Does similarity equal relationship?

An archaeological study of Tsindi, a Dzimbahwe site in North-eastern Zimbabwe

KELVIN MUKABETA

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Supervisor: Professor Shadreck Chirikure

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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ABSTRACT

Traditionally, archaeological sites making up the Zimbabwe culture were studied using old Childean understanding to the extent that all sites that are smaller than Great Zimbabwe were viewed as lesser important places under its hegemony. Using African centred frameworks, this study represents an attempt to revisit the archaeological site of Tsindi, a Zimbabwe culture site near Marondera in north-eastern Zimbabwe. Methodologically, the re-assessment is based on a survey of published and unpublished literature, museum archival records and collections, as well as field surveys, excavations and artefact studies. The study reached convergence with earlier studies on the observation that drystone walls and pottery from upper levels in the sequence of Tsindi are closely related to that from Great Zimbabwe and related sites. However, there are some localised differences within the walls and pottery that speak to contextual innovation and ultimately variation. Available chronological information shows that Tsindi has an earlier Harare tradition occupation which is overlain by levels with Zimbabwe pottery. Combined together, the similarities and differences that appear on identical material culture suggest that Tsindi and Great Zimbabwe were authored by related people who may have interacted with each other directly or indirectly. Recourse to Shona anthropology and history suggests the presence of autonomous political formations (e.g. chiefdoms and states) generally within more than hundred kilometres of each other. If local histories that connect the Nhowe people of north-eastern Zimbabwe to Tsindi are correct, then the site was the capital of a Nhowe chiefdom. In broad terms this suggests the presence of multiple but independent polities on the landscape. Future research must, however, explore in more detail the nature of the relationships between individual polities such as Tsindi and similar ones such as Mutoko, Tere and among others Harleigh Farm that are associated with different chiefdoms.

DECLARATION

This is to certify that the results and conclusions presented in this thesis are my own and where the work of others has been used it has been properly referenced. This thesis has not been submitted for a degree at any other institution of higher learning.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of figures

List of Tables

CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Extensive researches have been carried out on the origins, character, distribution and demise of the Zimbabwe culture/tradition (AD1000-1900) (Chirikure and Pikirayi 2008; Pikirayi 2013; Pikirayi 2001; Garlake 1970; 1973 and 1982). The Zimbabwe tradition refers to the development of ranked forms of social organisation that appeared on the Zimbabwe plateau and adjacent regions from the early second millennium AD to the nineteenth century (Huffman 2014). It is characterised by dry stone walled (singular: *dzimbahwe, plural: madzimbahwe*) architecture and is sometimes recognised by characteristic pottery and hut platforms (Pwiti 1996; Pikirayi 2011; Huffman 2014; Ndoro 2005; Manyanga and Chirikure 2017). While *madzimbahwe* are known all over the country and appear in various sizes (Garlake 1970), the biggest site was labelled Great Zimbabwe to distinguish it from other smaller but culturally related places (Bent 1896; Hall 1905; Caton-Thompson 1931; Garlake 1973). In most early researches, the dzimbahwe type buildings were associated with prestige and the elites (Bent 1896; MacIver 1906, Caton-Thompson 1931; Summers *et al* 1961; Huffman 1972; Garlake 1973). The freestanding drystone walls formed enclosures where houses were built while terraces created platforms, where houses were constructed. However, *madzimbahwe* appear in differing sizes, types and styles (Garlake 1970; Pikirayi 2001; Huffman 2007; Chirikure *et al.* 2012; Pwiti *et al* 2013). These kinds of settlements have been recorded in a wider area of southern Africa including north-eastern Botswana, northern South Africa, western Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Huffman 2014; Pwiti 1996; Pikirayi 2001) (See Fig 1.1).

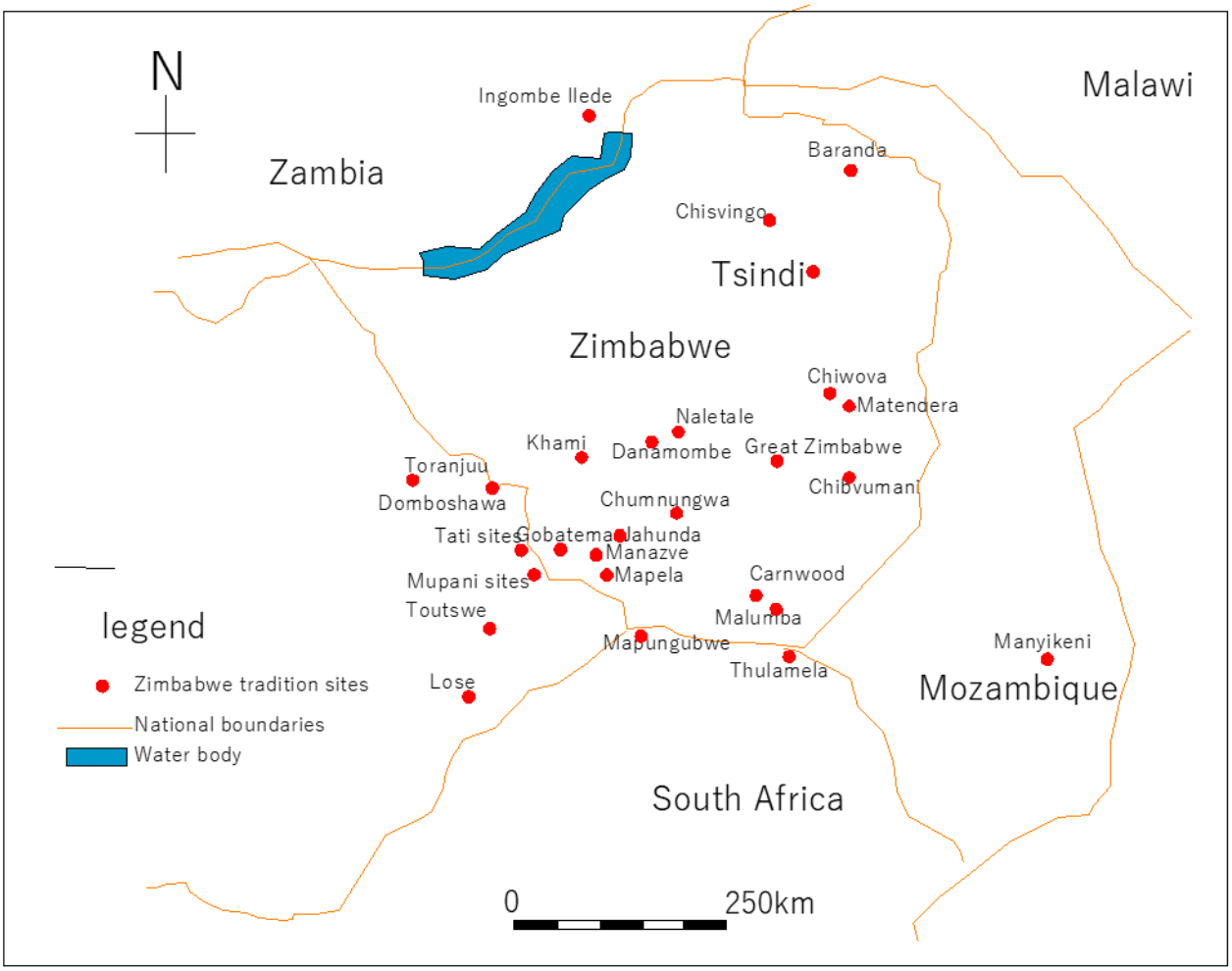


Figure 1. 1 Distribution of Zimbabwe sites

