	45		
TP 6 L7	0	0	1	1	6	0	6	0	0	0	14		
TP 6 L9	0	0	1	1	3	0	4	0	0	0	9	102	5.2
Total	590	163	68	145	74	197	395	124	84	104	1944	1944	100%
%	30.3	8.4	3.5	7.5	3.8	10.1	20.3	6.4	4.3	5.3	100%		

Table 5.7 - Colour Classification of glass beads from Chumbangula (G. Bvocho 2001:Table 1)

Ref-- Reference	unc -----uncertain	TR-- Trench
TP --- Test Pit	trans---translucent	L ---- Level

5.3c Glass Bead inventory for Chumbangula (Table 5.7)

Fig.5.10 a,b,c Examples of glass beads from Chumbangula (Bvocho 2001)



Several interesting points are noted as to the presence of glass beads in this site. Firstly, they would indicate the conducting of trade directly with the burgeoning trade from the east coast, or as an

intermediary on the east/west route from the coast to the Shashe/Limpopo area. Secondly they are present in some numbers, which may be significant, given the paucity of glass beads found in contemporary sites in the northern Soutpansberg (Loubser 1991). Though beads have been found on similarly dated sites along the southern plateau they are in fewer numbers (Robinson 1961a; Sinclair 1986, 1991). Thirdly, they have been identified as representing different periods (Bvocho 2001). These points will be further discussed in Ch. 8.

5.3i Summing up of findings from excavations and findings from Chumbangula

The Chumbangula hilltop site provides an interesting view into the time between the 11th and the late 13th centuries (Table 5.6) in this fairly marginal landscape (Ch. 3). An occupational level was evidently established before the construction of walling on the summit, (see discussion re the ash level and the base of the wall from Level 4 in both Tr. I & II, (pp. 13-15); while the majority of the pottery can be linked to a culturally similar ‘main Chumbangula assemblage’ (Ch. 6, Table 6.3, Figs. 6.2-6.5, Tables I & II in Appendix 2). These issues will be examined fully in the conclusions in Ch. 8. The excavations provided a representative sample of pottery, bone fragments, shell and glass beads, which represent the main Chumbangula assemblage. The occupational levels associated with this period present the picture of an agriculturally based society (seeds, pottery, both for serving and cooking plus grindstone and grain bin remains), who also kept domestic livestock, (faunal material from cattle, sheep/goats and chicken) and hunted and snared wild animals (non-domestic bones, both large and small) as well as making use of riverine fauna (barbel, mussels) (Manyanga 2000). Iron and copper remains bear testimony to this being an iron-using community, though at this point there is no concrete evidence for smelting other than a couple of ‘pieces of slag’ (Gray 1994; UZ Malumba Finds Catalogue 1998). The identification of rocks of a magnetite nature found to the south of the hill and used in a pattern of differentiated lines in some walling is important as an indicator of an elite signature (Ch. 3.4, 4.2ii, 5.2vi, 8.2iii + Fig. 4.3c).

This society practised decorative crafts as evidenced by the presence of certain artefacts, including glass, shell and ivory beads (Bvocho 2001) and metal ornaments. The spindle whorls attest to the local production of cloth. These may represent items for both local, personal use and for wider contacts. The glass beads indicate contacts with east coast trade – the site’s geographical position is well placed to take advantage of possible trade routes, both on the east-west axis and also the north-south one (Map 1.2). The integrity of the assemblage from Trench IV is confirmed by the finds from Test pits 1-3 on the summit, as well as those on the ascent route (4 & 5) and that from the lower

midden (6). The Summit enclosure trenches (I & II and III) display an assemblage largely in keeping with the Test Pits and Trench IV, but also provide some later pottery examples and glass beads associated with the more Recent Period from the mid-18th century onwards, as do surface finds from Tsp. 6. These Recent period finds tie in with the oral and documentary evidence for the use of the hill in the 19th century, which will be expanded upon in Ch. 7 on the Historical Contacts as well as in

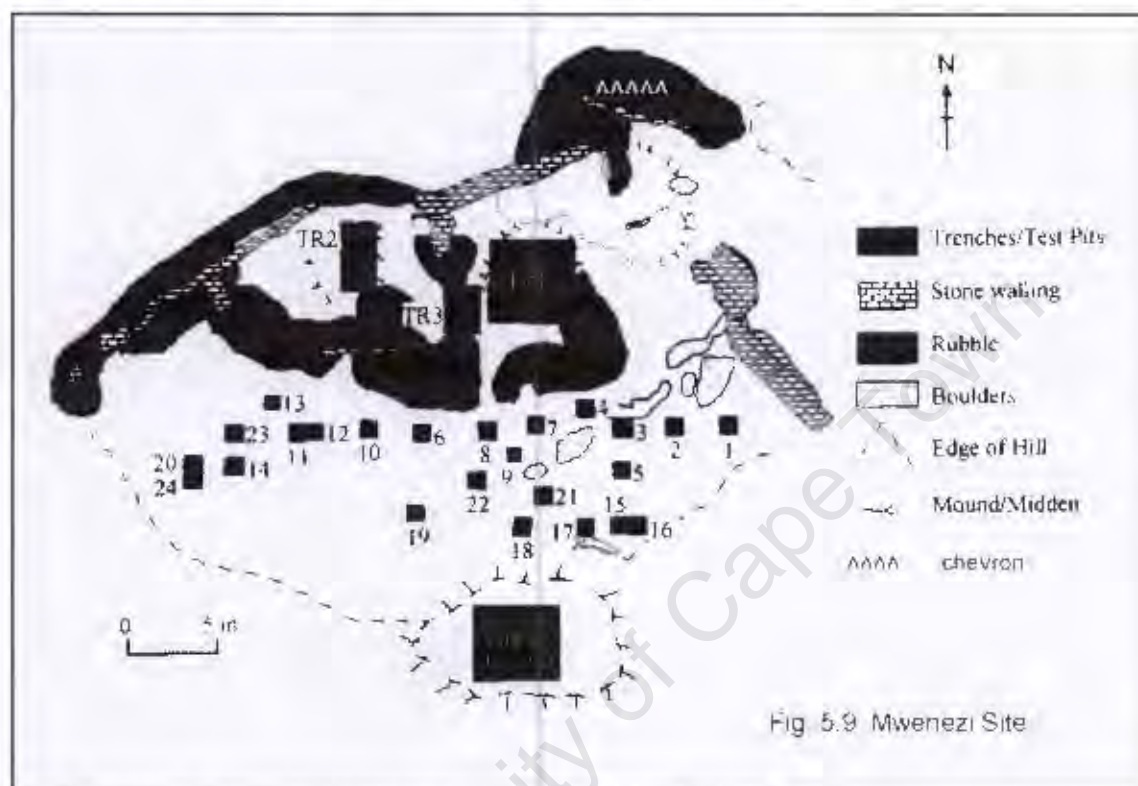


Fig. 5.9 Mwenezi Site

Ch. 8 on conclusions as to the sequence in the Mateke Hills.

Fig. 5.11 Diagram of the Mwenezi site, after Manyanga 2000:Fig. 3.4;Manyanga et al 2000, Fig. 4

5.4 Excavations at Mwenezi

The excavations at the Mwenezi site are discussed in this section. This description is based on my observations, photographs and records made during a field trip to the site in 1998 with W. Ndoro, as well as on comment by W. Ndoro, M. Manyanga and M. Chifamba (2001). Other information comes from the preliminary site report in the Goodwin 8 series (Manyanga, Pikirayi & Ndoro 2000) and from two dissertations, one a M. Phil. thesis on the faunal remains (Manyanga 2000), as well as an Honours dissertation on the beads and ornaments (Bvocho 2001), from the same two sites.

Another study has been done on a broader basis on the early ecology of Zimbabwe (Jonsson 1998), including the site of Mwenezi. W. Ndoro directed the excavations, with a team of students from the University of Zimbabwe. Similar methods of excavation and recording were used as outlined for the Chumbangula site (Ch. 5:2). As noted in Ch. 6, largely only the pottery from the Midden Trench has

been analysed in this research; the bulk of the diagnostic material, pottery, organic beads and faunal material came from this Trench. The hilltop site of Mwenezi (Fig. 5.11) (Ch. 4, Fig. 4.11a,b,c) has substantial stone walling, which is collapsed into rubble in places whilst some appears in better condition (Fig. 4.11), either signifying something about the function and placing of the walling originally, or perhaps that some re-occupation, re-building, and/or re-use of stones took place.



Fig.5.12 Excavation in Trench 1, Mwenezi

It is within the stone enclosures on the summit that three Trenches were placed, on the mounds of collapsed house floors and walls (Fig 5.10) (Jonsson 1998; Manyanga 2000). Trench 1, closest to the entrance at the northeast, (where the chevron design appears on the outer wall), was the largest of these trenches, and consisted of two levels, being $\pm 5 \times 5$ square metres, with a house floor identified in Level 2 (Jonsson 1998).

A radio-carbon date from Trench 1, Ext 1B, Level 2, gave a calibrated reading of 1270 AD (Ua-11800) (Table 5.8), this was taken from the house floor level (Jonsson 1998). Trench 2 (2x4 sq. m) was situated on the north western side of the summit, in the centre of a large mound and four levels were identified, again with a house floor identified at Level 2 (Jonsson 1998:70). Trench 3 was the smallest, at $\pm 2 \times 3$ sq. m. (Fig. 5.11). However the stratigraphy of the Trenches was quite shallow, with an average of less than 0.15 m., in which the house floors were identified at Level 2. Both solid dhaka walls and pole impressed dhaka were found, perhaps reflecting status, usage or dating, but relatively little artefactual material was recovered (Bvocho 2001; Jonsson 1998:68-70; Manyanga 2000:38). Some of the pottery examined has features that match in motif and profile the main assemblage at Chumbangula (Fig. 6.18:11), though as with that found in the Midden Trench there are certain components that are different (see below and Ch. 6.6iv & 6.9; Ch. 8). Twenty-four test pits were excavated in a line from west to east across the site, south of the main walled areas (Fig. 5.9). They revealed a shallow deposit, of only about 0.15 metres as well, with correspondingly few numbers of artefacts. A radiocarbon date from Test Pit 19, Level 1 has calibrated to a date post 1655 AD (Ua-11801), which means it is considerably later than the other dates and could be either from a

late Khami period, or even the Recent Period (Table 5.8). The dating of Mwenezi is further discussed below in Ch. 5.4i and in Ch. 8.

Levels	Description	
Level 1	Dark brown soil	up to 300mm
Level 2	Light brown soil	uniform depth, 200mm
Level 3	Ash	{Depth ranging from 100- 400
	Ashy layer	100mm
	Bedrock	

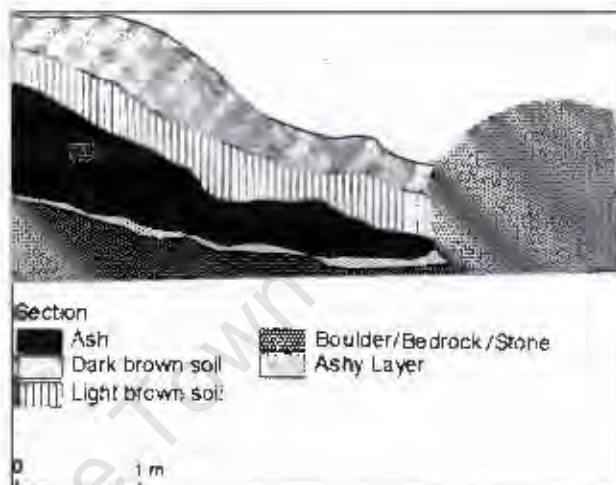
The Midden Trench, some halfway down the southern side of the hill (Figs. 5.11, 5.13) below the walled summit area, had a deeper deposit up to 1.25 metres. It was situated on a slope, with the midden material backed up against a large boulder. The working assumption was that material would have been dumped over the edge of the site and would then have

spread down the gradient, with new material being deposited on top (Manyanga 2000; Chifamba *pers comm.* 2001). This 4x5m trench was sampled in steps, and 20cm levels, which were consolidated into 3 Units/Levels (Manyanga 2000). The radiocarbon date from Level 3 calibrated to 790 AD (Ua-11802) (Table 5.8), which again needs further discussion (Ch. 8). The pottery was most numerous in Level 2, but similar pottery was found throughout the three levels, except that in Levels 1 & 2 several sherds of a different type occurred (Fig. 6.6) (Ch. 6.8iv, 6.9, Table 6.7-9, Table III, Appendix 2). The bulk of the diagnostic pottery matched in shape and character, that of Chumbangula. However there were different emphases on certain aspects of the decoration (Fig. 6.17-19). These differences will be described in Ch. 6 and discussed in Ch. 8. Notably there were neither spindle whorl fragments, nor clay figurines. It may be noted that the larger portion of pottery in the Midden Trench came from L. 2, and the least from L. 3 (App. 3,1b,III).

The bulk of the identifiable faunal material came from Level 2 (Manyanga 2000). The emphasis was on a variety of non-domestic species including rhinoceros, zebra, giraffe, eland, sable, kudu, hartebeest, and smaller antelope like impala and duiker. Smaller species included warthog, hyrax, cane rat, tortoise, as well as barbel, *Achatina* and *Aspatharia sp.* Domestic animals comprised cattle, sheep, goat and fowl indicating certainly that domestic fauna were included in the food economy. The numerous zebra together with the wide range of non-domestic animals (Manyanga 2000;

Table 5.8 Stratigraphy of Mwenezi Midden Trench

Fig. 5.13 Section of Midden Trench, from the north (after Manyanga 2000:Fig. 3.5:40).



(Fig.4.17:71) possibly indicate a greater reliance on hunting because of the drier conditions in the vicinity of Mwenezi (Manyanga 2000:72, 79, Table 5.11).

The beads were of organic origin: ostrich eggshell, *Achatina*, mussel and ivory (Bvocho 2001). Most of the thirty ostrich eggshell beads were in the 7-14 mm range, with a mean perforation range of 1-2mm (Bvocho 2001:22). Most were also very flat, regular discs and thin, only 1-2mm in thickness. A few were irregular in shape and many were burnt. Bvocho (2001) notes that these dimensions match those from Schroda, Pont Drift (Hanisch 1980) and Great Zimbabwe (Beck 1931). He notes that the ranges of thickness, diameter and perforation size are similar to those from Chumbangula (Malamba) (Bvocho 2001:21). The beads from the large land snail, *Achatina immaculata*, are highly durable thus they are not as weathered as the eggshell ones and they are of much the same dimensions, which resemble those reported from Mapungubwe (Beck 1937) and Great Zimbabwe (Beck 1931) (Bvocho 2001 after Beck 1931, 1937). Beads of the freshwater mussel (*Aspatharia sp.*) are also hard, durable and have a 'lucent' quality. Their ranges of dimensions are similar to the *Achatina* beads (Bvocho 2001:22 Figs. 2a + 2b.). The ten ivory beads are also mostly in the 7-14mm range, while six of these were more cylindrical in shape than discoid (Bvocho 2001:24:Fig.5). Bvocho reports that no glass beads were retrieved at the Mwenezi site, in either the Midden Trench or the other trenches and test pits, which is particularly interesting given the fact that many were found at Chumbangula (see Ch. 8.3ii) (Bvocho *pers. comm.*, 2004). An unusual fragment of worked ivory, from the Midden Trench, Level 2, which looks like the end of a small staff, or stick, was elaborately decorated with closely incised cross hatching, very systematically done. The undecorated portion is tapered towards the break and is smoothly polished (Bvocho 2001). The neat crosshatching is interesting, given the paucity of crosshatching on the pottery (Table 6.9).



Fig. 5.14 Ivory artefact (Bvocho 2001:23 Fig.3)

Three broken portions of worked bone were found in L. 3 the ashy soil level, which are described as portions of bone needles/awls (Manyanga 2000). These are similar to the ones found at Chumbangula, in Trench IV, and in the East Terrace Cave. Some fourteen fragments of wound copper were found, four in L. 1, and ten in L. 2, possibly from bangles or bracelets as the sizes and spirals are closely similar. Nine pieces of wound iron were found, in L. 1, in association with the copper, but were too rusted and fragile to handle (Bvocho 2001: Fig.6:26).

Jonsson (1998:68-70) has noted a wide variety of gathered wild grass seeds such as *Eleusine indica*, *Panicum maximum*, *Sporobolus pyramidalis* and *Brachiaria ecruciformis* from the Mwenezi site, which indicate, by their variety and numbers that they were gathered as food supplements, at distinct periods in time (Jonsson 1998:80, 93, Tables 4:27-29, Fig. 4.13). In the identified botanical material at Mwenezi there were no seeds of domesticated cereals as with the sorghum seeds at Chumbangula, except for the one instance of *Voandzeia subterranea* from Tr. 1, ext. 1c, level 2 (Ch. 4) (Jonsson 1998:70, Table 4.28, Period?). It is interesting that even the house remains on the summit (Map 5.2), in Trench 1, ext.1b & 1c, and Trench 2b yielded no seeds of domestic cereals (Jonsson 1998:69-71), as the date from Tr. 1, ext 1b, Ua-11800, calibrated to AD 1040-1290 (two-sigma range) (Table 5.9) (Jonsson 1998:69), points to an occupation at a similar time period to Chumbangula, where sorghum seeds were found. Jonsson (1998:80) points out though there are virtually no seeds of domesticates preserved at Mwenezi, this is not conclusive proof that there were none, but may be a result of preservation difficulties. The economy at Mwenezi appears to have had a greater emphasis on wild food sources, both plant and animal, than at Chumbangula (Jonsson 1998; Manyanga 2000). Following the above period, the evidence from Mwenezi indicates a decline in grass varieties gathered from periodically flooded riverbanks, waterlogged conditions, such as vleis, heavy clay soils with a corresponding decline in those gathered from rocky kopjes and grasslands due to lower rainfall, while the indicator of dry conditions, *Eragrostis lehmania* var. *lehmania* increases (Jonsson 1998:108-109, Table 6.4). Notably a higher moisture species like *Panicum maximum* continued to be gathered in quantities, and probably indicates that the areas along the available water-courses were still producing grass. Looking at the ecological indicators Jonsson (1998: 108) suggests that there may have been harsher conditions in the Little Ice Age than in the previous cooler period from AD 600-900.

5.4i Summary: The site, its position and structure and the findings, introduce some interesting questions regarding its occupation and function. The questions of where the pottery assemblage fits in with known traditions, as well as the Chumbangula pottery; the type and function of the walling; the abundance of wild over domestic stock in the faunal analysis; the possibility of the environment and climate affecting the community at Mwenezi, in the availability of game and keeping of cattle, as well as the possible environmental considerations on the non-production of domesticated crops; will all be returned to in Chapter 8 in discussion on the findings. The walling on the hill at Mwenezi would indicate that this was a site of some size and significance, certainly at the time of the impressive walling. It is not clear however how much of the Midden Trench pottery (Figs. 6.17-19)

points to a relationship with the walling. This question will be clarified after the description of the pottery (Ch. 6), discussion and conclusions (Ch. 8) and discussion on dating (below and in Ch. 8).

5.4ii Radiocarbon dates for Mwenezi and preliminary discussion: If the range of dates is meaningful (Table 5.8) this would effectively mean that there was either continuous occupation, or three separate periods, which would need to be confirmed by further dating and excavation. The range needs to be considered as there are some questions regarding the dates. These can only be discussed in full once the pottery has been described in Ch. 6 and defined in Ch. 8.

Feature	Location	Lab. No.	Age BP	Cal. Date AD* (1-sigma range)
Midden Trench, grid 4, Level 3	On south side of Hillside	Ua-11802	1250 ± 75	700(790)900
Trench 1, Ext.1B, Level 2	Hilltop	Ua-11800	800 ± 70	1220(1270)1290
Test Pit 19, Level 1	Hilltop	Ua-11801	215 ± 65	Post 1655

Table 5.9 Radiocarbon Dates from Mwenezi Site, South-East Lowveld, Zimbabwe
*using Pretoria 1998 calibration curve, (Talma & Vogel, 1993), updated 2000 (See Vogel 2000).

Briefly the date Ua-11802, has a range AD 650-960 (95.4% confidence) (Jonsson 1998: 69), which would take it from well within the EFC period through to the transition to the LFC. This may be important in considering the pottery, as it has been suggested that the pottery from this time may be of the Zhizo style (Jonsson 1998 after Ndoro *pers. comm.*; Manyanga, Pikirayi & Ndoro 2000:74). This, and the suggestion that the following date Ua-11800, AD 1040-1250 (2-sigma range) is associated with the Mapungubwe phase (Jonsson 1998 after Ndoro *pers. comm.*), can only be examined in terms of pottery and artefact types from the excavations, as well as by further dating (see discussion on the pottery and the dating in Ch. 8.4). The final date, Ua-11801, falls into a later Khami Period, or the more Recent period (see Ch. 6, 7, 8) and will also be looked at in conjunction with the ceramic evidence (Ch. 8). It would certainly seem that the use of the site, over a long period or at certain times in the history of the region, would tie in with the strategic positioning of the site on a bend in the Duvi River with a view of the possible north/south route past the Mateke Hills (Fig. 4.12), giving access northwards to the southern edge of the plateau near Great Zimbabwe and southwards to the lowveld, the Limpopo River and the eastern Soutpansberg (Fig. 2.1).

CHAPTER SIX CERAMIC STUDIES - POTTERY ANALYSIS AND DESCRIPTION

6.1 Introduction

The subject matter of this chapter is the analysis of the excavated ceramics from Chumbangula and from Mwenezi. The terminology is outlined as well as the method of analysis. A brief look at the study of ceramics in archaeological research of the farming community period is presented by way of background, as is a note on relevant pottery production techniques. The presentation of this data is followed by the description of the analysed ceramics. Following the analysis and the description of the pottery, Chapter 8 will address the main aim of this study that is, establishing a sequence for the area through an understanding of the ceramics.

6.2 Ceramics in Farming Community Archaeological Research

During the last seventy years of research into the archaeology of the farming community period in the southern African region, the study of ceramics has helped in the understanding of relationships of peoples to each other and to the movements of people across the landscape. Ceramics have been used by many archaeologists to establish the broad sequences used as a basis for the regional understanding of archaeological cultures (Caton-Thompson 1931, Huffman 1974, 1980a; Pikirayi 1993; Schofield 1948; Summers 1950, 1967a, 1970). As potsherds are reasonably common on archaeological sites from the farming community period (Huffman 1972b, 1980a), this makes them a good subject for classification, for identification with other sets of artefacts and for the understanding of the archaeological record. Since clay pots are fired, the resulting potsherds have a good preservation rate in comparison to less durable materials like wood, leather or basket ware, providing valuable material for analysis in establishing a sequence (remembering that they represent a proportion of the archaeological record only). As Huffman (1980a) has pointed out, ceramics were widely used by agriculturist communities and as there is little evidence for long distance trade in ceramics, it can be generally assumed that the demand for ceramic wares was largely met locally, making ceramics a useful artefact for studying as a basis for defining a local tradition or entity (Huffman 1980a). This is because if they were made locally, it can be safely assumed that the same group of people, who made the ceramics, used them. This makes pottery a useful tool for identifying 'groups', at least of those who used similar ceramic types (Evers 1988), even if association with living cultures cannot necessarily identify these groups, especially beyond the oral record. In addition, care needs to be exercised as the identification of 'groups' has been fraught with controversy (Hall 1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1990; Huffman 1978b, 1982), especially in the South African

context pre- the 1994 democratic elections there, where the apartheid government defined groups and races for political, social and economic separation. However, in certain instances, such as the work on the ethno-archaeological past of the peoples who formed the Venda nation this has led to a greater understanding of these formative processes and peoples (Loubser 1991). It has also been possible for instance, to identify the pottery called 'Letaba' with peoples in the Venda grouping (Evers 1979, 1981, 1988; Loubser 1991). Germane to the present research is that the general weight of research now points towards the Leopard's Kopje1 /K2/ Gumanye /Zimbabwe II pottery cluster preceding the Leopard's Kopje 2/ Mapungubwe/ Zimbabwe III & IV cluster, these being the cultures that were the genesis of what is now increasingly being called 'the Zimbabwe culture' and which is in turn associated with the group of Shona speaking peoples in present day Zimbabwe (Huffman 1978, 1996b, 2000; Manyanga 2000; Manyanga, Pikirayi & Ndoro 2000).

The potsherds found in archaeological excavations, provide the material which can be sorted into discrete categories such as shape, motifs, placement of motif and finish (Arnold 1989; Bennett & Blakely 1989; Huffman 1980a; Pikirayi 1993). These can then be used in attribute groups, such as profile and position of motif, remembering that any classification system, is, as it were, 'imposed' on the material. Simply put, the researcher should not use a system that may be pre-disposed to providing a possibly pre-determined outcome. Thus a typological classification system should be seen as part of an ongoing cycle of research, rather than an absolute technique (Hall 1996). However, a typological study will remain an important goal, particularly for establishing a sequence for an area that is relatively unknown archaeologically (Pikirayi 1993). Each pottery assemblage needs to be looked at and dealt with according to the numbers, size of fragments, state of preservation of the potsherds, to the stratigraphic control used in the excavations, and to the particular questions being asked of that assemblage. Thus important for understanding of any assemblage is attention to stratigraphic evidence, careful dating and noting correlations with other artefacts from the same site and also with pottery from sites of similar dating, from which regional contact could be possible, through trade contact, or relationships such as marriage, or political rivalry (Ch. 2).

6.3 Terminology Used in Understanding these Ceramic Assemblages

The terms tradition, phase, and facies have been used by Huffman (1974) to relate assemblages that can be recognised as having common traits. Tradition has been defined as 'a series of phases', which denote the time depth of the theme (Huffman 1974); while a phase 'equals the smallest unit that

includes all the social and material aspects possessed by the people in its components' (Huffman 1970:17 after Rouse 1967). Facie is a particular expression of a phase in a particular area. A ceramic type is denoted when a consistent style is used, and often where a consistent use is made of fabric (Pikirayi 1993). The type-site is the site where the type was first recognised and described, as for instance, Gokomere is the type-site for that style or phase of that tradition of pottery.

The use of the term tradition in southern African archaeology has been to emphasise connections and continuities, rather than the 'discrete boxes' of the older European influenced archaeologists (Hall 1987). The somewhat older term, an archaeological culture, for either a period, or a type of ceramic, was used by Summers (1950,1970) and Robinson (1959, 1966a, 1966b), and has a relatively wider scope than the term tradition, as it covers the pottery type as well as the other expressions of culture such as hut construction type, ornamentation material, implements etc. It also implies the social and behavioural traits of a society, as far as these can be determined from the archaeological record. The term was derived from the work of V. Gordon Childe under whom Summers had studied, and in archaeology the term came to be understood as 'the basic unit for temporal and spatial ordering of archaeological data' (Hall 1987, after Trigger 1980). The term apparently allowed 'sets of assemblages to be seen as the material remains of past societies' (Hall 1983 after Summers *pers. comm.*).

Whilst both of these terms have merit, it is the term tradition and its phases, that have come to be used most often in the classification and identification of southern African pottery assemblages; thus this background and the accepted usages of these terms, the names of traditions and phases already identified, such as Leopard's Kopje, K2, Gumanye or Mapungubwe, will be used here.

In the present research, the terminology used to describe the shapes or parts of ceramic vessels has been loosely based on Lawton (1967:22-29), thus I have described, for example, the basic profile of the most common vessel, as a long-necked, re-curved pot, with a poorly defined area of inflection at the juncture of the neck and shoulder and either a straight rim or a slightly everted rim (Lawton 1967) (See Fig. 6.1).

A pot is a vessel in which the height is greater than the diameter of the mouth and where the mouth is also less wide than the widest diameter of the vessel (Lawton 1967). The overall pot shape can be long-necked, short-necked, recurved, spherical or bag-shaped with a small, out-turned rim/neck, or a

straight neck and is generally larger than a bowl. The neck/shoulder junction can be well defined, or poorly defined (Lawton 1967).

A bowl is a vessel in which the diameter across the mouth is greater than the height. Bowls may be open-mouthed, either shallow wide-mouthed, or deeper and more hemi-spherical. A bowl may be slightly incurved and spherically shaped. They can be either shallow or deeper (Lawton 1967). Straighter sided bowls, (vertically) called elsewhere 'beaker bowls' (Evers 1981; Meyer 1980; Schofield 1937), are vessels in which the height exceeds the greatest diameter (Lawton 1967). Carinated bowls here are without a neck or emphasised lip. A carination is an angled inflection, forming a ridge on the outer surface, and may be either at the widest diameter of the vessel, or at the neck (Lawton 1967).

Rims are a further category to receive attention, and can be rounded, tapered, flat, rolled (beaded), or thickened. Bases are rounded and no flat or dimple bases have been identified (Huffman 1978a; Robinson 1961c), except for one flat base seen on a surface sherd from the Eastern Terrace shelter on Chumbangula (Gray 1996).

6.3i Relevant Techniques in Pottery Production

The body of the pot is started from the 'lump', built up either by the 'coil' method, or building it up through 'slabs' (Lawton 1967; Martin 1940). African pottery is not wheel-turned or fired in enclosed kilns (Herbert 1993:202). A rounded potsherd may act as a base on which to work. Sometimes the pot is joined at the centre, creating a mid-section, or 'carination' or the join is smoothed into the body of the pot (Junod 1913; Lawton 1967). Most decoration motifs are incised or impressed into the clay before firing and the smoothing of the clay is also done before firing, either with hand movements, or with a cloth or pebble. Sometimes the smoothing of the clay has rubbed and partly obscured the decoration. Burnishing is also done with a smooth pebble or object such as a large smooth seedpod, piece of leather, or mussel shell, possibly with the addition of liquid as in water. The surface of the pot can be highly rubbed or burnished when the vessel has been dried to a leather-like texture. Colour with ochre or graphite or soot can be applied (Lawton 1967). A southern Tsonga group, as explained in Junod (1913:99), applies a brown 'paint' produced from a decoction of the bark of the mangrove. The quality of the firing helps in producing the finished colour of the vessel: the pots are commonly piled up, and fired in the open, using grasses, wood and other combustible material (Herbert 1993; Martin 1940), and are thus fired at lower temperatures than

would be the case in an enclosed kiln . An even red-colour is produced by an oxidised firing, whereas uneven patches of black and red are produced by an incomplete combustion of organic carbon in the clay, or reduction in the firing (as is the ‘sandwich-effect’ seen in the walls of the pottery, where a red or brown surface may have a dark core). An oxidised firing produces the yellow-orange-red-brown ochre colours, whereas a very smokey (reduced, i.e. oxygen-depleted) firing produces grey-dark brown-blackish colours. The quality of the combustible material does affect the finished firing, but because open-fired pots are more porous than higher temperature fired ceramics, they can be better able to expand and contract on open cooking fires (Herbert 1993:203). Using the pot for cooking will also produce ‘sooting’ on the lower-mid portions. The finished durability of the vessel thus depends on both the quality of the clay, the preparation of the clay (the kneading or wedging), the kind of temper added and the quality of the firing, after a suitable drying or hardening period (Junod 1913; Lawton 1967; Martin 1941; Van der Merwe and Scully 1971). The questions surrounding the transformation of the clay and the ritualization of pot-making are significant and interesting (c.f. David, Sterner & Gavua 1988; Herbert 1993; Ndoro 1996), they do not really inform this thesis as the aim here is towards an understanding of the sequence for the area, and related issues, certainly as an underpinning for these other sorts of questions and research.

6.4 Outline of Method of Ceramic Analysis

The analysis of the pottery from the sites in the Matekes aims at defining the pottery’s range of variability, or similarity and to ascertain whether the assemblage from the excavations belonged to one or more traditions, phases, or facies of traditions (Huffman 1974). This will help to answer the question as to whether the assemblages represent one or more periods and where the assemblages fit in with other known assemblages in the region.

I have analysed the pottery from Chumbangula and Mwenezi by identifying the attributes of the pottery and using these in a multi-variant analysis. Methods employed by different archaeologists who have worked with Farming Community pottery assemblages (Huffman 1974, 1980a; Evers 1988; Evers & Van der Merwe 1987; Maggs 1976, 1980; Meyer 1980; Pikirayi 1993; Robinson 1961a; Sinclair 1986; Whitelaw 1996), were examined and taken into consideration.

The pottery assemblages from the excavations on Chumbangula and Mwenezi are housed in Harare, at the University of Zimbabwe. I examined the pottery there during three visits to the Department of

History, in the Archaeology Unit between 1999 and 2001. I am grateful for the help and cooperation from colleagues in that Department.

I used a preliminary method of analysis that would preserve the maximum of information. This was in the form of a semi-pictorial record, which documented the profile, rim shape, decoration motif, technique and position, with the numbers of sherds in each bag. Information as to colour, finish, fabric, broadly defining type or function, such as bowl or pot, was also recorded. Sherds which were regarded as being diagnostic (that is which included a profile, orientation and/or rim, with decoration and identifiable position of decoration, plus any finish such as burnish or colour) were noted.

The attributes used for this analysis have been drawn from two sets of multi-variants, firstly vessel profile and placement of decoration; and secondly decoration motif and method of decoration, including use of burnish or colour where this is relevant. Only diagnostic sherds with rims and enough profile or orientation to infer shape, have been used for the profile classes used for this analysis. While colour of clay, use of temper, firing, function and size have been noted, these have not been used in the multi-variant analysis, but have been used as extra diagnostic attributes, when looking at known traditions or phases. Minimum numbers of vessels have been inferred from numbers of obviously different rim-sherds or sherds which display enough profile to be diagnostic. Where possible sherds have been refitted and counted as single vessels. Decorated sherds with decoration or finish such as burnish, but too small for orientation, were analysed separately. Plain body sherds were separated and counted, with notes taken as to colour, temper, patina, soot blackening, size i.e. within a range of above or below 2-3, 6-8 cms in width or height.

Information is available in the Dept. of History, Archaeology Unit, at the University of Zimbabwe, on measurements and weights of individual sherds, for the Chumbangula assemblage (Pikirayi *pers. comm.* 2001). These statistics have not been used in the present analysis, as I did not require them for the multi-variant system using shape, decoration and position of decoration. The small original surface material collection from 1958 (Cooke) is housed in the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare (Chumbangula 2130:DD.6). In addition several items from surface collection and survey have been accessed in the Museum collections from recent field work by J. Gray (1999, 2002).

6.5 The Chumbangula Ceramic Data

A method of analysis using as many profile sherds as were identifiable from the excavated pottery from Chumbangula has been followed. The assemblage was relatively small, consisting of 3680

sherds, just under 10% (320) of which were diagnostic as to profile (Table 6.2). As a whole, the pottery was fairly fragmented. No whole pots were found, though some could be re-fitted and several reconstructed for drawing. Table 6.1 presents the gross numbers of potsherds from the six Test Pits and the Four Trenches at Chumbangula. In Table 6.2, the number of sherds (that is 624 sherds) used in all feature sherd categories, such as profile sherds as well as decorated fragments, rims and burnished sherds, has been grouped according to different categories (profile sherds here are all those sufficiently large as to demonstrate vessel profile (Figs. 6.1, 6.1a)). The most important diagnostic group from Table 6.2 is that of the 320 Profile Sherds, which has been used for the multi-variant analysis. It is from this group that the characteristics of the pottery have been identified and described. The numbers in the feature sherds list (Table 6.2) are not cumulative, as certain sherds may fit in to one or more categories.

Sherds	Numbers	Percentage of Total
Undecorated plain body sherds	3056	83%
Feature sherds	624	17%
Total count of sherds	3680	100%

Table 6.1 Gross Numbers of Sherds at Chumbangula

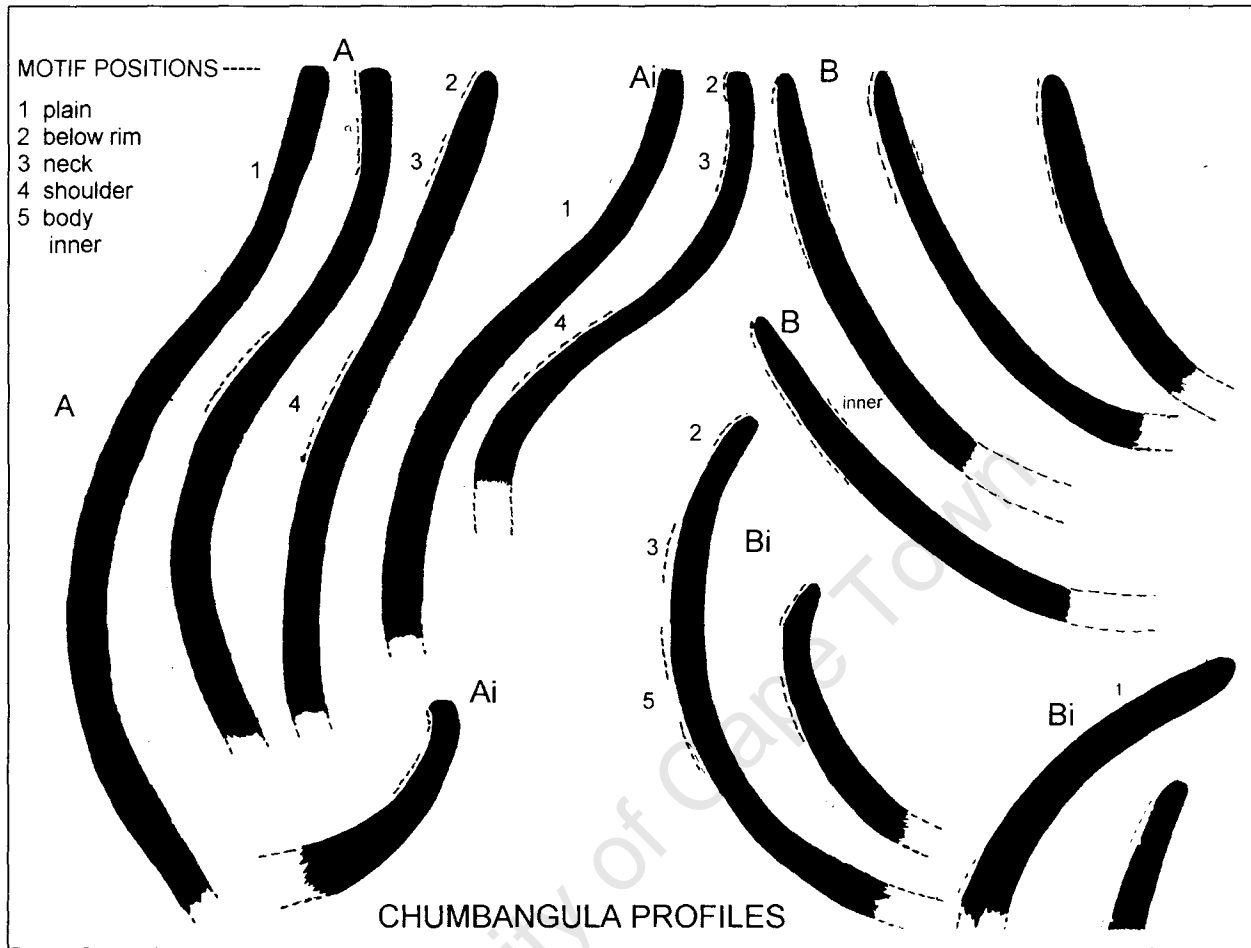
Categories of Features	Total feature sherds - 624	Percentage of 624 feature sherds	Percentage of Total 3678 sherds
Spindle Whorl / reworked sherds	20	3.2%	0.5%
Graphite finished sherds	20	3.2%	0.5%
Ochre finished sherds	44	7.05%	1.2%
Soot finished and/or encrusted	66	10.6%	1.8%
Burnished profile sherds	44	7.05%	1.2%
Burnished sherds – (incl. frags. & plain)	163	26.1%	4.4%
Rims plain	182	29.2%	4.9%
Rims decorated	73	11.7%	2.0%
Minimum numbers of vessels	263	42.1%	7.1%
Number of decorated fragments	286	46.8%	7.7%
No of Profile Sherds	320	51.3%	8.7%

Table 6.2 Categories of Features, Numbers and Percentages – categories

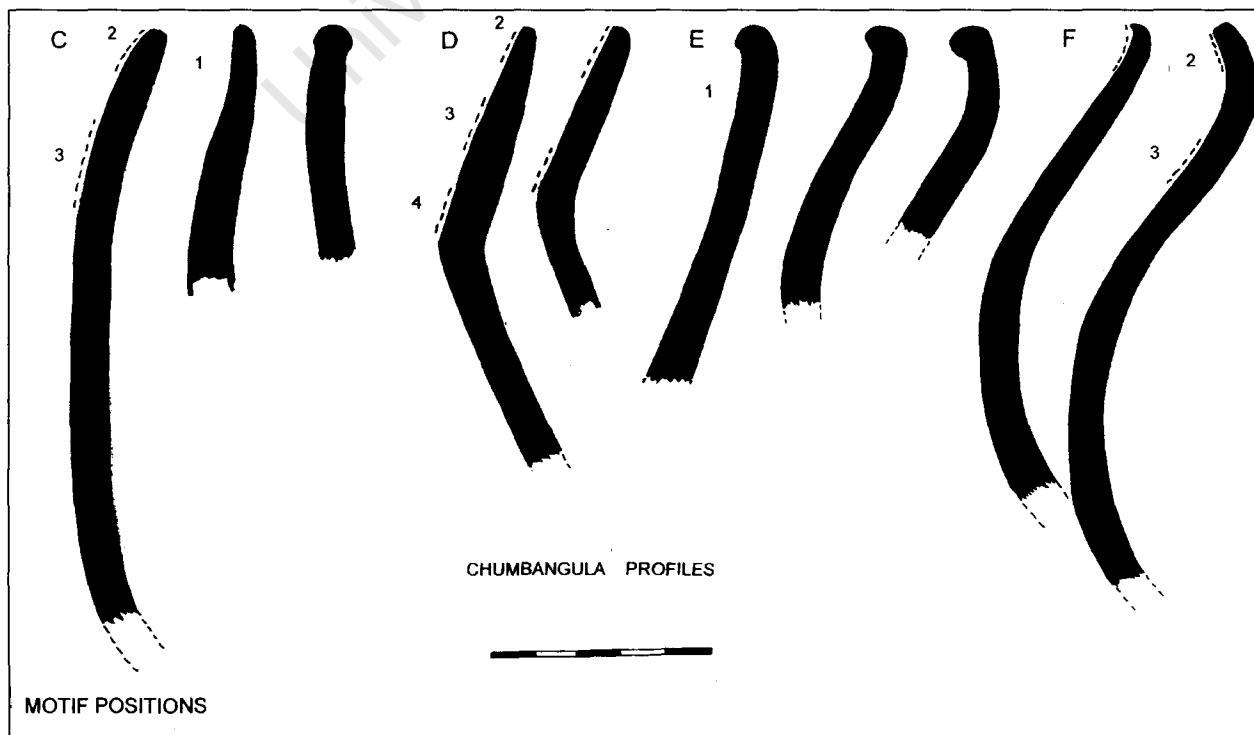
6.5i Attributes – Profile, Motif position, Decoration motifs, Method of decoration

The attributes in the multi-dimensional classes used to analyse the pottery are defined. The first set of attributes consists of profile and motif placement on the vessel, which are defined below (and in Ch. 6.5i, ii). The second set of attributes includes the motif group and method of decoration, for instance, horizontal lines, cross-hatching or obliques, all incised; or punctates, impressed (Ch. 6.5iii,

iv. v). The classes stemming from the combinations of these groups are arranged according to Profile and the positioning of the decoration combined with the type of decoration motif (6.5vi).



Figs. 6.1 and 6.1a - Profiles A, Ai, B, Bi, C, D, E, F showing Motif Positions



Profile A – long-necked, re-curved pot, sometimes straight rim, or very slightly out-turned rim and weak shoulder definition	Ai – long-necked, more clearly re-curved pot, out-turned rim & neck (or straighter), and stronger shoulder definition than the A profile	B – open-mouthed, shallow bowl, hemispherical, no neck	Bi – Slightly in-turned rim and neck, rounded bowl, sub-spherical, with no neck
C – Vertically oriented bowl, rounded base (not true-beaker)	D – Carinated bowl, usually straight neck/rim	E – Beaded rim, an everted rim, somewhat concave neck, broadening at shoulder. Also straight neck with pot broadening at shoulder	F – Short-necked pot, occasionally a very small everted rim, or none, rounded profile, or neck definition. Somewhat bowl-like but height more than mouth

Table 6.2a The Profiles – See Figs. 6.1, 6.1a (see Section 6.5v for Description and Classes)

6.5ii The Motif Positions - See Figs. 6.1, 6.1a : -

<u>1</u> – undecorated – no motif position	<u>2</u> - below rim
<u>3</u> – neck	<u>4</u> - shoulder
<u>5</u> – body	
<u>2+4</u> - rim and shoulder - more than one position utilised	
<u>2+5</u> - rim and body “	<u>3+4</u> - neck & shoulder “

6.5iii Decoration motifs at Chumbangula

Motif Groups a – h (Figs. 6.2-13)

Group a. Horizontal Lines, single, double, or multiple.

Incised with fine line or broad line, occasionally grooved (Figs. 6.12:3; 6.15:6; 6.16:4);

Group b. Triangle, Chevron or Arcade, can be in-filled with obliques, lines, crosshatch or small dots/punctates. Incised, fine or broad line (Figs. 6.4:7,8; 6.5:7,9; 6.13:5,7; 6.15:7; 6.16:1).

Group c. Obliques, to left or right, open bands, or enclosed between horizontal lines.

Single band. Incised, fine or broad (Figs. 6.3:3,4; 6.4:1; 6.13:1,9).

Group d. Cross-hatching, single open bands, or enclosed between horizontal lines

Sub-group dd - cross-hatched multiple bands double or triple, joined,

Sub-group d d d – cross-hatched multiple bands, separated. Incised.

(Figs. 6.4:2-6; 6.5:6, 8,13; 6.6:5,6,8; 6.7:1-7, 9-11; 6.12:2,5; 6.13:2-4, 6,8; 6.15:4,5,9; 6.16:2).

Group e. Punctates, may be in single, or double rows, or enclosed between horizontal lines, Sub-group ee - double row, joined. Stab-impressed

(Fig. 6.3:6-9; 6.4:7; 6.5:4-5; 6.12:4,6; 6.15:7; 6.16,3).

Group f. Comb-stamping. A pattern of regular, even impressions, this motif is rare in excavated material (see Surface Sherds in Figs. 6.24:6; 6.28:1,2,5,7,10).

Group h. Plain :- m, m/s – matte, or matte/smooth; b - burnish, r.b, bl.b, br.b - red, black, brown burnish; ochre, o – r.o – y.o, red ochre, yellow ochre; graphite, g; soot – s,

(Figs. 6.3:1,2,5; 6.5:1-3, 10-12; 6.6:1-4, 6.8:1,2; 6.11:1-3,5-7,9,10,12-15; 6.12:1; 6.15,2)

6.5iv Techniques of decoration:-

Incision is made with sharp objects such as an arrow-head, bone or sharp stick, fine or broad,

Grooving is done with a slightly thicker, rounder U-shaped object,

Punctate (impression) is done with a pointed or rounded object such as a grass-stalk,

or stick. Other impressions can be made with a shell edge, or bead.

Comb stamping is made with an object with regular protrusions ((for instance, made of clay, e.g., see Robinson 1960:21, 1961c).

6.5v Description of Profiles and the Profile Classes

Profile A A long-necked recurved pot, with a poorly defined point of inflection where the neck and the shoulder merge (Fig. 6.1). The neck is fairly straight and can be only slightly everted at rim, or straight. Rims may be flat, rounded or tapered. The decorated classes have motifs of horizontal lines, pendant triangles, obliques, cross-hatching or punctates, below the rim, on the neck, or on the shoulder (Figs. 6.3, 6.4, 6.16). The bands are usually single, but can be joined multiple bands on the shoulder or in a layout²⁰ on the rim and shoulder.

Classes - A1, plain, burnish or colour (Fig. 6.3:1,5); A2, motif below rim (Fig. 6.3:3,4,6-8; 6.4:7; 6.12:5; 6.16:3); A3, on the neck (6.4:3,8; 6.16:1); A4, on the shoulder (Fig. 6.4:2,6) –



the A4 class may display double or multiple joined bands (Fig. 6.2, 6.4:4,5). There are also examples of Class A2+4, that is, a layout on rim and shoulder (Fig. 6.12.2) of multiple bands, these can be of differing motifs.

Fig. 6.2 Profile Class **A4** pot, that is:- Long-necked pot, with shoulder decoration (i.e. at position 4) of cross-hatched motif, displayed as a double joined band (without outer defining lines).

²⁰ A layout is indicated where more than one motif position is used, for instance, the rim and the shoulder, where the motif can differ in these positions, but not necessarily.

(Thus, the example of a Class incorporating profile, position and motif group is written out as:- **A4dd**
= Profile **A**, motif position **4** at shoulder, motif group **dd**, crosshatch, joined multiple band.

Profile Ai (Fig.6.1) A long-necked recurved pot, with a more obviously defined point of inflection at the neck and shoulder junction, and possibly a more emphasised neck, or again straight, the rims may be flat, rounded or tapered. A band of decoration occurs either below the rim, on the neck, or on the shoulder, with the same range of motifs as **A**. The bands are generally single, but there are examples of joined multiple bands, mostly on the shoulder (Fig. 6.4:4).

Classes - **Ai1** plain or burnish (Fig. 6.3:2); **Ai2** below rim; **Ai3** on neck (Fig. 6.3:9);
Ai4 on shoulder (Fig. 6.4:4,6).

Profile B (Fig.6.1) An open-mouthed bowl, shallow with a wide mouth, both smaller and larger sizes. The bowl is either plain; or has a single band of decoration of horizontal lines, triangle or chevron, obliques, cross-hatching, or punctates, or multiple bands of crosshatching joined, and separate, below the rim, or on the neck/shoulder, rims are flat, rounded or tapered (Fig. 6.5).

Classes - **B1**, plain, burnish or colour (Fig.6.5:1-3; 6.15:1,2) ; **B2**, motif below rim (Fig. 6.5:5,8,9; 6.16:2), **B3/5**at neck/body (6.5:4,7); **B5**, multiple bands on body (Fig. 6.5:6)
B2+5 multiple bands on rim and body, layout (6.15:9).

Profile Bi (Fig. 6.1) An incurved bowl, spherical, without a neck, slightly constricted, either plain, or with a band of decoration of pendant triangles, arcade, cross-hatching or punctates, below the rim, or on the upper body, can be burnished. There are examples of joined multiple bands (Fig. 6.5:13) and of multiple separated bands of crosshatching (Fig. 6.15:5). Also, separated bands of single crosshatch bands at equal distances from one another (Fig. 6.13:2).

Classes - **Bi1** plain (Fig. 6.15:8) ; **Bi2** motif below rim (Fig. 6.16:1); **Bi3** neck/shoulder (Fig. 6.15:6,7); **Bi5** body; **Bi2+5** multiple bands (Fig. 6.15:5).

Profile C (Fig. 6.1a) A straighter vertically oriented bowl, without a neck and flat, tapered or rounded rims. Often plain, matte and smoothed with some burnishing or colour, and can have a band of decoration of obliques or crosshatch below the rim, or on the upper body.

Classes - **C1**, plain, burnish or colour (Fig. 6.5:10-12; 6.10:1,2)); **C2**, motif below rim; **C2+3**, below rim and on neck;

Profile D (Fig. 6.1a) A bowl with a carination at the widest part of the bowl, that is, on the shoulder/ body junction. Either plain, or with a band of crosshatching on the upper side of the carination; or a more complex design of an upper band and a lower band of crosshatching, with a joining diagonal band, above the carination (Fig. 6.7:3, 7).

Classes - D1, plain, matte; **D2**, motif below rim (Fig. 6.7:1); **D4**, on shoulder, above carination (Fig. 6.7:2,4); **D2+3+4**, complex layout over rim, neck, shoulder (Fig. 6.7:3,7).

Profile E (Fig. 6.1a) A necked pot, with a rolled (beaded) rim. Where the rim is beaded, the neck is usually recurved and the rim can be slightly everted. The neck can be straight and of a narrow aperture. This vessel is generally undecorated and is often burnished (Fig. 6.6).

Classes - E1, straighter neck, narrow, plain, matte or burnished (Fig. 6.6:2,4); **E2**, beaded (rolled) rim, plain, burnished (Fig. 6.6:1,3).

Profile F (Fig. 6.1a) Rounded or spherical pot, with a small neck, and a very small everted rim, but can also be straight. It can be somewhat similar in profile to A and Ai (though shorter in distance in neck), but is generally a smaller vessel, and has a limited range of motif use, mostly of crosshatching at the rim, or on the neck. Either plain, burnish or matte, or with a single band of decoration. Rims rounded, or tapered. This class may have separated multiple bands, at equidistance, on the shoulder/body area. Difference to Bi profile is that this class often has a neck and the height is more than the width of the mouth.

Classes - F1, plain or burnish (Fig. 6.7:8; **F2**, single band of decoration below rim (Fig. 6.7:5.6); **F3**, towards neck, often burnished above motif (Fig. 6.7:10-11). There may be separated double or multiple bands at the neck and shoulder (but see Class Bi, Fig. 6.7.9).

See Appendix 2 for Tables I & II, which include the pottery data set out stratigraphically from the six Test Pits and four Trenches from Chumbangula. This data provides the basis for statistical analysis, from which tables, graphs and charts are drawn.

6.6 Description of Excavated Pottery from Chumbangula Hill (Table 6.3)

6.6i The Pots:- Essentially, the character of the pottery from Chumbangula is defined by Profile A (Fig. 6.1, Ch. 6.5v), the long-necked, recurved pot with poorly defined shoulder, often decorated with a single band of decoration on the neck or shoulder (Figs. 6.3:9, 6.4:1-2; 6.16:4). The A profile pots have either a fairly upright neck and shoulder (Figs. 6.3:3,5,8; 6.4:2-3; 6.12:2) or it may be slightly more recurved (6.3:1; 6.4:6). The A Profile vessel occurs at all levels, in all excavated areas

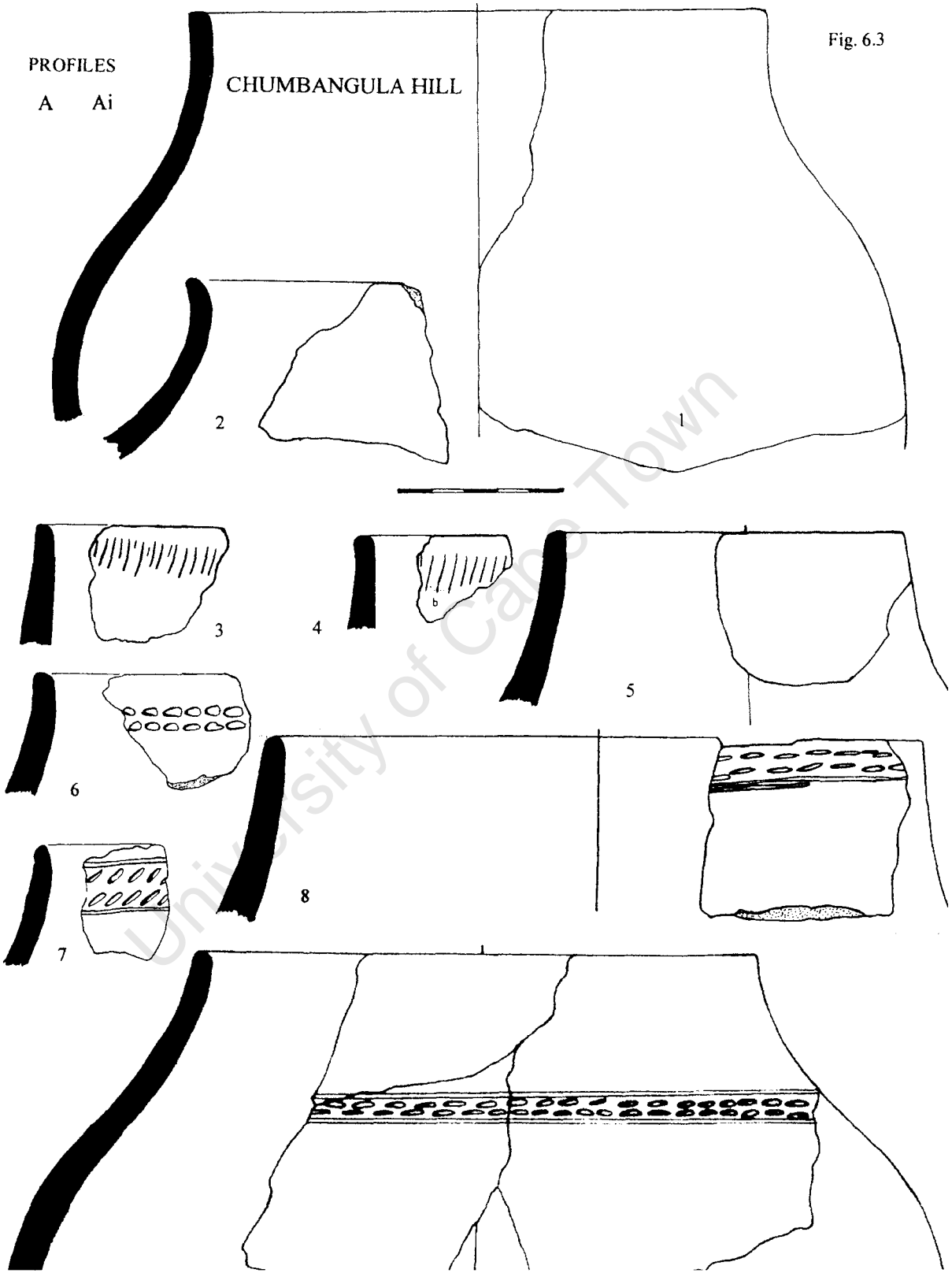


Figure 6.3 Chumbangula, Profiles A, Ai, motif positions 1,2,3, motif groups, h, c, e, Classes

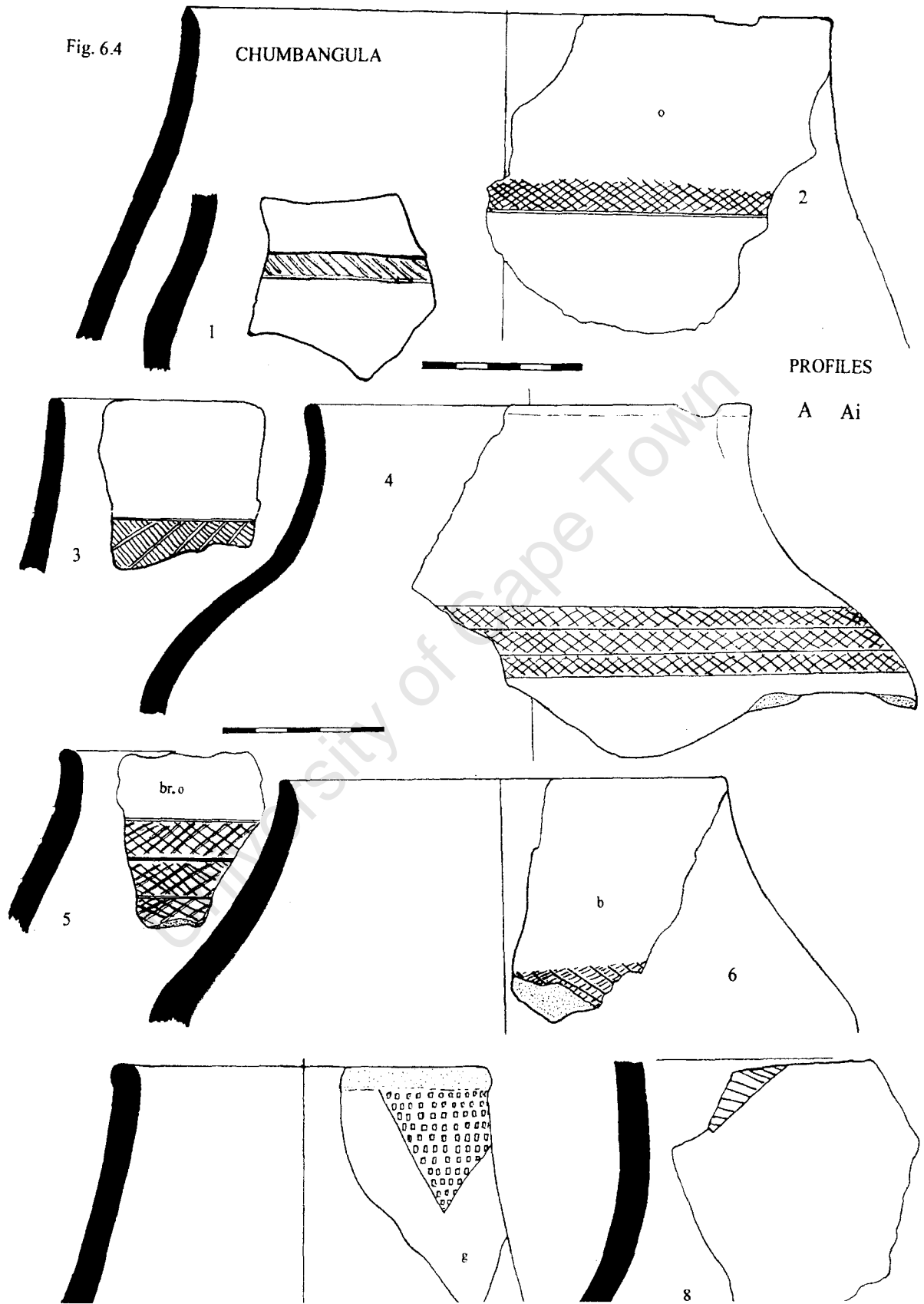


Figure 6.4 Chumbangula, Profiles A, Ai, motif positions 2,3,4, motif groups b, c, d, e

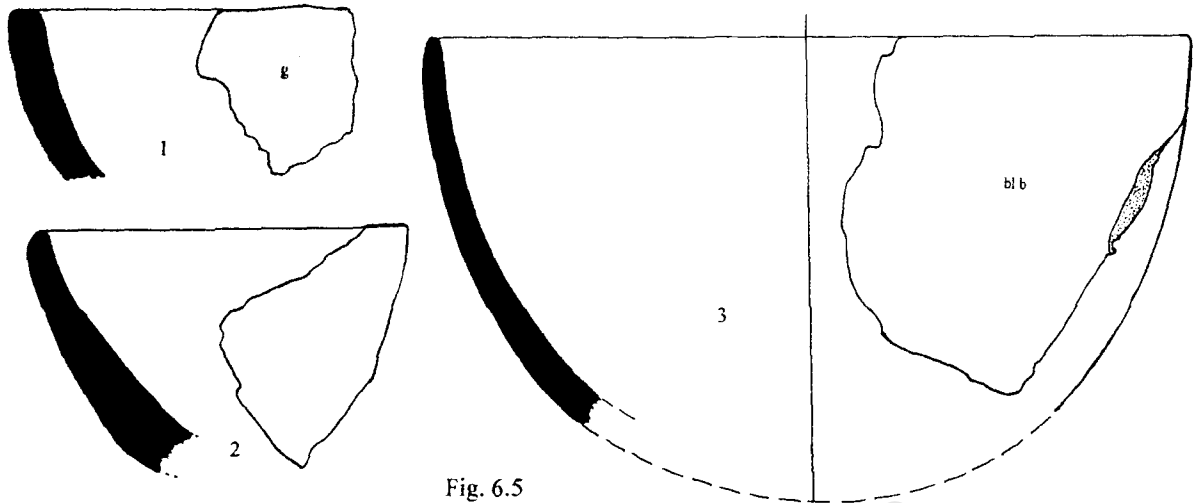
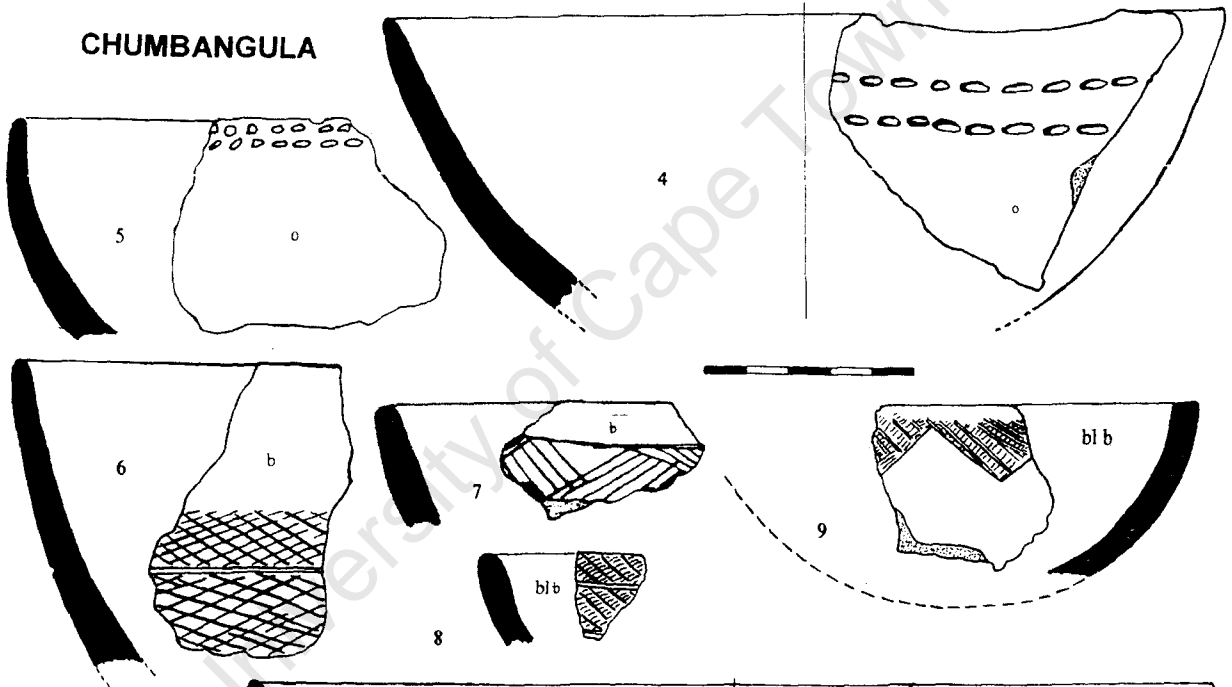


Fig. 6.5

CHUMBANGULA



PROFILES

B Bi C

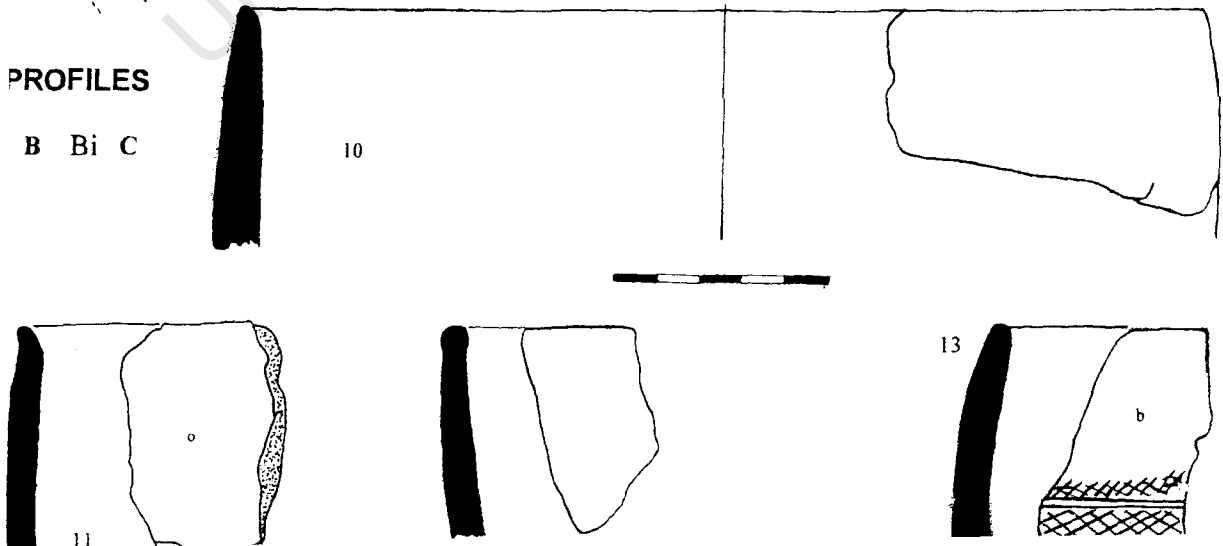


Figure 6.5 Chumbangula, Profiles B, Bi, C, motif positions 2,3,4,5, motif groups b, d, e

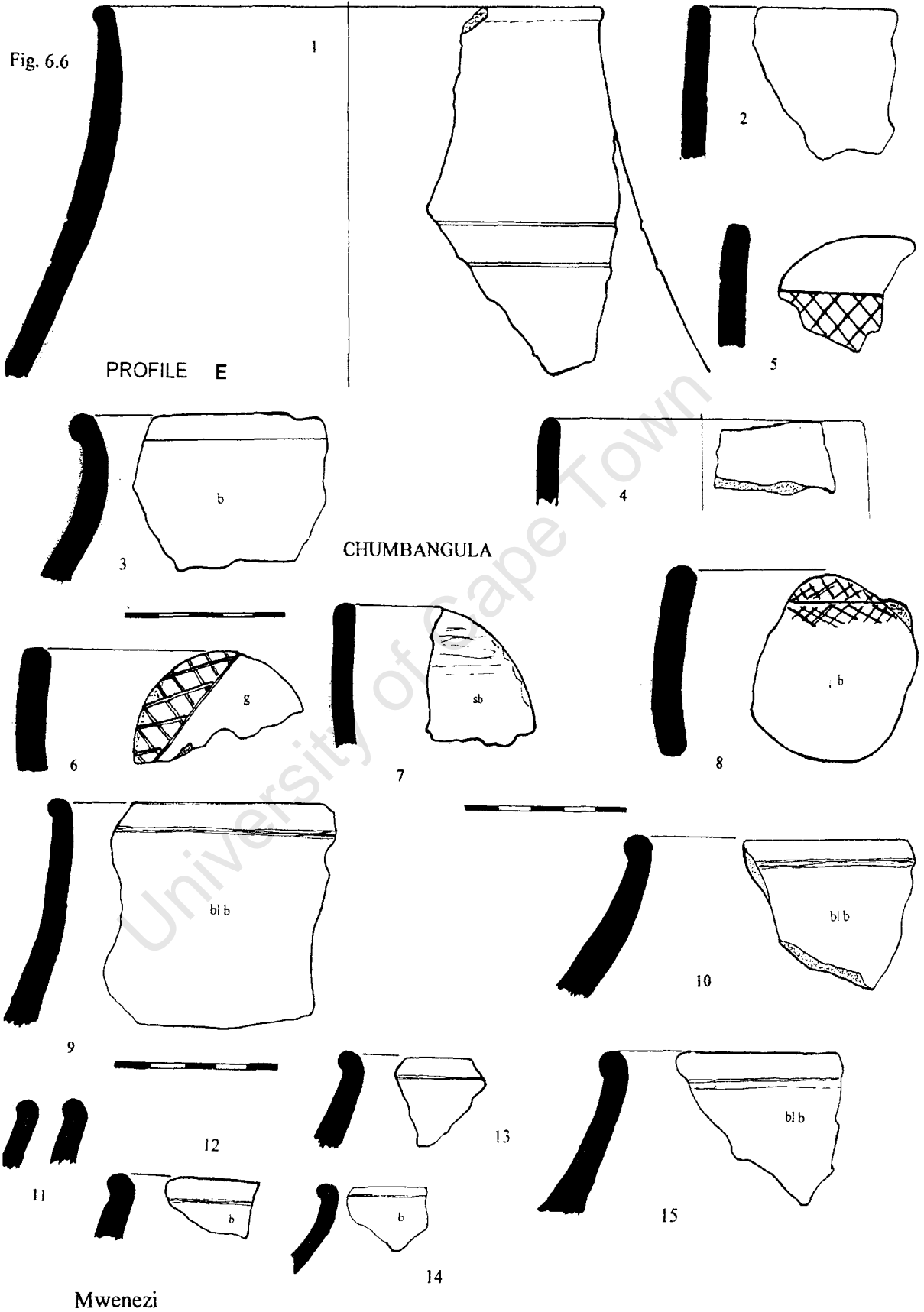


Figure 6.6 Chumbangula 1-8, Mwenezi 9-15, Profile E, Motif position 4, motif group a; Spindle Whorl

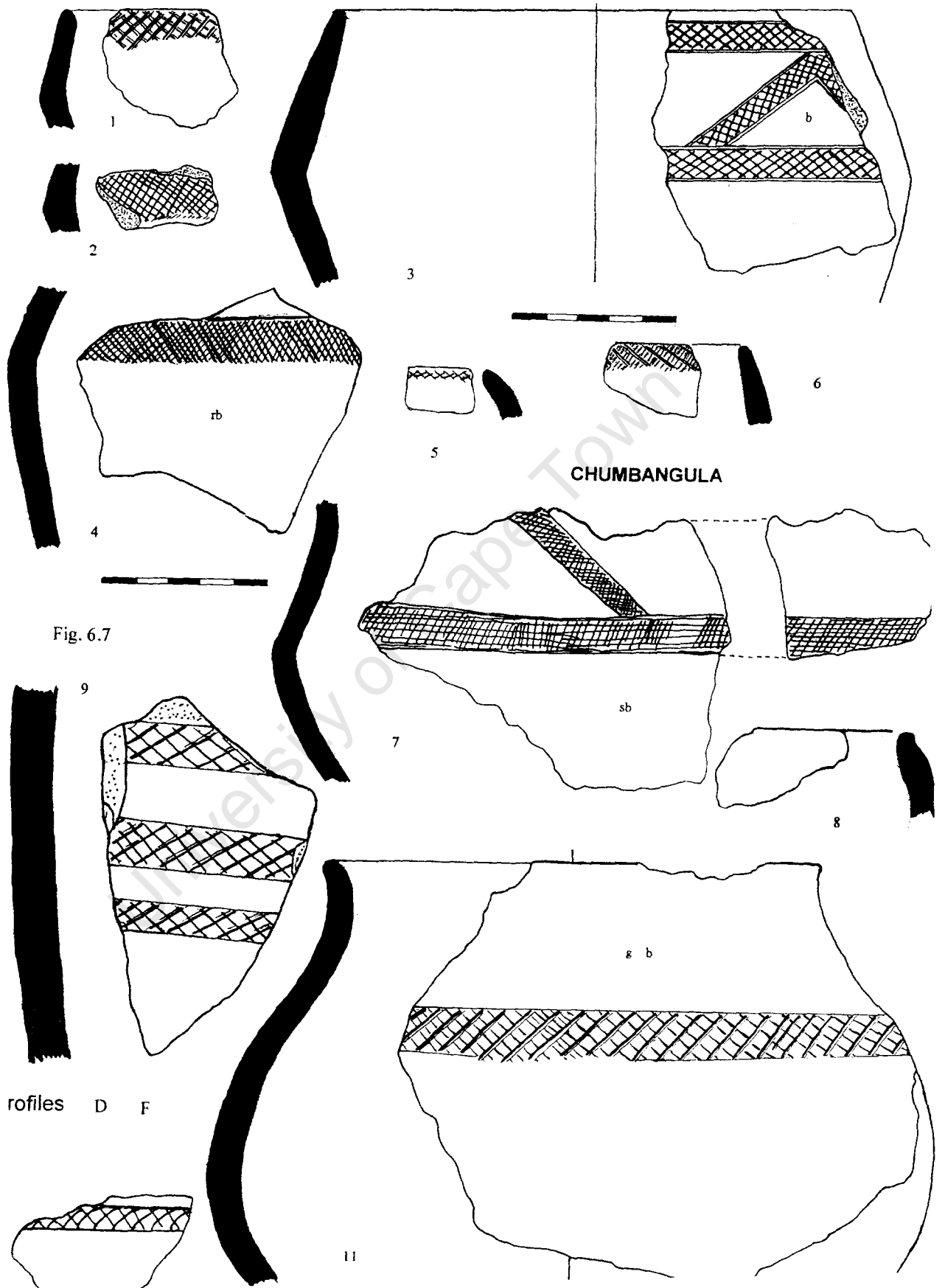


Figure 6.7 Chumbangula 1-9, Profiles D, F, motif group d

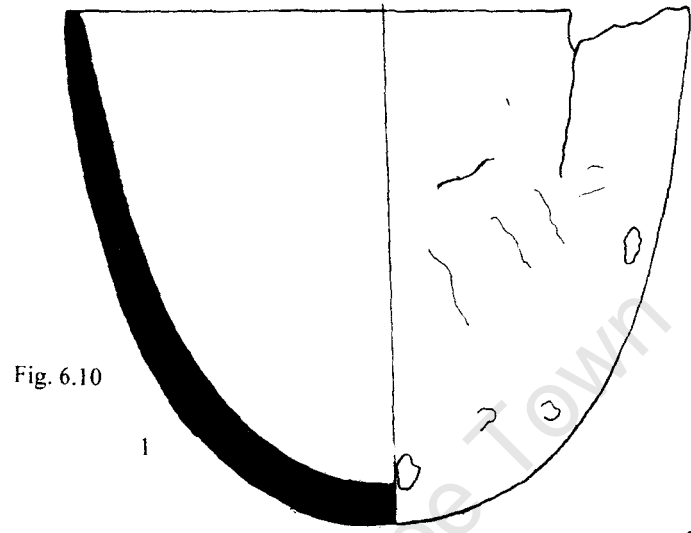


Fig. 6.10

CHUMBANGULA

C

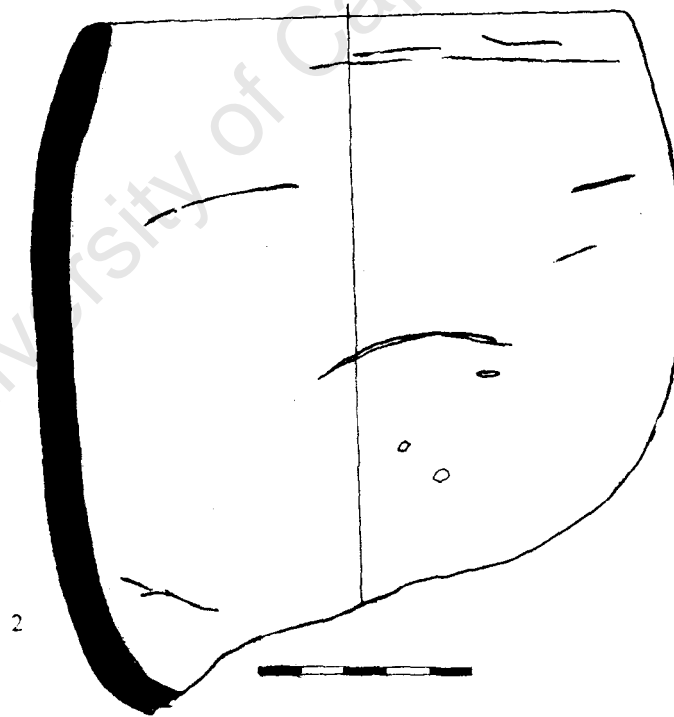


Figure 6.10 Chumbangula, Profile C

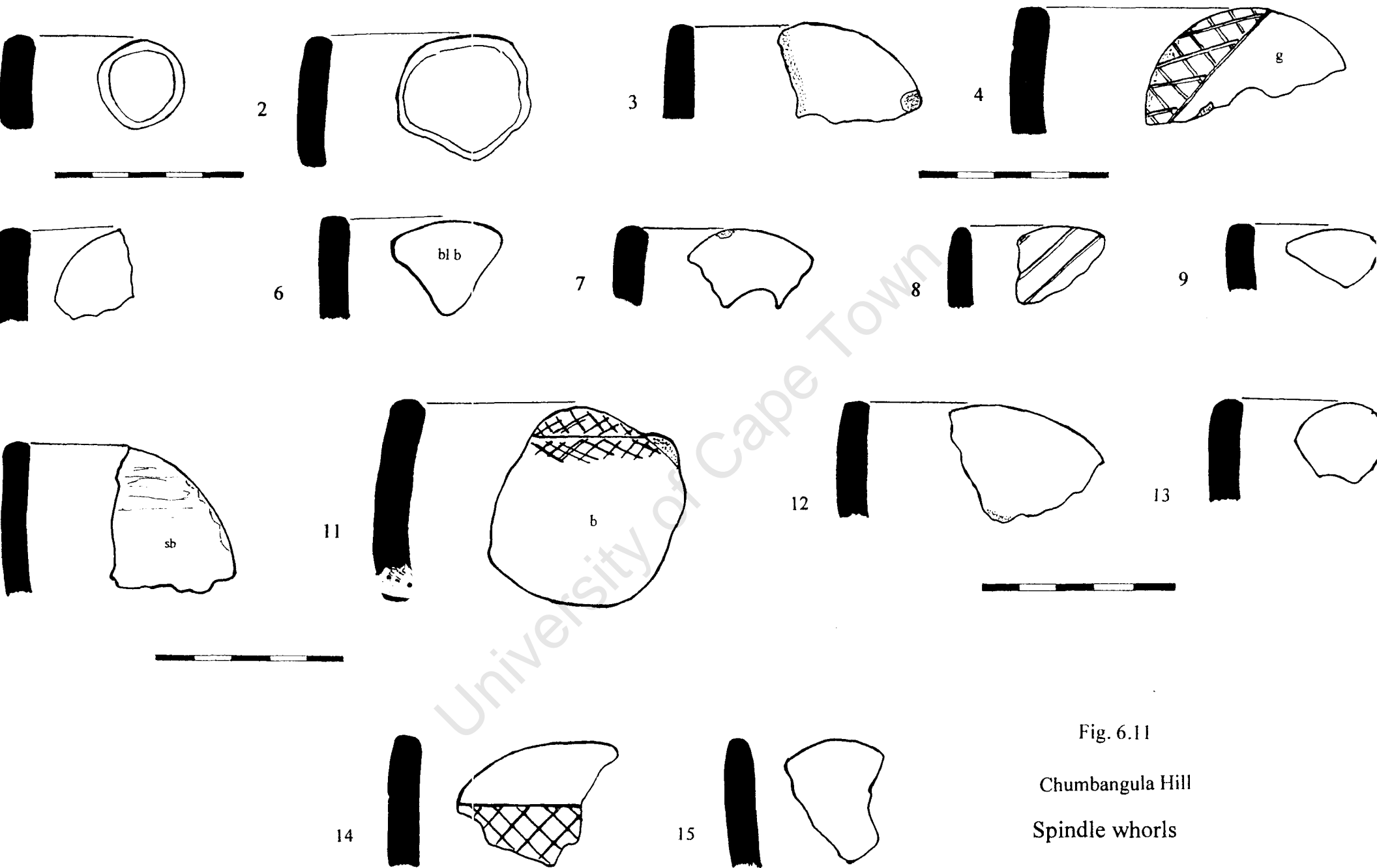


Fig. 6.11
Chumbangula Hill
Spindle whorls

Fig. 6.12

Chumbangula

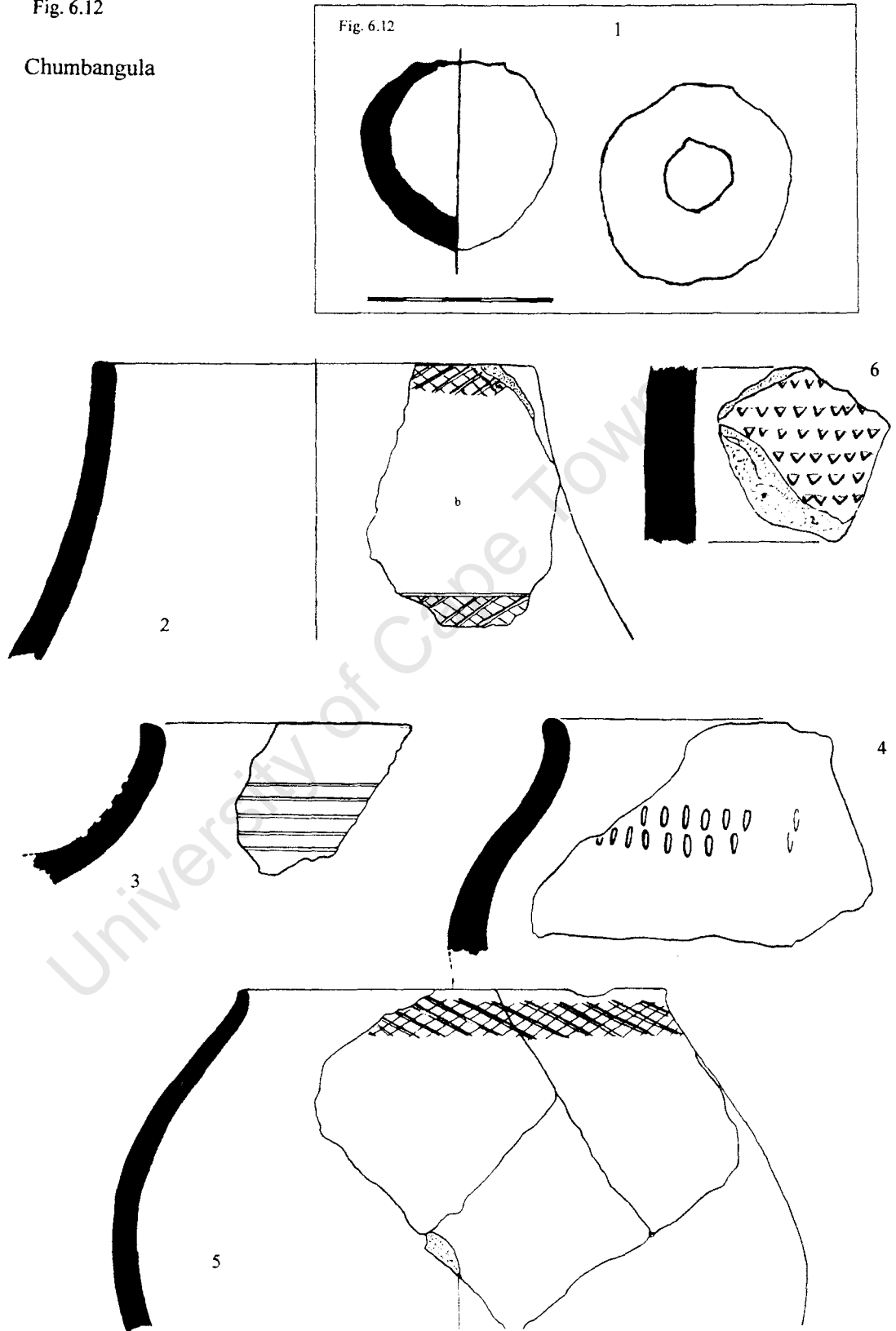


Figure 6.12 Chumbangula, Profile A, I, motifs a, d, e; Child's' Pot.

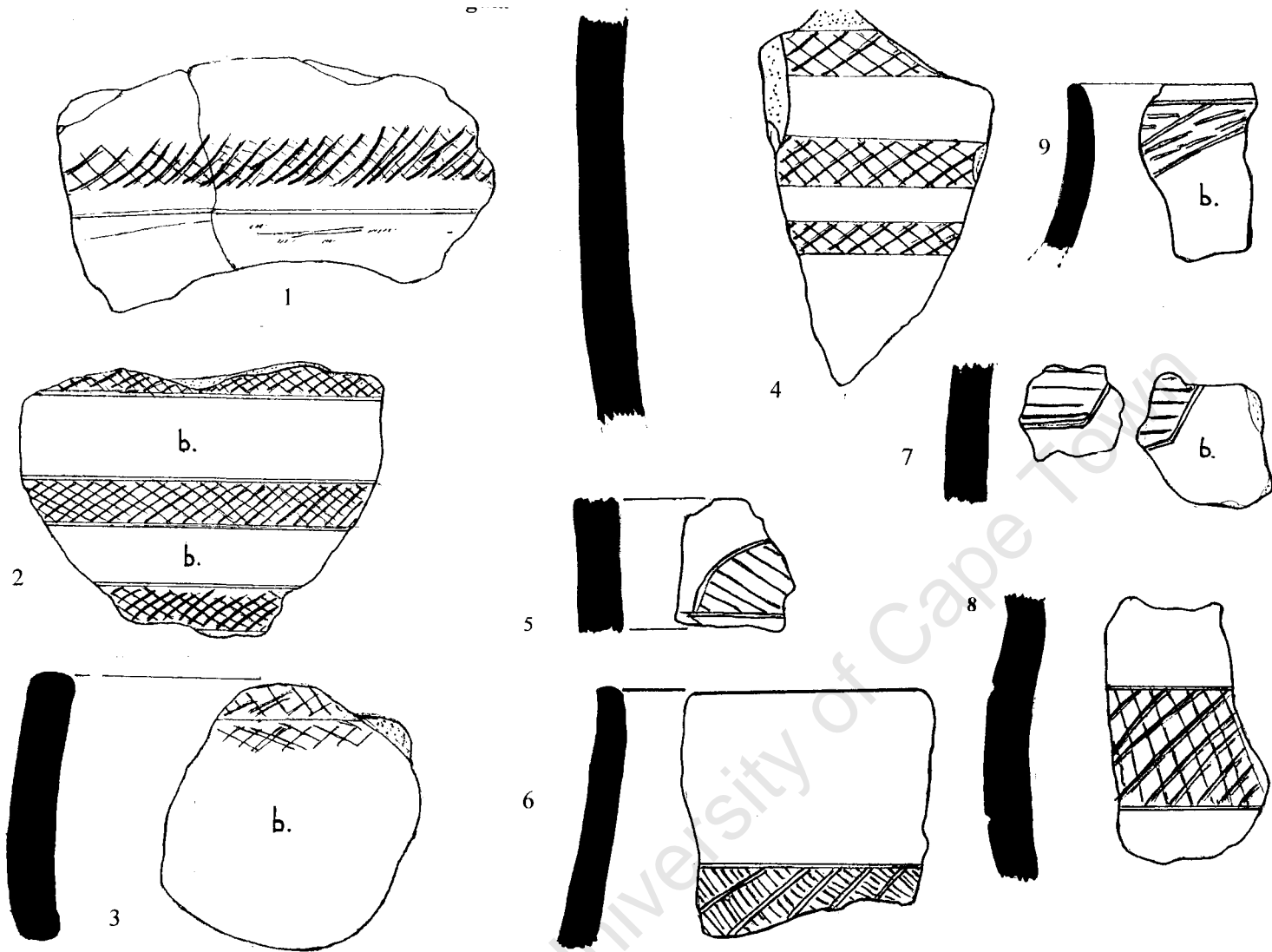


Figure 6.13 Chumbangula, Decorated fragments, motifs b, d

Fig. 6.15

Chumbangula Hill

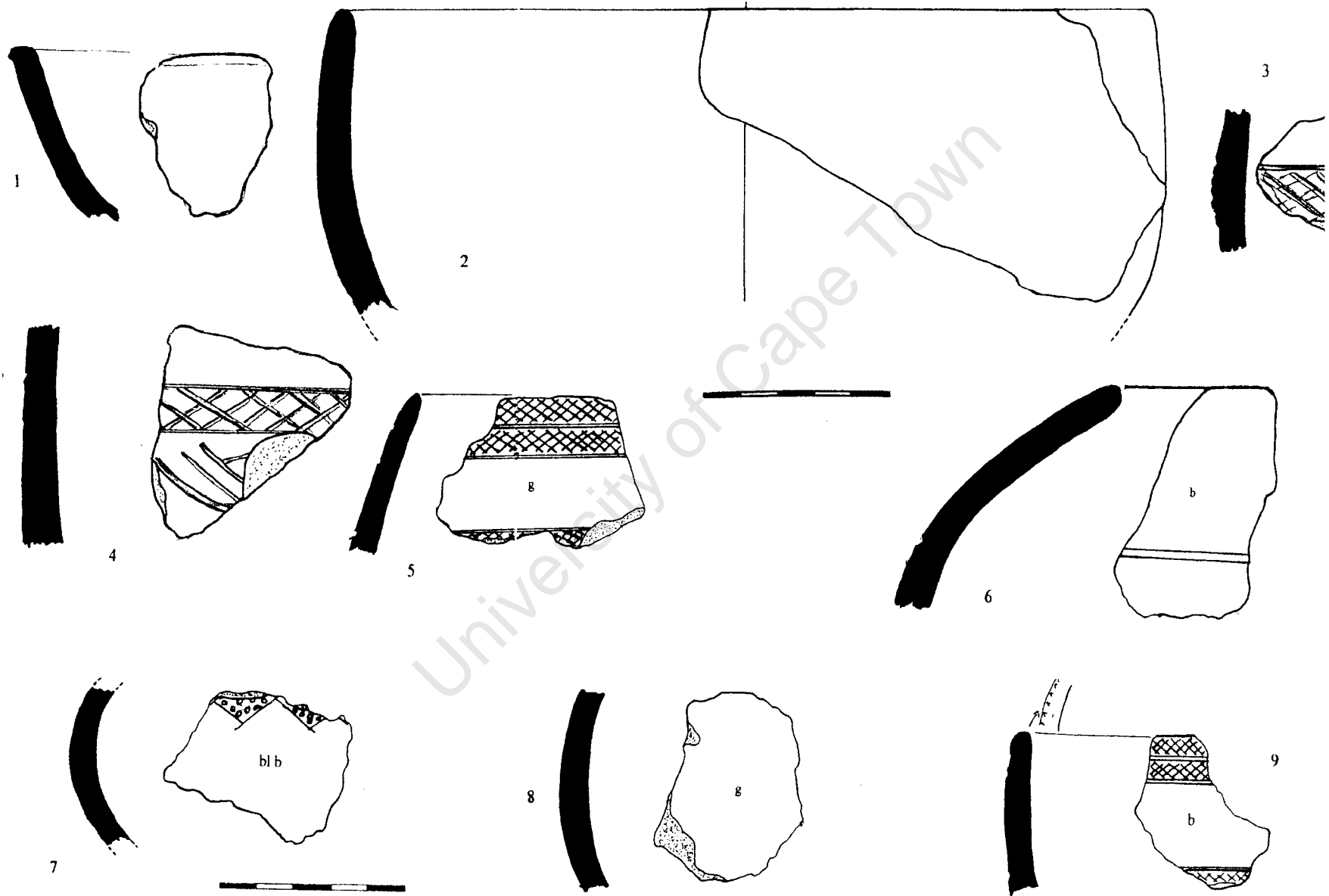


Fig. 6.15 Chumbangula Hill Pottery

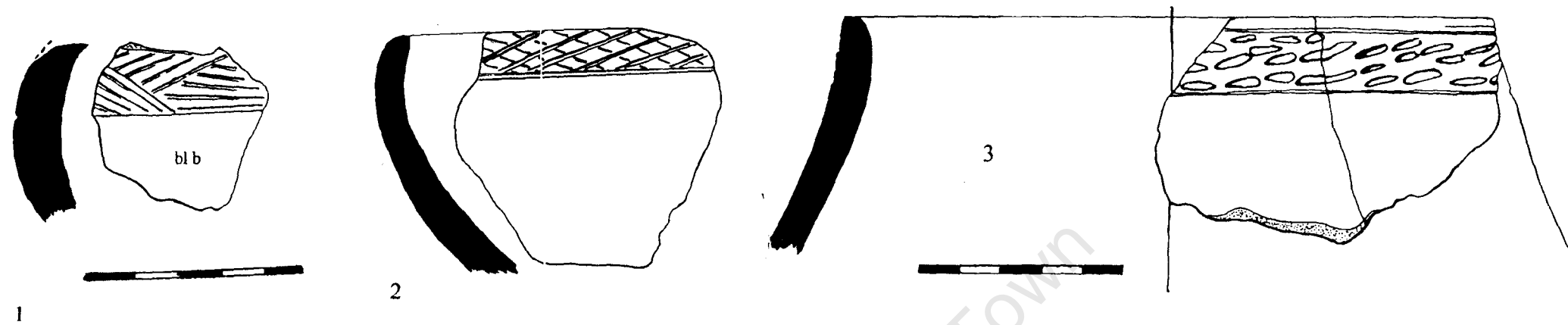


Fig. 6.16

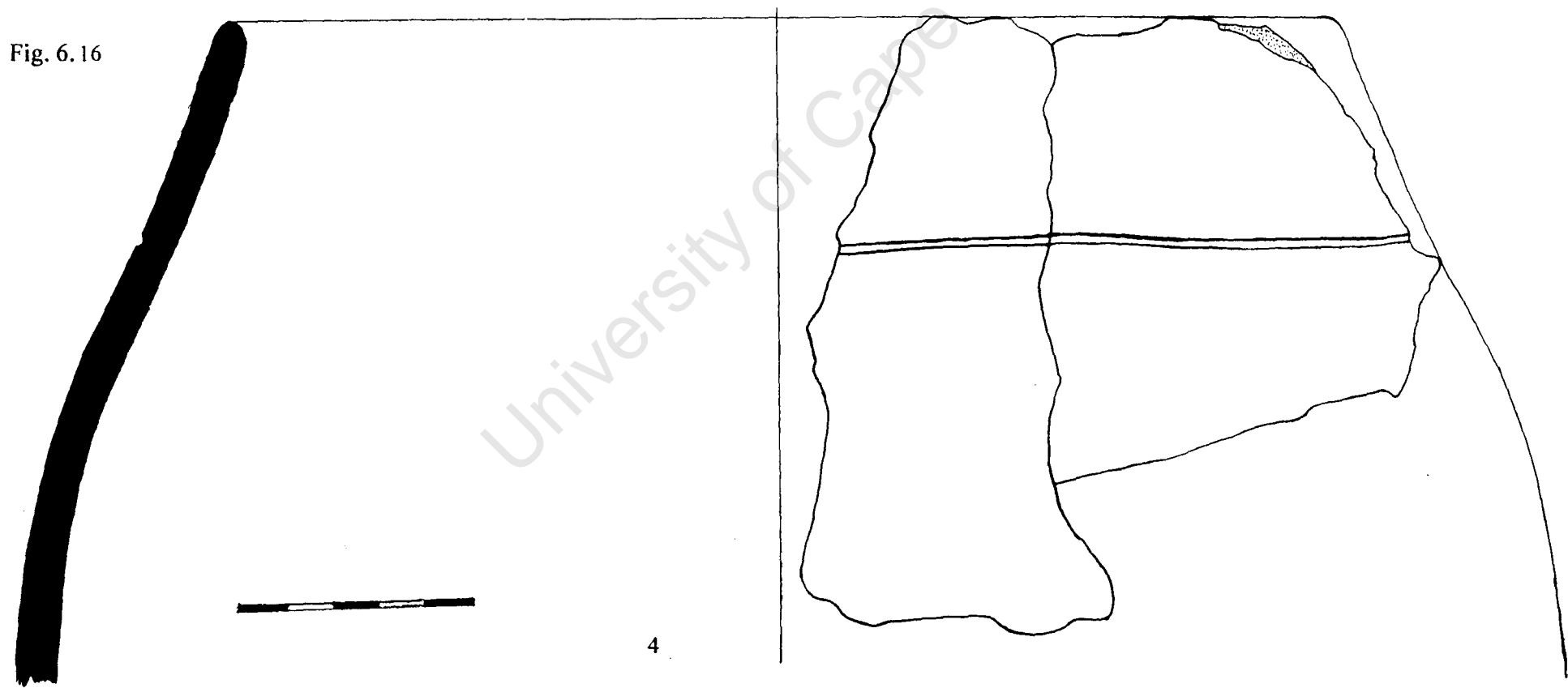


Fig. 6.16 Chumbangula Hill pottery

and represents 42.6% of the total profile sherds, a number of 136 out of the 320 profile examples (Table 6.3). Of this number 66 examples are plain, of which the majority are matte finished (Fig.6.3:1,8,9), as only 14 are burnished, brown or black (Table 6.6), four have an ochred finish and only one has a graphite finish. Sixty of the A profiles are decorated with a single band of decoration (Figs. 6.3:3-9, 6.4:1-3; 6.16:4), nine have multiple bands on the shoulder (all crosshatch) (Figs.6.2, 6.4:4), only one has single bands in two positions, below the rim as well as on the shoulder (Fig. 6.12:2). The bands of decoration below the rim (position 2, Ch. 6.5ii) are nearly all oblique or of punctates (Fig. 6.3:3,4,6-8), a lesser number on the neck centre on horizontal lines (Fig. 6.16:4), with a few of obliques, crosshatch or punctates (Fig. 6.4:3). Whilst there is a cross-section of decorative motifs on the shoulder (position 4) (Table 6.3), the majority are of cross-hatching (Fig.6.4:1-2, 4-6). An example of an A profile pot has a pendant triangle at neck (Fig. 6.4:8).

Profile Ai - To a lesser degree the pottery is also characterised by the Ai profile (Table 6.3; Fig. 6.1), with the more pronounced shoulder and rim (Fig. 6.3:2, 6.4:4; 6.12:3,4). Mostly plain vessels represent the Ai Profile (Fig.6.3:2) some of these are burnished, whilst there are several examples again of single bands with a similar range of decorative motifs (Figs.6.3:9; 6.4:6; 6.12:4) and a multiple horizontal line motif (Fig. 6.4:4; 6.12:3).

Together these two variations (**A**, **Ai**) of the re-curved, long-necked profile constitute 171, or 53.4% of the total profile count (Table 6.3). These are evenly distributed between plain (89) and decorated (82). Crosshatching is the most common motif, at 34% of the decorated A and Ai sherds; with secondly punctates at 29% (Fig. 6.3:6-9). There is only one example of an arcade motif and two of possible comb stamping (at rim). The shoulder (position 4) is the most commonly utilised motif position with 67%. The second most common position is that of the rim, constituting 26% of the motif positions, with the neck position occupying only 16%. No single bands of crosshatch are found below the rim. A small proportion numbering 11 or 6.4%, of the A, Ai profile vessels have a multiple band of cross-hatching at the shoulder level, for example an Ai profile pot has a fine light-brown burnish with joined multiple bands of cross-hatching (Fig. 6.4.4). This multiple band is joined in seven instances (Fig.6.4:4,5), but there are a couple of instances of the bands being separated and this occupies a broader position on the shoulder towards the body of the pot. Only one example (0.3%) utilises two positions, that of the rim and shoulder (2 + 4) with a band of obliques below the rim, and a band of crosshatching on the shoulder (Fig. 6.12:2).

The rims of the A Profile Classes are either flat (squared) (Fig. 6.3:1,5, 6.4:4; 6.10:2; 6.12:2); or rounded, tapering to the inside of the lip (Fig. 6.3:2, 6.4:6; 6.16:3,4). Overall, the flat rim represents some 13% of rims at Chumbangula, including the bowl classes; the flat rim has been remarked upon, both by Cooke (1958) in the original Chumbangula material and by Sinclair in the pottery from Chivowa Hill (1986, 1991).

6.6ii The Bowls:- The other most characteristic vessel in the Chumbangula material is that of Profile B (Fig. 6.1), the open-mouthed, hemi-spherical bowl, generally plain, but with some examples of decoration (numbering 20% of the total) (Table 6.3) (Fig. 6.5). It is characterised by 53 plain bowls, the majority of which are matte finished (Fig. 6.5:1-3; 6.15:2), with eight burnished examples, four ochred and four have a graphite finish (Fig. 6.5:1,3-9). The 12 decorated bowls have motifs more often on the rim or neck, with one lower on the shoulder/ body area. These are horizontal lines, triangles or chevron, punctates and crosshatching (Fig. 6.5:7,9; 6.16:2). Again there are examples of multiple bands of crosshatching, joined, at rim or body (Fig. 6.5:6,8). Three joined-multiple band sherds are burnished (Fig. 6.5:6,8; 6.15:9). Rims again are squared (flat) (Fig. 6.5:1,2,7,9), or rounded, tapered (Fi. 6.5:3,4,5,6). This bowl class is represented at all levels.

Profile Bi (Fig. 6.1) bowls with the rounded profile and slightly constricted mouth (sub-spherical) constitute 13% of profiles (Table 6.3). These are either plain, with a few examples of burnish or ochre (Fig. 6.5:13); where decorated, the single bands of motifs are mostly either crosshatch (five), with five examples of pendant triangles or chevron, two of which are burnished (Fig. 6.5:13): this is a higher percentage of the group **b** motif than in any of the other profiles. Again the lower rim/neck position takes priority. In comparison to a more even percentage of plain to decorated vessels in the A Profile classes (48.5% undecorated to 51.5% decorated), in the two B Profile classes the number of plain bowls far outnumbers those with decoration, that is 70% are plain to 30% with motif decoration. This is a clear trend towards plain bowls. In the Bi profile class there are five examples of separated multiple bands, all of crosshatching, concentrated on the neck/shoulder/body (Fig. 6.7:9, 6.13:2). One of these has two separate double bands (Fig. 6.15:5). Note that this is the only class in which the numbers of separated multiple bands is larger than those that are joined. These sherds were found on the surface in Tsp. 2 and 6, the Eastern Terrace Cave and in different levels in Tr. IV and the sherds with equidistant separated bands may fit more closely with the motifs and occurrence of the F Profile Class (see Ch. 6.6iii, 6.6vii).

Motif Position ↓	Motif group → Profile Class, incl. Motif Position ↓	Group a	Group b	Group c	Group d	Group e	Group f	Group h tratte burash ochre graphite soot	TOTAL No	Percentage %
Plain	A1							47 12 4 1 2	66	20.6
Rim	A2			7		9	1		17	5.03
Neck	A3	5		1	2	3			11	3.5
Shoulder	A4	3	1	8	13	7			32	9.9
Multiple joined shoulder	A4				5				5	1.5
Multiple separateshoulder	A4				4				4	1.2
Multiple separate rim + shoulder	A2+4				1				1	0.3
Plain	Ai1							11 7 2 - 3	23	7.2
Rim	Ai2			1		2	1		4	1.2
Neck	Ai3	2							2	0.6
Shoulder	Ai4				1	3			4	1.2
Multiple joined - Shoulder	Ai4				2				2	0.6
Plain	B1							37 7 4 4 1	53	16.6
Rim	B2	1	1			3			5	1.5
Neck	B3	1	1		1	1			4	1.2
Multiple joined - body	B5				1				1	0.3
Multiple joined - Rim	B2				1				1	0.3
Multiple sep - rim + body	B2+5				1				1	0.3
Plain	Bi1							15 3 2 - 1	21	6.6
Rim	Bi2				1				1	0.3
Neck	Bi3		5	1	5	2			13	4.1
Multiple joined - Rim - body	Bi2+5				1				1	0.3
Multiple separate - on body	Bi5				5				5	1.5
Plain	C1							10 2 2 - -	14	4.4
Rim	C2				1				2	0.6
Neck	C3			Bc+d					1	0.3
Plain	D1							1 - - - -	1	0.3
Rim - above carinaeshoulder	D2+4				4				4	1.2
Complex Shoulder - rim	D2(3+4)				2				2	0.6
Plain	E1							4 2 - - 1	7	2.1
Banded rim, plain or motif on neck	F2		1					2	4	1.2
Plain	F1							4 1 - - -	5	1.6
Rim	F2				3				3	0.9
TOTAL		13	9	19	54	30	2	129 37 14 5 8	320	100%
Percentage of total		4.1	2.8	5.9	16.9	9.4	0.6	40 11 4.5 2 3	100%	
		1	1Decs.	40%	1	1	1	1Plain = 60%	100%	

Table 6.3: Ceramic Data From Chumbangula Hill, Profile Classes & Motifs

1 Plain
2 Rim
2i Rim, multiple bands, joined
2+4 Rim and shoulder - layout
2+5i/5ii Rim and body, multiple
3 Neck
3i Neck, multiple bands, joined

Key: Motif positions

4 Shoulder
4i Shoulder, multiple bands, joined
4ii Shoulder, multiple bands, separated
5 Body
5i Body, multiple bands, joined
5ii Body, multiple bands, separated
2+3+4 Complex - rim/neck/shoulder

The more vertically oriented bowl, Profile C, is generally plain (Fig. 6.5:10-12, 6.10), but with a couple of examples of incised decoration on the neck area, of obliques or crosshatching, both of which are burnished (Table 6.3). It is not a true straight-sided beaker bowl as with the K2 examples (Evers 1981; Meyer 1980, 1998). Where it has been possible to reconstruct the shape of the vessel, the base is rounded (Fig. 6.8:1-2) (no dimple bases). The C Profile only makes up 5% of the total (Table 6.3)

6.6iii Other Profiles (Table 6.3):- A distinctive type of bowl is that of the carinated bowl, Profile D (Fig. 6.1a), with the carination at the widest diameter, at the shoulder/body junction, though these only constitute 2% of the total (Fig. 6.7:1-4,7). The neck here is undefined, and not carinated or everted, as can be the case in other examples of this type (Lawton 1967:26-26; Earthy 1958).

The decoration is usually just above the carinated juncture, with all six decorated sherds having bands of crosshatching, with one of these being of a more complex band design, one is soot-blackened and one is highly brown burnished, with a neater more complex crosshatched motif, and three have a highly coloured red finish (Fig. 6.7:4). This highly-coloured red substance looks more like a slip or 'paint' than an ochre treatment (Junod 1913:99). Earthy describes the Valenge women's pottery, where small dried 'cakes' of red ochre *tsumane*, gathered from the roots of rotting marsh grass are used to produce a highly polished red finish (Earthy 1958:66). Their provenance here ranges from the surface to Level 4, (i.e. surface, Test Pit 6, L.2, Tr. II and L.4, Tr. IV). Examples of this type of highly coloured carinated pottery are also noted amongst the surface collection in Cooke's (1958) report, where he remarked on the different treatment and colour appearance of the sherd (Cooke 1958:58, Fig 7:12); and from surface collection from Eastern Terrace Cave (Gray 1996).

E Profile (Fig. 6.1a) A small number of vessels have a beaded rim, somewhat everted and a slightly concave neck, rounding outwards towards the lower neck/shoulder (Robinson 1961a: Fig.26) and which are often burnished, either black, or brown (Fig. 6.6:3); this is the E Profile Class. Some vessels appear to have a straight neck (Fig.6.6:4). There are however only ten examples of these E class out of the 320 identified profiles (3%), which come from differing locations and levels (Tables I & II, Appendix 2). One rim/neck sherd, is from an unusual vessel with a slightly 'beaded' rim and a slightly defined shoulder and has a graphite finish, combined with a pendant triangle motif in-filled with small stabs, on the rim and neck (Fig. 6.4:7). While this profile may somewhat fit in to this category by rim and upper neck, it does not fit by motif and finish – and it does not appear to belong

to the same group of sherds as the identified E sherds above (Fig. 6.6:1-4), but rather to the A Profile category (see Loubser 1991:fig. 171) (see Ch. 8).

The last identified profile is the F Profile (Fig. 6.1), a spherical shape pot, with a short neck/ shoulder area, with either a small everted rim and neck, or none (Fig. 6.7:5,6,8,11; Fig. 6.7a). There is often a band of decoration on the neck region and burnishing above the motif or on the whole body (Fig. 6.7:11; 6.7a). They are generally plain and matte, and those that are decorated have a single band of inter-linked chevrons, crosshatch, crosshatch-ladder design or oblique on the rim or lower neck (Fig. 6.7:11). No graphite was noted. The difference between these and the spherical, in-turned bowl is that these pots can display the slightly everted rim and the height may be greater than the diameter of the mouth, but they are not necessarily large vessels. There may be separated equidistant bands of crosshatch too (Ch. 6.5ii). The F Profile examples, which number a maximum of eight overall, though not well represented in the excavated material (Appendix 2, Tables I & II), are found in



surface collections from Test Pit 6 and in the upper levels of Trenches I to III and from the Eastern Terrace Cave (fig. 6.26?:2); they also occur in the surface material from further afield (Table 4.1) (Table 6.15) (Ch. 4.2d) (fig. 6.7a) (see Cooke 1958:Fig. 4:18,22, Fig. 5:2, 1960, 1970; Robinson 1961a: Class 5).

Fig. 6.7a Surface find – F Profile Pot – F3c – from Site No. 2131 C3(1), in Malumba River Basin

Together the Classes D, E and F vessels comprise only 8% of the total profile count (Table 6.3, Figs. 6.6, 6.7), thus they comprise minor amounts and whilst they may be important indicators of recent intrusions, they do not constitute the main trend at Chumbangula. Surface sherds from the excavations have been treated as part of the excavated assemblage – see stratigraphic outline (App.2)

Thus the A, Ai, and B, Bi and C classes make up 92% of the Chumbangula pottery assemblage, with the long-necked, recurved pots and the open-mouthed bowls being the most prolific and

characteristic (Table 6.3, Figs. 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.12, 6.15, 6.16). The plain motif-free vessels of these categories alone make up 56% of the total number of the diagnostic profile sherds.

6.6iv Further Comments on Decorative Motifs (Fig. 6.9):- As noted in sections 6.6i, 6.6ii and 6.6iii, crosshatching is the dominant decorative motif (42.5% of the decorated profile sherds, followed by punctates at 23.6%) (Table 6.3). Cross-hatching occurs largely in single bands, but also in multiple joined bands, with fewer separated bands (Table 6.3) (twenty-eight Profile A and Ai sherds have crosshatched motifs on the shoulder) and cross-hatching occurs on all profiles except the E Profile. Regarding the punctate motif, 63% of these occur in the rim position, and largely in the long-necked and open bowl varieties, with no punctate motifs in the vertical (C), carinated bowls (D), the beaded rim (E) or spherical pot (F) classes. The majority of the oblique motifs and the horizontal lines are on the long necked pots, on the neck and shoulder (Table 6.3). Taking the Chumbangula profiles as a whole, 40% have a decorative motif (Table 6.3, Fig. 6.9).

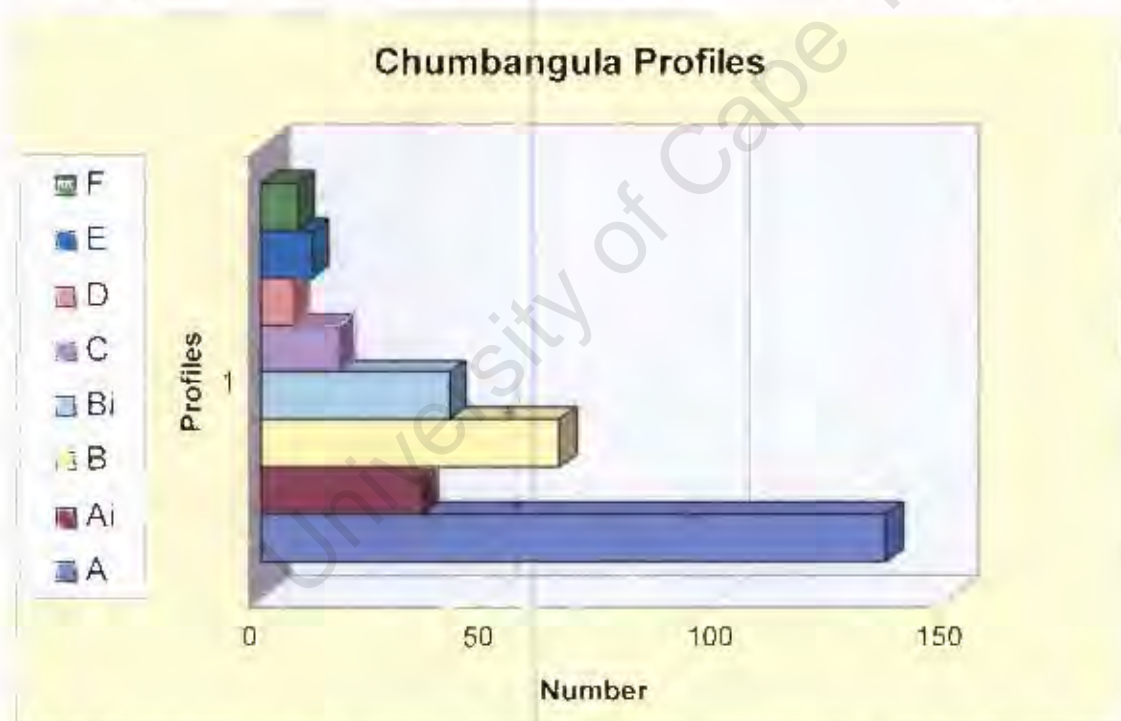


Fig. 6.8 Graph showing comparison of numbers of examples in Profile Classes at Chumbangula

6.6iva Decorated Fragments:- The data for decorative motifs on sherd fragments (Table 6.4) (i.e. sherds which do not have enough orientation for profile) again bears out both the types of motifs on the profile examples and the percentages that these occur in. Again the crosshatch motif is by far the most common motif, with 110 examples in all (Table 6.4), 92 examples of these have single bands of decoration, with 18 examples of multiple bands, 14 of which have two or three joined bands and four

of separate multiple bands. The oblique motif is the next most common, with similar numbers of horizontal lines and of punctates. Seven percent of the fragments have a triangle, or arcade motif (Fig. 6.13:5,7), and there are only three examples with possible comb stamping, which may also be a form of punctate (Fig. 6.12:6).

Motif Group →	Group a	Group b	Group c	Group d	Group e	Group f	Total
Number →	31	15	41	110	25	3	225
Percentage	13.7%	7.1%	18.2%	48.8%	11.1%	1.3%	100%

Table 6.4 Decorated Fragments from Chumbangula

Table 6.5 All sherds with colour/finish (burnish/ochre/graphite) from Chumbangula

Group h – finish on all sherds/frags.	Black	Brown	Graphite	Total
Number	163	44	20	227
Percentage	71.8%	19.4%	8.8%	100%

Profile Class → Motif Group ↓	A1	A2	Ai1	Ai3	B1	B2	B3	Bi2	Bi3	C1	C2	D2	D3	E1	E2	F1	F2	Total	%
A																		0	0
B ▼▼						1		2										3	6.8
C ▨▨		1								1								2	4.5
±XXX				1			2		2		1	1	1					9	20.4
E ●●●																		0	0
H/b	13		4		5				2					2	3	1		30	68.2
Total	13	1	4	1	5	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	3	1	1	44	100%
%	29.5	2.3	9.1	2.3	11.4	2.3	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	2.3	2.3	4.5	6.8	2.3	2.3	100%	

Table 6.6 Burnish on Profile Class sherds, (including motif), at Chumbangula

6.6v Burnish: Just over four percent (163) of the total number of all sherds has some form of burnish (Table 6.6), of which 74 (45%) are black burnished, 45 (28%) are brown, while 44 (27%) are red burnished thus black burnishing takes precedence over brown and red burnish. Of this total, there are 44 burnished profile sherds (23 black, 15 brown and 6 red) (Table 6.6). The majority of burnished examples are on plain body sherds and on decorated fragments (none on a motif position 4, shoulder-decorated sherd (Table 6.6). Most of the burnished profile sherds are in the A and B classes. The majority of the profile examples are of the crosshatched motif (on a wider example of profiles) and a lesser number of oblique (Fig. 6.3:4) and triangles: these are on small, black burnished bowls (Fig. 6.5:7,9,13; 6.15:7). The only examples of burnishing with a punctate motif or a horizontal line are in decorated fragments.

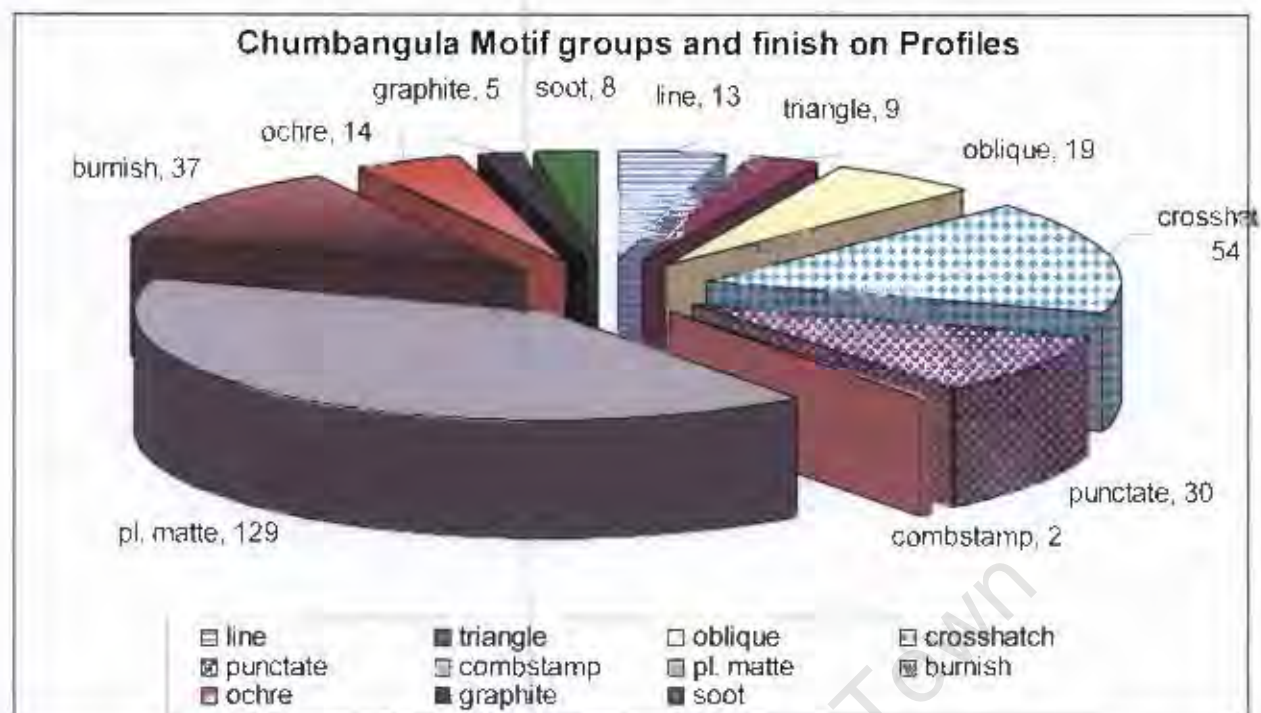


Fig. 6.9 Graphic outline of decorative motif data for Chumbangula, from Profile sherds (Table 6.3)

6.6vi Graphite and Ochre:- There are only 20 examples of sherds altogether showing the use of graphite, of which only five are on profile sherds (Fig. 6.4:7, 6.6:6: 6.15:8). One of the graphite decorated motif fragments is on a sherd with a triangle motif, one on a crosshatched sherd and one a horizontal line. Of these, one is a rim and neck sherd with a pendant triangle motif, in-filled with small stab impressions (see above 6.6iii) (Fig. 6.4:7), two are on plain B open bowls (Fig. 6.5:1) and one on a plain F profile pot. The only A Profile sherd with a graphite finish is that mentioned above. No examples of punctates or comb stamping have any graphite on them. Cooke (1958:67), noted that there appeared to be little use of graphite on the Chumbangula pottery he saw, or in the other sites in the vicinity, despite the existence of a graphite source at Chitrapadzi, about 20kms away on the Bubi River (Ch. 4). This contrasts with his observation that the 'modern pottery in the Mateke district is heavily painted with graphite' (Cooke 1958; 67,1960:106).

The use of ochre as a finish is observed on a total of 44 sherds and of these, 14 are profile sherds, seven decorated fragments and 23 body sherds. The 14 profile sherds constitute only 4% of the 320 profile sherds, while the 44 ochred sherds as a whole only represent 1.2% of the total number of sherds, thus the use of ochre was not a major decoration component but appears to be more important in some categories than others. The ochred profiles are all on long-necked (Profile A) and bowl (B) sherds (Figs. 6.4:2,5, 6.5:4,5,11) on both crosshatch and punctate motif sherds, while the decorated sherds with ochre are all on crosshatched examples, other than one with an oblique.

6.6vii Multiple bands:- The joined, multiple bands in the excavated material occur on both profiles and fragments (Fig. 6.2, 6.4:4,5, 6.5:6,13; 6.15:5,9). The crosshatch motif is the commonest one in which these joined multiple bands occur, with one example of a double band of obliques (Fig. 6.30). Within the horizontal line motif there are examples of more than one line (Fig. 6.12:3), but these do not occur as multiple demarcated bands. The punctate motifs may also have more than one line of punctates, but these occur within the context of a single band of motif (Fig. 6.3:6-9; 6.16:3). Belonging to the main assemblage from Chumbangula are bands occurring in two positions (i.e. positions 2+4, at rim and shoulder) on long-necked A profiles (Table 6.3) and on B/Bi bowls (Fig. 6.15:5,9), and of two differing motifs such as oblique and crosshatch (Ch. 6.5v) (Fig. 6.12:2) (Loubser 1991). Regarding the separated, equidistant similar bands (Fig. 6.7.9, 6.13:2,4); these are seen in both the long-necked pots as well as the Bowl classes, where they are more frequent, particularly on Profile Bi (the in-turned bowl, see comment above, Ch. 6.5v, 6.6ii, 6.6iii) (Table 6.3; Classes). On long-necked pots, they appear on the shoulder and lower shoulder regions (Ch 6.5v, Fig. 6.30) but are rare, while those on Bi profiles appear on the neck through the body regions. These separated equidistant bands on the Bi Profiles may belong to a different pottery expression than the main Chumbangula assemblage. The differences between the joined multiple bands of crosshatch and those of separated similar equidistant placed bands will be elucidated in Ch.8.

Area Level	Ts P 1	Ts P 2	Ts P 3	Ts P 4	Ts P 5	Ts P 6	T
Surface	1					1	2
1	1			7		1	10
2							1
3							1
4			1				2
5						1	1
6						1	1
7							
8							
9					1		1
Total	2	0	1	7	2	5	12

Table 6.7 Spindle Whorls / Re-worked sherds at Chumbangula - Test Pits

Table 6.7a Spindle Whorls - Trenches

Area Level	Tr. I	Tr. II	Tr. III	Tr. IV	T
1	2				2
2	1			1	2
3			1		1
4	1			1	2
5					
6		2		1	3
Total	4	2	1	2	9



Fig 6.11a Chumbangula surface sherds, two spindle whorls, an EFC sherd and hammer-stone

6.6viii:- Other pottery artefacts - Re-worked sherds:- The re-worked sherds found in the excavated material are rounded discs made from potsherds (Figs. 6.6:5-8, 6.11). Several display either a central perforation (Fig. 6.11), or are broken across it (Fig. 6.6:6), which indicates that they are spindle whorl fragments, with one or two displaying burnish and representative decorative motifs, such as cross-hatching (Fig. 6.6.6:6-8). The decoration on the spindle whorls is typical of the

majority pottery from the main Chumbangula assemblage (oblique and crosshatch), thus they appear to belong to the same occupation period (note, none with punctate motif). Several appear to be in the process of being smoothed into whorls/ discs (Fig. 6.6:8). The hole takes the appearance of an hourglass shape being bored from each side (Cooke 1958). Some examples are smaller pottery discs without central perforation (Fig. 6.11:1,2) (note an example found at Malilangwe in association with 11th century pottery (Thorp 2005b)). The spindle whorl was used as a weight on a stick used as the spindle in order to spin cotton thread (Davison 1984:91). The re-worked sherds were found throughout the Trenches and Test Pits, except for Tsp. 2 and Tr. II, and at varying levels from the surface in Tsp. 1, to Level 9 in Test Pit 6 and L. 6 in Trench IV (Table 6.7 & 6.7a). Seven spindle whorls have also been found in surface contexts on Chumbangula (Fig. 6.11a, 6.24:3) (Cooke 1958; Gray 1994, 1996, 1999, 2002), giving a total of 27 examples of re-worked sherds/spindle whorls or fragments.

No figurines, human or cattle, or fragments thereof, have been discovered at this site, and this possible gap in the finds will need to be discussed (Ch. 8), as the dating and the pottery put this site in the time period of sites which have yielded figurines.

6.6ix Plain Body Sherds:- It is clear that the majority of sherds are in the Plain Body sherd category, with 83% of the total (Table 6.1), and much of this number were of a uniformly pinkish/grey pottery which was on average between 7-12mm thick. Judging from the size, thickness and curve of many of these sherds, they must have originated from quite large heavy vessels, possibly used for storage, either of liquids, such as water or beer, for the brewing of beer, or the storage of foods such as grain. Though much of this plain pottery was unburnt there was also a percentage, approximately of 2.6%, which was particularly soot encrusted, on the inside rather than the outside of the vessel, which you may rather have expected from use on cooking fires. These sherds came from a variety of Test Pits, Trenches and levels (Ch. 5) and it would appear as if a substance had been burnt or rendered down (Ch. 5.2ii) (Patrick et al 1985). The exteriors of these sherds were not necessarily burnt as well. A number of about 10 sherds have been rubbed on the outside surface with a sooty finish (Fig. 6.6:7).

6.6x Patina:- The pottery from Chumbangula has evidence of quite heavy mineralization, resulting in a whitish hard patina, which in some cases partially or totally obscured the decoration (Fig 6.2). Sometimes the patina is on both surfaces of the pottery, and in others on one side only. It would appear that these sherds have been exposed to the minerals in the water and soil for a long period

(c.f. Ch. 3.4, note on virtual 'streams' of sediment on rock shelf and walling, Fig. 3.4, 3.4a) (also ref. to Mateke Report, Student observation, R. Duncan, 3rd May, Extracts from Personal Diaries (1958) of 'limestone outcrops' (RSES Mateke 1958:45), and observation by P.Gray (1958) of similar 'ripple-like' streams of sediment on Marungudzi', and that these were related to the mineral precipitation (*pers. comm.* 1998). (NB there has been a suggestion of vitrified/leached cattle dung producing a similar effect of sediment in Zhizo/Toutswe sites (Van Waarden *pers. comm.* 2004)).

6.6xi Provenance of sherds (see Appendix 2, Tables I + II):- The largest number of sherds came from Trench IV, situated in the deeper part of the summit deposit (Ch. 5.2ix, Map 5.1). Of these 1084 sherds, 109 (10.1%) were diagnostic profile sherds and 78% were plain body sherds, with the rest being decorated fragments, rim fragments and 3 spindle whorl fragments (Table II, Appendix 2). Of the profile class sherds here (Fig. 6.14), more or less two thirds were in Level 4, a sixth in Level 6 and much the same in Level 2. Negligible numbers of profiles were in Levels 1 and 3, though a large amount of plain body sherds came from Levels 2 & 3. There were no sherds at all in Level 5 and only a small amount of faunal material. When using the profile sherds as a measure there appears to be a difference in that a larger proportion of the crosshatched profiles came from Trench IV, Level 4 and many of the examples of the punctate motif came from Level 6 (separated by the sterile L. 5) (Ch. 8.2ii) (Fig. 6.14) (Table II, Appendix 2). When comparing this to the occurrence of these motifs on decorated fragments, there is a more even proportion of punctate motifs in Levels 2, 4 & 6, but the majority are still in L 6; and again a far higher number of cross-hatching overall, especially at L 4 (Fig. 6.14). 60% of the profile class sherds in Trench IV were of the long-necked pots, the A, Ai Profile Classes, nearly half of which were plain and a few were burnished.

The second largest majority vessel type in Trench IV was the open, shallow bowls and the rounded, in-turned bowls, the B and Bi profiles, representing 30.3% of the profiles in this Trench, of which two thirds were plain. Together the A and B profiles count for 90% of profile sherds in Tr. IV. This is a clear indication for the main assemblage at Chumbangula. Following Trench IV, the next most prolific area for pottery was Test Pit 6 (Table II, App.3). Again the majority of the profiles were of the long-necked A Profile, many plain, some burnished and with the majority of the motifs crosshatched on the shoulder. The five spindle whorls are in a higher percentage here than elsewhere. Surface vessels from Tsp 6 may be more recent than the main pottery group (e.g. Fig. 6.13).

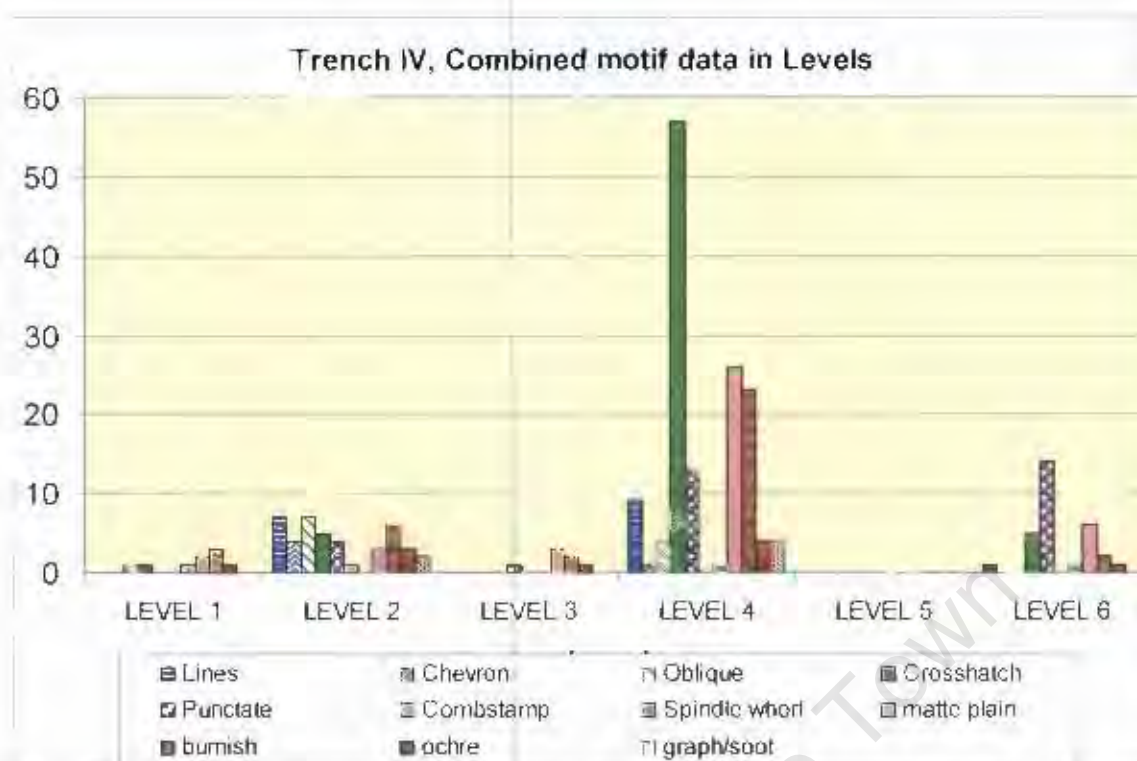


Fig. 6.14 Trench IV - Comparison of pottery decoration data for Trench IV, using both profile sherds and decorated fragments

Trench I and Trench II (Map 5.1) (Table II, App. 2) were both of relatively shallow depth. Of the two, Trench I was the richer in pottery, yielding 38, or 7.8%, pottery profiles. The majority of these were plain vessels, of the long-necked Profile A and A₁ pots, then of plain, open-mouthed B profile bowls and a few of the straighter sided bowls (C). The few sherds from Level 3, Sqs. 6/7 (level with the base of the walling) (Table 5.3) are mostly plain body sherds, but there are plain rims from open-mouthed bowls and one plain, flat rim from a long-necked vessel. The profile sherds can be morphologically linked to those below the base of the wall from L. 4 (Fig. 6.4:3) from the ash layer (Ch. 5.2vi). In Levels 1 and 2, where again most of the profile sherds fit in with the main Chumbangula material, there are three sherds from one vessel; a small, shorter-necked, but similar profile to Profile A, soot covered pot with the cross-hatch pattern below the rim (Sq. 7, L. 2) (Fig. 6.12:5). This is an unusual position for crosshatch in the main assemblage. It can possibly be identified with a somewhat later pottery in the area (as well as another two plain examples). This would accord with the findings that some of the glass beads are from Recent European contact (Bvocha *pers. comm.* 2002) and some post-depositional disturbance had taken place. Trench II, whilst having numerically less pottery examples, displayed much the same tendencies. Four spindle whorl fragments were in Tr. I but none in II (Table 6.7a).

The number of sherds was sparse in Test Pit 1 inside the Summit Cave (Ch. 5.2i) and the seven profile sherds are congruent with the B, Bi profile aspects of the main assemblage (Table I, App. 3). One small fine black burnished open-mouthed bowl was incised with a motif of in-filled hatched pendant triangles (Fig. 6.5:9). The pottery here may have become mixed through disturbance as one brown burnished body sherd, from Unit 1, has multiple separated equidistant bands of neat cross-hatching on the shoulder/body, which is possibly associated with a different expression to the main assemblage (Ch. 6.5v, 6.6ii). Note that the lower portion of the grain bin (Ch. 5.2i; Fig. 5.2) was in conjunction with the pottery such as the small burnished bowls and seeds of *Sorghum bicolor* (Jonsson 1998) as well as a small roughly made pot (Fig. 6.12:1). A representative cross-section of pottery classes was found in Test Pits 2, 3, 4 and 5, distributed between most layers and with no obvious differences to the main assemblage. Generally, taking each of these areas separately there were not large enough numbers of sherds to use in any real statistical manner, though together they have been used in an overall picture of the pottery trends at Chumbangula (Tables 6.3-6, Figs 6.1-15) (Appendix 2).

6.6xii Summary:- (Tables 6.3-6, Figs 6.1-15). The Chumbangula pottery assemblage is dominated by the profile classes, A,Ai and B,Bi; the long-necked recurved pots as well as the open-mouthed, hemi-spherical and in-curved sub-spherical bowls (Table 6.3, Fig. 6.3-6.5). The classic Profile A vessel (Figs. 6.1-6.4, 6.16) makes up 42.5% of the diagnostic total and this again consists of a fairly equal number of plain and decorated pots (Table 6.3). Overall, the decorative motifs are divided between cross-hatching, punctates and oblique incisions, with more minor numbers of horizontal lines or triangles. Comb-stamping is very rare. The majority of the decoration takes the form of single bands, either at the rim, the neck (mainly of oblique or punctates), or more frequently at the shoulder where crosshatching is more common (Table 6.3). The crosshatch motif is the strongest tendency, on 17% of all profiles, followed by punctates at 9%. The dominance of crosshatching is reinforced when adding the decorative data from the decorated fragments since there cross-hatching represents 49%. Burnishing and the use of ochre exist but do not characterise the pottery, as they are minority trends, though in the case of burnishing, black burnishing is in the majority. Spindle whorl fragments are found throughout the assemblage, but no clay figurines were recovered. Vertically oriented bowls (C) are generally plain with an example of a layout of oblique & crosshatch. The profile classes D, E, and F, though in a minority, add some interesting dimensions to the assemblage, as E (Fig. 6.6) may be a later period of, or following, the main assemblage, while D and F (Fig. 6.7) could be intrusive from later periods adding further dimensions relating to the occupation of

Chumbangula. The interpretation of the main assemblage as well as these questions of the minority trends will be addressed in Ch. 8 in the discussion and interpretation of the pottery.

6.7 Ceramics from the Mwenezi Site

The pottery assemblage from the Midden Trench on the south slope of Mwenezi hill has been analysed as a separate assemblage from that of Chumbangula, but using the same attributes, as this method was equally suitable to the analysis of these ceramics and to facilitate comparison.

This analysis concentrates on diagnostic rim, profile and decorated sherds from the Midden Trench only (time and availability constraints). Data on the plain sherds as well as ceramics from the hilltop are available from the Archaeology Unit of the History Dept. at the University of Zimbabwe. It has, however, been observed that the material from the hilltop test pits and trenches was largely plain, fragmented, and fairly limited when consideration is taken of the number of test pits and trenches dug (Manyanga *pers. comm.* 2001; A. Hlomo *pers. comm.* 2001). The hilltop deposit was fairly shallow and the site gave the impression of being rather barren – this has also been remarked upon in the faunal studies undertaken by Manyanga (2000), and Bvocho (2001) in the bead studies. The ecology study done by Jonsson (1998) bears this out, in the lack of domesticated seed found compared to Chumbangula. These points will be expanded upon in the discussion on the pottery and the dating, in chapter 8.

With one possible exception, the vessels from Mwenezi fit into the same basic profile and decoration positioning categories used at Chumbangula, thus the assemblage is useful as a comparison. The pottery is characterised again by the long-necked, recurved pot, which is often plain, and where decorated, the punctate motif is most common (Table 6.9). Otherwise the plain open-mouthed bowl is common, with some examples decorated with the punctate motif. The differences are in the frequency of use of the decoration motifs, the lack of certain examples and in a different treatment and use of the punctate motif where a more complex design was employed (Figs. 6.17:3,11,14, 6.19:1). Crosshatching is extremely rare. The decorated fragments and profile class sherds in Table 6.8 below represent the 312 diagnostic sherds analysed for the Mwenezi Midden assemblage. The totals given in Table 6.8 are not cumulative. The pottery is also quite fragmented, like the Chumbangula material. Again no whole pots were recovered, but a number of sherds could be matched and several sherds could be reconstructed for drawing and analysis. The identification of profiles and position and layout of decoration is again of paramount importance for the analysis.

6.7i Presentation of Mwenezi Midden Trench Ceramic Data (Table 6.9)

The profile classes for Mwenezi are largely comparable with those described for the Chumbangula Hill pottery assemblage (Figs. 6.1, 6.1a), though there are a lower number of classes occurring here, owing to a lesser variety of motif examples, as well as the positions that these occur at. A new class Profile is A2+3+4, which is a long-necked pot with a decorative motif of a more complex design occupying a broader motif position (i.e. below rim (2), neck (3) and shoulder (4), is described. Also, the new Profile class, Aii4b that will be described here does not occur at Chumbangula. The motifs and profile classes described below are those that only occur here, otherwise refer to Motif and Profile categories and outlines in Ch. 6.5i-vi.

SHERDS	NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE OF 312 SHERDS
Graphite	1	0.3%
Ochre	6	1.9%
Burnish	43	13.8%
Decorated fragments	88	28.2%
Rim sherds	220	70.6%
Profile class sherds	224	71.8%
Number used in attribute analysis	312	100%

Table 6.8 Mwenezi Midden Trench sherds presented in attribute categories

6.7ii - Motif positions: Same as given for Chumbangula excavated material (Ch. 6.5iii), and often on the rim, or neck (Table 6.9). There is the use of more than one position,

2+3+4- – complex design on rim, neck and shoulder, a layout of horizontal and diagonal punctate bands (Fig. 6.17:14; 6.19:1), or at **2+4**, double band of punctate (Fig. 6.17:3)

6.7iii -Motif Groups; (refer to Ch. 6.5iv)

Group ee - complex use of punctates, stab or stick impressed, diagonal and multiple bands (Fig. 6.17:11,12,14). This use of the punctate motif is not seen in the excavated Chumbangula material.

6.7iv Profile Classes (Ch. 6.5v; Fig. 6.1, Table 6.9).

Profile A Long-necked, recurved pot with weak shoulder definition

Classes A2+3ee, A2+3+4ee, A2+4ee occur as a more complex design of punctates below the rim, on the neck and on the shoulder. This includes bands, diagonals, groups or loops of punctates (Fig. 6.17:3,6,12,14; 6.19:1).

Profile Ai - Long-necked, recurved pot with a more defined and out-curved shoulder.

Class Ai2+3ee Complex design of punctates, extending from the rim, to neck (Fig. 6.17:11)

Profile Aii -Profile represents a longer, more upright neck on a globular pot, with a wide shoulder definition, black high burnished

Class – Aii4b, motif on the shoulder - band of deeply grooved, incised triangles (Fig. 6.18:15).

Profile E - Pot with a beaded rim, slightly everted lip, a recurved shoulder. Most examples were burnished, black or brown. **Class E2**, rolled rim (Fig. 6.6:9-15),

Class E2a, rolled rim, bevelled horizontal line on lower neck. (Fig. 6.20:1)

Profile F - the plain rounded pot with small-everted lip, or no lip.

Classes F2, F3, motif at rim or neck (Fig. 6.19:9). This class is rare.

(See Appendix 2, Table III for the Mwenezi pottery data,

6.8 Description of Mwenezi Midden Trench Pottery

The diagnostic pottery from Mwenezi (Figs. 6.17-20), is characterised both by the Profile Class A, the long-necked re-curved vessel with weak shoulder definition (Fig. 6.17: 1,3-6,8-10,12-14; Fig. 6.18:9,11), with some examples of the wider neck shoulder (Fig. 6.17: 7,11) and the Class B open-mouthed bowls (Ch. 6:5v), which are generally quite small (Fig. 6.18:1-3,5,10; 6.19:2,4-6). The A/Ai Profile class constitutes 55% of the profiles, while the open-mouthed hemi-spherical bowls, the B profile, provide 29.5% of the total (Table 6.9). The classes of the incurved, spherical bowl, the vertical type bowl (Fig. 6.18:4) and the carinated bowl (Fig. 6.18: 14), as well as the vessel with the beaded or rolled rim (Fig. 6.20) only make up 15% of the total. Of this, ten profiles (4.6%) are of the E class (Figs. 6.6:9-15; 6.20:1). At Mwenezi the single band of decoration is most often of punctates, just below the rim (62% of decorated examples), secondly of horizontal lines (Fig. 6.18: 3,9,13), and thirdly obliques (Figs. 6.17.9; 6.18:12,). There are also no multiple joined bands of cross-hatching in any Profile classes, or any of the multiple equidistant separated cross-hatch bands either. One long-necked sherd from the summit trenches has a double band of fine cross-ladder motif at the shoulder layout, similar in type to examples at Chumbangula (Fig. 6.18:11). The black or brown burnished sherds in the main assemblage at Mwenezi were mostly on the long-necked pots (A Profiles) and a few bowls of B, Bi and C profiles (Ch. 6.9, Table 6.11), while graphite was hardly used.

6.8i Profile A:- Seventy-one percent of the A Profile Class pots are decorated, with 49% of these decorated below the rim (Fig. 6.17:2,5,8,9,10,13; Fig. 6.19:3,7,8) and less than half of this number are equally found on the neck, and on the shoulder (Table 6.9) (Fig.6.17:6,13). Several of the horizontal group of motifs take the form of groups of dashes, and raised uneven lines (Fig. 6.18:9). The more intricate use of the punctate motif is unusual, in that there is a single band of round or oval punctates, on the rim, either one or two rows, and a corresponding row further down on the neck/shoulder junction, or on the shoulder, and joining these two rows, are diagonal 'loops' of punctates (Fig. 6.19:1,). These pots are not burnished, but have a matte finish, and are in pink-brown clay, quite well fired, and the rims are generally flat. These examples are all on the A class of vessel. There are other examples of diagonal use of the punctate motif, across the neck region, but not joining two rows of punctates (Fig. 6.17: 6,12,14). One of these is on a wider necked vessel (Fig. 6.17:11). Plain pots are in a proportion of 31% plain to 69% decorated. Of this decorated portion, 66% of motifs are placed at the rim, and 48% of these motifs are of punctates. In contrast to Chumbangula, the crosshatch motif constitutes only 2% of motifs altogether.

One vessel in particular has an upright neck (but broken off) and a well-defined shoulder resulting in a small globular pot. This is Profile class Aii and this pot has a high black burnish, a broad band of pendant triangles on the shoulder, with an in-filling of strong horizontal grooves (Fig. 6.18:15). There is only one example of this vessel, found in Level 3. The examples that are not represented in the Mwenezi Midden assemblage are those which displayed the use of multiple bands, both joined or separate, of crosshatching on the shoulder (Ch. 6.5, Table 6.3).

6.8ii Profile B:- Concerning the bowls, the largest number is that of the open-mouthed class, B, and of these 78% are plain, matte finished, generally quite small vessels (Table 6.9). Only 4.6% of the plain bowls are burnished and 1.6% are ochred. There are 15 open-mouthed bowls with a decorative motif, of which 12 have a punctate motif, generally of a single band below the rim, and a few of double rows (Fig. 6.18:5,8; 6.18:2). Other motifs are a single horizontal line (Fig. 6.18:3), or several lines, and one has two broad line incisions on the inner surface (Fig. 6.19:12). The rims are mostly flat (Fig. 6.18:1-3,8), but can be rounded (Fig. 6.18:10; 6.19:2,4,5). The in-curved spherical bowls, Profile Bi, are much less common - of eight, three are plain, matte examples and one is red-burnished, whilst four are decorated, two punctates, one a band of obliques and one horizontal line. These motifs tend to be placed lower on the bowl, on the neck region rather than below the rim as in the open-mouthed bowl class.

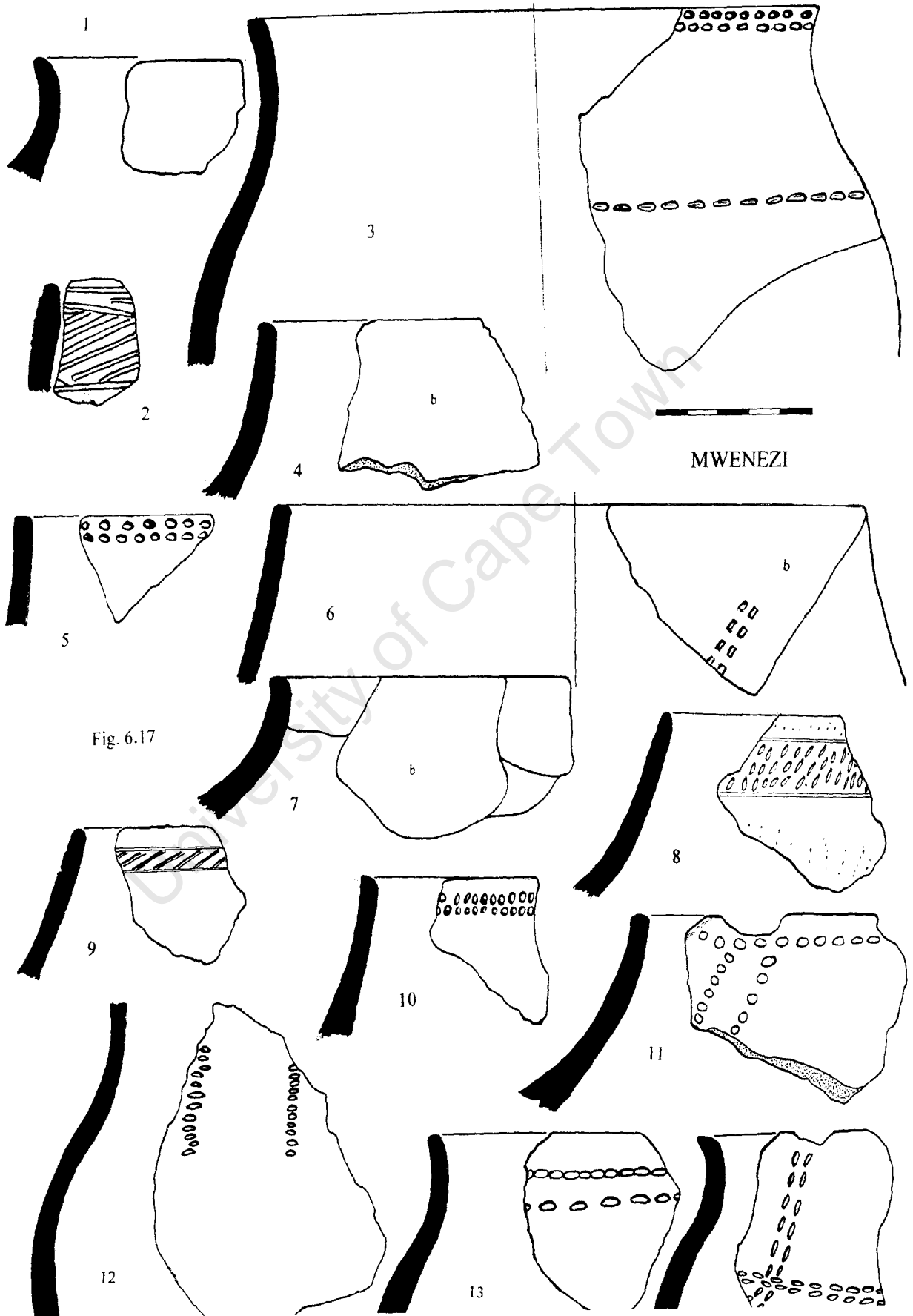


Fig. 6.17

MWENEZI

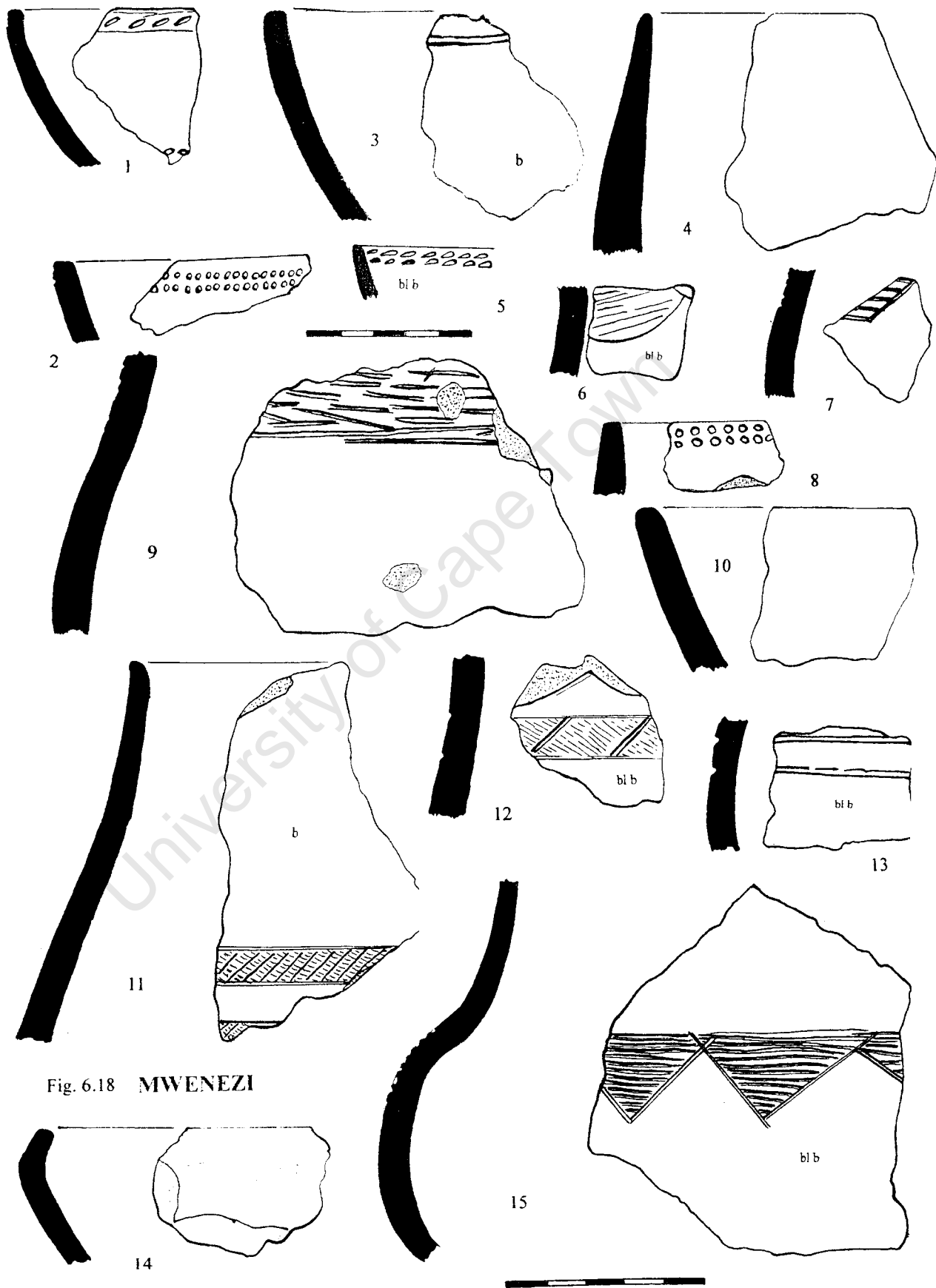


Fig. 6.18 MWENEZI

Fig. 6.18 Mwenezi, Midden Trench, Profiles B, C, D + Aii

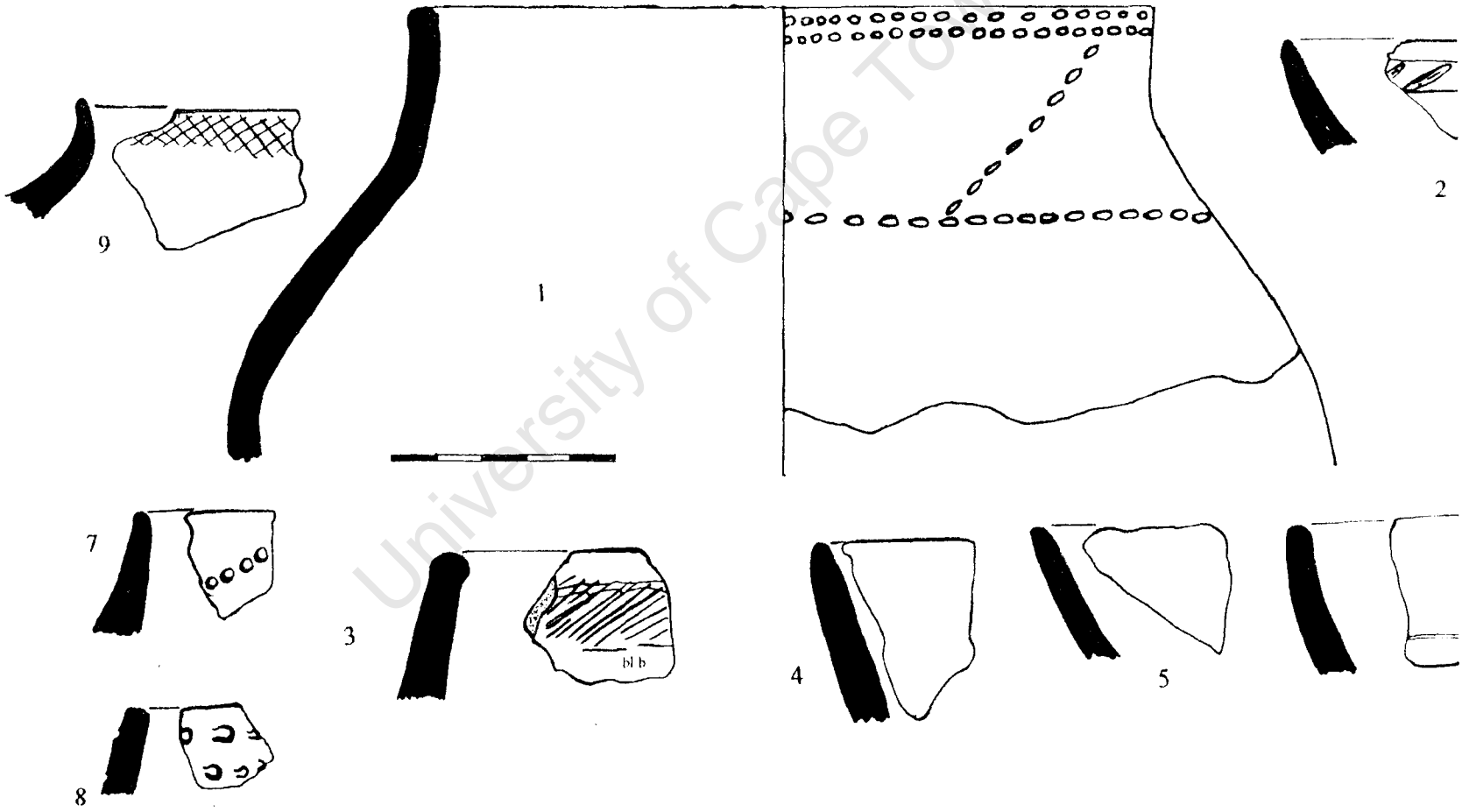
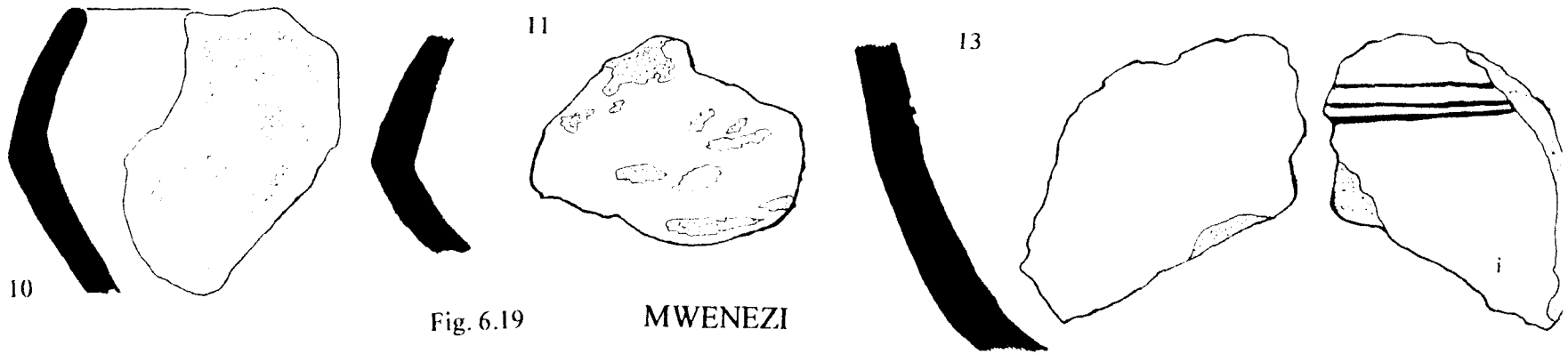


Fig. 6.19 Mwenezi, Midden Trench

Fig. 6.20

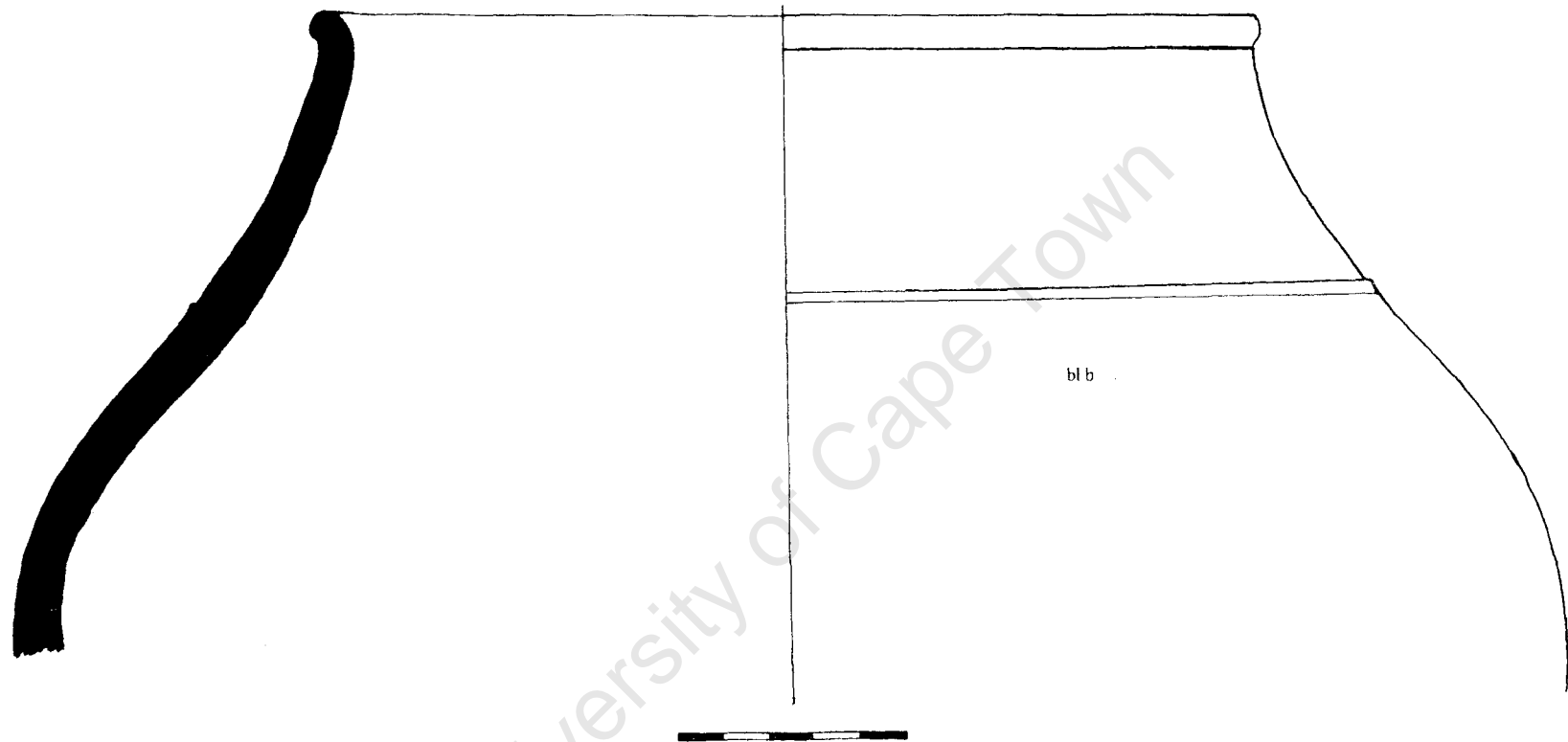


Fig. 6.20 Mwenezi, Midden Trench, E Profile

Motif Positions ↓	Motif groups → Profile Classes - Incl. Motif Positions ↓	Group a — — —	Group b ▼▼▼ ▽▽▽ ■	Group c //// iiii ////	Group d XXXX XXXX xxx	Group e ○○○○ ○○○○ ○○	Group f Matte Burnish Colour Shine	Total	Percentage %	Profile Groups - Percentages %
Plain	A1						19 6 1	26	11.6	
Rim	A2	1		4				12	16.5	
Neck	A3	7		2				7	7.1	
Shoulder	A4	8	3	1				5	7.6	
Complex - On Rim and/or Neck	A2+3+4							5	2.2	
Total A								101		45.15%
Plain	A1						8 4 -	12	5.3	
Rim	A2							4	1.8	
Neck	A3	2		1				1	1.8	
Complex - rim/Punctates	A2+3							2	0.9	
Total A1								22		9.8%
Shoulder	A1+4		1					1	0.4	
Total A1								1		0.4%
Total A1, A2, A3								124		(55.4)
Plain	B1						45 1 1	49	21.9	
Rim	B2	2		1				12	6.7	
Neck	B3	2						2	0.9	
Total B								66		29.5%
Plain	B1						4 - -	4	1.8	
Rim	B2			1				1	0.4	
Neck	B3	1						2	1.3	
Total B1								8		3.6%
Total B1, B2								74		(33.1)
Plain	C1						6 1 -	7	3.1	
Neck	C3	1		1				1	1.3	
Total C								10		4.5%
Plain	D1						3 - -	3	1.3	
Total D								3		1.3%
Plain, with Holed Rim	E2						2 2 -	9	4.0	
Plain, Lower Neck, Holed Rim	F2	1						1	0.4	
Total E								10		4.5%
Rim	F2				2			2	0.9	
Neck	F3				1			1	0.4	
Total F								3		1.3%
Total C, D, E, F								26		(11.6)
Total nos.		25	4	1	3	71	87 21 2	224	100%	100%
%	% of 114 deco. sherds →	22	3.5	9.6	2.6	62.3	79 19 1.8	100%		
	% of all 224sherds	11.2	1.8	4.9	1.3	31.7	39 / 9.4 / 0.9	100%		
Total %	Deco →	1		51%			Plain=49%	100%		

Table 6.9 Ceramic Data For Mwenezi Midden Trench

Key:	Motif position
1	Plain
2	Rim
3	Neck
4	Shoulder
2+3+4	Complex - On Rim and/or Neck and/or Shoulder (punctates)

Again there are a few of the more vertically oriented C Profile bowl, 4.5% of the total. Six of the plain examples are matte finished, one is black burnished and three examples are decorated, with one each of lines, oblique and punctate. The oblique motif sherd is black burnished. One plain bowl has a much tapered rim, leading from a rapidly narrowing thick body (Fig. 6.18:4).

6.8iii Profiles D, E and F:- Regarding the D Profile class, the carinated bowls, there are only three examples, 1.3%, all plain, and in very rough, yellow, or red-brown, crumbly clay, and heavily patinated, found in Levels 1 & 3 (Fig. 6.18:14; 6.18:?). They give the appearance of being old or in the ground for a considerable time. There are no examples here of red-coloured, cross-hatched decorated carinated bowls, as at Chumbangula and there are no examples of D2+3+4dd, the complex crosshatch decorated carinated bowl.

E Profile:- The 4.5% of the profile total belonging to the E2 class consists of 10 sherds, three of which are brown burnished and six black burnished (Fig. 6.6:9-15) (Tables 6.9, 6.11). One of these has a bevelled horizontal line on the neck/shoulder junction (Fig. 6.20:1). This class has a beaded or rolled rim (Figs. 6.6:9-15, 6.20:1) and was found in the first two levels (Huffman & Vogel 1991; Robinson 1961a: Fig. 26 Nos. 58, 60-2, 67, 73, 81, Fig. 28 Nos. 92, 100, Fig. 29 Nos. 104-6).

F Profile:- There are only three possible examples of the F Profile, occurring in the first two levels, having the only examples of crosshatching, which occurs as a single band (Fig. 6.19:9).

Groups→ [levels]	Group a —	Group b ▼▲	Group c 	Group d XXX	Group e 	Group h— matte	Group h— burnish	Group h— sobre	Total	Percentage
Level 1	5 (1b)	3 b	6 (2b)	1	5 (2b)	1	2	0	23	25.5%
Level 2	8	0	8 (1bg)	1	19	13	3	2	54	60.0%
Level 3	5	0	0	0	6	2	0	0	13	14.4%
Total	18	3	14	2	30	16	5	2	90	100%
Percentage	20%	3.3%	15.5%	2.2%	33.3%	17.7%	5.5%	2.2%	100%	

Table 6.10 Decorated Fragments from Mwenezi Midden Trench (b=burnish)

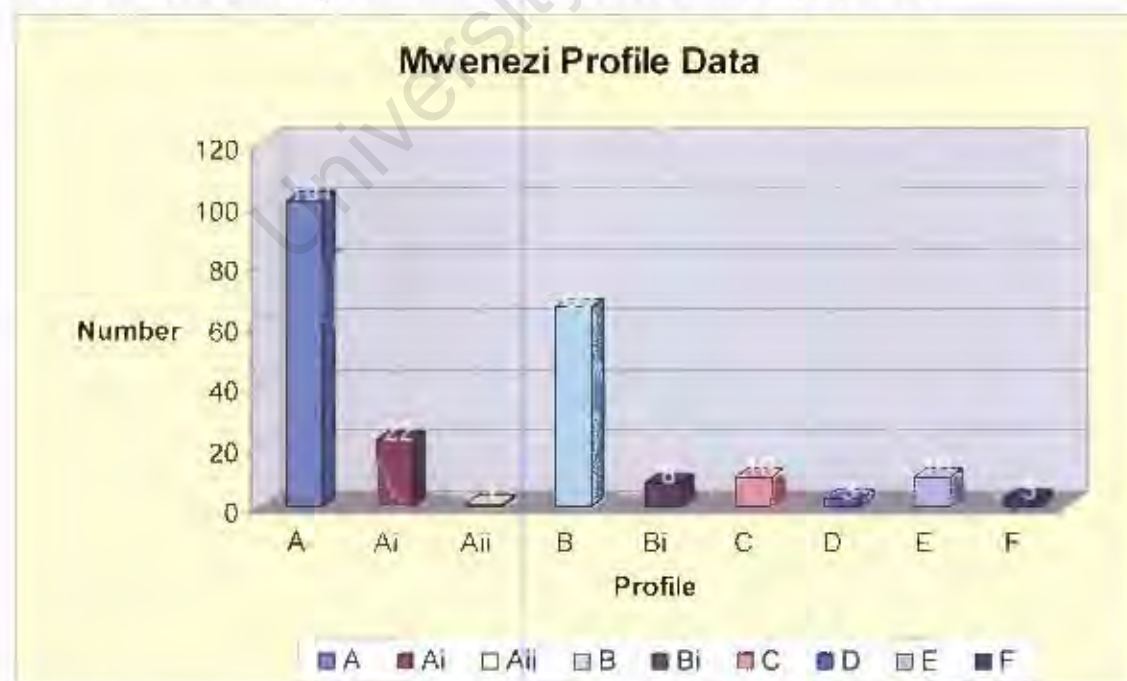


Fig. 6.21 Mwenezi Midden Trench Profile Break-down

6.8iv. Remarks regarding decorative motifs (Fig. 6.21, Tables 6.9, 6.10):-

The punctate motif (62%) occurs as a single or double row of punctates, presented as a single band (Figs. 6.17, 6.18, 6.19), and nearly three quarters of these are just below the rim (Table 6.9, Figs. 6.17:5,10; 6.18:1-3,5,8). Here they are generally not enclosed in horizontal lines (Fig. 6.17:18) as at Chumbangula, but are 'open' (Figs. 6.17:5,10,13; 6.18:2,5,8). There are much smaller numbers of punctate motifs on the neck or on the shoulder, and some of these include the more complex designs (Fig. 6.17:3,6,11,12,13,14; 6.18:1), some are wider bands (Fig. 6.17:8) and some diagonal (Fig. 6.17:6,11.). The second largest category of motifs is that of the horizontal lines (22%), which includes single lines, double or multiple, groups of long dashes, and those which are more roughly grooved or pushed up into uneven lines (Fig. 6.17:2; 6.18:3,9,13; 6.19:6). There are only four triangle or arcade types of motifs, all of which are on the shoulder (one is the previously described Aii class example (Fig. 6.18:15)), two on decorated fragments (Fig. 6.18:6,7). Significantly, there are only three examples of cross-hatching, and these are on F Profiles (Fig. 6.19:9) (Table 6.9). These examples are single bands and none are burnished. However, there are two other known crosshatch sherds from Trench 1c on the Summit, both of which match the long-necked, shouldered pots of Chumbangula with similar motif (Fig.6.18:11), plus a decorated fragment (Fig. 6.18:12). This distinct lack of sherds decorated with a crosshatched motif in the Midden Trench at Mwenezi, contrasts strongly with the assemblage from Chumbangula where crosshatching is favoured over other motifs.

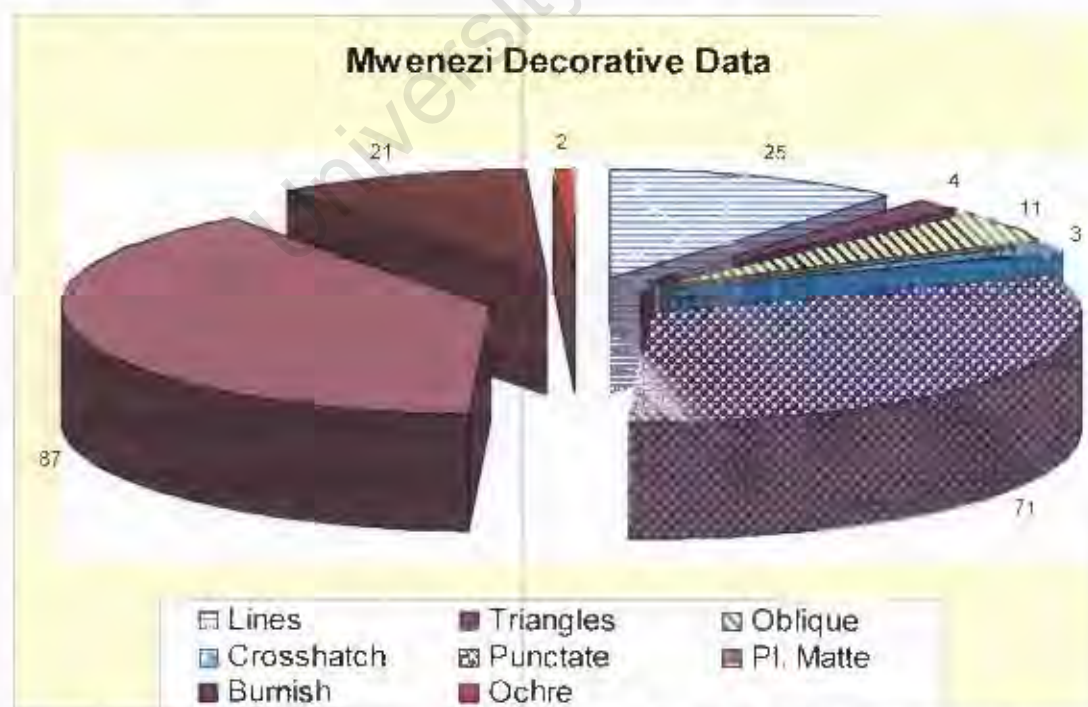


Fig. 6.22 Outline of Decorative motif data from Profile Class Sherds at Mwenezi

6.8v Burnish and Ochre:- Forty-three sherds (14%) in total have some form of burnish and of these thirty-six are profile sherds (Table 6.11). Eleven of these have decorative motifs, one of which is the distinctive black burnished, wide-shouldered sherd (Aii4b) (Table 6.11) (Fig. 6.18:15). Three burnished fragments also have a triangle-type motif. The plain burnished profiles are largely on A and B Profiles, except for the E Profile class, which has nine out of ten sherds burnished (Fig. 6.6:9-15 : 6.20:1). This percentage of burnish is unusual, when compared to the other classes. Overall there are only six examples of the use of red ochre, three on A profile vessels, one on a bowl with a slightly constricted lip and the other two on plain fragments. There are virtually no examples of the use of graphite burnish, the only one being on a sherd with an oblique motif.

Burnish	A1	A2	A3	A4	Aii1	Aii4	B1	B2	Bi1	Bi2	C1	C2	F1	Total	%
Level 1	2br 2bl	1br ///			1bl 1br		1br		1br 1bl	1br ///			3br 2bl	16	46
Level 2	1br		1bl 1br punct	1br punct	2br		1bl	1br			1bl	1bl ///	2bl 1bl	13	37
Level 3	2bl	2bl punct				1bl ▼▼							1bl	6	17
Total	7	3	2	1	4	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	9	35	100%
Percentage	20	9	6	3	11	3	6	3	6	3	3	3	26	100%	

Table 6.11 Burnished Profile Sherds Mwenzi Midden Trench

Key: br = brown; bl = black; r = red: 15 brown b = 43%; 19 black b = 54%; 1 red b = 3%

6.8vi Rims:- The proportion here of flat rims to rounded and tapered rims stands at 39%, which is thus a larger proportion of flat-rimmed vessels compared to Chumbangula (at 13%) (Ch. 6.5i). Of these flat rims, 52% are in A profile pots, while 39% are found on open-mouthed bowls and the remaining 9% on straighter-sided bowls. The majority are on plain matte vessels or on punctate decorated vessels.

6.8vii Provenance of the Pottery sherds:- Stratigraphically, by far the largest number of profile sherds occurred in Level 2 of the midden, with 68%, as against 28% in Level 1, and 14% in Level 3 (Table III Appendix 2). The same picture emerges in looking at the decorated fragments. However, there is very little difference in the spread of different motifs, or profile types. The only possible exception to this would be to note that of the 10 examples of the E class, with the beaded rim, six are in the first level, and four in the second, with none in the third. Also the three examples of the F3 class occur in Levels 1 & 2. Thus overall it would appear that the midden deposit was largely from either the same population, or by those using the same type of pottery, with some possibility of the

occurrences in the upper two levels being from a later time period, or some mixing could have taken place, at different times. The time period that this took place over is not clear. The single radiocarbon date from the midden (level 3) is not necessarily helpful (see Ch. 5.4ii, Table 5.8) as the pottery does not tie in with the date of AD 790 (cal.) (see Ch. 8.3i). When this is looked at in conjunction with the dates from Chumbangula (11th-13th centuries AD), coming from possibly similar associations of pottery as at Mwenezi, there appears to be a discrepancy (Tables 5.6 & 5.8 & see discussion, Ch. 8). That some mixing took place in the midden is indicated by the E profile rim with burnish, which would indicate a different expression from that of the main assemblage. The patina on the sherds was the same as at Chumbangula.

6.8viii Summary:- To sum up the overall impression of this pottery – the dominant profile is that of the long-necked pot, with a weak shoulder definition, often plain, or decorated at the rim with a single band of punctates. Some examples have a more complex treatment of the punctate motif. The bowl classes, particularly the open-mouth hemi-spherical B Profile, are the second most common vessel and here there are a higher number of plain matte finished bowls to decorated ones, but again in this category the common motif is punctates. The class that stands out as a different group to the A and B profiles is the E Profile, with a representation of 4.5%, and all in Levels 1 and 2. No clay figurines were found in the Mwenezi Midden either, but nor were there any spindle whorls or fragments here. These are among the issues to be discussed in Chapter 8. Burnishing (except for the E profile examples) and especially ochre are found in low numbers here while graphite is very rare.

6.9 Surface Ceramics from Chumbangula, Lomolohoto and surveyed Malumba River Basin sites

Surface sherds, other than those obtained at the time of the excavations (these have been dealt with as part of the excavated assemblage), from Chumbangula and sherds found on other surface sites are described and illustrated in order to clarify their position in relation to the excavated material from Chumbangula. This surface material consists firstly of the small collection made by C. Cooke in 1958 during the RSES Expedition to Mateke (Cooke 1958, 1960) and secondly of material collected during field visits to the site area in 1996, 1998, 1999 and 2001 (Gray 1996, 1998, 1999). The RSES original material was examined in the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare, in 1998 and 1999. The original surface collection serves as useful comparative material for both the excavated material from Chumbangula and for the surface collection and observation made during the field work and survey in the late 'nineties. This latter material is now also at the Museum of Human Sciences, or at the University of Zimbabwe. The collection on Chumbangula was minimal and generally confined to

the Lower East Terrace Cave, the wash area (the cliff edges) on the south and south-west sides of the summit deposit, to wash areas on the north ascent route and to shelters on the lower north-east and the mid-passage (Map 4.1) (Gray 1996, 1998, 1999, 2002). Observation was limited to drawing of some sherds and to photography, and other site areas were treated in a similar way. The surface material found in the excavations has already been treated as part of the excavated assemblage.

Since there is no stratigraphic data, the pottery was analysed as a single unit, using the attributes of profile and of decorative motif position and types of decorative motif. Small sherds that could not be assigned to a profile class were examined as fragments, with the criterion of motif design as the governing factor. The profile/position classes for the surface material from Chumbangula Hill did not cover the full spectrum of classes identified in the excavated material which may well have been a factor of the small size of the sample. According to his notes, Cooke (1958) and the RSES group made the collection of sherds 'from rock clefts and surface sites'. He did observe that the collection seemed to represent a mixture of different traditions and periods (Cooke 1958:66-60), but on the whole were not akin to the surface finds at the old village sites (e.g. Chinana's Kraal). Overall Cooke's Chumbangula material consisted of 31 sherds (including 1 spindle whorl) (Cooke 1958, Fig. 4-7). The others used in this analysis (31 profile sherds, 39 decorated fragments and 7 spindle whorl fragments) came from either my surface collection, or from drawings and photographs made at the time. The rest of Cooke's (1958) pottery collection, from other sites in the Malumba River valley and the Matekes, for instance Chinana's Kraal, Mateke Beacon and Marungudzi, is looked at in connection with pottery and settlement patterns discussed in Chapter 4 from the surveyed and identified sites and with pottery belonging to known sites in adjacent regions.

CHUMBANGULA SURFACE Collected (COOKE 1958), & (GRAY 1994-2001)	NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE
Number of sherds analysed	108	100%
Profile sherds	62	57.4%
Decorated fragments	39	36.1%
Spindle whorl / fragments	7	6.5%

Table 6.12 Categories of sherds used in attribute analysis for Collected Chumbangula Surface Sherds

6.9i Decorative Motifs

There were examples of all the same motif groups as identified in the excavated material at Chumbangula, though the comb stamp group was only seen in the decorated fragments. In addition, examples of a lozenge type, i.e. small motifs of parallel lines, or grouped stabs 'g'; a ribbon motif 'i' (Fig. 6.23:1); and one with an incised band of herringbone pattern were identified 'h', i.e. motif groups g, 'i', j.

Group g – Lozenge type of parallel marks, separate motifs, arranged in groups or with small stamped motifs, also in spaced groups, incised, impressed (Fig 6.27:3; 6.28:12).

Group 'i' – Continuous band, narrow lines, combined with a regular impression, 'ribbon-type' design, incised, impressed – rare (Fig. 6.23:1). Sometimes called 'bangle'

Group j – Herringbone motif, in a single band, incised – rare (Fig. 6.24:2).

6.9ii Motif Position:- The motif positions which were employed were again those of:-

1 - plain examples; 2 - below the rim; 3 - the neck area, 4 - on the shoulder, 3+4, at neck and shoulder - diagonal design (See Figs. 6.1, 6.1a).

6.9iii Profile Classes

Again the only descriptions will be where the class differs, or where there is a new class with a different profile and/or motif/ position. It will be noted that there is only one A_i class and this has a similar diagonal motif as seen in the Mwenezi assemblage (Cooke 1958:Fig. 6:4) (Table 6.13).

There is an extra A class, that of A_{iii}, with a much more pronounced neck, not seen in the excavated material and with a different type of motif, an uneven band on the shoulder of a ribbon type motif - see motif group 'i' above. There are fewer bowl classes as well.

Profile A_{iii} – A necked pot, with pronounced indent, with rounded shoulder definition.

A meandering band of ribbon-like design, in a double line,

with repetitive impressions. The extra Chumbangula surface class (single example)



Fig 6.23:1-8 Chumbangula
Surface collected potsherds
(Cooke 1958: Figs. 5,6,7, 1960)
(photo J. Gray).

No 1. Necked pot, showing
marked and indented neck
junction, with uneven 'bangle'
band on shoulder, A_{iii}4 Motif
'i' (see Ch. 6.9iii below)
(For the other examples here,
see Notes on Figures-end of
chapter)

Class – Aiii-4i motif found on the shoulder position (Fig. 6.23:1)

Profile Bi Bowl with in-turned rim, sub-spherical - (Cooke 1958 :Fig. 5:13; 7:7; Fig.6:5).

Class Bi2 A few examples of a lozenge, or parallel, spaced motif at rim, or neck, as well as an example with a diagonal and straight band of punctates (Cooke 1958:Fig. 7:6)

Profile C, Classes C2, C3 Straight sided vessel, crosshatch at rim. Small vertically oriented bowl, with blocked horizontal lines and vertical lines at neck/shoulder (Cooke 1958:Fig. 5:4).

Profile F A rounded pot, constricted mouth, either plain, or has a single or multiple band of oblique or crosshatch decoration at the neck, also the parallel grouped lozenge motifs. Decoration is often on quite dry clay. **Classes – F1**, plain; **F3**, on the neck (Fig. 4.2d; 6.7:11; 6.7a; 6.28:12)(Cooke 1958:Figs. 4:21,22; 5:2,3 - these Figs. referred to are also in Cooke 1960).

6.10 Description of Collected Chumbangula Surface Pottery

The data for these sherds is tabulated in Tables 6.13, 6.14. The collection is evenly distributed between the different Profile classes, but the larger representation is in the A Profiles, and in this group crosshatching is the most common motif, with the shoulder as the most utilised position, especially among the multiple joined bands (Table 6.13). When looking at the surface sherds motif data as a whole (Table 6.14) the percentages for crosshatching rises to 47%, with all other motif groups from 1% to 11%, which is for the next most numerous group, the obliques (Table 6.14). While observing that these surface examples largely fit in with the main Chumbangula assemblage, one has to remember that the collection does not come from a random sample from all over the site, thus there may be an inbuilt bias as it comes mostly from shelters and wash areas. I observed on first viewing the East Terrace Cave in 1994, that there were a large number of pottery sherds scattered around the central portion of the floor and which appeared to represent different traditions, for example, the lozenge decorated sherds, the long-necked multiple band sherds, open bowls, the carinated red-finished crosshatched examples (Fig. 4.2c-d).

6.10i Description of Surface Collected Sherds - Since most of the classes found in the surface collected pottery has already been described under Profiles A, Ai, B, Bi, C, D, E and F with the excavated Chumbangula pottery descriptions in Ch. 6.6i & 6.6ii, 6.6iii, it is not necessary to go into detail here. There are somewhat more potsherds here that equate to Profile F (Ch. 6.6iii), characterised by a spherical (rounded) outline, with single bands of linked chevrons, in filled with incisions, as well as single bands of crosshatching or oblique at rim, neck or lower neck (Fig.6.7a). One motif group among the fragments is characterised

Motif Position ↓	Motif Groups → Profile Classes + position ↓	Group a	Group b ▼▼	Group c	Group d XX	Group e	Group g /	Group i	Group j	Group k matte burnish	Total	%
Plain	A1									1	2	3.3
Rim	A2			2	1	2					5	8.2
Neck	A3		3		1						4	6.5
Multiple/joined Neck	A3i				2						2	3.3
Shoulder	A4			1	1			1			5	8.2
Multiple/join-Shoulder	A4i				3						5	8.2
Multi/separate Shoulder	A4ii				1						1	1.6
Complex Diagonal/neck/Shoulder	Ai3/4					1					1	1.6
Shoulder	Aiii4							1			1	1.6
Plain	B1									1	1	1.6
Rim	B2		2		3	2					7	11.5
Plain	Bi1									1	1	1.6
Rim	Bi2			2		1					4	6.5
Multi/joined Shoulder	Bi4i				1						1	1.6
Neck	C3		f(a-c)	1							2	3.3
Neck	D3			1							1	1.6
On carinate Shoulder	D4				4						4	6.5
Plain	F1									3	3	4.9
Plain	G1										1	1.6
Neck	F3			1	2		2				5	8.2
Multiple/joined Neck	F3i				1						1	1.6
Total no.		1	5	10	25	6	3	1	1	6	61	100
	% of decos. Shards	1.9	9.6	19.2	48	11.5	5.7	1.9	1.9	66.6/ 32/ 14	61/ 100%	100%
Percent of Total no.	%	1.6	8.2	16.4	41.0	9.8	4.9	1.6	1.6	10/ 3	100%	
	Deco =	1				85%			1	Pl 1/ 15%	100%	

Table 6.13 Collected Surface Ceramics From Chumbangula, Profile Classes & Motif Positions (Cooke 1958, Gray 1994-2001)

KEY

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1 Plain | 4 Shoulder |
| 2 Rim | 4i Shoulder, Multiple, joined |
| 3 Neck | 4ii Shoulder, Multiple, separate |
| 3i Neck, multiple joined | 3-4 Complex Diagonal Neck Shoulder (punctate) |

by the 'F' motif, these sherds are characterised by comb-stamping, as well as broad incised obliques or horizontal lines and a certain thickening of the rim and lip (Fig. 6.24:6). None have been large enough for profile or reconstruction. A distinctive pot with indented neck and motif 'i' (Aiii4 'i', Fig. 6.23:1) was found in Cooke's collection (1958) and appears to be akin to more Recent pots found in southern Zimbabwe, known as 'Karanga pottery'. The one sherd with a blurred, single band of herring-bone (motif 'j') was found in the shelter at the lower south side of the hill and is on a

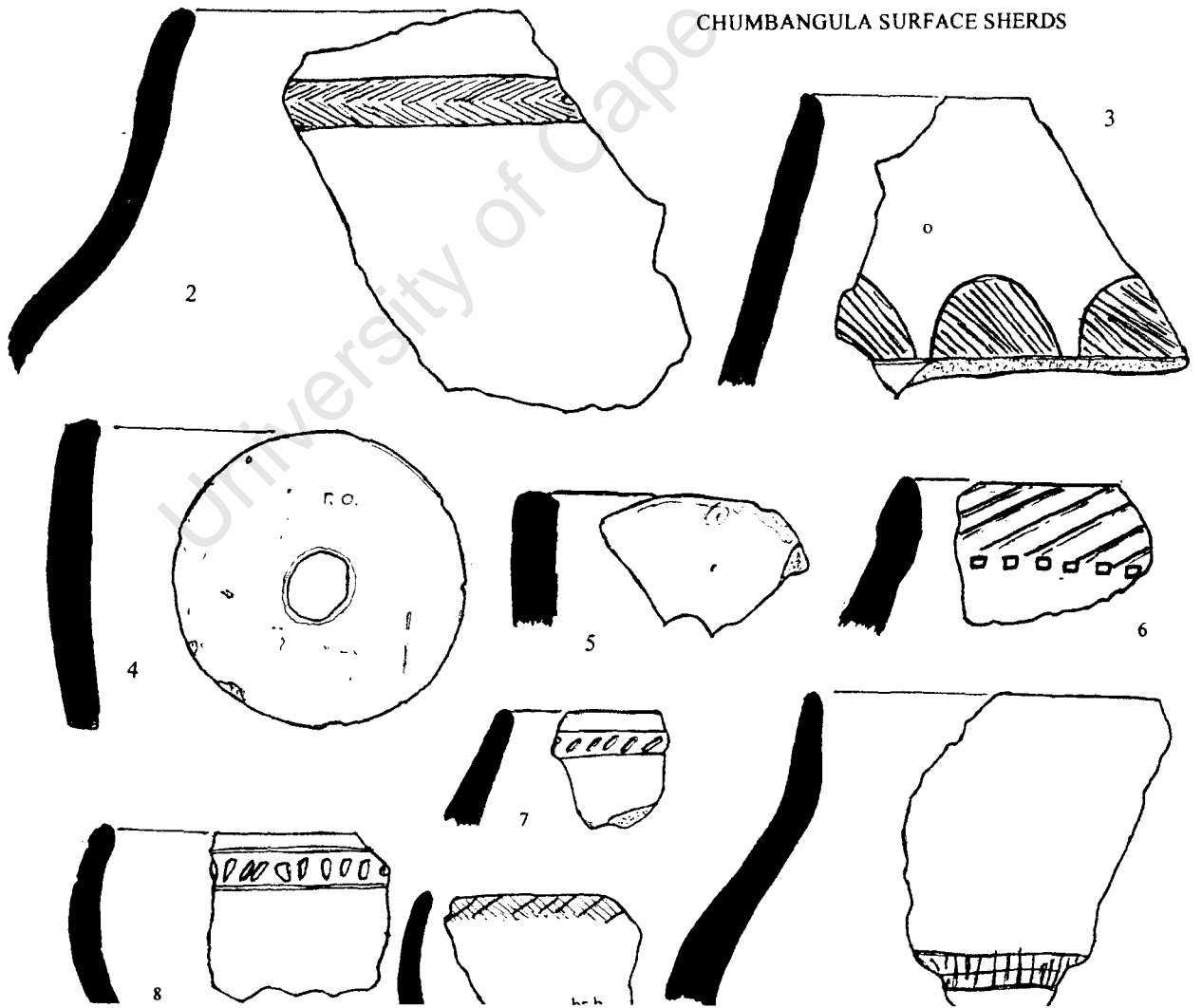
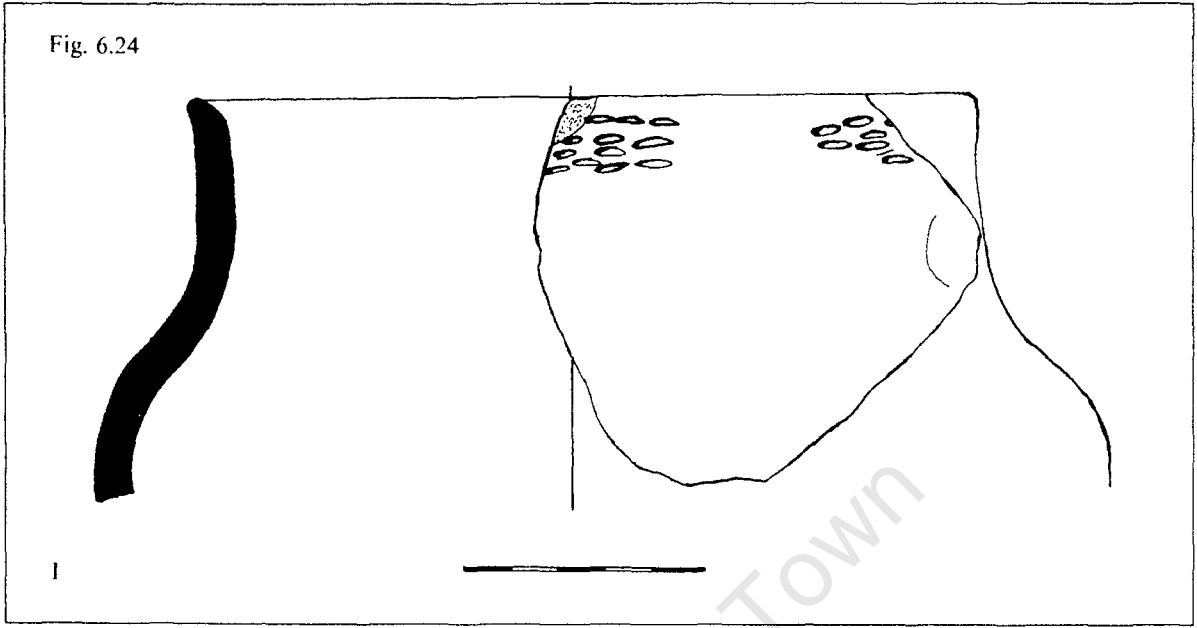
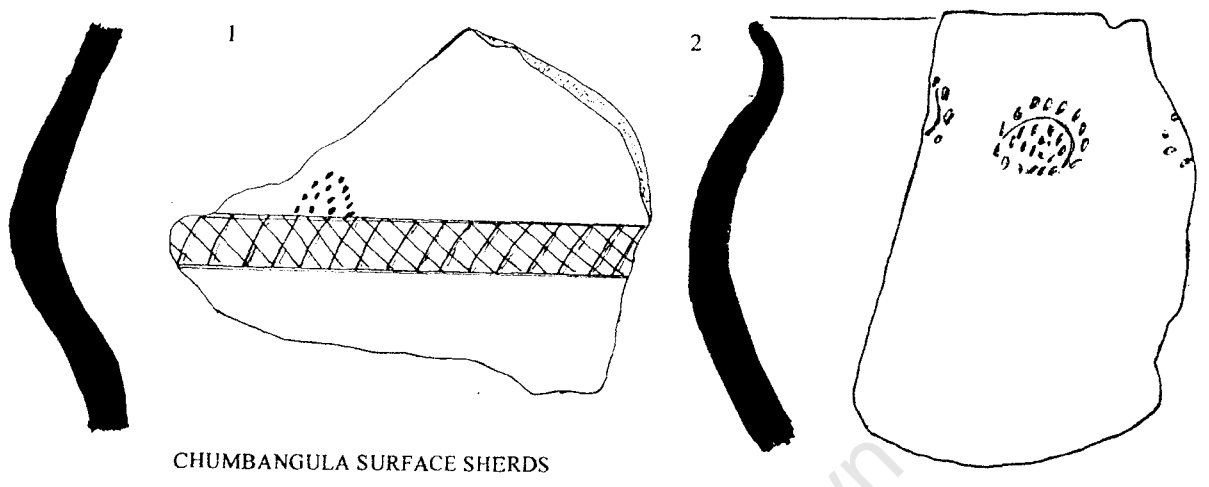


Fig. 6.24 Surface Sherds, Chumbangula, Dawn Hill



CHUMBANGULA SURFACE SHERDS

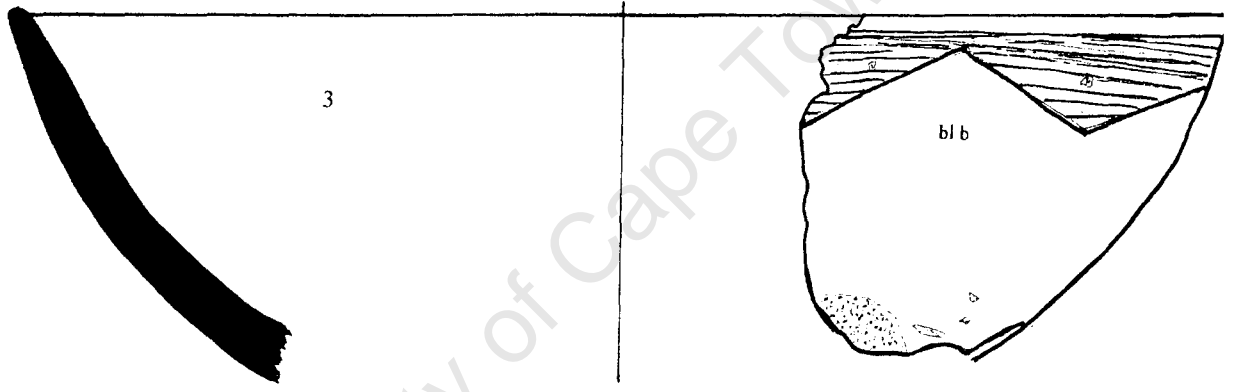


Fig. 6.25

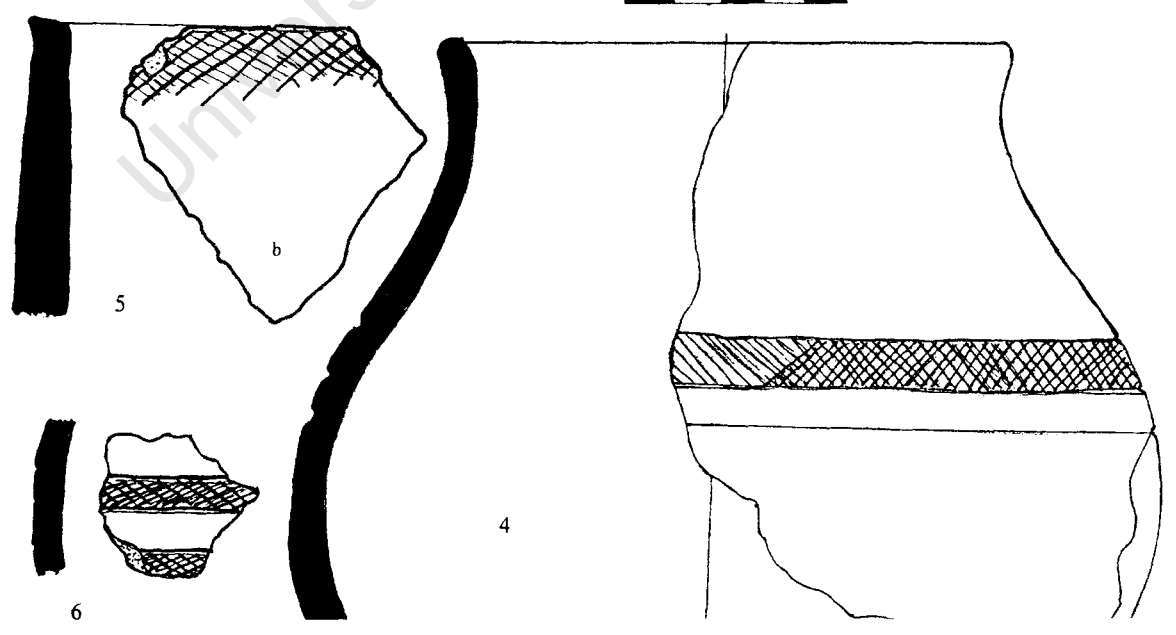


Fig. 6.25 Chumbangula Hill Surface Sherds

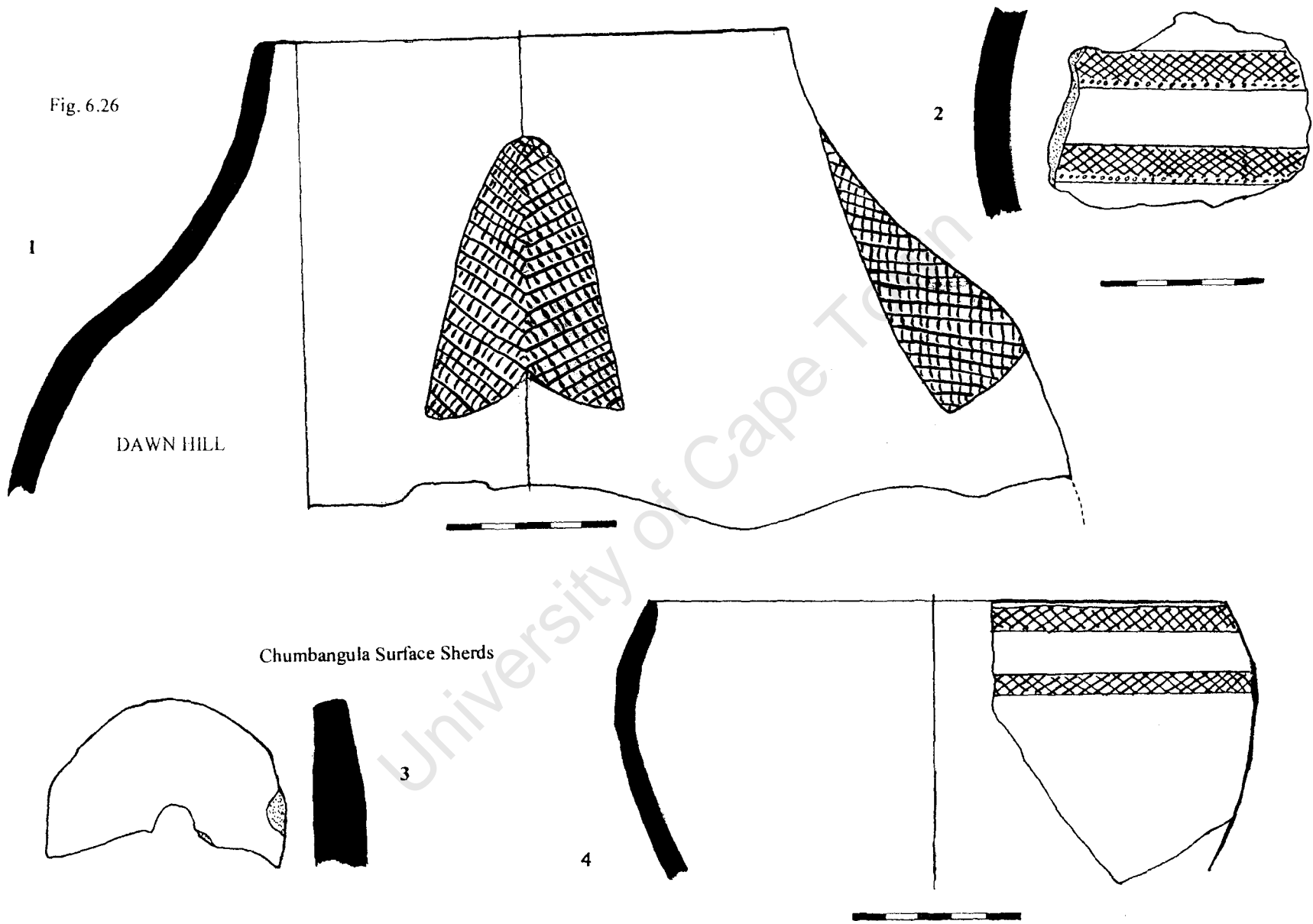
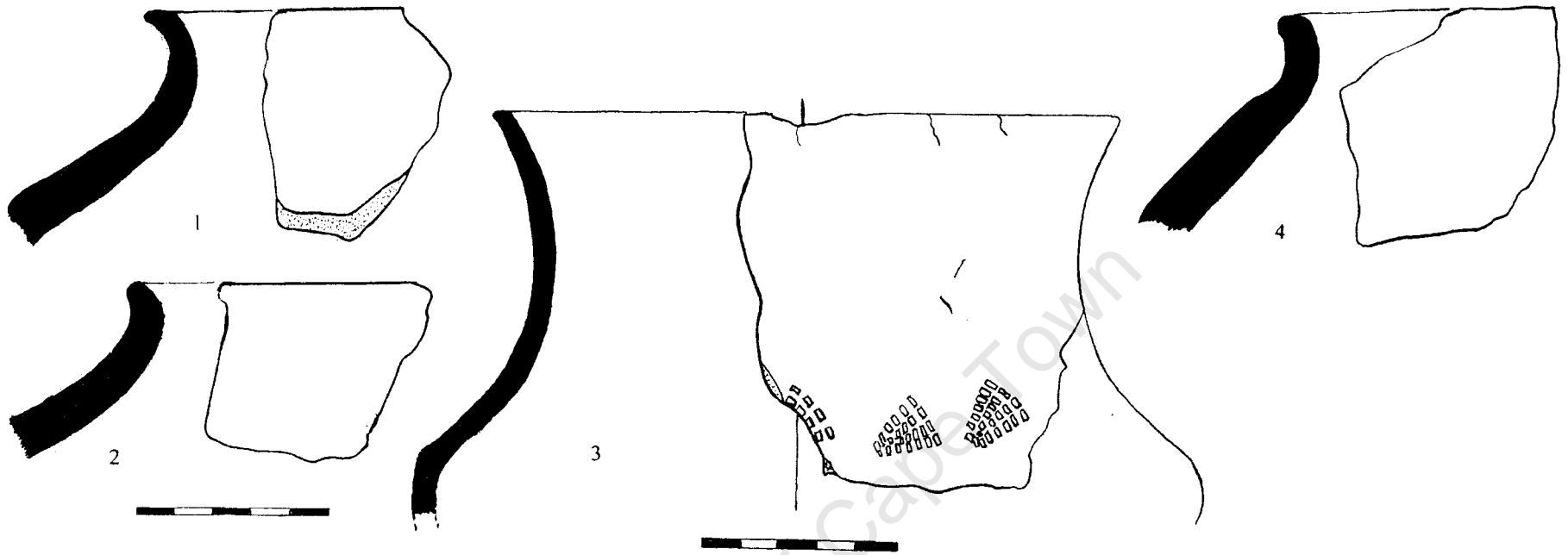


Fig. 6.26 Chumbangula Surface Sherds



MALUMBA RIVER BASIN

Fig. 6.27

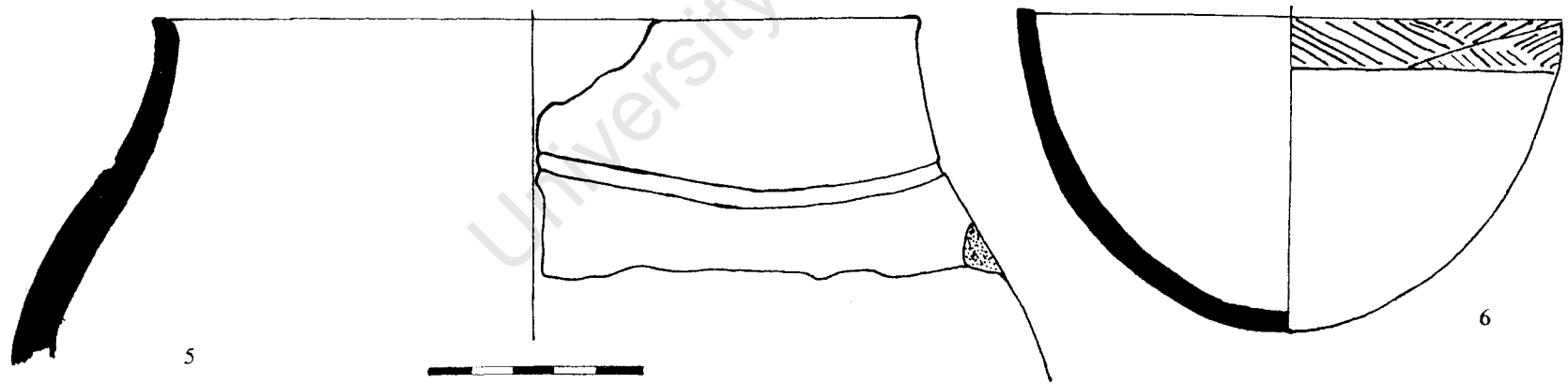


Fig. 6.27 Surface Pottery Sherds, Malumba River Basin sites (Table 4.1)

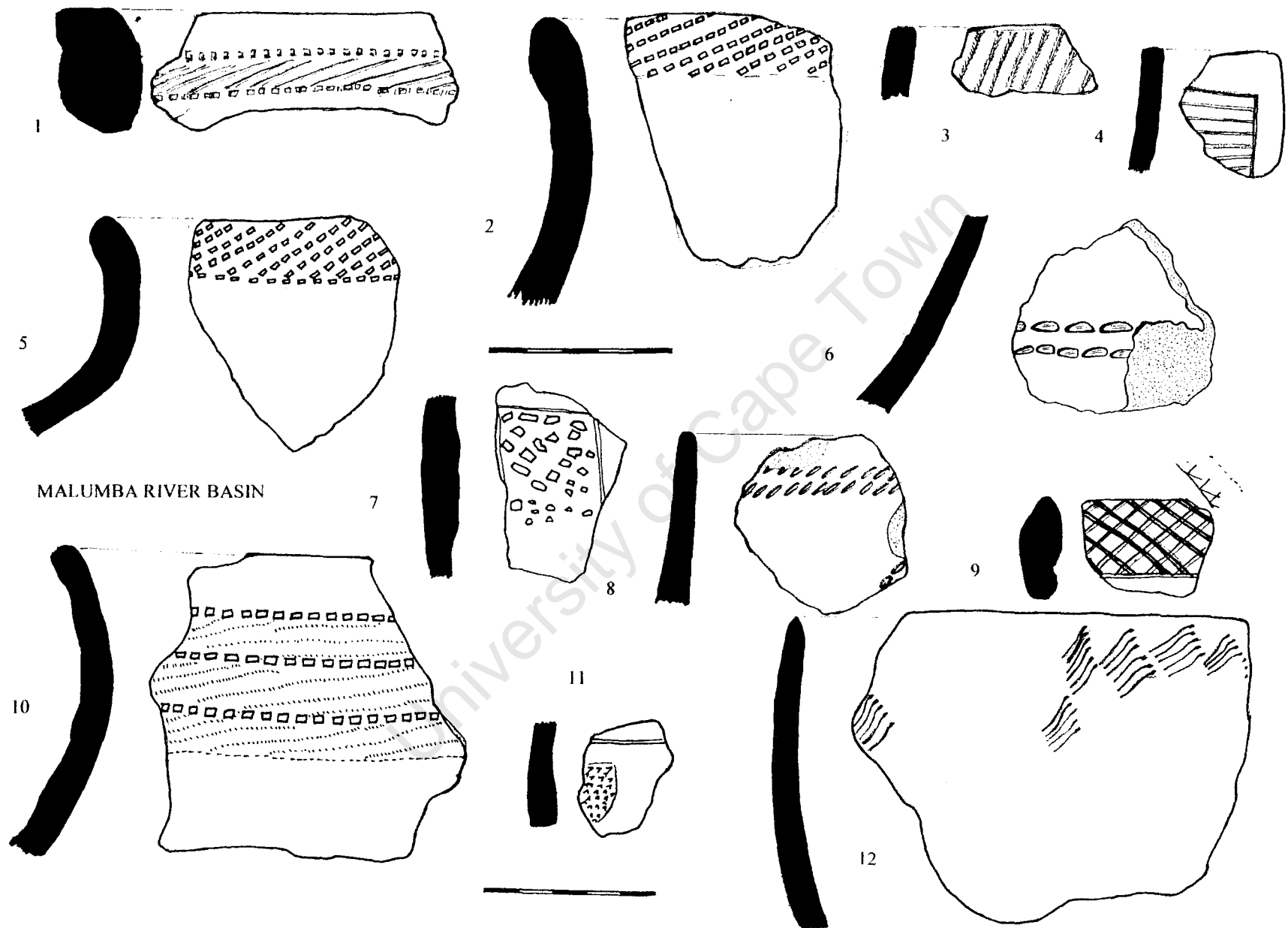


Fig. 6.28 Surface Sherds

hard, rough clay with much temper; the profile is of the long-necked re-curved type (Fig. 6.24:2). Also found at Chumbangula in the surface sherds are motifs described as lozenge motifs (motif group 'g') (Ch. 6.5v, 6.9iii, Fig. 6.25:2; 6.27:3; 6.28:12), or parallelograms (Duarte 1976; Liesegang 1974) and occurring on open-mouthed hemi-spherical bowls or vertical sided bowls and a long-necked recurved pot; the vessels do not appear very large (Duarte 1976:8; Liesegang 1974; Meyer 1986). The motifs are below the rim and on the neck, as well as above the carination, and also on certain examples from the Malumba River Basin (Fig. 6.27:3) (Ch. 4). Sometimes the motif is a series of small incisions, perhaps made with a shell or fingernail (parallelograms) (Fig. 4.2d; 6.28:12) - at Chumbangula, profile sherds with this lozenge motif were found on the surface in the Eastern Terrace Cave, amongst a large amount of mixed pottery styles (Fig. 4.2d, Fig. 6.28:12). At least one sherd was seen which seemed to incorporate elements of both a crosshatch band and a small rounded lozenge/group of small stabs (Fig. 6.25:1), which is an interesting combination of these two 'motifs'. Motif, 'g', occurs only in surface wares and not at all in the excavated assemblage (see Ch. 7). The other trend noted largely on surface sherds, but also some of the excavated wares, is that of well-finished pottery with double or triple parallel, but not adjacent, bands of neatly executed cross-hatching, often on the shoulder/body area and often burnished, apparently belonging to bowls/pots of somewhat spherical shape (Fig. 6.13:2,4; 6.26:2). The further pottery expression of the simple carinated pot (Fig. 6.1a) (Profile Class D) with cross-hatching above the carinate and with a particular red colouring (Ch. 6.6iii) (Cooke 1958:Fig. 7.12) has been found in both surface and excavated contexts (Fig. 6.7:4, 6.23:4; 6.26:4).









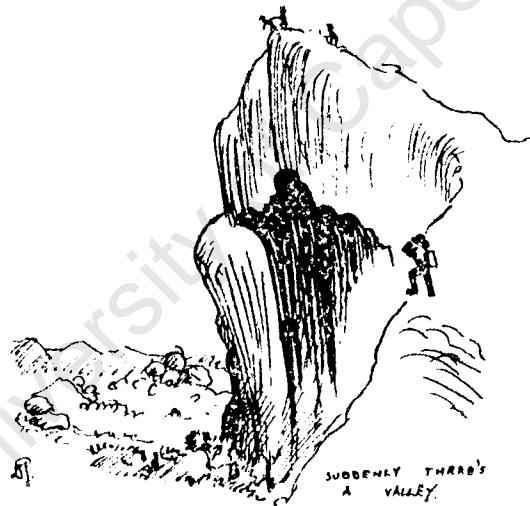
Motif groups	Surface fragments	Surface profiles /	Totals	Percentage
Group a - 	1	1	2	1.8
Group b - 	2	5	7	6.5
Group c - 	2	10	12	11.1
Group d - 	25	25	50	46.6
Group d + g 		1	1	0.9
Group e - 	3	6	9	8.3
Group f - 	3	-	3	2.7
Group g - 	2	3	5	4.6
Group h - matte burnish ochre	1	6 2 1	{10	9.2

Table 6.14 Combined Motif Data for Profiles and Fragments for Chumbangula Collected Surface Sherds

Therefore the surface collections at Chumbangula reflect both the main excavated assemblage, (analysed, described and illustrated in Ch. 6.5 & 6.6, Table 6.3, Figs. 6.1-6.15); as well as wares apparently anomalous to this main expression, some probably attributable to the more Recent period (see Ch. 7). There is also an earlier component that is the 'f' motif, comb stamp and broad incision

(Figs. 6.11a, 6.24:6; 6.28:1), that is evident in surface and a minimal number of excavated examples. Other surface examples are from sites in the Malumba River Basin (Fig. 6.28:2,3,5,7,10) (Table 4.1)

Before we proceed to discussion and conclusions on this ceramic evidence and the local sequence we need to consider the evidence on later people who occupied the Mateke area. The following chapter is therefore an outline of the contacts with outside and incoming groups to the southeast lowveld from the mid-eighteenth century on to the beginning of the 20th century, who may have had an influence on events and people living in the Mateke Hills from the 18th century onwards and the expression of their culture as seen in the more Recent expressions of pottery.



LIST OF FIGURES OF POTTERY FOR CHAPTER SIX

Figure 6.3 Chumbangula, Profiles A, Ai, motif positions 1,2,3, motif groups h, c, e, Classes

1. A1h – Long-necked recurved pot, plain matte, shoulder poorly defined, flat rim – Tsp. 2, Surface
2. A11h – Everted rim, neck, shouldered pot, plain matte, smoothed – Tr. IV L4
3. A2c - Straighter necked, shouldered pot, obliques, fine line, under rim – Tr. IV L4
4. A2c - Rim sherd, finger-nail impression, oblique, black burnish – Tr. IV L4
5. A1h - Long-necked, narrow neck, shouldered pot, plain matte, flat rim – Tr. IV L2
6. A2e - Rim sherd, single band punctates, open, below rim, matte – Tr. IV L6
7. A2e - Rim sherd, single band punctates closed, below rim, matte – Tr. IV L6
8. A2e - Necked pot, single band which is made up of two rows of punctates, below rim, matte – Tr. IV L6
9. A13e - Long-necked pot, shouldered, single band punctates, 'fenced', on lower neck – Tr. IV L6

Figure 6.4 Chumbangula, Profiles A, Ai, motif positions 2,3,4, motif groups b, c, d, e

1. A3c - Body sherd, motif of oblique, single band, at lower neck, shoulder – Tr. I L2 Sq.3
2. A4d - Long-necked pot, shoulder poorly defined, decoration single band crosshatch at shoulder, Yellow-brown ochre - Tr. IV L4
3. A3d - Necked, shouldered pot, cross hatch, well-fired – Tr. I L4 sq. 6
4. A14dd - Necked, wide-shouldered pot, triple band crosshatch joined, at shoulder – Tsp. 2 L2
5. A3dd - Rim sherd, brown ochre, triple band crosshatch joined, on neck – Tr. IV L4
6. A14d - Long-necked shouldered pot, band of crosshatch at shoulder - Tr. IV L4
7. A2b/e - Narrow necked shouldered pot, triangle motif, in-filled with punctate, into neck, graphite burnish, but not on motif – Tr. I L2 Sq 3
8. A4b - Long-necked pot, shouldered, triangle in filled with lines, matte – Tsp. 5 L2

Figure 6.5 Chumbangula, Profiles B, Bi, C, motif positions 2,3,4,5, motif groups b, d, e

1. B1h-g- Small open-mouthed bowl, plain with graphite – Tsp. I L2
2. B1h - Small open-mouthed bowl, plain, matte – Tr. IV L4
3. B1h-b- Open-mouthed bowl rounded, plain, black burnish – Tr. IV L4
4. B3e - Open-mouthed bowl, two bands of single punctate below rim, on neck – Tr. IV L4
5. B2e - Bowl, smoothed, ochred, inside and outside – Tr. IV L4
6. B5dd - Open-mouthed bowl, with double band joined, on body area of vessel – Tr. IV L4
7. B3b - Small, shallow bowl, burnish, chevron motif, in-filled with oblique lines – Tr. IV L2
8. B2dd - Small, fine open-mouthed bowl, black burnish, double joined band crosshatch – Tr. IV L6
9. B2b - Small, fine open-mouthed bowl, black burnish inner and outer, triangle motif in-filled with crosshatch - Tsp. 1 L2
10. C1h - Straighter-sided bowl (vertically oriented), wide mouth, plain, matte – Tr. IV L4
11. C1h-o - Straighter-sided bowl, slightly tapered rim, red ochre – inner and outer – Tr. IV L2
12. C1h - Straighter-sided bowl, rim slightly rounded to inner – Tsp. 5 L5
13. B14dd - Straighter-sided bowl, slightly rounded, burnish, double band crosshatch joined – Tr. IV L4

Figure 6.6 Chumbangula 1-8, Mwenezi 9-15, Profile E, Motif position 4, motif group a: Spindle Whorl

1. E2a - Necked pot, beaded rim, double horizontal line motif at shoulder – Tr. IV L4
2. E1h-m - Longer straight neck, black matte, smoothed – Tsp 3 L1
3. E2h-b - Rim sherd, beaded (rolled) rim, black/brown burnish – Tsp. 2 L1
4. E1h-m - Rim sherd, straight narrow neck, plain – Tsp. 6 L7
5. Spindle whorl - Fragment, crosshatch motif, central bore visible – Tr. I L4 Sq. 6
6. Spindle whorl - Fragment, graphite, crosshatch motif, central bore visible – Tsp. 5 L4
7. Spindle whorl - Fragment, rubbed and smoothed, soot – Tr. I L1 Sq. 6
8. Spindle whorl - In process of being smoothed and rounded, brown burnish, double crosshatch band visible, same clay and finish as sherd in Tr. IV L4 – Tr. IV L 4
9. E2h-b - Rim/neck sherd, necked pot, fine ware, rolled rim, black burnish – Midden Trench L1
10. E2h-b - Rim/neck sherd, necked pot, rolled rim, black burnish – Midden Tr. L1
11. E2h-m - Rim sherds, rolled rims, matte – Midden Tr. L1, L2
12. E2h-b - Rim sherd, rolled rim, burnish – Midden Tr. L1
13. E2h-m - Rim sherd, rolled rim, matte, plain – Midden Tr. L1
14. E2h-b - Rim/neck sherd, rolled rim, brown burnish – Midden Tr. L1
15. E2h-b - Rim/neck sherd, rolled rim, necked pot, black burnish – Midden Tr. L2

Figure 6.7 Chumbangula 1-9, Profiles D, F, motif group d

1. D2d - Rim sherd, motif on rim, single band crosshatch, carination at shoulder/body junction, - Tr. II L2, sq. O
2. D4d - Decorated fragment, showing carination, crosshatch - Tr. IV L4
3. D2/3/4dd – Carinated bowl, complex crosshatch motif from rim to shoulder/carination - Tsp 2, L4
4. D4d - Carinated bowl, motif at carination, crosshatch, red burnish – Tsp 6, Surface

5. Decorated rim sherd, small rounded bowl, crosshatch at rim – Tsp 6, L6
6. Decorated rim sherd, crosshatch at rim – Tr. II, L2, sq O
7. D3/4dd - Carinated bowl, roughly finished, pattern of crosshatch bands – Tr. IV, L4
8. F1h - Graphited rim sherd – Tr. II, L1, sq K
9. Decorated body sherd, motif of three equidistant, crosshatch bands – Tr. IV, L4
10. Decorated sherd F- crosshatch band, fingernail impressions - Mwenezi Midden Tr. L2
11. F3d – Single band crosshatch in a ‘ladder’ design, graphite burnish above motif – Malumba River, Site 2130 D4:24

Figure 6.10 Chumbangula, Profile C

1. C1h-m - Small vertically oriented bowl, rough finish, matte, contained soil and bones - Tr. IV, L4
2. C1h-m – Vertical sided pot, red matte – Tsp 6, Surface

Figure 6.11 Chumbangula, Spindle whorls 1-15

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Tsp. 1 Surface | 8. Tr. IV L1 |
| 2. Tsp. 1 Level 1 | 9. Tsp. 6 L5 |
| 3. Tsp. 5 L3 | 10. Tr. I L1 Gr. 6 |
| 4. Tsp. 5 L4 | 11. Tr. IV L4 |
| 5. Tsp. 6, Surface | 12. Tr. I L1 Gr. 3 |
| 6. Tsp. 6 L6 | 13. Tsp. 6 L9 |
| 7. Tr. I L2 Gr. 3 | 14. Tr. I L1 Gr. 6 |
| 15. Tsp. 4 L1 | |

Figure 6.12 Chumbangula, Profile A, I, motifs a, d, e; Child’s’ Pot,

1. ‘Child’s’ pot – small, matte, roughly made pot, (upper view as well) found in association with clay feature (Fig. 5.2) – Tsp.1 L 9
2. A2+4d - Long-necked pot, crosshatch motif in positions 2 and 4, rim and shoulder – Tsp. 6 L7
3. Ai3a - Necked pot, wide shoulder, horizontal lines at neck, matte – Tsp. 6 L 9
4. Ai3e - Necked, shoulderd pot, double row punctates at neck – Tsp. 6 Surface
5. A2d - Small, finely made pot, A Profile, smaller scale, black burnished – Tr. I, L2, sq 7
6. Decorated fragment, heavy, matte, buff-coloured, multiple lines of triangular punctate – Tsp. 6 L4
7. Ai1h-m – Plain, matte everted rim, wide necked and shouldered vessel – Tsp. 5 L7

Figure 6.13 Chumbangula, Decorated fragments, motifs b, d

1. - Motif of oblique with crosshatch incision, horizontal line below, burnished -Tr. IV L4
2. - Burnished, triple band separated - Tr. IV L4
3. - Half-smoothed clay disc, brown burnish, double band crosshatch - Tr. IV L4
4. - Triple band crosshatch separated -Tr. IV L4
5. - Arcade motif, ‘b’ group - Tsp. 3 L4
6. - sq.6, A3d, crosshatch - Tr. I L4
7. - black burnish, ‘b’ motif group - Tsp. 6 L5
8. - broad band, crosshatch - Tsp. 3 L1
9. - straight band below rim with portion at oblique angle, motif made up of dashes arranged in horizontal lines - Tsp. 2 L3

Figure 6.15 Chumbangula Hill Pottery

1. B1h-m - Small, black, finely made open-mouthed bowl – Tr. IV L4
2. Bi1h-m - Open bowl, somewhat rounded, plain, matte – Tsp. 6 Surface
3. Deco. fragment - buff-coloured, deep crosshatch incisions, patina covering 2nd band – Tsp. 5 L7
4. Deco. Fragment - smoothed, polished sherd, double band incised, crosshatch & oblique – Tsp.5 L7
5. Bi2+4dd - Small, in-turned bowl, high graphite burnish, double bands neat crosshatch – Tr. IV L4
6. Bi3a - Restricted, in-turned bowl, matte – Tsp.5 L3
7. Bi3b - Small, black burnished bowl, remainder of small pendant triangles in-filled with dots – Tr. II L3 Gr H.
8. Bi1h-gr - Fragment of small in-turned bowl, graphite – Tr. IV L4
9. B2+4dd - Small, burnished open bowl, double band crosshatch, carried on to rim itself – Tr. IV L4

Fig. 6.16 Chumbangula Hill pottery

1. A3a - Long-necked pot, weak shoulder definition, horizontal line at neck – Tr. IV L4
2. Bi2b - Small, rounded bowl, burnished, triangle/chevron - T
3. B2d - Open-mouthed bowl, slightly inverted at rim, crosshatch at rim -
4. A2e - Long-necked pot, narrow neck, punctates in ‘fenced’ band at below rim -

Figure 6.17 Mwenezi, Midden Trench, Profile A

1. A2h-m - Matte, long-necked plain pot – L1
2. Decorated rim fragment, broad groove incision, oblique/chevron design, 'c' group – L1
3. A2+4e - Long necked, recurved pot, motif of punctates in bands at rim and shoulder – L2
4. A1h-br. b - Brown burnish, with mica inclusions – L2
5. A2e - Single band with double row of punctates below rim, flat rim – L2
6. A3e - Oblique band of punctates at neck, brown burnished – L2
7. Ai1h-br. b Plain, brown burnish, restricted opening – L2
8. A2e - 'Fenced' band of punctates in oblique motif – L2
9. A2c - Single band of oblique below rim – L2
10. A2e - Double row punctates below rim – L3
11. Ai2+3e – Complex motif, punctates in single band below rim, oblique double band of punctates at 45° angle to horizontal band – L2
12. A3+4e - Punctate motif in two columns – L3
13. A2+3e - Double row of slightly differentiated punctate motif – L2
14. A2+3+4 - Complex motif of punctates occupying below rim, neck and shoulder regions – L2

Fig. 6.18 Mwenezi, Midden Trench, Profiles B, C, D+ Aii

1. B2e - Small, finely made open-mouthed bowl, single band punctates below rim – L2
2. B2e - Small bowl, red matte, double row small punctates – L3
3. B2a - Open-mouthed bowl, brown burnish, single horizontal line motif – L2
4. C1h-m - Vertically oriented bowl, heavy, tapered – L1
5. B1h-bl b - Small bowl, burnished – L1
6. Decorated fragment, black burnished, arcade 'b' group motif – L1
7. Decorated fragment, 'b' motif – L2
8. Decorated rim, punctates below flat rim – L2
9. A4a - Sherd from shouldered pot, rough, unequal slashes/grooves – L1 – (similar sherds in L3)
10. B1h-m - Open-mouthed plain, matte bowl – L2
11. A4d - Long-necked pot, similar to sherd from Chumbangula – from Trench 1C, L3
12. Decorated sherd, oblique, black burnish – from Trench 1C, L1 (on summit)
13. Decorated fragment, high black burnish, broad line incision of two horizontal lines – L2
14. D1h-m - Small carinated bowl, crumbling yellow-red clay – L3
15. Aii4b - Small, globular pot, high black burnish, pronounced shoulder, pendant triangle motif of broad line incision. – L3

Fig. 6.19 Mwenezi, Midden Trench

1. A2+3+4e - Complex motif of punctates, single band below rim and at shoulder, joined by diagonal line of punctates, matte, pinky-grey clay – L1
2. B2c/e - Small bowl, single band below rim, oblique punctates – L2
3. C2c - Vertically oriented bowl, single band obliques, fine line incision, black burnish, rim slightly rounded to inside – L2
- 4 + 5. B1h-m - Small open-mouthed bowls – L2
6. Bi3a - Small rounded bowl, horizontal line on neck/body – L2
7. A2e - Diagonal line of punctates, sherd heavily patinated – L2
8. Decorated rim - 'e' motif in 2 position, stalk marks visible in punctates – L2
9. F2d - Small vessel, slight everted rim, crosshatching scratched on dry clay – L1
10. D1h-m - Small, carinated bowl, plain, heavily patinated, yellow finish – L3
11. D1h-m - Small, carinated bowl, plain matte, crumbly grey under patination – L2
12. B3a - Open-mouthed bowl, dark brown smoothed clay, two horizontal grooves on inner – L2

Fig. 6.20 Mwenezi, Midden Trench, E Profile

1. E1h-bl b - Reconstruction of E Profile pot, beaded rim, black burnish, bevelled line at shoulder – L2

Fig. 6.23 Chumbangula Surface Sherds – (Cooke 1958; see Figs. 5,6,7, 1960) Photo J. Gray 1998

1. Necked, indented, shouldered vessel, 'ribbon' motif 'i' on shoulder
2. Spindle whorl, band of oblique motif
3. Long-necked, poorly defined shoulder, double band 'open' crosshatch at shoulder (see Fig. 6.2)
4. Carinated pot, highly red coloured, bands of crosshatch at rim and carination
5. Rim sherd, motif at neck, single band 'ladder-like' crosshatch
6. Long-necked, poor shoulder definition, single band punctates at neck
7. Rim sherd, two bands of crosshatch, rim and neck/shoulder
8. Small, rounded, slightly in-turned bowl, small nicks along rim.

Fig. 6.24 Surface Sherds, Chumbangula, Dawn Hill

1. A13+4d - Reconstruction of large pot, with four separate 'lozenge' shape, crosshatch motifs, restricted opening, long-necked vessel, flat rim, light burnish. Described by Cooke (1958:59, 1960) as older than the recent wares, and similar to sherd found on Chumbangula (see Cooke 1959:Fig. 7:14-15) – Dawn Hill Site 2130 D3:36
2. Decorated burnished fragment, from Eastern Terrace Cave (Map 4.1), separated bands of neat incised crosshatch with small perforations below bands (See sherds Fig. 6.13:2, 4)
3. Half spindle whorl fragment, middle perforation visible - Eastern Terrace Cave, Chumbangula
4. D2+3dd - Carinated bowl, double separated band – Eastern Terrace Cave, Chumbangula

Fig. 6.25 Chumbangula Hill Surface Sherds

1. A2e - Long-necked pot, discontinuous motif of grouped punctates below rim. Found on northern ascent route, near summit.
2. A13e - Long-necked pot, wider shoulder, rough, matte, patination partially obscuring single band herringbone motif visible at neck. At north-east, Mid-passage shelter (Map 4.1).
3. A4b - long-necked pot, smoothed, ochred, arcade motif – found top of northern ascent route
4. Whole spindle whorl, central perforation, burnished, Lower north-east shelter
5. Spindle whorl fragment, brown matte, Lower north-east shelter
6. Early Farming Community rim sherd – thickened rim, motif at rim, broad line oblique grooves, black burnish faded, band of comb-stamp below oblique incisions.
7. A2e - Lower south shelter, single band punctates
8. B12e - Small in-turned, rounded bowl, matte, single band punctates - Lower south shelter
9. B12d - Small, rounded bowl, brown burnish, crosshatch at rim -
10. A4a+c - Long-necked pot, scratched/incised band of horizontal lines and vertical lines at shoulder

Fig. 6.26 Chumbangula Surface Sherds (Fig. 4.4 Summit drawing)

1. D4d+g - Carinated vessel, single band crosshatching, with lozenge-type motif of small punctates/dots above – East Terrace Cave
2. F3g - Small pot, matte, discontinuous motifs of grouped small stabs/punctates – East Terrace Cave
3. B2b - Shallow, heavy, open-mouthed bowl, black burnished, pendant triangles at rim, similar to another observed, with quite flat base (Fig. 4.2d) – East Terrace Cave
4. A4c+d - Small, red/brown burnished recurved pot, single band of oblique and crosshatch – East Terrace Cave
5. C2d - Vertically oriented vessel, burnished and crosshatch at rim – Lower South shelter
6. Decorated fragment - separate double band – Lower North-east shelter

Fig. 6.27 Surface Pottery Sherds, Malumba River Basin sites (Table 4.1)

- 1-2. Plain, matte rim sherds – Everted rim, pronounced shoulder, very red clay – Site 2130 D4:10
3. Recurved neck and rim, slightly carinated shoulder, discontinuous 'g' group lozenge motifs, impressed on shoulder, matte, pinky-yellow clay – Site 2130 D4:5
4. As numbers 1 and 2, heavy, red clay – Site 2130 D4:10
5. A3a - Long-necked pot, uneven horizontal groove, brown matte - found below 'beak' on Lomolohoto – Site 2130 D4:16
6. B2b - Small open-mouthed bowl, chevron on rim – Site 2130 D4:16

Fig. 6.28 Surface pottery, Malumba River sites (Table 4.1) and Chumbangula Hill

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. EFC sherd, Eastern Terrace Shelter, thickened rim, oblique grooves between comb stamps 2. 3, 5 EFC sherds from below Sheba Ridge, C3:1 7. 10 EFC sherds from site D4:4 4. Deco. fragment, Chumbangula, b motif 6. Deco. fragment Chumbangula north ascent route e motif | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. Deco. e motif fragment, lower south east shelter, Chum. 9. Rim fragment, EFC, Zwergibe waterhole (Cooke 1958) 11. Fragment, Bubi homestead, (Cooke 1958) Recent, g motif 12. Rim sherd, Profile B2g, Recent, Eastern Terrace Shelter |
|--|--|



Figure 6.29 Miscellaneous Surface sherds from Chumbangula Hill (photo J. Gray)

1. See Fig. 6.23:4; 6.26:4 (LFC later)
2. See Figs. 6.28:12; 4.2d (LFC later)
3. See Fig. 6.25:4, (A4:5d/a) (LFC earlier)
4. See Fig. 6.26:2 (LFC later)
5. See Fig. 6.24:9 (LFC later)
6. See Fig. 6.28:1 (EFC (phase II))

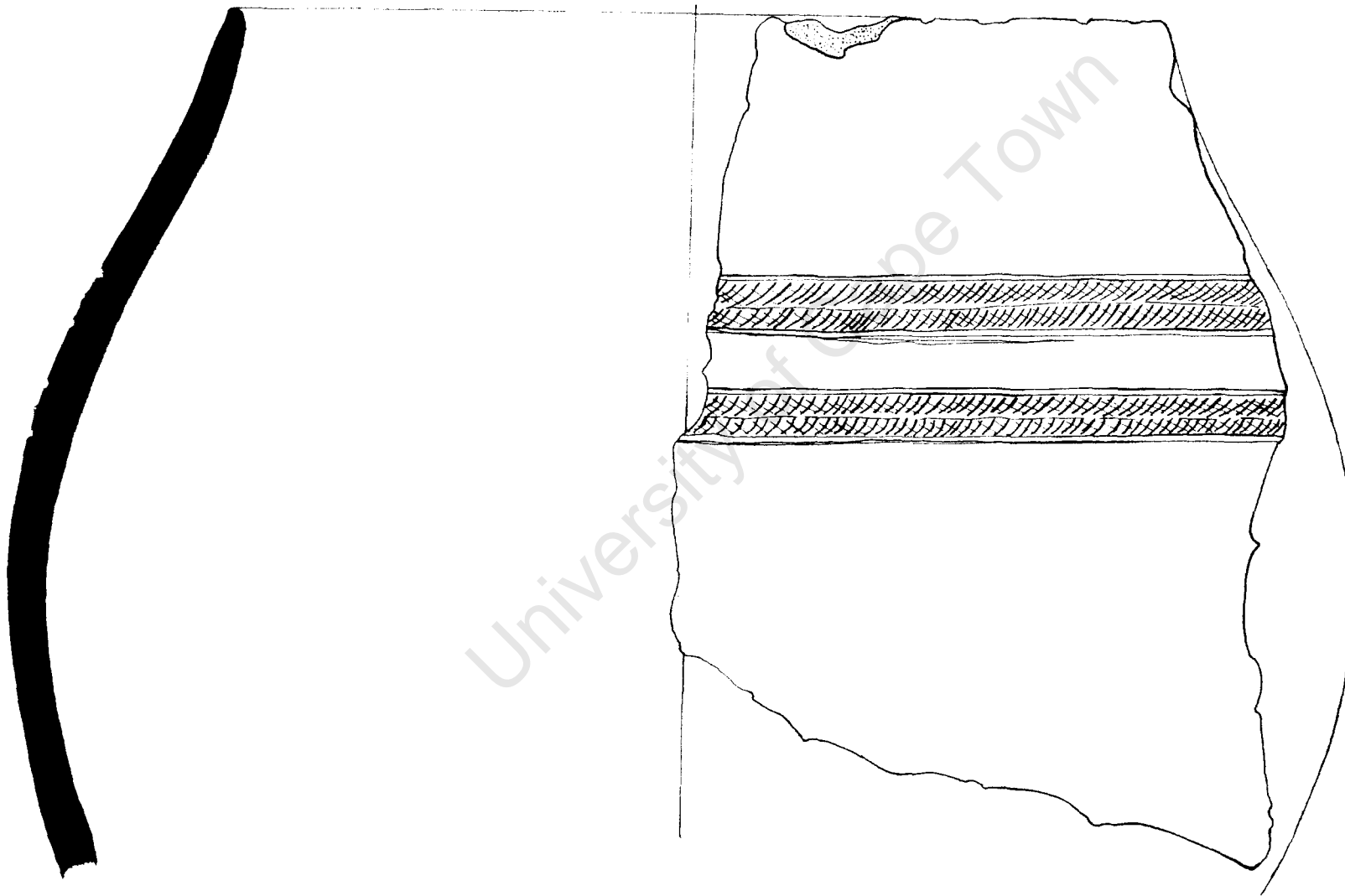


Fig. 6.30 Chumbangula Hill A4dd Profile Class Pot, Trench IV L. 4

CHAPTER SEVEN HISTORICAL LINKS; PEOPLE AND POTTERY IN THE RECENT PERIOD²¹

7.1 Introduction:- Some of the pottery sherds from the surface and upper levels of the excavations at Chumbangula display tendencies in keeping with the ceramics from the more Recent Period (AD1700-1950), as do some of the surface sherds from Cooke's (1958) surface collections and certain of the surveyed sites (Ch. 4, Table 4.1, Ch. 6.6iii) (Gray 1996, 1999, 2002). The history of the last two to three centuries in the Mateke Hills region is significant for the diversity of peoples living in, moving through or conquering this lowveld environment (Baines 1877; Bannerman 1978, 1981; Beach 1974, 1980, 1994a, 1994b; Bernhard 1970, 1971; Burke 1969,; Liesegang 1970, 1977; Loubser 1991; Smith 1973; Theal 1896; van der Merwe 1962). In this chapter I will look at this history (Table 7.1) and its pertinence to the settlement patterns and pottery left behind by the people who lived in this area after AD 1750. Brief descriptions of known pottery of recent inhabitants of the Mateke Hills are given in order to facilitate the definition (Ch. 8) of the Recent Period pottery from the excavations and survey.

Questions germane to the lives and condition of those in the south-eastern lowveld are:- Did the arrival on the coasts of south-eastern Africa from 1500AD of the Portuguese, with the sub-sequent opening up of the interior to European traders, travellers, hunters and settlers, have any effect on the peoples who came to be living in the area of our interest in the Mateke Hills? Who were these people and how did they come to be living there? Are there any traces left indicating a continuity of habitation after the period 1000-1300AD? What were the consequences of Nguni incursions into the research area, as well as the establishment of the Gaza and Ndebele states to the east and northwest of the southeast lowveld?

7.2 Setting the Scene – The Opening up of the Interior (Fig. 7.1 & Table 7.1).

Whilst the first Portuguese landfalls along the Mozambique coast are unlikely to have had any direct impact on people living in the further interior, their written records pertaining to the present territories of both Mozambique and Zimbabwe are of great value as early source material for

²¹ The term 'The Recent Period' has been employed in order to define the period 1700-1950AD, from the time of increasing movements of indigenous peoples in the region, through increasing influences from outside forces and contacts. It is also the time in which oral traditions have been preserved among the people of Zimbabwe, that is from the beginning to the middle of the eighteenth century onwards (Beach 1980:53-56+330-331; 1994b:273+277). This of course is subject to all of the difficulties surrounding the collection and verification of oral traditions (Beach 1994b:247-278, Ch. 7).

Zimbabwe. The Portuguese arrived on the Mozambique coast in the early 16th Century, taking over the Muslim/Swahili trade and building a wooden fort at Sofala in 1505AD (Freeman-Grenville 1982; Dickinson 1970, 1975; Theal 1896). The arrival of Portuguese caravels changed the nature of shipping along the east coast and opened up areas such as Inhambane and Delagoa Bay further south, which had more of an impact in this Recent Period. The first centuries after the Portuguese arrival do not seem to have impinged directly on the southeast lowveld.

One route which brought Swahili traders somewhat to the north of the Matekes would have been from the Save River mouth, as this provides a clear route for the Indian Ocean trade from the coast to the Limpopo-Sabi Depression, as well as to the southern plateau, for trade which had in all likelihood been carried on by the Swahili traders with Great Zimbabwe (14th-15th C's) and continued with the Torwa and Rozvi states centred further west at Khami and Danangombe (16th-18th C's) (Dickinson 1975; Summers 1969) (Fig. 2.1). These routes could have continued to be used by Swahili traders in order to circumvent the Portuguese at the new Sofala (Dickinson 1975:90-91; Summers 1969). Both the known location of Sofala, south of Beira, and the Save River mouth were difficult landfalls for the Arab/Swahili sailing vessels relying on the winds but were not impossible for seafarers knowing the local sea currents and conditions well, as the sailors operating from Kilwa most probably did (Summers 1969:203-4). Note that the site of Chibuene, situated in Vilanculos Bay (Fig. 2.1) confirms that earlier traders had indeed made more southern landfalls than previously thought (Sinclair 1982). It is from here that trade goods such as glass beads probably reached the sites at Schroda and Pont Drift on the Limpopo/Shashe confluence as early as 900AD, probably passing in the vicinity of the Mateke Hills (Figs. 1.1, 2.1) (Sinclair 1982, 1987; Sinclair, Morais, Adamowicz & Duarte 1993). This knowledge is important for our understanding of the earlier component at Chumbangula.

From the mid 1500's the Portuguese sent annual trading parties to Delagoa Bay, Inhambane and later at Vilanculos (Fig. 2.1), trading in glass beads and cloth for ivory and copper but did not establish jurisdiction over the local tribes and it was only by 1730 that a permanent trading post was set up at Inhambane (Theal 1896:258). Thus the inhabitants of the interior of southern Mozambique and possibly further inland had opportunities from the later sixteenth century to engage in trade with the Portuguese on the coast (Evers 1974). The Portuguese posts at the Limpopo River mouth, Chai Chai, Inhambane and Vilanculos, would have been the most accessible for people bringing trade goods to the coast from the interior of southern Mozambique and southeast Zimbabwe (Evers 1974; van der

Merwe 1962:169, 173). The trade at Delagoa Bay was taken over by the Dutch from the Cape Colony by 1721 with a small station on the northern banks of the 'Espirito Santo' (Matola River) becoming the first Europeans to attempt a permanent settlement here. They did not occupy it for long, abandoning it again by the 1730's (Theal 1896:273), but did however make some contacts with the local chiefs, information of which has been preserved in reports and letters in the archives, particularly that of a local named 'Mahumane', who made a visit to what has been identified as the Venda polity in 1727/28 (Liesegang 1977; Smith 1973:569; Theal 1898(I)). Trade networks were already in place with the interior when the Dutch arrived (both indigenous trade and encouraged by contact with the Portuguese on the coast) (Evers 1974; Liesegang 1977:166 after Smith 1970:62; Theal 1896; Smith 1973; van der Merwe 1962). The Portuguese only tenuously established a permanent settlement at Delagoa Bay towards the first half of the nineteenth century, but before this both the Austrians and the British had had short-lived outposts at Delagoa Bay (Theal 1896).

7.3 The Peoples of the Southeast Lowveld (Table 7.1)

7.3i Southern Karanga:- Regarding the lands just to the north of the Mateke research area, along the southern edge of the plateau and down into the southern lowveld (Fig. 7.1), oral traditions have been preserved amongst groups of the southern Karanga, which date back in some cases to the eighteenth century (Beach 1980:203, 1994b:133). It seems that there are strong traditions of a re-settlement of the south, with migrations of groups from the north-east into the south and that these largely took place in the 1750-1850 period (ibid). Factors which may have contributed to this movement were population increase on the plateau, civil wars and Portuguese incursions into the more northern Mutapa lands. These movements may have had an incremental affect across the land (Beach 1980:311). On the borders of the southern plateau and the lowveld, the southward-moving settlers met the remnants of possibly earlier peoples, who generally did not survive as original groups beyond the time of these earlier settlements (Beach 1980:207-209, 1994b:133). There seem to have been some thirty dynasties/ groups scattered in the south/south-east, some of which are only remembered in name and which appear to have no traditions of having come originally from elsewhere (see below, 7.3ii) (Beach 1994b:135). (If correct, this is important for the sites of Chumbangula and Mwenezi). In addition, the traditions depict the lands that the in-coming southern Karanga came too as being very thinly populated and in some cases on the borders of the lowveld, for instance between the Ngezi and Mwenezi Rivers and the Mwenezi and Runde, as virtually empty (Beach 1980:207). The emphasis here is on re-settlement of what is recorded as being 'empty' lands which is certainly interesting given the impression from the climatic (Ch. 3), ethno-botanical and

archaeo-botanical data, that the southern lands were indeed thinly populated in the period preceding the mid-eighteenth century (Huffman 1996a; Jonsson 1998:108-111). The climatic data suggest that a warmer and wetter period from the late 18th century may have facilitated the re-occupation of the region (Ch. 3.6, Table 3.1) (Huffman 1996b:59; Jonsson 1998:31-3; Smith *pending* 2006; Tyson & Lindsay 1992).

Recent Karanga related pottery is characterised by a spherical pot, with a slightly in-curved defined neck region, a small curved and everted lip, which can be burnished and have graphite applied and also has a single band of decoration mostly of crosshatch and ladder-crosshatch or horizontal lines (Fig. 6.7:11, 6.7a, 6.23:5, 6.25:5.) (Cooke 1970: Fig.1:12-17; Huffman 1971a:39, 1978a; Robinson 1963:166 Fig. 7). Open-mouthed bowls also exist (Fig. 6.27:6). Much of this pottery has been



subsumed in the past under the generic term 'refuge'²², recent, or historical (Cooke 1970; Garlake 1967, 1968; Huffman 1971a, 1971c; 1978a; Jonsson 1998; Robinson 1961b, 1963).

Fig. 7.2 Pot representing the south Karanga pottery from the period post AD 1750/1800

7.3.ii The Pfumbi:- Towards the end of the eighteenth century, while the more northerly parts of the south-eastern lowveld were coming under pressure from these in-coming Karanga groups, new groups were migrating from the south

and east. At this time, the earliest known and southernmost pre-Karanga group, according to tradition (Beach 1980, 1994a), appear to have been a group called the Pfumbi of the totem *zhou* (*elephant*) Chikada dynasty (Beach 1980:208, Fig. 7.1), (who may have antecedents going back still earlier). They ruled quite a large area because of the nature of the lowveld where terrain was demarcated by the number of habitable hills and water courses rather than by the size of the territory (Ch. 2, Fig. 2.1, Ch. 3) (Beach 1980, 1994a:18, 1994b:178). The nature of the terrain meant that groups were used to travelling quite long distances for water and shelter, for obtaining new living

²² The term 'refuge' has often been used to describe much of the settlement sequence of this Recent Period, partly as the research focus has often been on earlier periods, such as the Zimbabwe period. 'Refuge' sites, which are generally regarded as being from the period of unrest due to Nguni raiding date to the nineteenth century are on hilltops or in caves and can have rough stone walling, with hut circles, grinding stones, light blue globular beads and dark blue annular beads, and pottery with single crosshatched bands at the rim neck/shoulder junction, and which are often difficult to distinguish from the sherds from Gumanye sites (Huffman 1978a: 81-97; von Sicard 1961). Note that Beach (1980) has extended the period of unrest back to the eighteenth century period of the re-settlement of the south by Karanga speaking groups, as well as the Rozvi conquests.

sites, as well as for conducting raids or trading (Beach 1994b). The Chikada/Pfumbi had their most important centre at the Marungudzi Mountain to the west of the Bubi River, near the Limpopo/Bubi confluence, as well as ruling north of the Bubi (Beach 1980:208, 306+Map 6, 1994b:181 after Forrestall N3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC (1904)).

It was here that they were conquered by a Venda-speaking group from the Mutale River valley in the eastern Soutpansberg (Figs. 2.1, 7.1), who took over their territory and the Pfumbi name probably not earlier than the mid-eighteenth century and possibly only by the early nineteenth (Beach 1980:208, 214-5). They were led by a ruler of the *mbedzi* (*pool*) totem called Mafukanoro. The Venda Mbedzi people are regarded as being one of the components of the early Venda (the other being the Ngona) (that is, they were pre-Singo) and have themselves a long tradition of having originated from the Marungudzi mountain, led by Luvhimbi (Beach 1980:214; Loubser 1991:269, 403). This tradition has more than likely been confused through time (Beach 1980:214), as we have already noted that the Mbedzi themselves conquered the Pfumbi/ pre-Karanga speakers, taking over both their territory and name and established themselves as the Pfumbi Matibi dynasty, bringing with them from the Mutale River valley the Raluvhimbi rain cult, a branch of which has still been maintained at Marungudzi (c.f. Ch. 4, Ch. 8) (Beach 1980:215, 1994b:181; von Sicard 1961:67). It may have been the breaking-up into sections of the Venda /Singo state in the late eighteenth century that started these sort of migrations across the Limpopo River (Beach 1994a:132). The status of the 'pool' *mbedzi* totem is germane to the status of the Mbedzi as pre-Singo and to their standing as rain-makers in the community (Loubser 1991:403-5). The possible connections between the earlier suggestions of rainmaking at hills such as Chumbangula and the later arrival and use of caves and sites by the Raluvhimbi rain-cult are intriguing (Ch. 4, 8) (Beach 1980; Huffman 2000; Loubser 1991:269).

The now Venda-speaking *mbedzi* Pfumbi, under Muchira, son of Mafukonoro (the founder of the Pfumbi-Matibi dynasty in the southeast lowveld), established themselves over a wide territory from west of the Bubi River, across east and north of the Bubi to the Mwenezi River and towards the north-west up the Bubi and Mwenezi rivers, as far as their northern stronghold at Lasa Mountain between the upper reaches of these rivers (Beach 1980:306, 1994b:182). Thus was established their pattern of a political centre in the north, with the spiritual centre to the south at Marungudzi. It became 'customary' for rulers to live at Marungudzi towards the end of their lives (Beach 1994b:182). This is relevant to the site identified as 'Matibi's village' (Ch. 4, Table 4.1, Site 2130

D3:34). Matibi moved back from Lasa to the lowveld at Marungudzi in 1888, against the wishes of Lobengula, the Ndebele ruler to whom the Matibi/ Pfumbi had been paying tribute²³. This led to new raids by the Ndebele against the Pfumbi and finally to a counter-raid by a joint Pfumbi/ European force against the Ndebele in the war of 1893, for which Matibi received recognition from the new colonial government (Beach 1974: 650; 1994b:182). Matibi died in 1903 and the dynasty divided between three groups, that of Matibi ruling in the Beit Bridge district, with that of the Miranda Matibi's in the Mwenezi district (Beach 1994b:210 & Fig. 81). The dialect, an amalgam of Venda and pre-Karanga/Karanga-Shona, became known locally as ChiPfumbi, and is still spoken today (*pers. comms.* Cawood 1999; Langenhoven 1998; Rina Mbedzi 1996, 1999; Ketani Tishebu 1999).

The local Pfumbi leader/ruler, or chief²⁴, in the Malumba River basin area is remembered as being one Chinana in the nineteen-fifties (Cooke 1958; Bannerman 1981:34 map 6; *pers. comms.* Chadheba 1996; Gawler 1996, '98, '99; Langenhoven 1996, '98, '99; Viljoen 1999) (Fig. 2.2). Cooke (1958:56-57: Fig. 4) identifies the pottery from 'Chinana's Old Kraal', situated at the south-western end of the outer Mateke Hills, (Ch. 4, Table 4.1, 2130 D4:25), which provides a baseline from which to work in identifying this component of the Recent Period pottery (Cooke 1958:Fig.4). Both the names, Matibi and Chinana, seem to be of rulers or dynastic titles, as there is more than one, usually in different generations.

Thus it seems that the original Pfumbi of Chikada may have remnants of their pre-Karanga origins (Beach 1974, 1980, 1994b; Loubser 1991), with influence from the incoming southern Karanga groups of the 1750's onwards, largely overlaid by the Venda/Mbedzi component (which in turn may have a remnant of their pre-Singo/Ngona origins (Loubser 1991). Hence there may be signs in their pottery particularly that of the late 1700's/early 1800's AD, of the earlier component since the conquering Mbedzi group are likely to have married the original group women. This means that we would need excavated and dated sites definitely attributable to the Pfumbi in order to better define their pottery and settlement pattern. The majority of the known Pfumbi-related pottery, from the collections by Cooke (1958, 1960) from Chinana's Kraal, Marungudzi as well as at Siyanje (see Garlake 1968b for Map refs. of individual sites) is of a simple pot of rounded-profile, rims not

²³ It is reported that this was originally because of help given to Matibi against the Hlengwe of Mateke, the price for this help being the tribute paid to the Ndebele (see below 7.3iii) (Bannerman 1978:489; Beach 1994b:182).

²⁴ Beach (1994b:xiv) notes that he uses the term 'chief' only after the period from the beginning of colonial rule in 1890, and the terms 'ruler' 'sub-ruler', 'tributary ruler', or 'leader' for the pre-colonial period.)

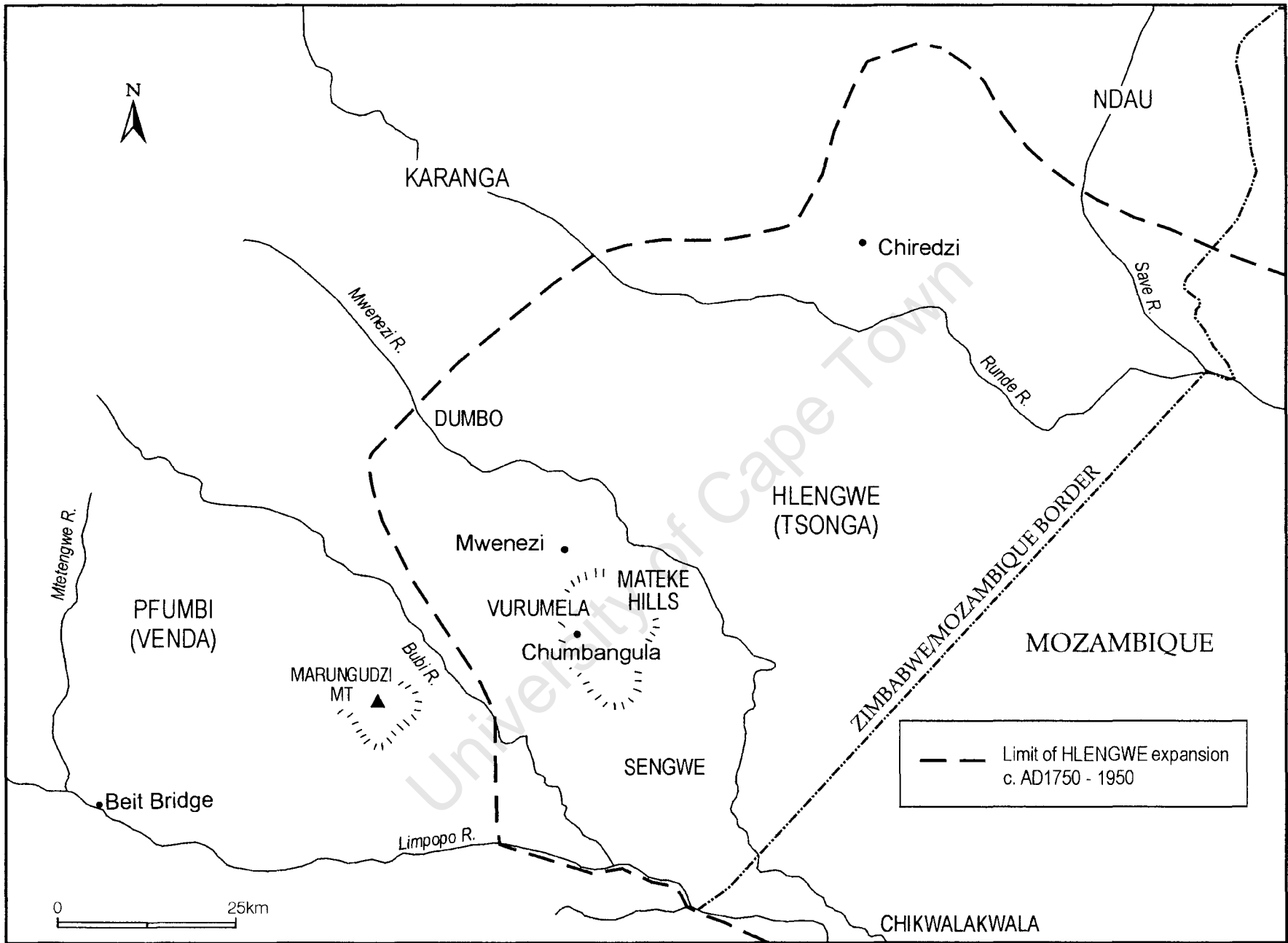


Figure 7.1 Map showing the areas of occupation and expansion of the Karanga, Pfumbi and Hlengwe during the Recent Period

emphasised, either tapered or slightly rounded and sometimes slightly everted, with a single band of decoration mostly of horizontal lines or crosshatch, is matte, red-brown and has little or no burnish or graphite (some soot burnish) (Cooke 1958:Fig. 4:17-22, 1960:Fig. 4; Garlake 1968b:20; Robinson 1961b; Thorp 2005a:Fig. 4). In fact little discernable differences to southern Karanga. The fact that there is no graphite on the Siyanje pottery described by Garlake (1968b) is even more surprising than the graphite-free Mateke Hills examples (c.f. Ch. 6) (Cooke 1958, 1960), as this area to the south of Marungudzi is even closer to the graphite source at Chiturapadzi (Fig. 2.1). See Ch. 8.4 for definition of the Recent pottery from the Mateke Hills (see Ch. 4, Table 4.1, Ch. 6, Table 6.3, 6.13)). With regard to influences from the Venda component of the Pfumbi, it should be noted that the classical Letaba pottery from Venda (e.g. Dzata) shows a more rounded-out (not re-curved) neck/shoulder region, less defined than some of the Karanga-related wares (Cooke 1970; Huffman 1971a, 1978a), and the lip is just minutely upright or everted, characterised either by a matte finish and single bands of cross-hatching or with burnish above the decoration while the decoration is often well incised and neat (Chatterton, et al 1979:Fig. 7; Evers 1975, 1979, 1981; Evers & van der Merwe 1987:Figs. 37-41; Lawton 1967:Figs. 201-207; Loubser 1991:Figs. 95-6, 186-7; Meyer 1986: Fig. 110). The Venda Letaba pottery is generally finer and more well-executed and finished than the Pfumbi/ Chinana pottery. Letaba ceramics appeared in the north-eastern region of RSA sometime around the mid-sixteenth century and reached their finest expression under the Rozvi Singo rulers at Dzata from the AD1700's onwards (Evers 1981:73; Loubser 1991:382, 419, Fig. 152). (Letaba probably arose out of an overlap between the Soutpansberg Khami (and Tavatshena) and Moloko styles (Loubser 1991:391:Figs. 95-97, 138).

7.3iii The Hlengwe-Tsonga:- It is in the region of the Mateke Hills, in the territory between the Bubi and Mwenezi rivers, that the histories of the Pfumbi and the Hlengwe-Tsonga merge. The same pattern of in-coming groups seeking land, that had taken place from the north and from the south, was also taking place from the east. The Tsonga of Mozambique appear to have lived for some centuries in what is now southern Mozambique, adjacent to the highlands of the interior, along the lowlands on both sides of the Limpopo River to the east, along the line of the Lebombo mountains and as far as south of Delagoa Bay (Bannerman 1978:486; Junod 1913:16-18; Smith 1973:570) (Map 7.1). Various movements in the eighteenth century amongst the Tsonga groups in response to internal factors, such as the fissiparous tendencies of lineages and pressure from the Sotho tribes to the west (Smith 1973:576), led to a major immigration into the southeast lowveld by the Hlengwe section of the Tsonga by the later 1700's. The Hlengwe conquered territory and

assimilated Karanga/Shona groups whereby Tsonga became the dominant language of the lowveld (Bannerman 1978, 1981; Beach 1980:305 n.⁴⁸, 1994b:180; Smith 1973).

In the Mateke Hills the record of Hlengwe Tsonga presence goes back to the end of the 18th century (Ch. 6) (Bannerman 1978, 1981; Beach 1980, 1994a) though as noted above, the history of the various Tsonga groupings in Mozambique is much older than this (Duarte 1976; Junod 1913, Vols. I & II; Smith 1973). The Hlengwe who came into what is now Zimbabwe were all of the Chauke (*Tshauke*) clan (Bannerman 1978:486, 1981; Smith 1973:576). The process of moving northwest up the river valleys seems to have started somewhere around AD1750, on the death of Matsena, the last common ancestor between the northern and southern groups of Hlengwe that entered Zimbabwe. The northern section, under Chitanga, Mpapa and Tsovani infiltrated deep into the lower Save and Chiredzi River valleys, while the southern section under Vurumela, Mateke, Dumbo, Sengwe and Chikwalakwala followed the river valleys of the Limpopo, Bubi and the Mwenezi (Bannerman 1978:487, 1981:4-Map 2; Beach 1980:305, 1994b:180). It is clear that the Hlengwe arrived in Zimbabwe prior to the Nguni incursions and the establishment of the Gaza and Ndebele states (Bannerman 1978:487). Hlengwe-Tsonga speakers became dominant in the Mateke lowveld from north and east of the Hills, with Pfumbi/Venda/Karanga speakers to their west and north-west and the southern Karanga and Ndau to the north (Bannerman 1978; Beach 1980, 1994a) (Fig. 7.1). Tsonga is one of a group of languages belonging to the south-east group of Bantu languages (which includes the Nguni, Sotho, and Venda languages, whereas Shona belongs to the south-central group (Bannerman 1978:484-5; Smith 1973:570). It is only after the establishment of the Gaza chiefdom that the name 'Shangaan' was used both by the Tsonga and by outsiders, but the generic name more correctly is Tsonga, with the grouping as in Hlengwe, Maluleke, Baloyi, Ronga, Kosse, (Bannerman 1978:484-5; Junod 1913:16). While the Tsonga dialects absorbed some Zulu words and customs, particularly of a military nature, Zulu never became the dominant language of the Tsonga and certainly not amongst the Hlengwe in Zimbabwe (Bannerman 1978: 484+487; Beach 1994a:141; Junod 1913:15, 32-33).

In settling along the Bubi River, groups under Vurumela (the eponymous Mateke)²⁵ (Ch. 4.2iv) and Sengwe, soon came into contact with the Venda-oriented Pfumbi, living to the west of the Bubi at Marungudzi as well as to the east and north-east of the Bubi (Map 7.1). Vurumela's territory, when

²⁵ Vurumela seems to have been a dynastic type of title as the name Mateke is also used for him and in the genealogy given in Bannerman (1978) and Chief Gezani is also called Furumela. The descendants of this lineage live today to the south of the Mateke Hills in the Sengwe Communal Lands.

Mauch went along the Bubi in May 1868, appears to have been on the Bubi, to the northwest of the Mateke Hills and some way north of the Vangambi River (Bernhard 1971:41) (Fig. 7.1). Trouble over territory soon took place between the Pfumbi and Hlengwe and between groups of the Hlengwe themselves (Beach 1994b:182). Pertinent to the territory relating to the present research and suggesting that the better lands at the south-west (Shangwenani Hills, Malumba and Vangambi Rivers) of the Matekes and towards the Bubi (Ch. 3) were contested territory, is that Vurumela /Mateke had a dispute with his brother, (who called on Mzila of the Gaza Nguni for help (Mzila ruled the Gaza between 1862-1884 from Mossurise at Mt. Selinda in Mozambique)) as a result of which Vurumela/Mateke was killed (Bannerman 1978:489). Mateke's son avenged his father's death with the help of the Ndebele, but he consequently had trouble with the Pfumbi ruler Matibi on the Bubi River. Matibi called in the Ndebele for assistance, forcing the Hlengwe back down the Bubi (see n.³) (Bannerman 1978:489; Beach 1994b:182) (Map 6.1). Sites in the Mateke Hills that have been associated with the Hlengwe Tsonga are Mateke's walled site, Mateke Beacon, the Old Buby Homestead, Sheba (Map 4.B, Table 4.1, C3:37, D4:40, D3:31, D4:5).

Known pottery attributed to the Hlengwe Tsonga has some recognisable features which include the carinated profile, high red colouring, a simple bowl with lozenge or parallel motifs which are also seen on carinated or very recurved profiles and vessels with neatly incised multiple, separate bands

of crosshatching, often burnished (Ch. 6.6iii, Figs. 6.7:3,4,7; 6.23:4; 6.26:2,4; 6.27:3; 6.28:12; 6.29:1,2) (Cooke 1958; Duarte 1976; Junod 1913; Liesegang 1974; Meyer 1986; Robinson 1961b; Thorp 2005a, Thorp *pers. comm.* 1999, 2001).



Fig. 7.3 At right, Carinated vessel with red burnish and opposite triangles, Museum of Human Sciences Harare, Photo J. Gray

7.4 Contact across the Limpopo region by Explorers, Hunters and Traders (Table 7.1)

From the first half of the nineteenth century a succession of recorded forays to the north-east of the Limpopo River had taken place by various European travellers, explorers and hunters (Bernhard 1971; Burke 1969; Elton 1872; Erskine 1869; van der Merwe 1962). Some of these accounts are useful as extra records of the region and the various groupings of people.

7.4i The Potgieter Kommissie:- One of the first recorded ventures to the northern side of the Limpopo River was undertaken soon after the Voortrekkers had arrived in what became the Transvaal. The all too brief original account of this expedition, translated from the Dutch, was published in the 'Zuid Afrikaan' of 17/03/1837 (van der Merwe 1962:4-6, 167-172) and is interesting here because of its account of the territory, inhabitants and trade routes. In July 1836 a small mounted party consisting of H. Potgieter and 11 others, having reached the encampment of Louis Trichardt's to the southwest of the Soutpansberg, travelled further north, probably crossing the Limpopo just to the east of its confluence with the Bubi, as it states that after 'one days journey' or 'een schof'²⁶ (skof) another large sand river was crossed, which must have been the Mwenezi (van der Merwe 1962:145-166, 173) (Fig. 7.1) to the south-east of the Mateke Hills. Abundant crops such as fruits, millets and sweet potatoes are described, in what must have been a year of good rainfall (Ch. 3.5ii) (van der Merwe 1962:169). The purpose of this trip may have been to find an outlet to the sea for the Dutch trekker settlements in the present Transvaal, circumventing the route south. The party travelled for 'six schofts' (possibly about 80 miles) from the Bubi, in the direction of the present day Malvernia and Massangena, and were more than likely on the old trade route between the Makuleke to Inhambane and Sofala (van der Merwe 1962:165). The Kommissie probably had some of the local Tsonga 'Knopneuse' (Knobnose) as guides (van der Merwe 1962:164). They met 'Knopneus'²⁷ Caffers', who told them of a town 'about another six schofts from there', where the people spoke Portuguese (van der Merwe 1962:169). Representatives of this town were at the Tsonga village, in order to trade for 'elephant teeth' with calico cloth, beads and other wares and said that a ship was waiting at the port of the town (probably Inhambane) for the ivory (van der Merwe 1962:169, 173). The report describes the Tsonga 'Knobnoses' as a defenceless, unwarlike people without cattle, friendly and helpful to them, in showing them an easier return route (van der Merwe 1962:169). These Tsonga had apparently already been attacked by the Nguni, quite possibly by Nxaba, on his way north (Bannerman 1981:11, n.¹⁵; van der Merwe 1962:174). This report

²⁶ A 'Schof', or skof, was the distance travelled between when the oxen were yoked at the beginning of a portion of a journey, until when they were unyoked at the end of that portion of the journey. This could be half a day or a full day, and was sometimes reckoned in hours. The speed of the journey then was reckoned at the speed at which the cattle moved, and was used even when there was not a wagon. Thus it is difficult to estimate exactly what was meant by a 'schof' in this extract, but it was possibly from 12 miles upwards, depending on the terrain and the temperatures (van der Merwe 1962:104-124).

²⁷ This terminology, for the Tsonga 'Knobnoses' 'knopneuse', comes from a feature in which some people, in order to avoid the attention of the 'slavers' (Arab and Portuguese), 'boers' and hunters, trading in what Mauch called 'black ivory', cut a strip of skin from the forehead, and allowed it to join on to the nose, thereby making themselves unappealing (Bulpin 1967:127; Burke 1969: 67, 113-115). This term thus only applies to a certain group and at a certain time – when the hunter Bvekenya met an old man near the end of the 1890's, in the territory where the Levhuvu and Mwenezi Rivers meet the Limpopo, it was already an almost forgotten custom (Bulpin 1967:127).

illustrates that trading with the coast was known in this area and the only local inhabitants met were Tsonga.

7.4ii The explorer, Karl Mauch: - On his 1868 journey Mauch came into the territory controlled by the Ndebele ruler Mzilikazi, on foot and by the unusual route from Albasini's station in the north-east Soutpansberg (Bernard 1971)(Map 7.1). He crossed the Limpopo quite low down, to the east of the Bubi's confluence and then turned to follow the Bubi up towards its headwaters, then heading north to the Mwenezi, to follow this northwest, which would bring him to Inyati in Mzilikazi's country. At this point he fell foul of some Ndebele scouts who escorted him to Inyati, both because he had come into the country unheralded and because Mzilikazi was dying, which had raised tensions considerably (Bernard 1971:40-41). Along the Bubi and its tributaries on its east side, Mauch stopped at the villages of 'Umkoki', 'Halata', and 'Malingele' as well as Vurumela's (Bernard 1971). Many of these Hlengwe names are still known in the district, either as place names, or as personal names (H. Wessels *pers. comm.* 1999). As it happened a serious drought was causing great hardship, with little food or water available, his pack-ox and dog were lost to the drought and the donkey joined a troop of zebra at Vurumela's on the Bubi (c.f. 7.3iii above) (Bernard 1971:41 + 46) (contrast this to the experience of the Potgieter Kommissie thirty years earlier). Mauch illustrates the severity of the drought, *'the whole country --- as far as Chief Malingele on the Buby (sic) River --- had been smitten with an extraordinary drought --- almost all water had evaporated --- the inhabitants had to feed on tree-fruits, baobab pods, grass and 'onion' roots ----. One day we had nothing to eat but our sandals of buffalo leather'* (Bernard 1971:46, 186). This account illustrates the precariousness of life in the lowveld and the need for water, both for livestock, crops and long-term survival.

On his second trip, in August 1871, Mauch crossed the Limpopo on a north-easterly course, coming to the kraal of 'Malungotse' (*sic*) (Marungudzi) (likely a Pfumbi chief). (Mauch here mistakenly calls the Pfumbi the 'Balokwa', his usual name for the Hlengwe). Passing the Marungudzi complex of hills on its eastern side, he crossed the Bubi, stopping again at 'Umkoki's kraal' and on an NNE route, came to 'Halate's river' (possibly the Malumba River) then turned NW by N firstly using 'an elephant path' then 'across an almost bare plain' with 'low mopani undergrowth, isolated knobjesdoring trees' (here *Acacia nigrescens*) (Burke 1969:129) (c.f. the 'dry' plain to the south of Mwenezi (Ch. 3.2)), which took him on a route to the west of Mateke Hills (Fig. 7.1). He spent the night of 15 August, at a place with a 'spring in the river bed', which is marked on the map as Long.

E 30°48'1" and Lat. S 21°32'9" and which appears to be virtually spot on with the site presently identified as Mwenezi (Fig. 4.11, 4.12) (Map 7.1) (Baines 1872 & Map; Burke 1969:129, 294 & Map). Three miles to the north of here his party crossed the 'Nuanetsi' (*sic*) River' (Burke 1969:280), encountered more Hlengwe groups before crossing the Tokwe River. He was now in Karanga territory and arrived in the Great Zimbabwe region, first seeing the ruins in Adam Renders'²⁸ company on the 5th September 1871 (Burke 1969; Bernhard 1970:29)²⁹.

Mauch calls the area *Banyailand*, and the people *Banyai* or *Nyai* (VaNyai) (Bernhard 1971:60). It seems the Nyai may have been the Pfumbi, as Hlengwe traditions talk of finding 'VaNyai of the *soko* (monkey) totem' along the Bubi (Bannerman 1978:487). In Mauch's understanding the language of the 'Bahloekwa' (Hlengwe) was between that of Zulu and VaNyai' (Bannerman 1978 after Bernhard 1971:60). He talks of meeting the 'Bahloekwa' (the Hlengwe), and the *Makalaka* (*sic*) (Pfumbi) in his journey along the Bubi and north of the Mwenezi (Bannerman 1978; Bernhard 1971:60). Thus on his journeys in the Mateke region, Mauch came into contact with Pfumbi people at Marungudzi and along the Bubi River, with the Hlengwe between the Bubi and Mwenezi and Karanga north of the Tokwe. This bears out the above (Ch. 7.3) historical outline of the different groups of people in the Matekes and lowveld from around the 1800's.

We can therefore place, in the 1860-1871 period, the Pfumbi to the west of the Bubi and across it to the north-east; with the Hlengwe between the Bubi and Mwenezi north and south of the Mateke Hills, down to the Limpopo River and to the east in Mozambique (Fig. 7.1). If, by the 1950's, the Pfumbi of Chinana (of the Matibi Pfumbi) were living in the Shangwenani Hills along the Malumba River at the southwest of the Mateke Hills (Map 4.1, 7.1) (Bannerman 1981:34; Cooke 1958:59-60, 1960) and had been at least since the 1880's (Beach 1980:306, 1994b:181; Cooke 1958:56), they must have either clashed with, or pushed back the Hlengwe in the Malumba River basin in the time between 1871 and the 1880's (since Mauch indicates Hlengwe here during his visits) (cf. Ch. 7.3iii

⁸ Mauch would have heard about Render whilst in the Soutpansberg, as it was well known there that an individual named Adam Render was staying somewhere to the north in 'BaNyai' territory. Render apparently hunted and traded in the Soutpansberg/ Limpopo region sometime after 1848, reaching the Zimbabwe area by 1867, establishing himself at the village of Chief 'Pika', marrying into his family (Burke 1969:134).

²⁹ In addition, the missionaries, A. Merensky and Nachtigal of the Berliner Mission Society at Botsobelo, had imparted to Mauch what knowledge they had gained in their own forays about the country north of the Limpopo and gave him information on the 'ruins' and minerals reported to be there, as well as warning him about the dangers of the country he intended to travel through (Bernhard 1968:37-38). Merensky's party had reached the country of the 'Banyai', reportedly near the ruins but were forced to turn back as there was an epidemic of small-pox in the area (coastal trade and outside contacts?) (Burke 1969:264 n.1).

above). What does seem definite from the foregoing analysis is that the area of the southwest Mateke Hills and the Malumba River basin was the meeting place, a merging of place and history of the Pfumbi and Hlengwe. This would appear to pose some interesting questions for the pottery and possible merging or separations of styles. As of 1999, there were representatives of both groups still living and working in this region (S. Chadheba *pers. comm.* 1996; Ketani Tshebu *pers. comm.* 1999; Gray 1996, 1999).

Other travellers passed through parts of this territory and from their accounts would have come into contact with the Hlengwe Tsonga in the southeast and from these accounts it is clear that the route north-east to the east coast ports was known. In 1855/6 an expedition by Rita Montanha and Alfeires Texeira travelled from Inhambane to the Soutpansberg (Bernhard 1971:89). It would appear that their route took them across the Mwenezi near its confluence with the Limpopo, where Mauch would also cross some 15 miles above the confluence (Bernhard 1971). Capt. F. Elton was engaged by the 'London and Limpopo Company' to discover whether the Shashe and Limpopo Rivers made a practicable route for the conveyance of goods to the Tati Goldfields but he was wrecked at a waterfall some 35 miles downstream from the present day Beit Bridge (Burke 1969; Elton 1972)! He reinforces the peaceable impression of the Hlengwe given by the Potgieter Kommissie (Elton 1972). Elton was active in combating the slave trade in Mozambique between 1873 and his death in 1877, which would lend credence to the information from Mauch on slavery and the Knobnoses' disfiguring custom (Burke 1969:126 note 3; Elton 1872). A Cape elephant hunter, Cornelius Botha also crossed the Limpopo at its north-east corner of the old Transvaal in 1870, advancing to the 'Sabia' (Save River), from there to 'Mosila's' (Mzila) and on to Sofala (Bernhard 1971:110, 225). These instances illustrate that the routes and the local inhabitants in this corner of southern Africa were known and that each traveller could have gained information on the terrain from reports of the others, as well as from helpful locals, as to the routes followed and the inhabitants. They also illustrate that the inhabitants of the interior were not isolated from news and events from the outside world.

Another colourful character in the region was Joao Albasini who, after a varied career in Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique), had settled southeast of the Soutpansberg at 'Goedewensch', from where he ruled as a de facto chief, having collected an assortment of followers from the local tribes seeking refuge, and acted as a sort of vice-consul to the Portuguese authorities (Burke 1969:105 note ²). Thus Albasini's station in the south eastern Soutpansberg would have attracted all individuals

advancing into the interior from the north-east Transvaal for whatever purpose, and he therefore would have had much valuable information about the conditions to the north. Mauch himself, once he had arrived at Render's camp at '*Pike's Kraal*' near Great Zimbabwe, sent people back down to the south to fetch supplies from the trader John Watts in the Soutpansberg, which took about four weeks for the return trip (Burke 1969:148). It is clear that this was a known trade route to the local people from both sides of the Limpopo River (c.f. position of Mwenezi site, Ch. 4, 8). Pertinently for information on trade goods and 'fashions', Mauch bemoans that the beads he ordered were not sent and says that the '*blue cut beads are of no use*' (Burke 1969:164-5).

The foregoing accounts garnered from the Potgieter report, Mauch, Elton, Merensky and others, are confirmatory of the more modern historical sources (Beach 1980, 1994b, after Forrestall 1904; Bannerman 1978 & 1981; von Sicard 1952, 1961, 1971) as to the presence of particular people or groups on the Bubi and in the Mateke region and to the nature of the terrain. The information illustrates that channels of communication, trade, hunting and exploration had been in place for some time and that the country was by no means unknown to outsiders by the mid 1850's, which also illustrates that similar channels could well have been in place previous to the 1800's. The system of trade and contact from village to village, carrying news as well as goods was probably well in place from at least the end of the first millennium, as is illustrated by trade goods that found their way from Chibuene on the east coast across to the Schroda, Shashe/ Limpopo confluence area. The early route from the coast to the Shashe may well have passed virtually south of Chumbangula; glass trade beads of similar periods have been found there (Ch. 5) and at other sites in south Zimbabwe (Bvocho 2001; Huffman 1973a; Sinclair 1982; Sinclair et al 1993; Wood 2000).

7.5 The Nguni Incursions of the Nineteenth Century (Table 7.1)

I turn now to an overview of the Nguni incursions of the nineteenth century and the more permanent polities resulting from these, in order to illustrate how this presence may have affected the Pfumbi and the Hlengwe Tsonga, causing instability and the use of 'refuge' sites.

During the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the growth of the Zulu kingdom under Shaka took place with several groups breaking away and causing great upheavals in neighbouring territories (this period is known as the '*mfecane*', Nguni for the '*crushing*' (Davenport 1978)). At least four of these groups are documented as moving into, or through southern Mozambique and south east lowveld territory from 1821, affecting the local tribes-people (Liesegang 1970; Smith

1973). The groups which most likely caused repercussions amongst the people of the broader south-eastern Limpopo River basin during the period 1822-1838, are those led by Maseko, Zwangendaba, Nxaba and Sotshangane and after 1838 those of the Ndebele and Gaza (Map 7.2). While the first groups' influence was short-lived the Gaza and Ndebele created much longer term changes.

The Maseko group moved northward, crossing the territory of the Venda in the Soutpansberg, before passing on to the Victoria (Masvingo) region in Zimbabwe (thus through the southeast lowveld, past the Mateke region) and on to the north. Nxaba, after possibly engaging with Mzilikazi in the territory of the Pedi in the Transvaal passed northeast, also through southeast Zimbabwe, possibly attacking the Hlengwe there, along the lower '*Nuanetsi*' (Mwenezi) (Bannerman 1981:11; Liesegang 1970:320). He was defeated by the forces of Sotshangane, near the present border of Zimbabwe and Mozambique and by 1839 had passed by Tete and Zumbo on his way northward and out of the picture (Liesegang 1970). Zwangendaba moved into southern Mozambique and was north of Lourenço Marques in 1822. He was defeated by Sotshangane in about 1827 west of the Limpopo River (Liesegang 1970). From there he and his group crossed the Lebombo hills into Venda territory and then north across the Limpopo again, crossing close to the southeast region of the Mateke Hills (Fig. 1.1). As a *modus operandi*, the Nguni groups must have stayed for a year or two in one place in order to consolidate their position, recruit subject populations into their group, cultivate crops for sustenance and increase stock (Liesegang 1970:335 after J.A. Barnes 1954).

7.5i Sotshangane and the Gaza Nguni:- Meanwhile Sotshangane also arrived in the southern Mozambique territory. Sotshangane operated in the Delagoa Bay area for a few years, settling near the Limpopo by 1827. He ranged north past and around Inhambane, occupying the site on the Limpopo at Chaimite permanently until his death in 1858 (Liesegang 1970, 1974:60). It is at this site that Sotshangane is buried and here that Liesegang identified the pottery 'used by the Gaza Nguni' (Ch. 7.3iii, Ch. 8) (Liesegang 1974). Sotshangane's successor Mzila moved his capital up to the north of the Save river, on the present border between Mozambique and Zimbabwe near Mt. Selinda, where it was centred from 1862 until his death in 1884 and from where raids and tribute-taking were launched deep into the eastern and south-eastern parts of the lowveld and Mateke Hills (Ch 7.3ii, iii) (Beach 1994b). As an illustration of the Nguni raiding activities deep into the southern lowveld river valleys up the Bubi, Mwenezi, Save and Runde and as far as the southern Karanga and the Ndau areas along the southern plateau edge (Beach 1974:645, 649-650, 1980, 1994b:178-181), is a tradition that has been preserved of that of the Karanga/Mbire group of Neshoro who after earlier

having moved down to the fringes of the lowveld between the Runde and the Mwenezi, was attacked successively by Zwangendaba's and Maseko's Nguni and then by the Gaza Nguni and finally by the Ndebele, right through to the 1890's (Beach 1994b:178). The threat of the Gaza raids was dissipated after 1889 when Mzila's successor Gungunhana, moved back to a site to the east of Sotshangane's old capital and was captured by the Portuguese in 1895, thus bringing the period of domination and sporadic raiding by the Gaza to an end (Axelson 1967; Beach 1994a:137, 1994b:149; Liesegang 1974; Warhurst 1962). This may be one reason why Chinana's family abandoned occupation of the hill at Chumbangula around the 1880-1890's, as he described being born '*below the hill, but not on it*'. intimating that previous to this they had occupied the hill at times (Cooke 1958:60, 1960:106).

7.5ii The Ndebele³⁰ under Mzilikazi:- Mzilikazi's Ndebele had a longer-term effect over the region around the Mateke Hills. In 1821 they moved up into territory across the Vaal River, causing much disturbance there between 1822 and 1838, before moving across the Limpopo to the western part of what would become Matabeleland after follow up attacks by Shaka and Dingane and clashes with both Griqua and Voortrekker groups (Beach 1974; Davenport 1978). It was only after this move and the consolidation of the Ndebele state around the territory of the old Rozvi state, centred on Danangombe, Manyanga and Nalatale (Beach 1980), that the Ndebele impinged on the groups to their southeast, through raiding parties and the levying of tribute to establish hegemony in a wider area (Beach 1980, 1994b).

The Rozvi state had finally collapsed by the mid 1830's leaving a vacuum in the Changamire succession (Beach 1980:265; Liesegang 1970), into which Mzilikazi somewhat fortuitously arrived, finding little or no opposition to his forces, as the Changamire's followers had mostly retreated to the east, whilst others submitted and paid tribute to the Ndebele (Beach 1980:266). Groups who asserted their independence risked being raided by the Ndebele while those groups who submitted to the authority of the Ndebele offered tribute in terms of receiving cattle to herd in exchange for a levy of young people (Beach 1980:266, 1994a:136). By the time the last Changamire claimant was defeated on the upper Save River in 1866, the Ndebele were at the height of their expansion and most groups affected had accepted some form of tribute payment (including those of the Matibi Pfumbi (c.f. Ch. 7.3iii)) (Beach 1994a, 1994b). The main body of tributaries to the Ndebele to the south-east

³⁰ Note that Beach (1974, 1980, 1994a, 1994b) employs the term 'Ndebele' to refer to the Nguni group under Mzilikazi, rather than the more recognised term 'Matabele'. Apparently Matabele is of Sotho origin, no doubt applied during their sojourn in the Sotho country (Shabangu & Swanepoel 1989:vii).

extended from the Bulawayo region to Chivi's territory and then south to the Pfumbi chief, Matibi, at his northern lowveld territory at Lasa towards the head of the Bubi River (Beach 1974:645, 1994b:181).

Looking at the general perception that the whole nineteenth century was one of disruption, with whole tribes and groups being displaced and being part of a 'Refuge' culture, this has been somewhat overly emphasised according to Beach (1980:308, 1994a). Firstly, as noted above, the eighteenth century itself had been one of large-scale migrations and movement from both within, and outside, the borders of present day Zimbabwe (Ch. 7.3) (Beach 1980:203-209, 308-9, 1994a, 1994b). Secondly, the first Nguni groups were of a short-term nature, passing through Zimbabwe in less than a decade (Beach 1980:309). At the same time the various Karanga dynastic movements, which were continuing in a southward movement in the first half of the nineteenth century, were not stopped by actions from the Nguni or the Ndebele (Beach 1980:309). However, as we have seen, with reference to both the Pfumbi and the Hlengwe, there were incursions, battles, raids and exactions of tribute especially in the nineteenth century, which must have had an effect on the choices that were made of living areas in the Mateke Hills region, that is of taking refuge around and on the hills and in caves (Beach 1980 1994a, 1994b; Burke 1969; Cooke 1958, 1960, Garlake 1968b). The skirmishes between Pfumbi and Hlengwe for ultimate dominance in the Mateke Hills (Ch. 7.3) did not force removal to hilltops on any large scale basis. The common enemy for both groups would have been the 'outsider' Nguni raiding parties (Ch. 7.5) and by the end of the 19th century this helped to forge a common identity in the Mateke lowveld, which along the larger river courses towards Mozambique was Hlengwe, particularly to the east of the Mateke Hills, while the Pfumbi held sway to the west of the Matekes (Ch. 7.3).

7.6 Other external factors affecting the peoples of the south-east lowveld

Amongst external political and economic factors which may have impinged on the lives of those in the southeast lowveld from the mid nineteenth century was the presence of the Afrikaner farmers in the interior of southern Africa. This presence alerted both the Portuguese as well as the British, to the possible strategic importance of the settlement at Delagoa Bay (Axelson 1967; Theal 1896). After the discoveries of gold in the eastern Transvaal and on the Witwatersrand, the South African Republic under Kruger had more leverage and an earlier treaty between the Portuguese at Lourenço Marques and the South African Republic was renewed and a railway planned between them, which was finished only a few years before the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899, thus facilitating trade and communications with the coast (Axelson 1967; Davenport 1978; Theal 1896). By the end

of the nineteenth century, the Portuguese presence to the east, the Nguni incursions from both east and west; the Afrikaner state to the south, the work on the mines, and the permanent British presence in Zimbabwe after 1890 with the arrival of the Pioneer Column, had had lasting effects on the peoples of the southeast lowveld. These ranged from raids for cattle and people, pressure on and loss of land, greater political control over them, to a wider range of European goods becoming known and desired, to the ability of people to migrate south to the gold mines of the Witwatersrand for work and as far afield as the diamond diggings in Kimberley. The Anglo-Boer war must have had some effect on those on the periphery as well. Thus the areas of the south-east lowveld had been firmly incorporated into the political realities pertaining to the beginning of the 20th century although it remained a backwater, marginal to the major developments taking place in southern Africa.

7.7 Summary

This outline of the history of the Mateke Hill region has introduced the various role-players of the last two to three hundred years and particularly those who have crossed through or settled in the area between the Bubi and the Mwenezi. In the research area itself and in countries all around Zimbabwe's southeast lowveld, major events had taken place and newcomers moved in. Permanent immigration into the southeast came from the north (Karanga), the south (Venda/ Pfumbi) and the east (Hlengwe), the descendants of whom live in the area today. Conflict took place both between local groups, as well as from the passing Nguni groups and the more permanent Nguni polities. Tribute was paid to overlords, such as the Ndebele, which led to the alliance of Matibi with the British forces in 1893. Lastly the picture was changed irrevocably by the arrival of the British Pioneers of the British South Africa Company in the 1890's. This led to the rule of the colonial government with its system of Native Commissioners. Two major rebellions took place in 1893 and 1896, which led to the final subjugation of the Ndebele people and the Shona as well, including the groups in the southern lowveld. In the south-east, by the late 1960's, the alienation of lands had taken place and the movement of people into communal land areas to the north, east and south of the Mateke Hills had been undertaken by the time Independence came to Zimbabwe in 1980.

Some echo of these events may be expected to show up in the archaeological record, for instance in differences or otherwise in the pottery, other forms of evidence in trade goods, such as glass beads or European goods for instance military artefacts, or in settlement choices (Chs. 4, 5, 6, 8).

TIME LINE - RECENT PERIOD - MATEKE HILLS & RELATED REGIONS

Relevant events/Region/Group Dates AD]	Portuguese/ East Coast / Dutch	To the North/ Southern Karinga South/Venda	Southeast lowveld - Matekes Pfumbi/Matibi	Southeast lowveld, Hlangwe Tsonga	Nguni Incursions Gaza - Ndebele	Explorers / Hunters - Journeys	West - Khami / Rozvi / Changamire	Minerals Gold & Diamonds	Great Trek - Boer Republics	Pioneer Column - BSA Co.
1498 -	Vasco da Gama - on East Coast									
1500's	1507 AD - Fort at Sofala - trade from Swahilis	Portuguese in interior - Mutapa state					Khami State			
1544	Voyage south to Delagoa Bay	Zambezi route & rivers					Khami / Torwa State			
1500's	Trading at Del. Bay, Inhambane, Vilanculos.	As above trading "feiras"					Khami / Torwa State			
1700's	1721 Dutch at Delagoa Bay Mabumane's account of journey to Venda polity	Portuguese lost influence in interior Guruswa movements	Most pre-Karanga small groups do not survive southward Karanga movements, or north. Absorbed.				Rozvi Karanga move from north-east to south-west			
1750's onwards	Portuguese trade again at Delagoa Bay	S. Karanga resettlement in south & S. edge of plateau	Southernmost pre-Karanga group under Chikada / Pfumbi at Marungudzi	Hlangwe move up the lowveld river valleys, Save, Runde, Mwenezi, Bubi, Limpopo - contact with Pfumbi by 1800's			Rozvi Karanga dynasty at Khami - Changamire capital at Dantangombe - Portuguese artefacts			
1800's	Portuguese permanent posts at Delagoa Bay & Inhambane, Vilanculos	Southern Karinga / Runde & Mwenezi River edge of lowveld	Venda Mbedzi take over Pfumbi stronghold at Marungudzi - take name of Pfumbi, Karinga and Venda merge as Pfumbi in lowveld, along Bubi and Matekes	Mateke, Sengwe, Vurumele, Dumbo, Chikwarakwara in Mateke Hills, and between Bubi and Mwenezi R's. Clash with Matibi's Pfumbi, retreat down Bubi	1821-1838 Mfecane, Nguni leaders, Nxaba, Setshlangane, Moz., Zwangendaba to Moz., through Zimbabwe - Zambia, Mzirikaze - TVL, Zimbabwe	1868 Mauch on the Bubi River. 1871 at Marungudzi, Bubi and Mwenezi Potgieter, 1836 Erskine 1869	The weakened Rozvi state attacked by Nguni leaders, last Changamire killed at Manyanga 1835	Diamonds discovered in Kimberley 1867 Gold on the Witwatersrand 1885	Great Trek 1836 Van Rensburg trekkers killed -> Potgieter -> Bubi The Trek -> Boer Republics = Orange Free State (ZAR = Transvaal)	1890 the Pioneer Column 1893 & 1996 the Matabele Wars -
1800's	Portuguese continue to trade with inland, from Lourenco Marques & Inhambane. Contact with Boers in TVL.		Chief Matibi at Casa, and at Marungudzi forced to ally with Ndebele	Mauch meets Vurumele, Halata, Matengele along Bubi Shays at Mwenezi 1871 Sengwe pays tribute to Gaza	Gaza state at Chaimire, then Mussarize. Raids took place in southeast lowveld	Mauch "discovers" Great Zimbabwe, in company of Adam Renders 5 th Sept 1871	Ndebele state in its place, at GaBulawayo, consolidated by 1850's, raids into south east.	Migrant workers to mines - mainly to Witwatersrand WENELA recruiting depot at Paluri	Boer - Venda clashes in Soutpansberg Boers pay tribute to chiefs for hunting Mpephu to N across Limpopo	Land alienation -> Permanent British rule
1800's	Portuguese capture last Gaza King 1895 - Ngungunyane in south, raids from the Gaza cease	Venda under Mpephu to Chivi district - wars in Venda area, S.A.	Matibi fights on side of British against Ndebele, as consequence of tribute taking and raids - receives recognition as chief	Mary Hlangwe (Shangaans) recruited for work on the mines in Rhodesia, the diamond mines in Kimberley, and gold in Transvaal	Ndebele state centred on Bulawayo area, Inyati, Mzirikazi died 1868, Ndebele raids and tribute taking	Mauch dies in Germany. Hunters to Pafuri area, much Ivory hunting & trade across Limpopo	Ndebele state weakened, and subdued in the Rebellion and War of 1893 and 1896. Lobengula died 1896.	Mines in Zim. at Shabani, and gold mines and copper at Musoma - attract migrant workers too	Boer - Portuguese railway to LM and E. TVL. 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War	Continues - Matabele and II, Maranda and Sengwe Communal Lands

CHAPTER EIGHT INTERPRETATION, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction: - In this chapter I will discuss and define the Mateke pottery (Ch. 6), with conclusions and interpretations drawn from the preceding chapters. The sequence and settlement patterns for the Mateke Hills, as understood from the excavated sites of Chumbangula and Mwenezi (Ch. 5), as well from the sites recorded in the Survey (Ch. 4), will be developed (Table 8.3). Conclusions drawn from the data on the physical characteristics of the landscape, climatic studies and other research (Ch.3) will be taken into consideration. The Mateke assemblages are compared with published ceramic entities from the broader geographic region to provide more general conclusions (Table 8.2).

8.2 The Sequence and Dating of Chumbangula Hill

8.2i Early Farming Community

There is a paucity of evidence for the period preceding AD 1000 in the excavated material from Chumbangula (Ch. 5). Altogether, there are only a few isolated surface sherds, in particular from the Eastern Terrace shelter and outside the Burial shelter (Ch. 4, Ch. 6, Fig. 6.24:6; 6.28:1). These need to be seen in conjunction with other EFC pottery found in the vicinity and in the Malumba River basin (Ch. 4.2iv, Table 4.1, Ch. 8.4i, Fig. 6.28:2,3,5,7,10), as they match in type and probably time. EFC pottery found at Malapati, as well as in northern Limpopo Province may have some relation here as may other Phase II sites in Zimbabwe (Huffman 1973a, Meyer 1986; Robinson 1961b, 1966c, 1967a; Thorp 2005a). The relatively few opaque blue and yellow chopped cylinder beads from the lower levels at Chumbangula are reported to resemble glass beads from such sites as Makuru in the Runde district, Zhizo levels at Leopard's Kopje and the Zhizo capital at Schroda as well as the east coast port of Chibuene (Bvocho 2001:37, Pl. 5a; Hanisch 1980; Huffman 1973a, 1974; Sinclair 1982:161; Wood 2000:79, Pl. 3B, 3C, 3D). As the earliest types of imported glass beads they indicate early trade links between the coast and Chumbangula.

The suggestions that hill sites in the western Shashe-Limpopo basin at Mapungubwe as well as on the hill at Great Zimbabwe, may have been early rainmaking sites is of interest here (Ch. 4.2i p.6) (Huffman 1996b:190-191, 2000:16, 27). These sites are on sheer-sided, free-standing hills with difficult access, which are associated with 'male characteristics', in turn associated with leadership and rainmaking (Huffman 2000:27) and most have evidence of sherds of the earlier period of the EFC (Huffman 1996b, 2000:16; Meyer 1980:photos 51-54; Robinson 1961a:Fig.22). The hill at

Chumbangula is free-standing and sheer and has difficult access (Huffman 2000:16) (Ch. 4.2i, Fig. 4.1a) and the granophyre rock has a natural reddish colour (Ch. 3.4, Fig. 3.3) (noted by F. Coetzee (1999 *pers. comm.*) as being another characteristic indicative of 'ritual activities'. Chumbangula thus has the above criteria, as well as having two rock shelters (Ch. 4, 4.3i, Ch. 5.), one with a variety of sherds, (one example of an EFC expression), the other having dung of small stock and a secluded nature (Fig. 4.1, Fig. 4.2a,b, Fig. 5.1), which have been suggested as characteristics of sites associated with early rainmaking activities and of later site appropriation (Schoeman 2006, *pers. comm.* 2004.). Note the suggestion that hills said to be 'haunted by the spirits of early people, the *mapa*, yield traces of early pot sherds' (Ch. 4.3iii p.12) (Robinson 1967a). As noted (Ch. 8.4i), the Malapati Dip site some 50kms to the east has yielded EFC material of c. AD800, which may indicate an EFC period when the hill may have been visited, perhaps for rainmaking or other ceremonial purposes. It is not likely that EFC occupation of these isolated hills took place in a permanent manner as EFC settlement was normally on low ground beside rivers in open sites.

8.2ii Later Farming Community - Definition of the Excavated Chumbangula Hill Pottery

8.2iia The main Chumbangula assemblage, as identified in the excavated material from all Test Pits and Trenches has many similarities to the pottery originally defined as Gumanye/Zimbabwe II, from levels in the Hill Ruin at Great Zimbabwe, Gumanye Hill (at Chivi), Chamabvefva, sites in the Mt. Buhwa area (e.g. Chamakwangwadza Hill) and Chivowa Hill (Huffman 1971a, 1973b, 1978a, 1979a; Robinson 1961a, 1961c, Sinclair 1987, 1991). Gumanye sites are generally small villages, placed on hilltops (Huffman 1978a:84, 97) and Chumbangula follows this pattern. Cooke (1958:56) had noted similarities in the Chumbangula Hill pottery to 'early pottery from the Chibi (*sic.*) district' which would tie in with what is now known about Gumanye pottery from Chivi. Gumanye pottery is described as being dominated by a long-necked, re-curved pot with poor shoulder definition, flattened or squared rims (the Chumbangula Profile A, Ai, Ch. 6.5vi, Table 6.3, Fig. 6.2; 6.3; 6.4); an open-mouthed, hemi-spherical bowl, an in-turned, spherical bowl, which can often be high-burnished, (Profile B, Bi, Ch. 6.5vi, Fig. 6.5), as well as some straighter sided bowls (Profile Class C, Ch. 6.5vi, Fig. 6.5). Punctates, single bands of horizontal lines and oblique, often below the rim, occur among the few decorated sherds at recorded Gumanye sites (Huffman 1978a: 81-84, Fig. 5, row 1; 1979a: 65, Fig. 9, rows 1,2,5 & 6; Robinson 1961a:194, 198-201, Fig. 24, Nos. 24, 33-34; Sinclair 1991:49, Fig. 11, Nos. 2, 5) though crosshatch bands have been noted in some Gumanye examples from Buhwa (Huffman 1978a:Fig. 5, row 3). Essentially therefore, the excavated pottery from Chumbangula matches the definition of Gumanye pottery in its general characteristics, in

shape, range of vessel types, and position and layout of motifs, but with important differences in the frequency of occurrence of decorative motifs and in the dominance of crosshatch over punctate (Ch. 6.5,6.6, Table 6.3, Fig 6.4).

While a diagnostic feature of Gumanye pottery is that it is largely undecorated with only a minority of decorative motifs and some separated bands (Huffman 1978a; Robinson 1961a; Sinclair 1991:49), the Chumbangula pottery has a much richer repertoire and proportion of decoration, dominated by incised single bands of crosshatching, punctates, obliques and horizontal lines, below the rim and more often on the shoulder (Figs. 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, Table 6.3), as well as displaying a number of examples of multiple bands, both joined and in two positions, usually crosshatched (Figs. 6.4:4,5; 6.5:6,8,13; 6.12:2) (Ch. 6.5, 6.6, Table 6.3). As a whole, the diagnostic assemblage at Chumbangula is 60% plain and 40% decorated, of which crosshatched bands account for 42% and punctates for 24% (Ch. 6.6, Table 6.3, Figs. 6.4; 6.9; 6.14). These proportions are a good deal higher in favour of decoration, in comparison to Gumanye/Zimbabwe II, as well as Chivowa Hill, where the pottery is known by its almost complete lack of decoration and generally matte finish (Huffman 1978a:81 + 98; Robinson 1961a:194; Sinclair 1991:31-32 + 49). Where the pottery motifs at Gumanye sites are mostly a band of oblique incisions or punctates placed below the lip/rim (Huffman 1978a: 81), and Chumbangula pottery has these, (Table 6.3) the pottery clearly differs in having bands of crosshatch incision on shoulders in higher percentages than the obliques or punctates (Table 6.3). At Chumbangula, in the A Profiles, the proportions of decorated to undecorated are virtually equal, whereas in the B Profile, there is a majority of plain examples, more like Gumanye itself (Ch. 6.6, Table 6.3). In general, the Chumbangula pottery displays a consistent level of homogeneity (Table 6.3, Figs 6.1-6.5) and the suite of profiles A, Ai, B, Bi & C, is very much the same throughout (Ch. 6.5, Table 6.3). A feature of Zimbabwe II and Mt. Buhwa are the dimpled base pots (Huffman 1978a:Fig. 5:88; Robinson 1961a) while at Chumbangula in the excavated sample there were no dimple bases (one noted in the surface survey (Gray P.1994)) and very few at Chivowa Hill either (Sinclair 1991:49).

Its geographical position makes Chumbangula a particularly interesting Gumanye Tradition site as it is situated in the lowveld some 150 kms south of the original Gumanye site region in Masvingo district, where most Gumanye sites occur along the southern edge of the plateau (Fig. 2.1). The Chumbangula assemblage signifies the southernmost known occurrence in Zimbabwe.

Looking at the possible changes in the pottery through time at Chumbangula, two decorative features can be isolated most clearly in the lower levels of Trench IV to demonstrate that certain traits may be earlier, or appear in different ratios at different levels (Ch. 5.3ix, Ch. 6.6viii, Fig. 6.14, Appendix 2, Table II), which raises some questions as to the uniformity of this assemblage. A preponderance of punctate motifs at the lower rim on matte-finished, long-necked, weakly shouldered pots are found in the lowest level (L. 6) of Trench IV (Fig. 6.3:6-9). These contrast with cross-hatched single bands, as well as some multiple crosshatched bands, mostly at the shoulder, found in level 4 of Trench IV on similar shape pots (Fig. 6.4:2,5,6), with a sterile level 5 in between (Ch. 5.2ix, Fig. 5.8). Thus, the punctate motif may be an earlier attribute than the crosshatch, given its position in L. 6. However, note that both motifs do appear at different levels and together in other locations (e.g. in Test Pits 5 & 6, Tables I & II Appendix 2) and in the occurrence of decorated fragments in levels 4 & 6 of Trench IV (Fig. 6.13; 6.14, Table 6.4).

This possible hypothesis of the assemblage as representing a site where there may be an earlier component of punctates beginning before the majority of crosshatching, is brought into focus by the recent work at Hlamba Mlonga (a small hilltop site some 100kms. north-east of Chumbangula (Fig. 2.1)), where stratigraphic evidence for a separation of plain and punctate decorated Gumanye and a later component, which included triangles, incision and crosshatch is backed up by radiocarbon dating evidence which is differentiated in two clusters (Thorp 2004, 2005b:Fig. 2, *pers. comm.* 2005, 2006). However, the ceramic conclusions from Chumbangula (Ch. 6.6, 8.2ii, 8.2iii, 8.5) presently point towards a progression from punctates to a majority of crosshatch bands, rather than differentiated assemblages, since neither the pottery (Ch. 6.6, Table 6.3) nor the C14 dates (Table 5.6) clearly divide the assemblage.

Importantly, at Chumbangula examples of the main expression of pottery were found in an ash level below the walling in Trenches I and II (Ch. 5.3via, vib, 5.3viib, Table 5.3, Fig. 5.7a, b). The few sherds from Trench I, Level 3 (base of walling), of Squares 6/7 are mostly plain body sherds, but there are plain rims from open-mouthed bowls, and one plain, 'squared', flat rim from a long-necked vessel, which can be linked to those from Level 4 (below the walling), for example a rim sherd from a long-necked pot, with crosshatch motif at lower neck (Fig. 6.13:6). This point is critical, as pottery from the ash level below the wall in Trench I, Level 4 as well as sherds found with the ashy soil with charcoal below the base of the wall stones at the base of Trench II, Level 3 indicates that the hill

occupation existed before the walls were constructed (Ch. 5.3vi, 5.3vii, Table 5.2, 5.3, Fig. 5.7) but also in layers contemporary with the walling (Appendix 2, Table II).

Another aspect that makes the Chumbangula assemblage especially notable is its similarity to two published ceramic traditions from northern South Africa. These sites and their assemblages were not excavated or published at the time that the Zimbabwe II and Gumanye pottery was first described, or when the Mateke, Buhwa, Runde and Chivi sites were recorded (Cooke 1958,1970; Huffman 1971a, 1973b, 1978a; Robinson 1961a, 1961c, 1967a). This means that no comparative work could then have been done between northern and southern areas. In addition there were no Gumanye/Zimbabwe II assemblages excavated where decorative components are possibly differentiated. Firstly, the pottery group called 'Mutamba', found mostly in the northern Soutpansberg, Limpopo Province, 130km. south of the Mateke Hills, shares both shapes and motifs with Chumbangula. These are the punctate, oblique and cross-hatched single band features, as well as a layout of two single bands, one below the rim and one lower down at the shoulder of differentiated bands, e.g., oblique and cross-hatch,³¹ on a similar range of long-necked pots and simple open-mouthed and constricted bowls (Loubser 1991:Figs.19, 38, 59-60, 78, 170-171). Mutamba has a more or less equal representation of punctate and crosshatch motifs, followed by oblique incised bands (Loubser 1991: Figs. 19, 170-171). Some motifs featuring pendant triangles, in-filled with small dots/stabs or incisions make their appearance here and are similar to an example found at Chumbangula in Tr. I Level 2 (Fig. 6.4:7) (Loubser 1991:Figs. 60, 80, 171). In contrast to the Zimbabwean Gumanye, Mutamba makes some use of graphite (Loubser 1991:Fig. 80). In addition, Mutamba does not display the joined multiple bands seen at Chumbangula (Ch. 6.5iii, iv, vi, 6.6i) (Fig. 6.4:4,5; 6.5:4,6,8; 6.6:8) and in Gumanye material (Huffman 1978a:88). The Mutamba facies is regarded as a related southern expression of Gumanye/Zimbabwe II and is the name by which this material is known south of the Limpopo River, where it is also related to the more southern facies, known as Kgopolwe (Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Loubser 1991). Mutamba pottery in the northern Soutpansberg is dated to between about AD 900-1250 (Loubser 1991, Fig. 152) and also appears in sites in the northern Kruger National Park at sites Pa 6,11,13 and Sh 14, 16, Ph 9.1) (Meyer 1986:No's. 817-829, 752-776, Figs 95-96) where it is very similar to the Chumbangula pottery.

While the Pafuri/ Shingwedzi sites are undated, they are assigned to '*n middel- of laat- ystertydperk-*

³¹ Note Chapter 6.5v and 6.6i where the multiple band types are outlined (Figs. 6.4, 6.5, 6.7, 6.13):- 1) multiple joined bands, usually crosshatch (two or three bands); 2) two differentiated, widely spaced bands, in two motif positions, usually rim and shoulder; 3) separated multiple bands at equidistant positions (two or three bands), but more or less in same motif position, e.g. shoulder, body. The first two occur in the main Chumbangula assemblage (Ch. 8.2iii), while the third tends to occur in the Recent pottery (Ch. 8.2iv).

kompleks wat moontlik verband hou met die gebied Noord van die Limpopo-rivier (a middle or late iron-age complex (tradition) that is possibly connected to the area north of the Limpopo River (Meyer 1986:234-235 241, 282, after Cooke 1960).

The other grouping is found at Kgopolwe (SPK3) and Nagome (MN3) Hills, in the eastern Limpopo Province in the Phalaborwa lowveld region where it has been likened to Eiland at the Tradition level but, at the facies level, has a different suite of decorative motifs and some vessel shapes that are absent in Eiland (Evers 1988: 50-53, 54, 59-60, Fig. 4.2). Kgopolwe displays a number of characteristics similar to the Mutamba and the Chumbangula material (Ch. 6.5, Tables 6.3, 8.2) (Evers & van der Merwe 1987:104-105; Loubser 1991:377, Figs. 170-171). These are the pottery profile classes which include the long-necked pots, open-mouthed and rounded bowls, motifs dominated by single bands of crosshatch and oblique incision and it displays some of the triangle and chevron motifs (Ch. 6.5) (Evers & van der Merwe 1987:Figs. 23 -31; Meyer 1986: 233-234, 281) (the herringbone and arcade designs of Eiland are largely absent). Punctates occur at a lower percentage at Kgopolwe compared to Chumbangula (Table 6.3, 6.4, Figs. 6.3, 6.5) (Evers & van der Merwe 1987:Figs. 23-31, 34, 36, 42). Joined multiple bands of crosshatch occur, which are similar to those at Chumbangula (Evers & van der Merwe 1987: Figs.21, 22, 23-31, 34, 36, 42). Notably, at Kgopolwe there are examples of separated, multiple but equidistant bands of incised decoration (see Ch. 8.2iv) though some of this is Moloko material (*ibid* Figs. 21-22, 25, 33). Kgopolwe is dated to between AD1000-1300 (Evers & van der Merwe 1987:Table 1, 105).

For Mutamba and Kgopolwe the proportions of decorated to plain sherds are not given (Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Loubser 1991), but it would appear that in contrast to the northern material, these pottery facies have more decorated examples than plain, since the plain material is not regarded as a diagnostic feature. This again makes the Chumbangula material notable, as its pottery falls somewhere between the plainer northern Gumanye material and the more decorated Mutamba and Kgopolwe southern wares (Tables 6.3). Thus the amount of decoration ranges from very little in the north to a majority in the south, with the use of crosshatched bands increasing at Chumbangula and further to the south.

The Chumbangula pottery is not overly burnished, though there are several examples of high burnishing on both long-necked pots and on open and constricted bowls (Ch. 6.6iva, Table 6.6, Fig. 6.3:4; 6.4:6; 6.5:3,6-9,13; 6.12:2; 6.15:6,7,9; 6.16:1). High burnishing on constricted bowls

especially can be expected to occur in Gumanye sites (Huffman 1978a:81+84). At Chivowa Hill, there is a moderate amount of burnishing, on the outside as well as on the inside of deep and spherical (constricted) bowls, but no graphite is noted (Sinclair 1991:32), while at Great Zimbabwe (Hill Complex), burnishing occurs in the Period II pottery, but no graphite (Robinson 1961a:194, 198, Table 2, No. 2). Neither does graphite occur at the Mt. Buhwa sites (Huffman 1978a). Burnish on illustrated Mutamba and Kgopolwe vessels is minimal (Evers & van der Merwe 1987:Figs. 25, 28, 30; Loubser 1991:Fig. 38), although some of the Kgopolwe pottery, both plain and decorated sherds, has graphite (Evers & van der Merwe 1987:Figs. 23-31), and graphite also occurs on some Mutamba pottery, for instance on necked pots (Loubser 1991:Figs. 38, 59, 60, 80, 125, 171) (Fig. 6.4:7). Graphite occurs but is not common at Chumbangula (Table 6.5; Fig. 6.4:7; 6.5:1; 6.11:4; 6.15:5,8). Pottery from K2 also has some black burnishing, but not in the well-executed manner of the pottery from Mapungubwe, while again graphite is not observed in this pottery (Schofield 1937: 36, 38). Overall then, the application of graphite is not a trait associated with Gumanye-related pottery, except in certain classes at Mutamba and Kgopolwe (the lack of graphite on Chumbangula sherds had been noted by Cooke (1958) (Ch. 6.6v, Table 6.7, 8.2iv). Ochre burnish does not appear to have been noted at Gumanye sites (Huffman 1978a, 1979a; Sinclair 1991), but it is utilised at Chumbangula (Ch. 6.6vi Fig. 6.4:2,5; 6.5:4,5,11) (Table 6.5), where it is often associated with the crosshatch motif and occurs at all levels (Appendix 2, Tables I & II). It also occurs in small numbers at Mutamba and Kgopolwe (Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Loubser 1991). Robinson (1961a) mentions ochre in connection with Class 4 pottery, but not particularly for his Classes 2 or 3 pottery.

In summary, the Chumbangula pottery presents features from the northern as well as the southern sites. If the north and south are regarded as two facies of the Gumanye Tradition, Chumbangula may be regarded as an assemblage or variant which displays features from both; that is, there is a spectrum of variation implying diffusion, for instance from north to south. This is something that would have to be the subject of future research, but present evidence, on dating and motif/profile features, indicates the plain and punctate features from the north to be earlier (c.f. Hlamba Mlonga, Chivowa Hill). The Chumbangula pottery has a higher percentage of decorated sherds (Ch. 6. 6xiii, Table 6.3) than the predominately plain wares from the northern, Gumanye sites, with both more punctates as well as far more crosshatch. It has a slightly smaller percentage of decorated sherds than at Mutamba and Kgopolwe, it has some high burnish, but little graphite, while the use of ochre is more common than at the southern sites. While the pottery at Chumbangula displays the more frequent crosshatch motif as seen at the southern sites, it has a higher proportion of punctate material

than Mutamba or Kgopolwe. At Chumbangula there are a few sherds with a squared, arcade, or 'loop' motif, which have a K2/ Leopard's Kopje type appearance (Fig. 6.13: 5,7; 6.24:3; Cooke 1958:Fig. 7:13), some occurring as well at Mutamba and Kgopolwe (& Hlamba Mlonga)(Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Huffman 1974; Loubser 1991:Figs.171,175; Meyer 1980; Robinson 1966a; Thorp 2005a,b).

8.2iib Regional Occurrence and Dating of Pottery related to the Gumanye Tradition

Site Name	Dating	Pottery Tradition/Facies	Reference
<u>Gumanye Hill</u>	AD 1020 ± 35	Gumanye	(Huffman & Vogel 1991)
<u>Chivowa Hill</u>	AD 1010-1150	Gumanye	(Sinclair 1987, 1991)
<u>Gwelo Hill</u>	AD 1040? -	Gumanye	(Hall & Vogel 1980?)
<u>Hill Ruin,</u>	AD 1075±150 }	Zimbabwe 2 (Gumanye)	(Huffman & Vogel 1991)
<u>Great Zimbabwe</u>	AD 1150-1220}		(Robinson 1961a)
<u>Chumbangula</u>	AD 1040-1300	Mateke Facies}	(Gray, pending 2008)
<u>Mwenezi</u>	AD 900-1300	Mateke Facies}	(Gray, pending 2008)
<u>Hlamba Mlonga</u>	AD 990-1100	Gumanye	(Thorp 2004, 2005b)
<u>Hlamba Mlonga</u>	AD 1230-1370	Mutamba/(Zimbabwe III)	(Thorp 2004, pers. comm. 2005)
<u>Leopard's Kopje I</u>	AD 1000-1200	Leopard's Kopje I	(Huffman 1974, Table 29)
<u>K2 /Bambandyanalo</u>	AD 1030-1220	K2	(Schofield 1937; Meyer 1998; Vogel 2000)
<u>Mutamba, Vhuneyla</u>	AD 950-1250	Mutamba	(Loubser 1991)
<u>Kgopolwe</u>	AD 1000-1300	Kgopolwe	Evers & van der Merwe 1987)
<u>Pafuri/Shingwedzi</u>	c. AD 1000-1300	Mutamba/Kgopolwe	(Meyer 1986:233-5, 241,282, 290)
<u>Massingir</u>	c. AD 1000- 1300	Mutamba/Kgopolwe	(Duarte 1976)
<u>Thulamela</u>	AD (1260)1410-1430 ³² *	Mutamba levels only	(Steyn et al 1998; Vogel 2000)
<u>Makahane</u>	AD 1180-1440 ³³ **	? “	(Kusel U. & M. nd; Meyer 1986; Vogel 2000)

Table 8.1 Regional sequence for Gumanye-related sites

³² *This dating for the Mutamba-related level, which pre-dated the walling at Thulamela (Steyn et al 1998:74, 77; Vogel 2000:54 after Huffman), seems rather late when compared to the Soutpansberg Mutamba itself and other sites with related wares (Chumbangula, Mutamba, K2, Leopard's Kopje, Zimbabwe 2, Gumanye, Kgopolwe). The earlier date here of AD 1260 (Pta-7106) comes from the deepest level, La.17/18 of Tr2D and while it is considered by Vogel (2000:54) as something of an outlier it appears to be far more compatible with other known Mutamba sites as well as the later dates at Chumbangula (Table 5.6) (Gray 2008 pending; Loubser 1991:Fig. 152; Manyanga 2000; Thorp 2004,2005b); while the other dates, coming from samples through Layers 16-14 Tr2D, (Pta-7305,-7102,-7105,-7107,-7310) represent a group in the early fifteenth century period AD 1410-1430 (Vogel 2000:57 after Huffman *pers. comm.*). These dates are considerably outside any previously recorded for Mutamba and related levels. The earlier date for the Mutamba at Thulamela (AD 1260) is too late for K2 or Gumanye sites and is only compatible with later dates for Mutamba sites (Loubser 1991:Fig. 152; Thorp 2004, *pers. comm.* 2006). These fifteenth C. dates for Thulamela would seem to be an anomaly, but presuming they are correct, this would put our knowledge of a Mutamba settlement later by more than a century. Therefore the fact that a later Mutamba level exists at Thulamela, in the far north eastern lowveld, is very significant for the Mutamba expression, as well as for understanding of the site of Chumbangula, only some 60kms. to the northwest in Mateke (Map 2.1). At Thulamela, there are few glass beads, which are of a different type from those in the later Khami/Zimbabwe Tradition levels, and come from the early level (Miller 1996:838), while ostrich eggshell beads are most numerous in the earlier layers (Miller 1996; Steyn et al 1998:74) (note this occurrence too at Chumbangula, especially in Tsp. 5, 6 & Tr. IV (8.2iic, Ch. 5.) (c.f. Hlamba Mlonga too (Thorp 2006 *pers. comm.*)). The dating for the Mutamba at Thulamela also brings in to focus the question of co-operation with the Mapungubwe sites in Soutpansberg which are somewhat later than Mapungubwe itself (Loubser 1991)(Ch.8.2ii, iii).

³³ ** These Makahane dates cover the period of Mutamba and the Mutamba occupation at Thulamela (Fig. 1.1), but without adequate ceramic description or illustration the cultural affinity is uncertain (Vogel 2000) However, the range of dates points to a similar time period to the Gumanye-related cluster of sites and thus possibly a period at Makahane either pre-walling, or contemporary with earlier walls. The site and the walls described (Eloff & de Vaal 1965; Meyer 1986) belong to an elite site which apparently belongs to the Makahane of the pre-Singo Lembethu clan dating to at least the late 17th century, who probably originated from the north in Zimbabwe (Eloff & de Vaal 1965:68-74; Huffman 1996b:195; Loubser 1991; Meyer 1986:234-5, Figs. 98-99, Nos. 830-852).

There are practically no dimple bases, representative of the original Gumanye, seen here or in the south, implying that this feature existed in the northern Gumanye region but not further south. Since the Gumanye-related pottery at Chumbangula is representative of the local expression of this pottery in a position, both geographically and stylistically, between Gumanye, Mutamba and Kgopolwe, I suggest that in the Mateke Hills and south-east lowveld of Zimbabwe this facies be called the Mateke Facies after the Mateke Hills in which Chumbangula is situated (Figs. 1.1, 3.3). The Mateke Facies is thus characterised by similar vessel shapes to Gumanye, Mutamba, Kgopolwe and K2 (Ch. 8.2iia, 8.5, Table 8.2), but with a larger occurrence of punctate, horizontal lines and oblique motifs decoration and with particular emphasis on the frequent crosshatched decoration, placed most often on the shoulder, but also at the rim and neck and by multiple joined bands of cross-hatching, as well as the use of ochre and high burnish (Ch. 6.5, 6.6, Figs. 6.2-6.5, 6.13-6.16, Tables 6.3 - 6.6).

The radiocarbon dates for Chumbangula (Ch. 5.3a, Table 5.6) indicate that the site was occupied from the early eleventh century until at least the end of the thirteenth (AD 1000-1300), with a mid-period of AD 1040-1270. The dates, particularly those from AD1000-1200, combined with the pottery data, firmly place the occupation of Chumbangula in a broader regional pottery cluster, which includes Gumanye/Zimbabwe 2/ Mateke/Mutamba/ Kgopolwe /Leopard's Kopje I/K2 (Tables 8.1-8.3). Some of these (e.g. LK 1, K2, Gumanye, Zimbabwe 2) have previously been included in a grouping known as the Kutama Tradition, a broader trend relating to the Eiland cluster (Huffman 1978b, 2000; Evers 1988)). In Zimbabwe, the Gumanye Tradition sites occur in a broad geographical band in a group running west/east across the edge of the southern Zimbabwean plateau with sites clustered around Great Zimbabwe, Chivi, and Mt. Buhwa, then south-east to the lowveld in the Runde and Chiredzi River area and further south to the sites in the Mateke Hills (Fig. 2.1). In South Africa the Mutamba and Kgopolwe related-sites run from the north and north-east of the Soutpansberg across to the north-eastern Kruger National Park, to the south-east in the Phalaborwa lowveld region and the Mozambique border region (Table 2.1, Fig. 2.1). The K2/ Bambandyanaló, pottery expression occurs at the Limpopo/Shashe confluence (Fig. 2.1) and is a southern variant of Leopard's Kopje 1 (Matopos/Bulawayo, Fig. 2.1). Note that the later dates at Chumbangula, Ua-13193 and Ua-13191 (Table 5.6), dating from AD 1180-1280 & 1275-1400 respectively (1-sigma range), probably indicate the period associated with the walling, the enclosures (Fig. 4.11) and some of the pottery (Ch. 6.6iii, Fig. 6.6, 6.11), indicating at least a connection with the burgeoning sites of the Zimbabwe Tradition (see below Ch. 8.2iii, 8.6).

8.2iic Features and artefacts at Chumbangula relevant to the Mateke Facies; Chumbangula has a similar artefact inventory of ostrich eggshell beads, a related faunal assemblage and glass beads of a similar type to those found at Mt. Buhwa, Zimbabwe 2; Chivowa Hill and K2, (Bvocho 2001; Huffman 1978a; Manyanga 2000; Robinson 1961a; Sinclair 1991). Some features, however, differ from the usual Gumanye or Mutamba sites. The hilltop situation at Chumbangula is similar to other Gumanye sites (Huffman 1978a:84, 98, 1979; Sinclair 1991), but stone walls on the summit are unusual for Gumanye. As has been demonstrated in Ch. 5.3vi (Table 5.3, Fig. 5.7), the occupation at Chumbangula began before the walling was built, which is important for understanding the beginnings and nature of the occupation. The question of the period represented by the walling is thus of key importance to the understanding of any continuities or changes in occupation (Ch. 8.2iii).

A consideration is that of the presence or absence of clay figurines in Gumanye-related sites. No figurines have been found at Chumbangula, which means either that none are there to be found, or else the excavations have not produced any. This is of some importance as clay figurines were found both at Gumanye Hill and at Great Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe II), where they consisted of cattle, human, 'phalli' and stylised figures (Robinson 1961a: 201, 214-5, Figs. 32, 33). Cattle figurines occurred in the Chamakwangwadza material in the Buhwa region, whereas human figurines occurred in conjunction with Zhizo levels in two Buhwa sites, 2030 CB:1 and CB:12 (Cooke 1970; Huffman 1973b, 1978a). Numerous clay figurines appear in conjunction with the Gumanye pottery at Chivowa Hill and include both human and cattle as well other representations (Sinclair 1991:38, Graph 5 & Figs. 12-14). The presence of clay figurines, human, stylised and animal is thus regarded as one of the diagnostic features of Gumanye sites (Robinson 1961a). These sites associated with clay figurines cluster in the region of south-central Zimbabwe (Matenga 1993: Map 5). Figurines *per se* do appear in a much wider context of both time and space in sites all over Zimbabwe, though the main occurrence is between 900-1200AD (the Gumanye, Leopard's Kopje I Period), closely followed in number from AD 1200-1500 (Mapungubwe, Leopard's Kopje II, Zimbabwe III and IV) (Matenga 1993: Figs.33-34: 85-89). Figurines, both human and animal are quite common at the Greefswald sites of Bambandyanalo (K2) and Mapungubwe, with the larger numbers coming from K2 contexts, many of which are of human forms (Meyer 1998; Voigt 1981, 1983). Worthy of mention is the fact that large numbers of clay figurines, including a pit full of figurine fragments were found at the nearby Zhizo site of Schroda, which may indicate associations between the Zhizo sites and the K2/ Leopard's Kopje peoples (Hanisch 1981; van Schalkwyk & Hanisch 2002).

Few figurines have been found with Mutamba horizons in the Soutpansberg sites. Fragments of two highly stylised, cylindrical figurines were found at Princess Hill in the lower levels, from where a few Eiland and Mutamba sherds originated, though the bulk of the finds here related to the single Mapungubwe horizon (Loubser 1991:234, 245, Table 14, 15). Two human figurine fragments occurred in the single Letaba horizons at Dzata and Davenham, which place these two at a considerably later date than those for Gumanye sites, (these can be associated with the figurines which Venda women use and break during initiation rituals (Loubser 1991:307 after Nettleton 1984:371)). There are no associated clay figurines mentioned in the material from Kgopolwe and Nagome sites in the Phalaborwa lowveld, nor from other sites (e.g. Eiland) relating to this period AD 1000-1300 in the general area including the Kruger Park sites (Chatterton, Collett & Swan 1979; Evers 1975, 1979, 1981; Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Meyer 1986; Miller 1996; van der Merwe & Scully 1971). Thus, the lack of clay figurines seems to be one of the keys to understanding the position of the Mateke sites in the 'cline' from north to south. While they are commonly found at Gumanye and K2 sites, there are none at the Mateke sites placed midway on the north/south axis, they are very rare at Mutamba sites and absent from Kgopolwe sites. It appears the more southerly sites have a ceramic affinity to Gumanye but lack the clay figurines.

Glass beads relating to the Mateke Facies are the blue and green translucent, turquoise blue and yellow drawn beads, which are of the K2 series (Pont Drift and Bambandyanalo) (Ch. 5, Table 5.7, Fig. 5.10b) (Bvocho 2001:37-38, Tables 1 & 2, Plate 1a; UZ Malumba Finds Catalogue 1998; Wood 2000:Plate 3E, 3F). These beads correspond to the beads found at Chivowa Hill (Sinclair 1991:45-47). Others are recognised as belonging to the Indo-Pacific (Trade-wind) series, which includes opaque Indian reds as well as opaque blues, greens and yellow beads (Fig. 5.10a). Beads of this series can run concurrently with K2 (Bvocho 2001:Plate 2a; Wood 2000:80, 82, Plate 3F, 4G, 4H). They continued in the east coast trade after the cessation of the K2 series beads (*pers. comm.* Wood 2004). The possibility of a Garden Roller bead at Chumbangula would also indicate contact between people at K2 and Chumbangula, as well as those at Montevideo and Chivowa Hill (Bvocho 2000:15; Sinclair 1986:15:Fig. 23:12, 1991:45:Fig. 8; Wood 2000:Pl. 3E, 3H).

Organic ornaments include ostrich eggshell, Achatina and freshwater mussel shell, as well as bone and ivory beads (Ch. 5 *passim*) (Bvocho 2001:Fig. 1a,b, 2a,b, 5). Notably in Trench IV especially at the lower levels, the ostrich eggshell and other shell beads and many shell fragments are in association with the blue and green translucent glass beads (K2 series), which suggests that the OES

and shell beads and fragments here indicate an earlier part of the Mateke period at Chumbangula (Ch. 5.3i ix, Ch. 8.2ii, 8.6) (Bvocho 2001: 37, Table 1; UZ Finds Catalogue 1998) (c.f. Thorp *pers. comm.* 2006). Some of the shell beads (all types) were apparently still in the process of manufacture (as were some ivory beads) (Bvocho *pers. comm.* 2002), while in the adjacent Eastern Terrace Cave (Fig. 4.1) the 'bead-shaper stone' was found (Ch. 4.3ix, Fig. 4.2d).

The ivory beads, found along with the shell beads (Ch. 5), indicate trade locally or on a wider field (for instance K2 and the Mutamba at Thulamela, where ivory objects have been found), as well as with the east coast (Bvocho 2001:22; Miller 1996; UZ Malumba Finds Catalogue 1998). One of the ivory beads has an unusual double perforation (Ch. 5.3, Fig. 5.3), which is of interest in light of the piece of worked bone from Tsp. 5, L. 8 (Ch. 5.3iv, Fig. 5.5) that also has two perforations, and which may have been worn around the neck or waist by a traditional healer (Bvocho 2000:24, Fig. 4; Manyanga 2000 after Thorp 1984). The fragment of a tibia bone shaft, possibly worked into a whistle (Manyanga 2000:62; Voigt 1983:107, Pl. 10.14 after Daniell 1804:Pl. 4) found in Tsp.1, L.7, (Summit Cave) (Ch. 5.2i) may have had some ritual or social connotations as well, as it is known that these and perforated bones, have been identified as being part of the apparatus of the traditional healers/ diviners (*n'angas*). Informants stated that if an *nganga* blew into the opened end of a severed bone, he could communicate with the spirit concerned (Bvocho 2001:23-4, Fig. 4; Loubser 1991:217, Fig. 33 No.11; Manyanga 2000; Thorp 1984, 1995:58-61, Fig. 5.8, 5.9) (a similar object was found at Tavatshena in the Soutpansberg (Loubser 1991)). Notably as well, a tibia bone tube, cut and snapped at both ends was found at Le 6 in the northern KNP (Plug 1988:145). Site Le 6 is associated with the later EFC and again this points to some continuity between periods. These shell, ivory and bone ornaments enable pertinent observations to be made about activities on the site, and also of the control and distribution (along with the glass beads) of what were no doubt desired and valuable items, as well as indicating status or ritual activities.

Several fragments of worked bone points (some with 'faceted' surfaces) recovered in the excavations (Ch. 5), as well as with the surface material in the Eastern Terrace Cave (Ch. 4, Fig. 4.2d)), have also been found at Le 6, Le 7, Ol 20 in the Letaba and Olifants areas, (KNP), as well as in the Soutpansberg at Tavatshena (Loubser 1991: Fig. 33, No.10; Meyer 1986; Plug 1988:145, Fig. 11.7). The bone points from the KNP displayed some polishing, but few were of the calibre of those found at Mapungubwe (Plug 1988:145; Voigt 1983:101-9) and may have been earlier, as the KNP sites are dated to the later part of the EFC, again a possible point of continuity between the EFC and

that of the LFC (Meyer 1986; Plug 1989:63). Voigt (1983) mentions that some of the Griefswald bone points appeared to have been smoothed in a grooved stone, similar to that from Chumbangula (Fig. 4.2d) (Meyer 1986; Nos 57-78). Robinson (1961c:179-80) also found bone points in conjunction with Class 2 material in Test IX in the Hill Ruin at Great Zimbabwe.

Since it appears that shell beads were manufactured on site, the question is, does this indicate a relationship with Later Stone Age peoples or, did the occupiers of the site make them or acquire them through contact/client relationships or trade. There are several instances of LSA stone tools being found in the excavations, as well as some stone flakes noted where erosion has taken place on the peripheries of the summit midden deposit

(Fig. 8.1) (Gray 1996; UZ Finds Catalogue 1998).

In the surrounding areas there is certainly clear evidence of Late Stone Age presence (Ch. 4,

Table 4.1, D:4 9, D:4 22) (Cooke 1958:55-56;

Gray 1996, 1999), indicating the possibility of co-

existence of Farming Communities with Late Stone Age peoples.



Fig. 8.1 Two Later Stone Age tools at left, & three OES beads, pottery.

With regard to the metal artefacts (Ch. 5) (Bvocho 2001:24-6, Fig. 6, 7; Malumba Finds Catalogue 1998), it is of interest to note new evidence for some objects from the Limpopo/Shashe region, previously considered to be copper, now having been re-analyzed as consisting of bronze (Miller & Hall *pers. comm.* 2005). The circular copper beads found in the vicinity of the summit Boulder Cave (Tr. I & Tsp. I, L. 6) again demonstrate the possible status or function of this area (Ch. 5, Ch. 8.2iii) (Bvocho 2001:25, Fig. 6). On the question of local sources of metal (Ch. 3), the nearby site of Dawn Hill was occupied in proximity to a copper working; and iron slag, forge material and iron arrow-heads have been found below the Mateke Ridge (Ch. 4, Table 4.1, 2131 C3:2, Fig. 4.4 Fig. 4.4b) (Cooke 1958:56, 59; Gray 1999). At the Gumanye site of Chivowa Hill, copper beads were a rarity; though iron objects were more frequent, as well as copper and iron bangle wire (Sinclair 1991), thus both ferrous and cuprous artefacts were readily available on Gumanye sites.

The exploitation of domestic as against non-domestic fauna at Chumbangula is, as noted, weighted towards cattle (*Bos taurus*), followed by *Ovis/Capra* and by wild fauna (Ch. 5.3i-ix) (Manyanga

2000:59, Table 5.4, Fig. 5.11). Together the contribution from domestic stock reaches over 60% (Manyanga 2000). This analysis matches that of the faunal material from the Gumanye site of Chivowa Hill where again the remains of *Bos taurus* outnumber those of *Ovis/Capra* and non-domestic examples (Sinclair 1991:47-49). The cattle exploited at Chumbangula are mostly adult, as they are at Chivowa Hill and Montevideo (Hall 1987:95; Manyanga 2000:75; Sinclair 1986, 1991). Gumanye sites in the Mt. Buhwa area are characterised by remains of cattle bones eroding out of the soil (Huffman 1978a). This reliance on cattle at Gumanye sites is interesting as it indicates a similar trend to that shown at later Zimbabwe Tradition sites, such as Great Zimbabwe, Leopard's Kopje II as well as Mapungubwe (Huffman 1974; Manyanga 2000; Thorp 1984, 1995; Voigt 1983), which suggests a continuity in economic strategies from Gumanye/ Zimbabwe II and Mapungubwe through to the phases of Zimbabwe III and IV. In addition, the societies emerging at the beginning of the second millennium are seen to have gained prestige, political power and economic status with the control of large herds of cattle, this being one of the factors which enabled the beginning of stratified, hierarchical societies (Hall 1987:65, 74-77, 89; Huffman 1996b, 2000; Manyanga 2000:77-78).

The evidence from Chumbangula of burnt seeds of *Sorghum bicolor* var. *caffra* (Jonsson *pers. comm.* 2004) indicates food production with enough days of sunlight and moisture to produce domesticated cereals (Huffman 1996a:55; Jonsson 1998). This evidence concurs with other sites dating to the Medieval Warm Epoch (AD 900-1300) where seeds of *Sorghum bicolor*, *Eleusine coracana*, *Voandzeia subterranea*, *Vigna sinensis* and *Sclerocarya birrea* along with grain bins and grinding stones/hollows have been found at Leopard's Kopje, Gumanye/ Zimbabwe II (& Zimbabwe III, IVa), Chivowa Hill and Montevideo (Huffman 1974; Jonsson 1998:63-64, 2004 *pers. comm.*; Sinclair 1986, 1991). There is a suggestion that trade with other groups in this broader region was given an impetus by the difficult environmental conditions towards the end of the AD 600-900 cooler period, through local contacts and *hxaro* systems. These conditions may also have encouraged groups to utilise new environments (Jonsson 1998:107). Thus when more favourable climate conditions began, the region was poised for better exploitation of trade and the local environments, possibly leading to the adoption of new religious or ideological ideas (Jonsson 1998:107-10).

8.2iii Zimbabwe Tradition in the LFC at Chumbangula The Profile E, consisting of some ten undecorated potsherds and fragments at Chumbangula, (Fig. 6.6, Ch. 6.5ii, vi, 6.6iii, Table 6.3), is

characteristic of Zimbabwe Tradition pottery³⁴; the slightly rolled, beaded rims and the brown/ black burnishing being typical (Fig. 6.6:3, Table 6.3 & 6.7). Burnished sherds with beaded rim characterise Robinson's (1961) Zimbabwe Classes 3 and 3 influenced by 4, (that is Huffman's Classes 3 and 4a) (Huffman & Vogel 1991:64-66, 68; Robinson 1961a:Table 2, Nos. 3 & 4, 201-206, Figs. 25:44, 26:56-73, 29:103-118). Here their provenance varies and does not explain their presence (Appendix 2, Tables I & II). Black burnish is associated with Zimbabwe Class 2, though more with Class 4a and 4b, where it is often 'black graphite' (Huffman & Vogel 1991:65; Robinson 1961a:194, 198, 204), while brown burnish is associated with Zimbabwe Class 3 (Robinson 1961a:201). Robinson's Cl. 3 (1961a:201) and 'Cl. 3 influenced by 4 (IVa) pottery do have poorly applied graphite' (Huffman & Vogel 1991:65), of which there is only a remnant here. The beaded rim sherds here are not like the heavily rolled rims of Robinson's Class 4 (1961a:203, Fig. 29-30); therefore his Class 3, or 'Class 3 influenced by 4' is the more likely. This would mean that these few sherds are new occurrences among the apparently ongoing incidence of the Mateke pottery at Chumbangula. The dating of the Zimbabwe III/IVa Periods from AD 1225-1275 and AD 1275-1300 respectively (Huffman & Vogel 1991:68) conforms to the later dates at Chumbangula, AD 1200-1300 (Ch. 8.2iib). There are other elements of a Mapungubwe or Zimbabwe phase influence in the pottery which are particularly represented in some of the motifs such as incised triangles, pendant and upright, bands of incised interlinked chevron and black/ brown burnishing (Ch. 6.5iv, 6.6iv, Tables 6.3, 6.4, Fig. 6.4:8; 6.5:7-9; 6.6:1-4; 6.15:7; 6.16:1) (Huffman 1974:Figs. 49+50; Huffman & Vogel 1991; Loubser 1991:Figs. 175-177; Meyer 1980; Robinson 1958:Fig.13-15, 1961a:201-207, 1964; Sinclair 1986:Fig.16, 17; van Ewyk 1983). At Chumbangula these triangular motifs are relatively few: for example of nine profile sherds, four are also burnished and two have graphite (Tables 6.3, 6.4, 6.6, 6.7, Fig. 6.5:7,8,9). However, similar triangle/chevron motifs do also appear in K2 and Mutamba (Schofield in Fouché 1937:Plates XXVI No. 6, XXVIII Nos.7-10; Huffman 1974:Figs. 47+48; Loubser 1991: Fig.171, Class 1 /2 (6)), or in Letaba/ Dzata (Chatterton, Collett & Swan 1979; Evers 1979; Loubser 1991:Figs. 186-187), therefore profile, motif and motif position, colour or finish is crucial for understanding (distinguishing) the pottery (Fig. 6.5:7,9; 6.15:7 + above ref. Figures). A few (± 6) small, finely incised triangle-motif, black burnished, open-mouthed bowls

³⁴ I have followed the revised chronology for the phases of the Zimbabwe Tradition after Huffman & Vogel (1991), in which Robinson's chronology was updated: thus Period II is associated with Gumanye pottery (Class 2), has no walling and dates to between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries AD). Period III (Class 3) (AD 1225-1275) corresponds to Robinson's Class 3 pottery and has no walling, while Period IVa (Class 4a) (AD 1275 -1300) has transitional pottery, and P & R walling and corresponds to Robinson's Class 3 influenced by 4. Period IVb (AD 1300-1450) has developed Zimbabwe pottery and P/Q and Q walling and corresponds to Robinson's Class 4 (Huffman & Vogel 1991:61-70; Robinson 1961a:193-226; Summers, Robinson & Whitty 1961).

represent finer wares than the norm for the Mateke Facies and may be either Mapungubwe or Zimbabwe tradition (Fig. 6.5:6-9, 6.15:7; 6.16:1; Robinson 1958:Fig.13, 1961a). Therefore, while there are some Mapungubwe and Zimbabwe phase features in the pottery at Chumbangula, some at profile level (Profile E, Fig. 6.6), some at decorative level (Fig. 6.5, 6.15), the numbers are small, at most 2.5-3.5 % (Tables 6.3-6.4). It may be of importance here to look at the north-eastern Soutpansberg, as a possible source for any apparent Mapungubwe stylistic influences (Loubser 1991:380).

The occurrence of spindle whorls at Chumbangula is intriguing, as they appear to be part of the main ceramic entity, since they occur throughout the deposit (Appendix 2, Tables I & II). Some spindle whorls (Fig. 6.6:5-8) are on decorated sherds (Fig. 6.5, Table 6.7), which give the appearance of being part of the main group of pottery, while others are on plain sherds (Fig. 6.11) (Ch. 5.2i, 6.6viii, Table 6.7). Generally spindle whorls have not been recorded in sites dating before AD 1200 (Huffman 1971d, Table 2; Huffman & Vogel 1991; Loubser 1991; Robinson 1958:93:Fig.13:55, 1961a). They have not been found in Gumanye/ Zimbabwe II sites, K2 or LK 1, or at Kgopolwe or possibly Mutamba³⁵ sites (Huffman 1971d; Meyer 1998; Loubser 1991:229, Table 12:6). They have been found at Zimbabwe phase IVa, IVb sites with walling (Davison & Harries after Garlake 1973) and were found with Class 3 pottery in the Great Enclosure midden and in Test XI, though this was probably Class 4a (Huffman & Vogel 1991; Robinson 1961a:204, 208). The appearance of spindle whorls at Chumbangula certainly indicates at least contact with either Mapungubwe or Zimbabwe sites, including an exchange of ideas and technology (Davison & Harries 1980; Huffman 1971d). The presence of spindle whorls lends weight to the association of Chumbangula as part of the Zimbabwe culture world after AD1200. Since the craft of spinning and weaving probably came to the Zimbabwe Culture via the East Coast, the Mateke Hills were well positioned to benefit from this technology (Fig. 1.1, 2.1, Ch. 3.5iii).

The issue of stone walling on Gumanye related sites is important, particularly in terms of their relationship to the Zimbabwe Tradition. For instance it has been suggested that the walls at Chivowa Hill were associated with the Gumanye occupation since there was no evidence for a later occupation (Sinclair 1991:23-26, Fig. 2). This has been questioned as there was no previous evidence for walling at Gumanye, Zimbabwe II, K2 or LK I sites (Huffman 1974:121, 1978a; Robinson 1961a).

³⁵ The possible exception to this rule may be at Vhuneyla where eight spindle whorls were found in the sealed Layer 5, Trench 2, in conjunction with a Mutamba horizon, which yielded twelve Mutamba vessels (Loubser 1991:218, 230, Figs. 34, 37, 42, Tables 10 & 12). Crucially, the Mapungubwe horizon was above the sealed hardened floor in Tr. 2, Layers 3 & 4 (Loubser 1991:218).

There is walling on Hlamba Mlonga, which has been interpreted as belonging to the later cluster of dates (Zimbabwe Tradition) (Thorpe 2004, *pers. comm.* 2005, 2006). To the south Mutamba and Kgopolwe sites are not always associated, in the same way as Gumanye sites are, with small free-standing hilltops, nor is walling associated with any of the Mutamba/ Kgopolwe occupations (Evers & van der Merwe 1987:89, Table 1; Huffman 1978a; Loubser 1991:193, 217, 234, 245, 269; van der Merwe & Scully 1971:184). In the Soutpansberg and lowveld, walling is only associated with Mapungubwe and Khami horizons, as well as at later Dzata sites (Loubser 1991:281; Miller 1996; Steyn et al 1998). The Chumbangula walling then probably needs to be looked at in the context of the later dates from this site (Table 5.6, Ch.8.4iii).

As noted, the community at Chumbangula was established before the construction of walling on the summit (see discussion in Ch. 5.2vi). However, these earlier occupants are culturally linked (pottery and artefacts) to the occupation related to the walling, which was constructed at the base of Level 3 in both Trench I & II. The pottery evidence, along with the walling (Fig. 4.1), strongly suggests contact between Chumbangula and the transitional periods III and IVa³⁶ at Great Zimbabwe. Pertinent is the fact that the first stonewalling at Great Zimbabwe (P & R walling) dates from the transitional period of IVa (AD 1275-1300) (Huffman & Vogel 1991:68), concurrent with the later dating at Chumbangula (Table 5.6). Also of significance is walling at Mapungubwe dating to the 13th C. where the function was probably to reinforce social status with important areas being demarcated (Fouché 1937: Plate VII.4, VIII; Huffman & Vogel 1991:64; Maggs *pers. comm.* 2005; Meyer 1998:Fig. 2.4). The question at Chumbangula is whether the original inhabitants remained and took up the practice of building stone walls, while also giving more emphasis to crosshatching in their ceramic production, or did a new group of people take over the site? At present the weight of the ceramic evidence from Chumbangula does not support the kind of changes that would indicate a new grouping, except for the few E Profile sherds. However, the walling and its layout on the hill (Fig. 4.1), do indicate changes in ideology and worldview, at least through new contacts and ideas, and possibly through a change in political hegemony.

The walling at Chumbangula was apparently placed to signify 'status', as is reflected in the positioning of the walling on both approach routes as well as the summit (Figs. 4.1, 4.1a, b, c). Note as well the inclusion of darker iron-rich stones amongst the granite in a differentiated 'horizontal

³⁶ Note that the main period at Great Zimbabwe with developed P/Q & Q walling is the later Period IVb (Class 4b), dated to AD1300-1450, while IVc is between AD 1450-1550, with P & R walling (Huffman & Vogel 1991; Robinson 1961a), both later than the Chumbangula dates, and not comparable in ceramics.

line' in certain sections of walling on the north ascent route (Ch. 4, Fig. 4.3d) as well as across and between the large boulders outside the entrance of the Summit Cave. This implies the control of a labour force as these darker blocks come from a distance south of the hill (Ch. 4.2i: 4, Fig. 4.5, Table 4.1, and D4:17). Both ascents (Fig. 4.1) are difficult and both are demarcated with sections of walling. Relatively low walls clearly demarcate the upper summit enclosures around the Summit Cave into living/activity areas and restrict entrance to this shelter (Fig. 4.1). Thus, the walling apparently presents evidence of a tiered society, where those of higher status were living on the hilltop, whilst others lived below (Ch 4.2ia:8; Table 4.1:D4.14,15a, 20;Ch. 8.6).

The secluded Summit Cave (Fig. 4.1) is in close proximity to the rich assemblage in Trench I (glass beads, ivory, bone, shell and copper beads, spindle whorls, Ch. 5 *passim*) and in combination with the assemblage from Test Pit 1, (glass beads, spindles, bone points, cattle bones from the hind portions of the skeleton, sorghum seeds, Ch. 5 *passim*, Figs. 5.1, 5.2, 5.4), may indicate a food storage area for the chief, including the storage of threshed grain for the making of ritual beer (Huffman 1996a:42/44; Jonsson *pers. comm.* 2004). Thus the evidence from the summit of Chumbangula, (layout and cultural remains), indicates familiarity with the new ideology of the ritual separation of a ruler, an elite and the commoners, stemming from Mapungubwe Hill and subsequently at Great Zimbabwe and its satellite sites. Clearly such new ideas would have to have been internalised in order for the changes, for instance the walling and probable seclusion of the leader, to take place. This development would therefore include the enclosure walling, the appearances of artefacts like the spindle whorls and the few sherds with Zimbabwe or Mapungubwe features described above.

Black and yellow glass beads representative of the Mapungubwe oblate series are found particularly in Tsp. 2, 5 and 6 (Ch. 5, Table 5.7) (Bvocho 2001:38, Tables. 1& 2, Plate 4a, 4b, 5a; UZ Finds Catalogue 1998; Wood 2000:83 :Plate 3G, 4C, 4E). The two green and blue wound beads, akin to those found with the intrusive Mapungubwe period burial at K2, are another pointer to contact with the Greefswald sites (Bvocho 2001:17, 38, Table. 2; Wood 2000:Pl. 4E, 4F). The beads of darker green, light blue and yellow found in the cluster in Trench I resemble those described in Caton-Thompson (Beck 1931) and Robinson (1961d) from Great Zimbabwe and come particularly from the upper levels of Test pit 1 and Trench I (Fig. 4.1, Ch. 5.3vi, Table 5.7,) (Bvocho 2001:38 + Tables 1-4). These beads are part of the Indo-Pacific series and were probably traded through Kilwa after AD 1200 (Wood 2000:87). The presence of beads from the Zimbabwe Periods III and IVa (Huffman &

Vogel 1991; Robinson 1961d:229, Table 1, Test 1, layers 13-5) would correspond with the date of AD 1300 from Test Pit 1, Boulder Cave, and Test Pit 3, AD 1250 (Table 5.6), indicating that during the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries the site was at a high point of involvement in and control of the external trade, as well as in possible local distribution (Bvocho 2001:38 & *pers. comm.* 2002). The numbers of these beads is significant as they emphasise the importance of this site during the transitional period at Great Zimbabwe, which places Chumbangula as a participant in this process. That the Chumbangula settlement had some local influence over trade at this time is clear and contrasts with the much smaller numbers of glass beads from sites in the Soutpansberg and the Gumanye sites.

Both the evidence of a couple of early sherds in the Eastern Terrace Cave and outside the Grave Recess (Map 4.1, D4 15) and the position and physical characteristics of the site, (as noted for the earlier EFC period in Ch. 8.2i) (Ch. 4.2, Table 4.1) point to the possibility that Chumbangula Hill was used in the EFC period when it may have been used for rainmaking and later ‘appropriated’ by the new inhabitants in the Mateke Facies period. This ties in with what is suggested for other well-known examples where later groups ‘appropriated’ sites, known from earlier times, because of the association with leadership and rainmaking (see 8.2i) (Huffman 1996b:190, 2000:27). After the changes that took place in the Zimbabwe Culture area, particularly the separation of the leader with an elite to the hilltop, rainmaking was carried out by the leader (often called chief³⁷), through whom the ancestors were entreated, often with gifts of beer and grain (Ch. 4.2 Table 4.1, No’s C3:35, D4:13) (Chadheba *pers. comm.* 1996; Huffman 1996b, 2000; Schoeman *pers. comm.* 2004). It is interesting that while today in societies such as the Tswana the ‘chief’ can be involved in rainmaking, it is often outsiders using rain-medicines who carried out rainmaking/ rain-control rituals (Huffman 1996b:43; Schapera 1971), in contrast to societies from the Zimbabwe culture region where the leader did so. At Chumbangula the Summit Cave could well constitute the ritual area at the ‘back’ of the ‘royal’ vicinity of the summit (Fig. 4.1, Fig. 4.2a, b, Ch. 4.2, Ch. 8.2ii) (Huffman 1996b:96, 104, 133, 164). The accumulation of broken potsherds, representing more than one period, from EFC to that of the Mateke and Zimbabwe phases as well as Recent pottery (Fig.4.2d) in the Eastern Terrace Cave, also has convincing, long term connotations of rainmaking (Gray 1994; Huffman 1996b, 2000, *pers. comm.* 1995; Schoeman *pers. comm.* 2004). Note here the pangolin scales (Summit Cave, Ch. 5.2i) and hornbill bone in Trench IV (Ch. 5.2ix), both of which feature in

³⁷ This is a somewhat inappropriate term, a later colonial ‘construct’ and not used in the same sense by the original inhabitants, or their more modern descendants, whose leaders are ‘traditional leaders’ or ‘lords’ (*inkosi* in Zulu for instance). However, it is accepted and used extensively in historical and anthropological usage.

Tswana rainmaking ritual (Schapera 1971:51-2, 88-9). In addition there is the ‘cupule’ grinding hollow in the rock at the northern edge of Enclosure 2 (Fig. 4.1E); a feature noted as having connotations with rain-making ritual (van der Ryst et al 2004:1-11; Schoeman 2006, *pers comms.* 2004, 2005). There are other features in the local landscape which could also indicate ritual or rainmaking activities, such as the boulder with ‘small cupules’ on upper and side surfaces at Zwenyambe waterhole, as well as the large natural ‘cisterns’ on Reservoir Hill (Map 4.3, Table. 4.1, D4:17, D4:29, Fig. 4.5c)(Schoeman 2006, *pers. comms.*; van der Ryst 2004:1-11, 2005).

Referring to the grave sites on Chumbangula (Fig. 4.3 a, b, Table 4.1 D4:15, D4:15b) it is known that on sites connected with the Zimbabwe Culture, burials often took place on hills and in caves, which correlates with the association between royalty and hills (Huffman 1981:133, 1996b:189, 2000; Hall 1987; Pwiti 1991). A Shona saying today ‘*gomo raseuka*’, ‘the mountain has fallen’ refers to the death of a ruler (Pwiti 1991:58). It is known that rulers were buried in special caves on hills, which were reserved for their lineage (Pwiti 1991). Often these hills were in fact not those on which the chief had lived (Huffman 1996b:172). The Shona use the term ‘*pasi*’, meaning, ‘down’, ‘underneath’ to indicate that the ‘ancestors live underground’ (Huffman 1996b:174). Sometimes these graves were partly walled in and an abundance of potsherds often occurs (Huffman 1996b: 173, Fig. 5.78). In regard to partly walled burials, note that there is the shelter on the lower east side of Chumbangula with a ‘walled’ area (possible burial) at the rear separating the shelter into two (Gray 1994, 1996) (Ch. 4.2i:7, Table 4.1, D4:15c); embedded in the dhaka in this wall is a stone tool (Ch. 4.2i:7), indicating LSA presence on the hill, either preceding or contemporary.

8.2iv Description of Recent³⁸ Period Pottery Expressions at Chumbangula

The few Profile D & F sherds identified in the excavated material represent the Recent pottery (Ch. 6.5ii, vi, 6.6iii, Table 6.3, Fig. 6.7). The main inherent strands in the antecedents of the Recent pottery of the Mateke Hills have been identified as related to the incoming groups of Venda (Pfumbi), southern Karanga and Hlengwe Tsonga migrating from the south, north and the east respectively (see Ch. 7) (Bannerman 1978, 1981; Beach 1980, 1994a, 1994b). There is little discernable difference in the spherical pot style, with short everted lip/neck junction, with single band decoration on the neck or shoulder (Profile F, Ch. 6.6iii, Fig. 6.1a, Fig.6.7:10,11; 6.7a; 6.23:5; 7.2), described as being related to the Pfumbi of Chinana, or described as related to the southern

³⁸ Recent pottery includes those pottery expressions, which are known in the south-east lowveld in the period between circa AD 1700-1950. The term Recent has been used here as a generic and collective term, but does not replace known terminology, such as Karanga, Letaba, Venda, it is an indication that the pottery represents a later period.

Karanga and often previously described as ‘Refuge’ or ‘19th century’ (Cooke 1958:Fig.4 (1-30), Fig. 5(1-3), 1960, 1970:Fig. 1(12-17); Garlake 1968b; Huffman 1971a, 1978a:Fig. 13; Lawton 1967; Meyer 1986; Robinson 1960a, 1961a:Fig.31, 1961b). Thus the Recent pottery of the Mateke Hills (Ch. 6.5vi, 6.6iii, Table 6.3) (Fig. 6.7:10,11; 6.7a; 7.2), which is related to the Pfumbi and Karanga (Ch. 7.2i, 7.2ii) (Cooke 1958, 1960, 1970; Garlake 1968b) combines the Pfumbi/ Venda antecedents as well as that of the southern Karanga speakers. The latter, through the pre-Karanga (an historical term (Beach 1980)), may stretch back in time to the Gumanye occupation at Chumbangula through the pre-Karanga grouping of Chikada (Ch. 7.2i, 7.2ii) (Beach 1980:208, Map 7.1, 1994a, 1994b; Loubser 1991; Pikirayi 1997:76; Swan n.d.:6). It may be that the crosshatch motif crosses the time-gap (see Ch. 8.4iii). The majority of the Pfumbi-related pottery, from the collections by Cooke from Chumbangula and by Garlake (1968) at Siyanje (2230:BA:1, 8) is matte, red-fired and has none or little burnish or graphite, though the pottery may be burnished above the decoration. Cooke (1960:106) noted that the modern pottery in the south-east Mateke region is liberally finished with graphite, but also pointed out that this clearly did not apply to the Chinana’s Kraal pottery he identified with the Pfumbi, which has little graphite (Ch. 6, Ch 7).

I am suggesting that in the south-east lowveld and the Mateke Hills region the Pfumbi/ Karanga related spherical pot expression dating from post AD 1750 (Ch. 7) be called Chinana as it was first described by Cooke (1958) after the Pfumbi guide Andries Chinana, from his old home village along the Malumba River dating to the 19th century (Ch. 4, Table 4.1 D4:24, Fig. 4.5c) (Cooke 1958:56-7, 74, Fig. 4 Nos. 1-30, Fig. 5 Nos. 1-3, 1960; Thorp 2005a). At Chumbangula a minority of glass beads, which conform to later known types, such as pink oblates, some of the white in Trench I (Bvocho 2001: Plate 4a, 6a, 6b) (where the white appearance is actual and not due to patination) and a few blue hexagonal and blue annular beads (Ch. 5) (Bvocho 2001:Plate 3a, indicate a nineteenth-century presence on the hill (Bvocho 2001, *pers. comm.* 2002; Cooke 1958; Gray 1994). It has been suggested that the site was used as a refuge by the Pfumbi, from Nguni raiding parties (1834-1890 AD) (Ch. 4, 7) (Beach 1974, 1986; Cooke 1958: 56), which would have therefore been long after the main dated occupation of circa AD1000 –1300 (Ch. 8.4iii). Other 19th century artefacts include a cartridge, a military button and gun barrel clamp (Fig. 4.5) and a brass/copper chain (Ch. 4) (Gray 1999; UZ Catalogue 1998). It is likely these date from the period during the 1896-1897 Ndebele-Shona War when NC Peter Forestall from Chivi took refuge in the immediate area (Beach 1980; Cooke 1958:56).

As discussed in Chapter 7, we know that in the Mateke Hills the record of Hlengwe Tsonga presence, originating from Mozambique, goes back to the end of the 18th century. The Tsonga related pottery has three diagnostic features. Firstly, the carinated bowl (Profile Class D), with the carination at the widest body area, often with a band of crosshatching (Ch. 6.5iv, 6.6iia, Table 6.3, Fig. 6.7:1-4,7). The provenance of these sherds at Chumbangula ranges from the surface to Level 4, Trench IV (Fig. 6.7) Appendix 2, Tables I & II). The distinctive, highly red colouring on three surface sherds from the Eastern Terrace Cave (Fig. 6.23:56.26:4), is of Tsonga and/or 'Valenge' origin, and indicates a date after the AD1700's for these sherds (Ch. 6.6iii) (Cooke 1958:58, Fig.15:12; Earthy 1968:55; Junod 1913 Vol. II), while Lawton (1967:No. 2) illustrates pots 'with thin, liquid red applied colouring' attributed to the Chopi/ Bitonga (who live around Inhambane/ Sol du Save but are Tonga rather than Tsonga (Lawton 1967:356-7; Smith 1973)). Only one soot blackened sherd from L.4, Tr. IV (Fig. 6.7:7) has the slightly concave upper portion of the Tsonga pottery shown in Junod (1913:99) and Lawton (1967:Nos. 49-51). Carinated shapes are still known amongst Tsonga groups, the Tshangana, the Tswa and the Ronga in southern Mozambique (Junod 1913, Vol. II: 98 -99; Lawton 1967:Nos. 45-51, 53, 66-68). In all the sites cited in Ch. 8.5, Table 8.3, the only examples of carinated vessels are from Eiland, Massingir, Pafuri and Lebombo where the recent pottery all has Tsonga connections (though note that there are simple carinated shapes from the EFC in Silver Leaves (Duarte 1976; Klapwijk 1974)). The modern Hlengwe Tsonga pots (Lawton 1967:Nos. 55-62) are not carinated, but they do have a complex polychrome design, which is reminiscent of the carinated cross-hatched high burnished sherd in L.4 Tr. IV (Fig. 6.7:3) as well as a surface sherd from Buffalo Bend (Table 4.1; 2131 CD:1 Fig. 7:3) which is red, carinated and has hatched opposite triangles much like modern Tsonga pottery (see Cooke 1970:Fig.1:12; Lawton 1967: Figs. 55-58).

The discontinuous lozenge motif or groups of parallel markings (motif group 'g', Figs. 6.25:1,2; 6.27:3; 6.28:11,12, Ch 6.5iv, Table 6.13) is seen mostly on necked pots, open-mouthed and slightly constricted bowls, without burnishing (Duarte 1976:Figs. E002-2 +15, E003-2; Liesegang 1974; Meyer 1986). Sherds of this type were found at Chumbangula on the surface in the Eastern Terrace Cave and at certain surface sites in the Malumba River basin (see above figures) (Ch. 4, Table 4.1, Sites C3:2, D4:5, D4:31; C3:38). As this pottery has been found only on the surface it indicates a post deposition occurrence and is not related to either the Mateke or the Chinana facies in either stratigraphy or type, or to the Zimbabwe Tradition pottery. The 'lozenge' motif has a broad distribution from Chaimite to the east on the Limpopo River in Mozambique (Liesegang 1974); at

Massingir site 4/76 on the Olifants River (Fig. 1.1), which was identified as ‘an ancient ‘Cossa’ village’ (Duarte 1976:18, Maps 2,3) (Fig. 2.1); and at Corrumana Mountain on the Sabie River (Duarte 1976 after Soares 1976). In addition, sites have been identified along the border region between South Africa and Mozambique along the Lebombo Hills in the Kruger Park where this pottery occurs in conjunction with a radiocarbon date of AD 1830± 46 (Pta-3467) (Meyer 1986:236, 286, photo nos. 857-891). Sherds of this type have been noted in the Chiredzi area of the south-east lowveld at Lojani Weir on Lone Star (2131: BB.3), at Chidumo (2131:BB.1) and Malilangwe (Thorp *pers. comm.* 2001; Thorp 2004, 2005a). It is generally attributed to the Hlengwe Tsonga group and may have some relation as well to the Cossa Tsonga (Bannerman 1978, 1981; Beach 1994b; Duarte 1976; Liesegang 1974:60; Meyer 1986; Thorp 2004a, 2005a) and apparently is only known archaeologically and historically, as it has not been recorded among present day pottery attributed to the Hlengwe or other Tsonga groups, or the Chopi where only one pot with shell incised markings bears some resemblance (Lawton 1967:Nos. 45-68, 47, 239-244).

A third feature of Hlengwe Tsonga pottery, is the equidistant and similar bands of neat incised cross-hatching on well-fired and burnished in-turned pots (i.e. on bodies of F Profile or Bi) (Ch. 6.5ii, vi, 6.6iii, Fig 6.13:2,4; 6.25:6; 6.26:2; 4.2d) (Cooke 1958:Fig.7:11; Duarte 1976; Lawton 1967; Meyer 1986; Robinson 1961b). Duarte (1976:13, 14 +18) suggests that this motif, also found at Massingir site 1/72, may have an early association with the Nhai people who lived in the Chikwarakwara area near the confluence of the Limpopo and Mwenezi Rivers before the arrival of the Hlengwe Tsonga (Map 2.1). The inference being perhaps that these decorative motifs lived on in contacts with, or inter-marriage of the Nhai with the Hlengwe Tsonga. I suggest that the known Tsonga-related pottery found in the Matekes and the south-east lowveld, that is the lozenge/ parallelogram motifs (group **g**), the carinated shape with the ‘red’ colouring and the similar but equidistant cross-hatched bands on burnished or matte rounded shapes (Figs. 6.7, 6.23), be called Hlengwe. Pottery collections from various sites in south-east Zimbabwe, associated with the Hlengwe Tsonga and with examples of the above three features, are held in the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare (see Ch. 4, Table 4.1, note ⁶) and all fall into territory occupied in recent centuries by Hlengwe Tsonga groups (Bannerman 1978, 1981; Thorp 2005a).

8.2iva Rainmaking in the Recent Period

The information on rainmaking becomes more tenable as the Recent Period comes into focus and is oriented towards the Pfumbi/Karanga rather than the Tsonga. Here, the traditions of the Venda

Luvhimbi *mbedzi* (pool) people became intertwined with the local Karanga and the Venda high God, Raluvhimbi, who is worshipped in a cave shrine and known as both a ruler and a rainmaker (Ch. 4.2i, 4.2iii, Table 4.1, Ch. 7.2ii) (Beach 1980:214, 251; Loubser 1991:269). The Venda high God had traits in common with the god of the Mwari cave cult. On Chumbangula, both the Eastern Terrace and the Summit Cave have certain characteristics indicating places of ritual including rainmaking (*c.f.* quantities of broken potsherds of different periods and expressions on the Eastern Terrace shelter floor (Fig. 4.2d) and the sequestered nature and artefacts of the Summit Cave (Figs. 4.1, 4.2a,b, Ch. 4.3, Ch. 8.2iii)). The mixed sample of pottery over time (isolated EFC sherds through to late LFC), would make sense if this hill and cave shelter were visited by people over long periods for consultation, or rituals such as divination or rainmaking, and the pots were brought with offerings, or for use in rituals. What is interesting is that the Pfumbi practice rain-making through the intercession of the chief, who mediates with his ancestors (Ch. 4.2iii; 7.2iii, 8.2iii) (Chadheba *pers. comm.* 1996), which is similar to the practices used by inhabitants of the Zimbabwe culture area and again suggests cultural continuity (Ch. 8.2iii) (Huffman 1996b, 2000:15, 27). There is a suggestion that people still come to Chumbangula from Matibi 2 and Miranda Communal areas for rituals and rainmaking (Ch. 4.3) (Bvocho 2001) and it is known that Pfumbi people come to another hill nearby and also to a site at Valley Ranch for rainmaking (Ch.4.2iii, Table 4.1, D4:13, D4:33) (*pers. comm.* Ketani Tishebu, Joburg Makanani 1999; Gray 1999). This double 'peaked' hill (Fig. 4.9) in proximity to Chumbangula, but across the Malumba River (Ch. 4, Fig. 4.V, Table 4.1, D4:13) is referred to here as Rainmaking Hill. This location is interesting because rainmaking is often practised in caves (Beach 1980; Loubser 1991) whereas on this hill a hut is constructed for the purpose, similar to that which has been known from the Mambo Hills (people of original Rozwi associations)(Ch. 8.2iv) (Gray 1996; Manyanga *pers. comm.* 1996). Other rainmaking activities are those reported at the grave of Chinana (Ch. 4, Table 4.1:2131 C3:36), which correlates with information from the Tokwe River at the 19th century site of Munhimbo where there is also a burial (TN 698 141) (Sinamai 1996).

While the evidence suggests that the graves are associated with the main occupation of the hill between circa AD 1000-1300, (Ch. 4.2, 8.2iii), it is possible that they are later in date and they may relate to either the Pfumbi or the Hlengwe group. Few potsherds were found in the shelters, though outside the Grave Recess, D4:15, was an example of an EFC sherd while inside were two pots placed towards the far south end, one of which is recorded as having a lozenge type decorative motif (Ch. 6.9i) (Gray 1994) associated in recent times with the Hlengwe Tsonga. Again there is a

tradition that groups still visit the graves on Chumbangula from the local areas (Bvocho 2001) which may explain the presence of this later pottery (Gray 1994). The 'place' may be one of ongoing 'spiritual' identity and appropriation from the earlier period.

8.2v Surface Sherds from Chumbangula

Cooke's surface collection from Chumbangula and surface material collected in the present survey falls within the parameters defined above (Ch. 8.2i,ii,iii,iv), and is summarised in Tables 6.13-15 (Figs. 6.23; 6.24; 6.25; 6.26:2-4; 6.28:1,9,11,12) (Gray 1996, 1999, 2002). There are one or two EFC comb-stamped (motif 'f') sherds (Ch. 6.10, Fig. 6.24:6; 6.28:1,9 – for possible similar sherd for Fig. 6.28:1, see Robinson (1985:17 + Fig. 8a); Cooke 1958: Fig. 4:32-33; Gray 1999, 2002). There are several more surface EFC sherds found in sites in the surveyed area (Fig. 28:2,3, 5,7,10, Table 4.1). Generally these reinforce the suggestion (Ch. 8.2i) that the EFC here belongs to a Phase II, rather than earlier phase (c.f. date Ua-11802 from Mwenezi (Table 5.9). Cooke's (1958) Chumbangula Hill pottery fits the Mateke Facies (Cooke 1958:Figs. 5:4-14, 6:1-2, 4-5, 7:1, 4-6, 8-10, 13-15)). Other examples of the Mateke have been noted at sites recorded in the present survey (Ch. 4, Table 4.1, Ch. 6.10, 6.11, Fig. 6.26:1; 6.27; 6.28). Note that there is one surface sherd with an Eiland type motif at Chumbangula (Ch. 6.9, Fig. 6.24:2). One possible Zimbabwe Tradition sherd is illustrated (Cooke 1958: Fig. 7:2). The surface material also indicates both Chinana (Cooke 1958:Figs. 4:10-23, 28-31 5:1-3, 6:3, 7:7) and Hlengwe (Cooke 1958:Fig. 7:3, 11-12).

8.3 The Sequence and dating of the Mwenezi Midden Trench Pottery

8.3i EFC at Mwenezi:

The earliest date for Mwenezi, AD 650(790) 960 (cal. 94.4% confidence, two-sigma range) (Ua-11802) from the Midden, Level 3 (Table 5.9) (Jonsson 1998:69; Manyanga 2000), indicates that there may be an EFC component here, but there is no clearly EFC pottery from the Midden Trench to confirm the date. Since there are no sherds clearly compatible with an EFC (Ch. 5.4ii) component, Ua-11802 must be rejected as an indicator of an EFC occupation at Mwenezi itself³⁹ (Ch. 8.2i) (van Waarden *pers. comm.* 2004⁴⁰). No defined Zhizo pottery (see suggestion of Zhizo in Jonsson 1998;

³⁹ If there is EFC material, as indicated by the early date (Table 5.9), it may be found at a lower situation in conjunction with the seasonal river, so perhaps there is as yet unfound EFC evidence below the hill. Generally EFC sites tended to be in level areas, between the bottom of a hill and a watercourse (Huffman 1978a:84; Meyer 1986), therefore below the hill may be more likely to have EFC evidence.

⁴⁰ C. van Waarden (*pers. comm.* 2004) suggested that the complex punctate sherds (Ch. 6.8, Fig. 6.17) had 'an almost Zhizo-like look', but this is speculative at this point, (see some Schroda pottery with punctates, in an exhibition in the Cultural History Museum, Pretoria, labelled as Zhizo, which may fit in better with Gumanye/K2/Mateke). See too sherds illustrated in Sinclair (1984:Fig. 6) from a furnace site at Gokomere Mission, some of which have a similarity to the

Manyanga 2001; Manyanga et al 2000) has so far been found in the south-east in the greater Save/Limpopo depression though it has been recorded to the north-west at Mt. Buhwa and of course to the east at the Shashe/Limpopo Confluence area (Ch. 2, Map 2.1) (Cooke 1958; Garlake 1968a; Huffman 1978a; Meyer 1986; Robinson 1958, 1960a). Environmental impact assessment studies in the Zimbabwean south-east lowveld have not produced evidence of Zhizo or indeed much evidence of the EFC (Matenga 1995; Sinamai 1996; Swan n.d.), though EFC exists at Malapati (Robinson 1961b), at Buffalo Bend (Gray 1998), and in the Chiredzi district (Thorp 2004, 2005a). According to Thorp (2005a) the Chiredzi EFC (at sites like Chidumo Clinic) is different to that at Malapati, belonging more closely to the Gokomere. Any EFC material likely to come from Mwenezi may be expected to be of similar type to Malapati, given the geographical proximity.

There is some botanical evidence at Mwenezi (Midden Trench & Summit Trenches) for the utilisation of wild grasses at Mwenezi before AD 900 (Jonsson 1998:105-106). The evidence for more arid conditions before AD 900 is inferred from the increased utilisation of the grasses from dry conditions on rocky kopjes and grasslands (Jonsson 1998:105, Table 6.3). It seems that woodlands and riverbanks (evidence of *Panicum maximum*) were well utilised, as this is where any available moisture would encourage growth (Jonsson 1998:106). The seeds gathered such as *Eleusine indica*, are of different sizes indicating different stages of maturity meaning they were gathered at different seasons (Jonsson 1998:106). Thus the association of these seeds with the early date indicates that there may indeed have been an earlier occupation but this is not supported by the Midden Tr. pottery.

8.3ii The earlier LFC - The main ceramic entity at Mwenezi:- The bulk of the diagnostic pottery from Mwenezi (Map 1.1, Fig. 5.10) displays a single component assemblage (note here that the bulk of the diagnostic pottery came from the Midden Trench, but with comparable, though sparse, material from the test pits and trenches on the summit). It is largely homogeneous, occurs in all three layers and belongs broadly to the Gumanye Tradition (Ch. 6.8, Table 6.9, Appendix 2, Table III). Save for some Zimbabwe Tradition sherds (E Profile Ch. 6.8iii, Fig. 6.6, 6.20) and one pot from Level 3 (Fig. 6.18:15; Ch. 8.3iii) and the very few Recent F Profile sherds (Ch. 8.3iv), from Levels 1 & 2, the pottery largely depicts the main ceramic entity. Here the concentration is on plain matte pottery and the punctate motif, on weak-shouldered pots and small bowls (Fig. 6.17- 6.19). The Mwenezi pottery has some differences from the Chumbangula Mateke pottery, which are of

Mwenezi material, in the punctate finish rather than typical comb-stamp. However none of the sherds are large enough to show profile or orientation. The rims too are not typically thickened as with most EFC wares.

execution and choice of motif rather than of profile (Ch. 6.5, 6.9, Tables 6.3, 6.9; Figs. 6.3-6.5, 6.17-6.19). The punctate motif occurs in much higher percentages than at Chumbangula (62% here to 30%)(Tables 6.3, 6.9). This punctate motif is generally in single rows, largely below the rim and some double rows below the rim or on the shoulder Figs. 6.17:5,8,10,13; 6.18:1,2,5,8), while other motifs are limited (Figs.6.16: 2,9; 6.18:36,7,13,15; 6.19:3, Table 6.9). Also differing here are eight examples with the more complex-linked design of punctates and occupying more than one position (Fig. 6.17:3,6,11,12,14; 6.19:1) (Ch. 6.9iii, Table 6.9) and none of these were burnished or had graphite applied. The ex-cavated Chumbangula pottery has no examples using punctates in a more complex layout; whilst at Mwenezi few of the punctate bands of single or double rows are enclosed in horizontal lines (Fig.6. 17:8) as are many of the punctate motifs at Chumbangula (Fig. 6.3). What is just as interesting is that at Mwenezi there is virtually no use of the crosshatch-incised motif (Fig. 6.18:11) and of the few that exist some were on sherds that are from the more Recent period (Fig. 6.19:9)(Table 6.9).

The more complex examples of the punctate motif (Figs. 6.17, 6.19) have not been noted or illustrated from other Gumanye-related sites (e.g. Chivi/Buhwa region, Gumanye, Zimbabwe Class 2, Chivowa Hill (Huffman 1971a, 1973b, 1978a; Robinson 1961a; Sinclair 1991)), which make these at Mwenezi particularly interesting. There is one possible example from Mapungubwe, which however has a more 'K2' appearance (see Gardner 1963:230, Plate LVIII, No. 129) and note the above mentioned material (see note ¹⁰ above, Sinclair (1984)). Illustrated examples of punctate motifs from the Mutamba and Kgopolwe expressions indicate single bands, or two in rim and lower/body positions, but do not have joined diagonal lines or loops as the ones from Mwenezi do (Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Loubser 1991). The only illustrated Gumanye sherd from the northerly sites to display any sort of similarity is from Buhwa (2030 DA:10) and this has a discontinuous motif of several rows of punctates (Huffman 1978a:Fig. 5). There are two examples of this particular punctate motif in unburnished vessels in the Chumbangula surface pottery (Cooke 1958: Fig. 6:4, 7:6), which places this motif at the Chumbangula site as well (and Fig. 6.28:8). I think that the punctate assemblage from Mwenezi may indicate an earlier phase of the Mateke Facies, the Mwenezi Phase, as distinct from the crosshatch dominated Chumbangula Phase. This suggestion that there may be an earlier punctate component is strengthened with the occurrence of a majority of punctate sherds at Chumbangula in L.6 of Tr. IV, as these are stratigraphically differentiated and below the more crosshatch dominated assemblage from Level 4 and above (and sterile Level 5) (Ch. 5.2ix, Ch. 6.6xii, Fig. 6.?, Ch. 8.2ii). The stratigraphically distinct excavation

results from Hlamba Mlonga with a punctate dominated 11th century Gumanye component separated from somewhat later dated wares with cross-hatching, also bears this out (Ch. 8.2iia, Fig. 8.1) (Thorp 2004, *pers. comm.* 2005, 2005b). These differences between the punctate and plain dominated assemblage (Figs. 6.17-19) at Mwenezi and the crosshatch dominated assemblage at Chumbangula (Figs. 6.4,6.5) indicate enough differences in the expression to identify some dissimilarity between the two sites, perhaps related to time. The Mwenezi Phase of the Mateke Facies would seem to be closely related in shape and motif to the plain and punctate pottery from the Mateke Facies at Chumbangula (and to Gumanye Tradition sites), but does not display the cross-hatched pottery seen in the Chumbangula Phase or Mutamba and Kgopolwe Facies there and to the south (Fig. 6.2, 6.4, 6.5, 6.12, Ch. 8.5, Table 8.2) (Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Loubser 1991).

Since the date Ua-11802 from the Midden Trench, AD 700(790) 900 (68.8% confidence, Ch. 5.3i, Table 5.9) (AD 650-960 at 94.4% confidence) (Jonsson 1998:69) is early for a Gumanye site, except at the very latest part of its range, there is presently no date which can be clearly associated with the Gumanye Tradition at Mwenezi. Dates in the region, which correlate with known Gumanye, Mateke, Mutamba or Kgopolwe horizons, range from around AD 900-1300 (see Ch. 8.2ii, Table 8.1⁴¹). Without further supporting evidence Ua-11802 appears to be anomalous as an indicator for the main ceramic expression at Mwenezi. However it is not impossible that it could be an indicator of the early part of the Mwenezi Phase, indicated by the punctate motifs, and even an indication of some form of continuity between the end of the Earlier Farming Community period and the beginnings of the Later FC, when apparently small villages were established on hilltops (Huffman 1978a). There is a possibly early date for Mutamba from the Soutpansberg at Vhuneyla, where the earliest dated Mutamba component is AD 820 ± 50 (Wits-1590) (Loubser 1991:230, Fig. 152). The charcoal for this date was taken from Layer 5, sealed under a hardened floor in Trench 2, associated with 'Eiland and Eiland-like pottery, which has been called Mutamba' (Loubser 1991:230, Figs. 34, 37, 38). Note that Eiland in its definition can be regarded as a terminal phase of the EFC period (Evers 1988; Meyer 1980), and not the LFC, which would make more sense of the date, but may also provide continuity between the EFC and the LFC.

No clay figurines were found in the excavated material from the Midden Trench and again this is against the expectations for an occupation from the Gumanye period (Huffman 1974; Matenga 1993;

⁴¹ The range of dates for the Mutamba at Thulamela are, as observed in Note ²: younger than elsewhere (Vogel 2000 after Huffman *pers. comm.*).

Meyer 1980; Robinson 1961a, 1961c; Sinclair 1991; Voigt 1983). In this, the Mwenezi site matches the findings of Chumbangula and the southerly sites of Mutamba and Kgopolwe where no clay figurines relating to Mateke, Mutamba or Kgopolwe horizons have been found (Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Loubser 1991). As we have seen (Ch. 8.2iii) spindle whorls have not previously been associated with sites relating to the Gumanye Tradition but, while they have been found at Chumbangula, there are none at Mwenezi, either in the Midden Trench or the Trenches and test pits on the summit. The fact that, so far at least, no spindle whorls have been found at Mwenezi may well be extra evidence for the Mwenezi Phase being earlier than 1200AD before spindle whorls and cotton production were present in the region (Ch. 8.2iii).

Another clear anomaly between Mwenezi and Chumbangula is the complete lack of glass beads at Mwenezi (Bvocho *pers. comm.* 2003), which is in contrast to the substantial numbers of glass beads from Chumbangula (Ch. 8.2i, ii, iii). Given the sites' proximity to Chumbangula one would have expected to find glass beads with the Gumanye pottery, even if in lower quantities. This discrepancy could indicate that Mwenezi operated on the periphery of influence from the site of Chumbangula, possibly as an outpost on the route north/south (Map 2.1, 7.1, Fig. 5.16). The lack of glass beads could be another pointer to an earlier date for Mwenezi, when either there was no contact with the east coast trade or else Chumbangula already controlled this trade. Since glass beads relating to the Zimbabwe Tradition period have been noted at Chumbangula (Ch. 8.2iii) (Bvocho 2001), again it would seem a clear indication that Mwenezi operated on the edges of the sphere of influence from Chumbangula, as there is a similar date of AD 1270 from both sites.

In contrast, numbers of beads were made from organic material, ostrich eggshell, Achatina shell and freshwater mussel, as well as ivory, indicating a local trade or production centre (Ch. 5.5) (Bvocho 2001:Figs 1b, 2a, *pers. comm.* 2004). There were fragments of bone points (similar to those at Chumbangula) and the one polished, carved ivory piece displaying the use of fine cross-hatching (Ch. 5.4, Fig. 5.14) (Bvocho 2001:23, Fig. 3). This is unusual given the dearth of cross-hatching on the pottery, but does fit in with the incidence of crosshatching at Chumbangula and the more southern Mutamba region. It is not clear what this object was used for but it seems clearly to be a prestige item and possibly also had ritual or cultural functions, again in use by the *n'angas*, as demonstrating totem (*mutupo*) status (*nzou/elephant*) or symbolising power (Bvocho 2001:23).

Improved climate conditions after AD 900 have been inferred from the changing percentages of two species of gathered wild cereal foods at Mwenezi; *Panicum maximum* (from riverbanks), *Sporobolus pyramidalis* (riverbanks, flooded watercourses, heavy clay), as well as *Eleusine indica* (rocky kopjes and savannah) whose usage too indicated increased moisture (Jonsson 1998:108, Table 6.4). However the only seeds of a domesticated plant found were those of the cowpea, *Voandzea subterranea* (Jonsson 1998, *pers. comm.*. 2004; Manyanga et al 2000) (Ch. 8.5iii).

8.3iii Zimbabwe Tradition Dating and Ceramics

The beginnings of evidence for the influence of the Zimbabwe Tradition at Mwenezi may be indicated by the radiocarbon date from house remains in Mwenezi Trench 1, Ext. 1B, L.2 on the hilltop, with a 1-sigma range of AD 1220(1270)1290 (Ua-11800) (Table 4.5) (Jonsson 1998:68; Manyanga 2000). A sherd from house remains on the summit, displays the same profile and motif as the Chumbangula Phase pottery, with long-neck and crosshatch bands (Fig. 6.18:11) and is thus more likely to relate to the period indicated by the 1270AD date (Table 5.9). This date (in time relating to Period IVa at Great Zimbabwe) is most likely associated with the beginnings of the wall building on the summit (Figs. 5.12, 5.15). The walling at Mwenezi must post-date the occupation indicated by the main ceramic entity from the Midden Trench, which is the Mwenezi Phase of the Mateke Facies of the Gumanye Tradition, not Zimbabwe Tradition. The few E Profile Zimbabwe Tradition sherds (as discussed in Ch. 6.8iii and Ch. 8.2iii) are probably in association with this occupation on the summit where there are remains of solid red-dhaka walling (Fig. 5.11) (Manyanga 2000). They came from the upper two layers where they are amongst Mateke sherds indicating that mixing (it is a midden) or inter-action took place (Appendix 2, Table III). As discussed in Ch. 8.2iii, there may be an element of Robinson's Class 4 about these sherds, but again they do not exhibit the more heavily rolled rims of this class. One vessel, the black burnished Aii4b example (Table 6.9) from Layer 3, with deeply incised pendant triangle motif at the neck/shoulder junction has been described as Mapungubwe/Zimbabwe related (Fig. 6.18:15) (Manyanga 2000:41, Fig. 3.6a) and would certainly match vessels illustrated as Mapungubwe from the Soutpansberg (Loubser 1991:Fig. 48, 49, 50), though it may reflect a Mutamba influence. However, one would have expected this sherd to have come from above the Mwenezi Phase, rather than in amongst the main assemblage. This may be another indication that mixing had taken place. Equally this sherd may be an import, an indicator of contact with the west and/or south.

Faunal studies from the Mwenezi Midden Trench (Ch. 5.5) suggest that the reliance was on wild animals, but that domestic stock did play a role in the diet and economic strategies (Manyanga 2000; Manyanga et al 2000). As Mwenezi has previously been interpreted as a Zimbabwe Tradition site (Jonsson 1998; Manyanga 2000, Manyanga et al 2000), the expectation would have been that the role of domestic stock would be emphasised, (as for instance, at the prestige site of the Hill Ruin at Great Zimbabwe where a pattern of slaughtering mostly juvenile animals has been discerned (Hall 1987:95; Manyanga 2000:79; Thorp 1984, 1995:69)), but it is clear from the faunal analysis of the Midden Trench (Manyanga 2000) that the role of domestic stock was minimised and the reliance was not on juveniles. This brings up several issues of concern. Firstly, the area around this site may have been environmentally less suitable for domestic stock. Secondly, it may not have figured within the Zimbabwe Tradition period as a site of importance. But more importantly, it is not clear whether the faunal assemblage is in fact associated with the Zimbabwe Tradition walls at all (Fig. 5.15). Since most of the ceramics reflect a Gumanye Tradition occupation, the faunal material is more likely to be associated with this at Mwenezi. This would mean that the connotations of the use of non-domestic to domestic examples relate to the Gumanye Tradition and not the Zimbabwe Tradition and are just as interesting as such. At Chumbangula the Mateke pottery is associated with a higher count of domestic stock (Manyanga 2000) indicating different economic strategies in operation and possibly better climatic conditions (and more in conjunction with strategies at other Gumanye sites e.g. at Chivowa Hill (Sinclair 1991)). Thus, the faunal and botanical evidence, combined with the pottery and artefact signature at Mwenezi (Ch. 8.3ii) indicates that there was less access to domestic stock, that the conditions were harsher and that the nature of the occupation was at a different level of hierarchy to that at Chumbangula. Whereas the presence of domestic stock increased with time and better conditions between c. AD 1000-1300 at Chumbangula this did not happen at Mwenezi (Manyanga 2000).

8.3iv Recent Period at Mwenezi

The third date from Mwenezi is post AD 1655 (Ua-11801) (Table 5.9) and may indicate a seventeenth century Khami-period influence, or the later 18th/early 19th C. Chinana phase (Ch. 6, 7.2iv) though the date falls into the range where dating becomes uncertain (Boeyens 2003; Jonsson 1998; Vogel & Fuls 1999:99). There are practically no examples of Recent pottery of the Chinana type in the Midden Trench assemblage and none of the Hlengwe. While there is also no Khami pottery in the Midden Trench sample, the walling at the entrance on the north side has a portion of chevron decoration (Fig. 4.11a), which may have Khami connotations, being at the entrance

(Huffman 1996b), though it is likely that the Class E Zimbabwe Tradition pottery (Ch. 8.3iii) is associated with the decorated walling. The three sherds displaying a carination (D Profile) (Figs. 6.18:14; 6.19:10,11) were from small bowls, plain, crumbled, heavily patinated, poorly fired and did not match the Hlengwe carinated sherds in the Chumbangula pottery (Ch. 6.6, 6.8, Figs. 6.7:1-4,7; 6.26:4). Thus the Recent Period is poorly represented at Mwenezi.

8.4 The Sequence and Settlement Patterns for the Mateke Hills and surrounding Region

8.4i Early Farming Community in the Mateke Hills

This framework should be read in conjunction with Ch. 8.2i and 8.3i, Table 8.3, Table 4.1 (Site nos. C3:1, D4:4, D4:14, D4:20, D4:22, D4:29, Fig. 4.B). Present evidence is that only isolated EFC sherds occur in this area. Most sherds are found on sites either on level ground, below the main Mateke Ridge, or along the course of the Malumba River, all near water (Fig. 4.B). These sherds are characterised by comb-stamping, as well as broad incised oblique or horizontal lines, a thickening of the rim and lip (Fig. 6.28:2,5,7,10), while one with crosshatch on the lip is from Zwenyemba Waterhole (Site D4:29)(Fig. 4.4c , Fig. 6.28:9) (Cooke 1958 Fig 4:31, 32). These sherds may well have correlations with EFC sherds from Malapati (Figs. 1.1, 2.1; Table 4.1, 2231 AB:41) on the Mwenezi River where the pottery has some affinity to the Happy Rest/ Western Stream pottery of the Soutpansberg and northern KNP (Ch. 2) (de Vaal 1943; Evers 1988; Huffman 2000; Meyer 1986; Loubser 1991; Prinsloo 1974; Plug 1989; Robinson 1961b; Voigt & Plug 1984; Thorp 2005a). The sites with groups of long, narrow grinding grooves, situated close to water, may have some connection to this earlier phase (Fig. 4.7, 7a , Table 4.1, 2130 D4:6, D4:11, D4:18). As far as can be ascertained from present evidence, the Mateke Hills area may not feature in the earlier phase of the EFC as with the phase I sites at Mabveni, Cigwa, Zimbabwe Period I, or Gokomere (Huffman 1971a, 1976, 1978a; Robinson 1961a, 1961c, 1963, 1967a). As has been noted (Ch. 8.2ii, 8.3i, ii), it seems that farmers came in to the lowveld as the climate began to improve (Huffman 1996a; Jonsson 1998), which ties in with dates from Phase II sites at Malapati and in the northern KNP (Maggs & Whitelaw 1991; Meyer 1986; Plug 1989, 2000).

8.4ii Later Farming Community settlement patterns in the Mateke Hills

8.4iia Period from AD 900-1300

The period between AD 900-1300, known as the Medieval Warm Epoch (Tyson & Lindesay 1992), was ushered in by changing environmental conditions thought to have been warmer and wetter in the whole Limpopo-Save Depression (Ch. 3.3a) (Huffman 1996a; Jonsson 1998). A warmer, wetter

pulse seems to have been ushered in around AD1050, improving conditions for these communities (Ch. 3.3a, Table 3.1). LFC sites in the Mateke Hills and specifically in the Malumba River Basin are more common and visible on the landscape than those from the EFC (Ch. 4, Fig. 4.B, Table 4.1, Table 8.3). Sites like Chumbangula are on small, free-standing hills and there are other similar sites in proximity to Chumbangula, which show similar Mateke pottery, some walling, long and rounded lower grind-stones, iron smelting (slag and tuyere) and spindle whorls (Ch. 4, Table 4.1, 2130 D4:14-21). In sum, the Mateke sites are typified by small, freestanding hilltops, near a watercourse, where hunting possibilities as well as herding access to pasture and mopane veld is available (Ch. 3, Ch. 4). Good vantage and strategic positions, for instance at the entrance to the Malumba River valley, close to major routes, such as north-south from Great Zimbabwe and Soutpansberg (e.g. Mwenezi), as well as within close proximity to the east-west axis between the east coast at Chibuene/Vilanculos and the Limpopo/Shashe confluence (Figs. 1.1, 2.1) offered possibilities for trade, contact and control of movement of people or goods. It is not clear whether these vantage points were chosen for reasons of strategic value, defence, or rather the gradual burgeoning of the separation of an elite class from commoners, which pattern began to manifest at K2 towards the end of the K2 period (Huffman 2000). To the west, the end of the period was characterised by the abandonment of the settlement at Mapungubwe, though Mapungubwe communities already existed or moved into the eastern areas of the Soutpansberg (Huffman 1996a, 2000; Loubser 1991:Fig. 152) where there may have been better environmental conditions and where the dates are somewhat younger (Loubser 1991).

8.4iib LFC - Zimbabwe Tradition phase in the Mateke Hills

If there is indeed a Zimbabwe Tradition phase, that is, separate from the Mateke Facies of the Gumanye Tradition, the earlier part of such a Zimbabwe Tradition phase would at least overlap with, or be in association with the Mateke, as has been established at Chumbangula and Mwenezi by the pottery, walling and the dating (Ch. 8.2iii, 8.3iii) (Tables 5.6, 5.8). Certain features, including the walling, enclosures and related artefacts (i.e. the few E Class sherds (Fig. 6.6, Tables 6.3, 6.9), spindle whorls, some of the glass beads) at Chumbangula (Ch. 8.2iii), at the walled, hilltop site of Mwenezi (Ch. 8.3iii) and possibly at one or two sites in the Malumba River Basin (Table 4.1 e.g. 2130 D4:10) are apparently related to the earlier phases of the Zimbabwe Tradition (i.e. AD 1250-1300). The site location, on small free-standing hills, corresponds to that for the Mateke Facies in the period AD 1000-1300.

Thus although in the Mateke Hills there is support for Zimbabwe Tradition influence (c.f. Ch. 8.2iii, 8.3iii), it is not clear from present evidence whether this is a separate occupation from the Mateke Facies of the Gumanye Tradition, or whether there is a close relationship in a continuation of the Mateke, along with the presence and/or influence of the new ideas stemming from the Zimbabwe Culture sites (Ch. 8.2iii). Following the interpretation and discussion in Ch. 8.2iii and 8.3iii, I favour the view that there is not conclusive evidence for a separate or new occupation, but rather a continuation of population, influenced by new ideas. These began to manifest at K2 towards the end of its occupation with the removal of the cattle kraal from the centre, and became fully expressed in the separation of elite and commoners at Mapungubwe Hill and its satellites. This influence spread to the full expression of this pattern at Great Zimbabwe itself, starting with Period IVa and moving into Period IVb and IVc (Huffman & Vogel 1991; Huffman 1996b, 2000). The question, at Great Zimbabwe too, is whether Period III can be ascertained to be a fully Zimbabwe Tradition phase, or whether it is a transitional phase with affinities to Gumanye. Period III, and probably Period IVa, appear to be parallel to what is reflected at Chumbangula and Mwenezi in the Mateke Hills (Ch. 8.2iii:15), as well as at Hlamba Mlonga (Thorpe 2004, 2005a).

Regionally, mention is made of possible Zimbabwe Tradition sites, called Mateke 1 and 2 and Cawood, but there is no suggestion as to which phase these may belong (Manyanga 2000:Map 2; Manyanga et al 2000). The environmental impact studies in the Chiredzi/Triangle area of the south-east lowveld also have some evidence of Zimbabwe Phase sites (Ch. 2.2iii) (Sinamai 1996; Swan n.d.) and there are reports of 'Zimbabwe Tradition' and Khami sites in the Beit Bridge and Chikombedzi areas (Ch. 2.2iii:10, Map 2.1) (Griesbach 1961; Manyanga 2000; von Sicard 1961; Museum of Human Sciences Records n.d.). However, again, these are not clear as to phase. To the south, spindle whorls, stone walls and some Zimbabwe Tradition pottery are found on sites in the Soutpansberg in Mapungubwe and Khami horizons (Loubser 1991). There is also some evidence of a Zimbabwe (including stone-walling) phase in the north eastern Kruger National Park at Pa 21 - Makahane (Lembethu/ Khami)(Meyer 1986:Nos. 756, 824,851-2) as well as the Zimbabwe Tradition period at Thulamela (Miller 1996, Steyn et al 1998, Vogel 2000). It is of interest that the gap in time between the Mutamba and Khami horizons in the Soutpansberg is partly filled by the later instance of Mapungubwe and in some places by Moloko (Loubser 1991:Figs. 152-3), but not a classic Zimbabwe IV phase. Interestingly, Khami phase pottery seems to be missing from the Mateke Hills (see Ch. 8.4iii below), though it has been found in the Chivi/ Buhwa districts, in the

Triangle/Chiredzi lowveld (Sinamai 1996; Swan n.d.; Thorp 2005a: 13-14) and the Soutpansberg and north-east Limpopo Province (Loubser 1991; Meyer 1986; Miller 1996).

8.4iii Gap in LFC occupation in the Mateke Hills from circa AD 1300 onwards?

Occupation in the Matekes certainly seems to have experienced a difficult period after AD1300, as sites in the Malumba River basin which could be ascribed to this time are little evident (Ch. 4, Table 4.1, Ch. 8.5ii, Table 8.3). But, the apparent gap in regional occupation is not fully corroborated by historical and oral evidence (Beach 1980, 1994a, 1994b; Swan n.d.:6) (Ch. 7.2i, 7.2ii, 8.2iv), as there are some historical and archaeological threads which suggest some continuity⁴². One tentative archaeological suggestion exists of a thick, reddish, unburnished ware, with quite distinctive rolled and everted rims, which is probably later than the main assemblage but earlier than the Recent at a site alongside the Malumba River (Table 4.1, 2130 D4:10, Fig. 6.27: 1,2,4) (Huffman *pers. comm.* 2000). (Note that reported Khami ware in the south-east and south-central region is reported to have a distinct red colour (Huffman 1979a) (Table 2.1)). As noted, the climate in the region deteriorated after c. AD 1300 (Ch. 3.3i, Ch. 8.2. 8.3) and the occupational evidence from Chumbangula, Mwenezi and the Malumba River Basin (Ch. 4, Table 4.1, Ch. 8.2iii, 8.3iii, Table 8.3) indicates at the very least a clear reduction in occupation from some time during the fourteenth century. Dating suggests that there was still possibly some occupation in the Mateke Hills after AD 1300 (Tables 5.6, 5.9, Ch. 8.3ii, 8.3iii, 8.4ii, 8.4iii). A more favourable micro-climate in the Mateke Hills could well have made the area favourable to habitation for a time when the climate became more marginal in the south-eastern lowveld generally after the end of the thirteenth century (Ch. 3.3a) (Jonsson 1998:107-114, Table 6.7; Manyanga 2000:92; Manyanga et al 2000:75). It is suggested that regionally there may have been harsher conditions in the Little Ice Age than in the previous cooler period from AD 600-900 (Jonsson 1998:108), which would have made areas of relatively higher rainfall most important for farming settlements.

⁴² The suggestion of a continuation with older groupings (loosely termed, the 'pre-Karanga') in the region reaching back to the Mapungubwe and Zimbabwe Tradition was mentioned in Ch. 8.2iv (Beach 1980:208, 1994b; Loubser 1991; Pikirayi 1993; Swan n.d.:6); thus, though there appears to be something of an archaeological gap in occupation in the Matekes between the end of the occupations at Chumbangula and Mwenezi (Jonsson 1998) and the arrival of the Recent Period incomers; there may be, backed up by archaeological, oral and historical evidence, a vestige of continuation between the Mateke Facies and the 're-settlement of the south by the southern Karanga from the southern plateau along the ----- Mwenezi River' (see Ch. 7.2i, 7.2ii) (Beach 1980:208, 1994b).

Interestingly in the earlier half of this cooler period, up to AD1450, the state at Great Zimbabwe was experiencing major growth and development and it is probable that its situation along the southern edge of the plateau placed it in a good position to utilise the lower rainfall in this period (Ch. 3) (Huffman 1996a). Moreover, the rise of Great Zimbabwe also followed the eclipse of the Mapungubwe state in the Limpopo Valley, which seems to have coincided with the ending of the importance of the Matekes and Chumbangula as a key in the political and trade node in the south-east lowveld. Note however the apparent continued Mutamba occupation at Thulamela (Ch. 8.2iib, Table 8.1) contemporary with the later Mapungubwe horizons in the Soutpansberg, which again is an illustration of the key importance of this area at a time of regional transition, politically, economically and climatically. It is probably safe to posit that once these changes had taken place, with Great Zimbabwe centred on the southern plateau, followed by the Torwa state at Khami to the west, the south-east lowveld faded from importance, at least until conditions improved coinciding with populations looking for new lands from about the eighteenth century (Ch. 7).

8.4iv Settlement patterns in the Recent Period of the LFC in the Mateke Hills

The ‘apparent’ gap in occupation in the Mateke Hills sequence is ended by the migration and re-migration into the area by the Pfumbi, Hlengwe and southern Karanga (see Ch. 7) marked by the appearance of Chinana pottery (Fig. 6.7:10,11, 6.7a; 7.2) by the later 1700’s in the south-eastern lowveld as well as that of the Hlengwe (Fig 6.13:2,4; 6.23:4; 6.25:1,2; 6.26:2,4; 6.27:3; 7.3), Table 4.1, Ch. 8.2iv, Table 8.3). The Chinana pottery (Ch. 6, Ch 7, Ch. 8.2iv) is stylistically melded with pottery known also as ‘Southern Karanga’ in the south-east (Fig. 6.7:11; 6.7a; 7.2, Ch. 7, Ch. 8.2iv) (Cooke 1958:Fig. 4:17-23, 5:1-4, 1970; Sinamai 1996; Swan n.d.;Thorp 2005a). Sites from the 19th and early 20th Centuries attributed to the Pfumbi, such as Chinana’s Village and Matibi’s Village, are near water, often on slightly raised ground, in the lee of hills but not on hills (Ch. 4. 4iii, Fig.4.7c, Table 4.1), which is counter to the conventional view that sites were situated on hilltops for security during times of raiding and unrest in the 1800’s (Ch. 4, Table 4.1, Ch. 7.5, 8.2iv,) (Mazarire 2005; von Sicard 1961). Marungudzi and Mateke Beacon do however have evidence of hilltop and higher ground occupation as well as defensive walling at Marungudzi (Table 4.1, BA 35; D4 39). It is known that after AD 1900 colonial authorities often forced villages to be moved to open ground (Mazarire 2005:22).

Sites attributed to the Hlengwe Tsonga are also close to watercourses, for instance near a perennial spring (2131 C:37), the Bubi homestead along the Bubi River (2130 D4:31), while there are some

open sites on flat ground below the Mateke Hills ridges in the Malumba River Valley, along seasonal streams running into the Malumba River (Ch. 4, Fig. 4.V, Table 4.1, 2131 C3:2, 2130 D4:5). These sites have sherds of Hlengwe type (Ch. 8.2iv) (Fig. 6.27:3) (Cooke 1958:59, Fig. 7:11,12) (Gray 2002). As has been outlined (Ch. 7.3ii, iii), it appears that the area of contact for the Pfumbi and the Hlengwe Tsonga was between the Bubi River in the west and the Mwenezi River to the east, in the Mateke Hills, more or less exactly along the Malumba River watercourse (Figs. 4.B, 7.1), illustrating the appeal of this territory. It is notable that the sites representing the Hlengwe expression are not focussed on hilltops, though there are some such examples (e.g. near the Mateke Beacon (D4:40)), suggesting that the threat of marauding tribes was not constant (Ch. 7.5) (c.f. Beach 1980,1994a,1994b).

Across the Limpopo River in the northern KNP are sites with pottery equated with both the Chinana pottery of the Mateke Hills and the Hlengwe Tsonga of the north-east Limpopo Province (see Ch. 7). These sites are generally alongside rivers or on flat ground as with those in the Matekes (Meyer 1986:Table 1). Pottery with Hlengwe equidistant similar crosshatch bands and the lozenge motif, as seen in the Mateke Hills and up to Chiredzi, also occurs in several sites along the Luvuvhu and Shingwedzi Rivers and along the Lebombo Hills (Table 4.1, Fig. 2.1, Ch. 7, Ch. 8.2iv) (Meyer 1986: 226-229, 233-238, 298-300, photo's 817-819,825-826, Fig:110), suggesting again a region of fluidity of movement and population.

8.5 Comparison of Mateke Facies ceramics with other regional ceramic entities

A major consideration of this research project is to place the main occupations at Chumbangula and Mwenezi within a broader temporal and spatial framework. The description and analysis of the sites and their contents has contributed towards filling the large and poorly understood "gap" represented by the south-eastern lowveld of Zimbabwe during farming community times (see Ch. 1, Ch. 2). In order to realise the potential of this new information we need to examine it in relation to the far more intensely researched and understood regions surrounding it, particularly to the north, west and south (Ch. 2, Ch. 7). In this section I therefore compare the Chumbangula and Mwenezi assemblages with other ceramic entities within the time span of 900-1300AD and within a geographical radius of some 200km (Fig. 2.1, Table 2.1). Since the Mateke Facies pottery from Chumbangula and Mwenezi, represented by Profile Classes A, Ai, B, Bi, and C (Ch. 6.5, 6.7)) constitutes the main occupations from these sites, the percentages have been calculated using these classes. Twenty-three classes were identified from Chumbangula and nineteen from Mwenezi (out of a possible total of twenty-five), in

the Profile Classes, A, Ai, B, Bi and C (Ch. 6 & Appendix 2). Table 8.2 lays out a matrix of percentages in similarity scores.

The assemblages in the published sources consulted are not all equal, in that they are of different size samples as well as having been illustrated with different approaches to classes and examples, so they cannot be of equal values. They are not weighted, but a simple presence/absence score is used. For the purposes of the similarity scores the sites representing the Gumanye Facies have been grouped together, that is all the Gumanye-related sites in the southern plateau (e.g. Zimbabwe 2, Chamabve/va, Mt. Buhwa sites, Chivowa Hill). It is difficult to produce an evenly balanced comparison between all sites as, for instance, the shapes of Gumanye, Mwenezi and Chumbangula are similar, but the Chumbangula pottery has a higher number of classes owing to a greater degree of decoration and motif positions, while Gumanye has a higher percentage of plain vessels, thus less classes. Similarly Eiland shares similar shapes, but the decoration is quite different, though the positions may be similar. The Letaba classes are included to act as a control against the classes representing the earlier period. Classes D, E & F (representing 9 classes) are not included as they represent different periods at Chumbangula and Mwenezi (Ch. 8.2iii, 8.2iv, 6.6, 6.8).

	Gumanye	K2	Mapungubwe	Mutamba	Letaba	Eiland	Kgopolwe	Chumbangula	Mwenezi
Gumanye	-								
K2	60	-							
Mapungubwe	46	67	-						
Mutamba	69	80	67	-					
Letaba/Dzata	15	13	16	12	-				
Eiland	61	53	50	44	17	-			
Kgopolwe	69	67	58	81	11	62	-		
Chumbangula	57	65	52	70	9	26	78	-	
Mwenezi	68	79	58	68	10	32	74	83	-

Table 8.2 Percentage similarity scores of compared sites. The following works have been consulted in the definition of classes for comparison:- Evers 1975, 1981, 1988; Evers & van der Merwe 1987; Gardner 1963; Huffman 1971c, 1974, 1978a, 1984a; Loubser 1991; Robinson 1961a, 1966; van Wyk 1983.

Looking at Table 8.2, quite close similarity indexes are found between the Kgopolwe material and that of Chumbangula, with a 78% similarity index and a 74% similarity for Mwenezi. Using the classes in Evers (1988:50-53), gives a similar picture, around 79%. The Mutamba phase pottery

(Loubser 1991) has a 70% similarity to Chumbangula and 68% to that of Mwenezi. The assemblages of Chumbangula and Mwenezi have an 83% similarity, which is based on similar profile classes though there are some clear motif design differences (Ch. 6). Scores between Chumbangula and Gumanye sites are lower than one would expect, at 57% but this is a function of the lack of information on classes from the Gumanye sites and the fact that a high proportion of Gumanye examples are plain (e.g. Chivowa Hill and Zimbabwe II (Robinson 1961a; Sinclair 1991)) thus lowering the number of classes for comparison. It is, however, not an unexpected result, as the Mateke assemblage at Chumbangula has a higher proportion of classes more similar to the Mutamba and Kgopolwe assemblages. Furthermore the scores between Mwenezi and Gumanye are higher at 68 %, which bears out the higher degrees of similarity between these expressions. The Chumbangula score with K2 at 65% is virtually two-thirds similarity while it appears too high against Mwenezi at 79%, again this might be a function of the plain classes at Mwenezi raising the number falsely but not making enough differentiation for variation in decoration. The score for Chumbangula with Mapungubwe is lower at 52% which agrees with the analysis that this is not a Mapungubwe-related assemblage (Ch. 8.2iii). At 58% Mapungubwe's position is much the same against Mwenezi but is probably too high. The highest similarities for Mapungubwe are with K2 and Mutamba which is interesting given the unanswered questions about the relationship between the Soutpansberg Mapungubwe and the Thulamela Mutamba, which co-existed in time (Ch. 8.2iii). In sum, regional similarities are reinforced between Chumbangula and Mwenezi, Kgopolwe and Mutamba as well as a relationship with K2. The results demonstrate a cluster between the Gumanye sites in the north, through to the Kgopolwe sites in the south, but with the stronger orientation of Mateke sites to the southern sphere (Fig. 2.1), which reinforces the point made in Ch. 8.2ii that the Mateke sites, Chumbangula in particular, have more features in common with the southern sites than the northern sites, with Mwenezi more oriented towards Gumanye than Chumbangula is.

8.6 The significance of the Mateke Hills sequence for the understanding of Early and Later Farming Communities in south-east Zimbabwe and north-east South Africa:

Research in the Mateke Hills has significantly confirmed that instead of the region being a marginal and almost uninhabited area (Cooke 1958, 1960; Garlake 1968b; Summers 1950, 1970), there has been a far stronger signature of Farming Community occupation than was believed (Chaps. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8) (Manyanga , Pikirayi & Ndororo 2000; Summers 1970), occurring over a period dating from circa AD 800 –1950 and at times being of regional significance (Ch. 8.2, 8.3, Tables 8.1-3). Specifically this research has clarified the local sequence and it is now known that there has been a series of

TABLE 8.3 SUMMARY OF REGIONAL SEQUENCE FOR MATEKE HILLS AND SURROUNDING REGIONS

		Region / Sites and Events	Sequence - Mateke Hills	Region	Sequence	Region	Sequence	Region	Sequence	Region	Sequence
Period	Dating	Mateke Hills	Pottery	South-east Zimbabwe	Pottery	South Central Zimbabwe	Pottery	South-west Zimbabwe - NE RSA	Pottery	North-east Limpopo	Pottery
Community	AD	Mwenezi, Chumbungula, and related sites in Malumba River Basin, Marungudzi (Phase II sites?)	? Gokomere/ Malapati (Happy Rest?)	Chiredzi, Malilangwe, Gona re Zhou, Malapati	Gokomere, Malapati (Happy Rest), Ziwa tendency or Corotation	Gokomere, Great Zimbabwe - Hill Ruin, Mabveni, Bahwa, Cigwa	Silverleaves, Phase I Gokomere, Phase I, II Zhiwa	sites in Zim. Mapungubwe Hill, Schroda, Poni Drif, Leokwe Hill Poni Drif, Zhiwo	Happy Rest on Map. Hill, Zhiwo, Leokwe Zhiwo	Happy Rest, Kfani Afrika Pafuri, Pa 8, Shingwedzi, Filand, Harmony	Happy Rest, 'Vroer Filand', Tsende, Bulale/ Levubu
	900-1000	Mwenezi	Gumanye Trad. Mateke Facies - Mwenezi Phase						Zhiwa/ Leokwe Zhiwo	Filand, Vhunyela, Mutamba, Kgopulwe	Filand, Mutamba, Kgopulwe
	1000-1300	Chumbungula, Mwenezi, related Malumba River Basin, Mateke Hills sites	Gumanye Tradition - Mateke Facies - Chumbungula Phase -	Hlanhla, Mlongo, Chiredzi, Malilangwe	Gumanye/ Mutamba	Great Zimbabwe - Hill Ruin, Gumanye, Bahwa, Chivi, Chamabvelva, Chamakankwadza	Gumanye Zimbabwe II	K2, Poni Drif, Leokwe Hill, Southern Terrace, Mapungubwe Hill, Skutwater Mapela Hill	K2, Mapungubwe	Mutamba, Princess Hill, Vhunyela, Tshitaka ka Mokoloni, Pafuri, Shingwedzi, Kgopulwe	(Filand) Mutamba, Kgopulwe
	1200-1300	Mwenezi, Chumbungula, Mateke I and II, Cawood (date of post AD 1600 at Mwenezi)	Zimbabwe III, Zimbabwe Va / and possible IVb at Mwenezi -walling-	Palm River, Chiredzi Triangle, mitigation studies, various sites	Zimbabwe phases, III, IVa	Great Zimbabwe and related sites	Zimbabwe Periods III, IVa	Sentinel, Mapela Hill, Soutpansberg sites, etc.		Tshitaka ka Mokoloni, Makahane, Hlamela	Mapungubwe
	Circa 1400-1700	Mwenezi, Safari Hill, 'Pre-Karanga' postulated as continuity - historical term (Beach 1980, 1994b)	Possible Occupational Gap between circa 1400-1700 AD. Some sites in Malumba River Basin c. 15 th C - 16 th C	Chiredzi, Leokwe, Runde, southeast lowveld mitigation study, sites	Zimbabwe phases, / Khumi	Great Zimbabwe, related sites, Chomoruwati, Chamabvelva	Zimbabwe IVb, Khumi	Khumi at Poni Drif, Khumi sites on Sentinel and in sw Zimbabwe	Khumi	Tshitaka ka Mokoloni, Hlamela, Makahane, Harmony, Dzata	Khumi, Mjoloko, Tavatsheha, Letaba
	1700-1950	Chumbungula, Malumba River, Chinana Marungudzi, Malibi, Dubi, Mwenezi R's, Nguni Raiders	Chinana Hlangwe		Karanga (Chinana - Letaba), Hlangwe Tsonga		Zimbabwe IVc, Karanga 'Refuge', (Letaba)	Sentinel, Maramani, Leokwe Hill	Venda - refuge	Pafuri, Dzata, Harmony, Kgopulwe	Letaba/Venda Pafuri/ Leuba/ (Chinana), Hlangwe/ Makuleke Tsonga
	1850-1950	Mateke Hills, explorers, Matabele/ Mashona Wars, BSAP- British South Africa Co, Settlers, Land alienation (Communal lands)	Chinana Hlangwe	Hunters, mining agents, Matabele Wars, settlers		Colonists, Pioneer Column, BSAP, Matabele/ Mashona Wars, settlers		Hunters, explorers, Settlers and farmers		Hunters, explorers, mining agents, settlers and farmers	

occupations in the circumscribed region of the Mateke Hills, starting with a rather ephemeral presence some time in the later EFC, building rapidly with a significant occupation in the early LFC.

Regarding the EFC occupation, it is notable that localities around hills and near streams were used, for instance on and around Chumbangula. Here, note the linking of the use of free-standing hills to the practice of rainmaking as suggested for similar site locations in the Shashe/Limpopo (see Ch. 8.2i) (Huffman 2000; Schoeman 2006, *pers. comms.*). Otherwise the evidence points to smaller sites by streams rather than the larger riverside communities seen in other southern African localities. Also the indications are rather towards occupation in the later part of the EFC than the earlier part (Ch. 8.4i).

Turning to the LFC, the Mateke Facies has previously unsuspected links to the communities at Gumanye, K2, Mutamba and Kgopolwe sites, and it was both contemporary with, and significantly influenced by, the important developments represented by the sequence at K2 and Mapungubwe Hill as well as the beginnings of the burgeoning state at Great Zimbabwe. In parallel, south of the Limpopo there is an apparently strong regional cultural and temporal connection between the Mutamba at Thulamela and the Mapungubwe phase in the Soutpansberg.

The new evidence would suggest that the punctate-dominated portion of the Mateke Facies is earlier, while the crosshatch Chumbangula Phase may represent strengthened contact with the Mutamba/Kgopolwe sites to the south. Thirteenth century dating at Chumbangula (along with the walling) goes some way to explaining its co-existence with the later Mapungubwe phase in the Soutpansberg (also rich in crosshatching) (Loubser 1991), and the apparently co-existing Mutamba phase at Thulamela. As noted before (Ch. 8.2ii, 8.2iii:9, n. ²), the co-existence of these different facies (Table 8.3) in the far north-east of RSA and the far south-east of Zimbabwe points to some significant and interesting dynamics in this region, involving also influence from the K2/ Mapungubwe sequence and the burgeoning Zimbabwe culture, as there is apparently a group of sites which are operating somewhat independently, but associated with the Zimbabwe culture.

The Mateke sites represent a mid-point on the 'cline' of inter-related sites from the Gumanye sites in the north, to the Mutamba/ Kgopolwe sites in the south. The Mateke Hills are placed at a geographical mid-point between the two areas, on the north-south route probably used for centuries, as well as at a strategic point on the east-west trajectory between the east coast to the

Shashe/Limpopo area. Chumbangula at least, was certainly involved with the east coast trade possibly from c. AD 900- c.1350 (Ch. 8.2i, 2iic, 2iii).

The rise of these Gumanye Tradition Facies (Gumanye/Mateke/Mutamba/ Kgopolwe) as well as the related Leopard's Kopje I/ K2, indicates the beginnings of the LFC over a large geographical area (Map 2.1). The changes seem to have occurred in a similar way and in a similar time-frame across a large area, as the earlier part of the dating in all areas appears to be closely simultaneous, in the later tenth/early eleventh centuries (Table 8.1), which would have to have indicated large numbers of newcomers. It may rather indicate the spread of new ideas and economics, perhaps coupled with small numbers of incomers. The suggestion that the rise of the K2/Leopard's Kopje I expression rose to the south in South Africa and moved north (Huffman 1978b) is not really substantiated by either the Mateke sites, or the whole Gumanye Tradition area. The suggestion that the antecedents of Moloko pottery-making peoples (Sotho-Tswana speakers) came from East Africa during the colder period after AD1300 (Huffman 1989a) is not clarified by evidence in the Matekes, as there is no clearly Moloko pottery here, (though see Fig. 6.23:8, a sherd with rim nicks) (Evers & van der Merwe 1987:Fig. 33; Loubser 1991:Fig. 122:4,13). The Moloko period occurs in the south (NM3, Icon and sites in the Soutpansberg) when the apparent occupational gap exists in the Matekes (Ch.8.4iii).

Gumanye Tradition sites, (e.g. Gumanye itself, Buhwa, Great Zimbabwe-Hill Ruin, Chivowa Hill), Chumbangula and Mwenezi (Ch. 4, Table 4.1), as well as the related sites south of the Limpopo, display the frequent use of prominent hills (Ch. 8.2iii:17). This is clearly a departure from the EFC pattern of lowland, open settlement by water, raising the question as to the reasons for the departure (Huffman 1978a; Huffman & Vogel 1991) which are not yet clear. One factor to consider is the growing unequal distribution of resources offered by the beginnings of the external trade, as well as control of some of these resources and routes. The use of hilltops regionally circa AD1000 -1300, also elicits a response to the issue of whether the move to the hilltop at Mapungubwe (and displayed in early form at K2 with the removal of the cattle kraal from the centre) was influenced by a pattern already in use at sites in south-central and south-east Zimbabwe and in the north-east of the Limpopo Province, but was expanded upon at Mapungubwe with the separation of an elite to the hilltop around AD1200? As has been noted (Ch. 5.2vi), the Gumanye Tradition occupation at Chumbangula predates the walling as it does at Mwenezi, Hlamba Mlonga, Thulamela and other sites for instance in the Soutpansberg (Loubser 1991; Miller 1996; Thorp 2005b). However not all

Gumanye sites have occupations which included, or were followed by, stonewalling, and in some cases the Gumanye Tradition occupation may entirely predate the walling (for instance at the Hill Ruin Great Zimbabwe, Hlamba Mlonga and Thulamela). There may have been a pattern of appropriation of these earlier sites with a remembered significance, as has been suggested for the Hill Ruin at Great Zimbabwe (Huffman 2000) (and possibly at Mwenezi and Thulamela).

At Chumbangula the position appears to differ as the Mateke Facies occupation continues into the walled period, since this pottery is stratigraphically associated with the walling (Ch. 5.2vi). Even in the upper levels the Mateke Facies dominates although the small number of Zimbabwe Tradition ceramics (E Profile) are more evident here (Ch. 6.6iii, Table 6.3, Ch. 8.2iv, Appendix 2 – Tables I & II). At Chumbangula, it is more than likely the case that the walling indicates the later part of the occupation (i.e. AD 1200+, Table 5.6). Status is expressed in the lay-out of the walling, the privileging of the Summit Cave and adjacent enclosures and the presence of certain artefacts (Ch. 5.2, 8.2iii). Thus there is an apparent change in worldview, economics and usage of the site. Chumbangula is apparently the dominant site in the Mateke Hills and possibly the whole south-eastern lowveld at this crucial time, contemporaneous with the change from K2 to Mapungubwe and then to Great Zimbabwe. The artefacts such as glass beads and spindle whorls (Ch. 5.2, 8.2ii, 8.2iii) show that it was part of the east coast trade, but we believe that the real political and economic power lay to the west in the Limpopo/Shashe basin, and then shifted to the north at Great Zimbabwe.

As noted above, the remarkable thing about Chumbangula in the later part of the Mateke Facies occupation is that it has a Zimbabwe Tradition system of site layout with walling and enclosures leading up to and on the summit area, but has the Mateke Facies of the Gumanye Tradition ceramics, with just the few Zimbabwe Tradition ceramics, which appear to be from Class 3 or 4a (Ch. 8.2iii:15). All of this raises some interesting questions about the relationships between the Gumanye Tradition peoples and the beginnings of the more clearly recognised Zimbabwe Tradition. We can say clearly that Chumbangula was a site of some importance on the route to the east coast at this time. In particular trade to and from the Shashe-Limpopo area must have passed close by to the Matekes, and it seems clear that Chumbangula was involved in this at a significant level. An important finding of this thesis is that there was a broad belt running north-south from south-eastern Zimbabwe to north-eastern South Africa, occupied by a set of related communities falling within the Gumanye Tradition culture area, rather than that of the developing Zimbabwe Tradition at Mapungubwe and then Great Zimbabwe further north. It was the latter group who came to develop

and dominate the international trade yet they, or at least their trade goods, had to pass through the wide Gumanye belt to reach the east coast ports.

This brings up the issue of the relationship between the Gumanye communities – Chumbangula in particular – and the developing early ‘Shona’ power bases further north. Current evidence is that these power bases were able to maintain and develop control of the east coast trade as the basis of their growing economic and political power. In order to do this, they must either have had close political and trading links with Gumanye communities along the route to the coast, or have established political hegemony over them. The archaeological evidence for the later part of the main Chumbangula occupation clearly shows that a Zimbabwe cultural pattern of elite settlement layout became established. This involved separation between commoners below and leaders on the hilltop, linked via two steep access routes defined by walling, some of it decorated. The ceramic evidence shows essentially a continuity within the Mateke Facies, so we can conclude that most of the inhabitants were from this culture group. What is not clear is whether the small number of Zimbabwe Tradition sherds reflects a small Zimbabwe Tradition elite living on the hilltop at this time or whether these sherds merely reflect exchange between two friendly polities, the eastern one perhaps subordinate to the western. Here too we need to consider the apparent small number of Zimbabwe Tradition sherds at Mwenezi in the same light. Intriguing too is the quite extensive Zimbabwe Tradition walling at Mwenezi, with some solid dhaka hut walling (indicating Zimbabwe Tradition occupation), but (so far at least) without evidence of trade goods such as glass beads, though evidence of possible internal trade with numbers of organic beads, such as ivory beads and the carved ivory artefact (Ch. 5.4, Fig. 5.14).

The dating, ceramics and settlement patterns also raise the interesting dynamics of possible contacts between the later part of Chumbangula’s main occupation and the Mutamba level at Thulamela, as well as Thulamela’s relationships with the younger Mapungubwe horizons in the Soutpansberg and the burgeoning Zimbabwe state (Miller 1996; Steyn et al 1998; Vogel 2000; Vogel 2000 after Huffman *pers. comm.*). It is apparent that the Mateke Facies occupation, contemporaneous with Mutamba and Kgopolwe, as well as with Mapungubwe, Thulamela (see note ², Table 8.1) and the early Zimbabwe Tradition spheres of influence in the region are key to an understanding to the period AD1000-1400 throughout this lowveld region where they appear to be inextricably linked.

Settlement data (Ch. 8.4iii), as well as climatic data has backed up the hypothesis that the environment became difficult for farming settlement after AD1300, with a possibility that the climate supported somewhat longer occupation in the circumscribed region of the Matekes, as well as the eastern Soutpansberg and Pafuri River (ref. to dating at Thulamela, sites on Limpopo and Pafuri Rivers and dating of Mapungubwe, Moloko and Khami horizons in the Soutpansberg) (Chs. 3.3a, 8.3.ii, iii) (Huffman 1996a; Jonsson 1998, *pers. comm.* 2004; Loubser 1991:Fig. 152; Meyer 1986; Vogel 2000). While there is sparse archaeological evidence after c. AD1300 in the Malumba River basin the tentative evidence for one or two sites (Table 4.1) does indicate some possible continuation, but certainly a reduction in visible occupation (Ch. 8.4iii) (c.f. the possibility that Moloko and/or Khami presence is possibly there but not found given the presence of these at Thulamela and Soutpansberg).

The next sites found on the landscape are from the Recent Period where the settlement and ceramic evidence supports the historical sources for the population movements of the eighteenth century and the Nguni incursions of the nineteenth century (discussed in Ch. 7, Ch. 8.4iv). These sites (the Hlengwe and the Chinana) are both in open territory, albeit near water, as well as in defensible positions, which strengthens the proposition that, while the Nguni movements triggered widespread effects, they were not as sustained as has sometimes been suggested (Beach 1980).

In sum then, the south-east lowveld of the Mateke Hills, particularly during the period of the Medieval Warm Epoch, shows the region as being firmly incorporated in the wider regional political and economic world, with the important centre at Chumbangula playing a significant part in trade networks in the south-east. The Mateke sites were part of the known world of Gumanye Tradition hegemony in a possibly important and transitional position between the northern and southern variants of these settlements.

8.6i Areas of Future Research for the Mateke Hills and South-east lowveld

- 1) The Earlier Farming Community period is an area that requires more research in order to understand the settlement pattern and dating of these communities and any relationships they may have had to the beginnings of the Later Farming communities. Concomitant to this would be a deeper investigation in to evidence for the earlier part of the EFC, as would the question of contacts and relationships between the earlier Stone Age inhabitants and early farming communities.

- 2) Taking into regard the evidence for symbiosis, and overlap in dating, between Zhizo/Loekwe and K2 groups in the Shashe/Limpopo area (Calabrese 2000, *pers. comm.* 2006; Vogel & Calabrese 2000), it may also be useful to look for possible links between the later Phase II EFC groups such as Zhizo and Malapati (Happy Rest phase II) in north-east South Africa and south-east Zimbabwe, with the groupings at the beginning of the LFC, such as the Gumanye on the southern plateau, the Mwenezi phase of the Mateke Facies and those in the northern Soutpansberg (e.g. earlier Mutamba at Vhuneyla).
 - 3) The Later Farming Communities appear to have come into the region after the end of the 10th century and are represented by Gumanye Tradition inhabitants. The antecedents and/or arrival of these Gumanye Tradition peoples in the Matekes and the wider region, is still an area needing greater clarification as well as their relationships to each other (see above).
 - 4) In addition, a clearer stratigraphic picture of the nature of the relationship between the Mateke Facies occupation and that of the Zimbabwe Tradition layout of stonewalling at Chumbangula is of great interest. Also greater clarification of the dating of the Zimbabwe Tradition walling and solid dhaka walling at Mwenezi and the relationship of Mwenezi to the Zimbabwe power base at Great Zimbabwe.
 - 5) Concomitant to this would be an investigation of other possible Zimbabwe Tradition sites in the Mateke Hills region (Manyanga et al 2000). Little is known of these.
 - 6) There is also the question of the two Phases of the Mateke Facies, that is, a punctate dominated one, i.e. the Mwenezi Phase, followed by a crosshatch dominated one, i.e. the Chumbangula Phase. This has been proposed (and backed up by stratigraphy and dating at sites such as Hlambo Mlongo).
 - 7) The apparent identified gap between the ending of the Mateke Facies occupation and the arrival of the Recent Period occupants needs to be further explored. Was there no occupation for some centuries or is it an issue of low visibility of sites on the landscape? (c.f. the historical and oral threads of continuity).
 - 8) The continuing question of the arrival of the Sotho/Tswana, the Moloko pottery makers, into southern Africa has not been supported by this study, so still remains a question as to their antecedents or influence in this region i.e. the suggestion of a migration from eastern Africa.
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APPENDICES 1 and 2



CHUMBANGULA HILL.

TOP TERRACE, NORTHEAST OF TOP-WOODHURST CANY.

NOTE: BOUNDARY IN THE CENTRE LEFT OF THE SKETCH (FAVOUR SIDE OF ANGLE 022)

WALL ROUGHLY CONSTRUCTED AND APPROX. 1 METRE HIGH.

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ANALYSIS SHEET FOR POTTERY FROM FARMING COMMUNITY SITES

Site Name, MALUMBA / CHUMSANGULA

Map Sheet MATERE 213004

Catalogue No. 255

Sheet No. 11

Trench No. 7

Grid/Step No. -----

Level No. 6

Tradition	Profile Code	Profile description	Rim/lip type	Neck	Shoulder	Bowl/Pan Profile	Draw/Pastured profile	Decoration Placement	Decoration motif Example	Decoration Method	Pottery or Sherd Finish	Clay colour	Tempor	Site/Activity	Name	Total
Gokomere K2, Mutumbi, Gumanye, Mapungubwe, Zimbalawe, Letaba, Venda, Tsonga Other	A, Ai, Abi, B, C, D, E, F	Long-necked, Reentrant, straight-necked pot, bowls, open, tannated, constricted	Tapered, flat, rolled, square, round	Straight, tapered, rounded	Rounded, poor or medium or well defined point of inflection	Type	Example	Lip, Rim, Neck, N/Shoulder, Shoulder, Body	Lines, obliques, crosshatch, crossladder, punctates, grooves, stamped	Incision, FLI or BLI, Stamp, Impression, Stab, fibre	Burnish, Smooth, Matte, Colour, Graphite, Oxide	Red, Brown, dark brown, Black, Grey, Yellow, Pink, Buff	Poor, medium, well fired, oxidised, Temper gas, mica inclusions	Small, Medium, Large, heavy, cooking, serving, storage	Beer Pot, Water vessel, Firing, Drinking, Relish, Mixing	
GUMANYE	Abi	reentrant necked	rounded	slight curve	poorly defined	Red	shoulder	stab/BLI in area	smooth	medium	red in storage	eg. water	3			
"	A	"	rounded to flat	curve	"	"	neck/rim	BLI imp.	"	"	brn/reddy	"				
"	A	"	"	"	"	"	plain	plain	plain	sm	buff	"				
"	"	"	flat	"	"	"	neck	incise punct.	matte	blacken	soury	"				
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	lower neck/sh	imp. punct.	smooth	red/brown	"	"				
"	"	"	flat	"	"	"	neck	imp. punct.	burnish	black	well	"				
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	neck	imp. punct.	matte	blacken/grey	soury	st. fired mat.				
"	Ai	"	"	more erect	"	"	shoulder	imp. inc. punct.	sm	brn	"	"				
"	"	"	"	straight	"	"	plain	"	"	"	"	"				
GUMANYE	A-	"	decor B/S	"	"	B/S	sh?	incise punct.	matte	red heavy	"	"				
"	"	"	decor B/S	"	"	"	double band	on inside	rough	bl/grey	copper/mica inc	"				
"	B-	"	decor rim	rim/rounded	rounded	Pan	double band	crosshatch inc. ladder	very fine	red + black	well	"				
"	"	"	decor B/S	"	"	"	single band	crosshatch inc	"	"	"	"				
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	open band	pure imp.	fine	"	"	"				
"	"	"	plain	"	"	"	plain	"	"	red oxide	"	tough	"			
2-17	B/S	"	"	"	"	"	incise punct.	incise	"	"	"	"				

total (3-1)

TOTAL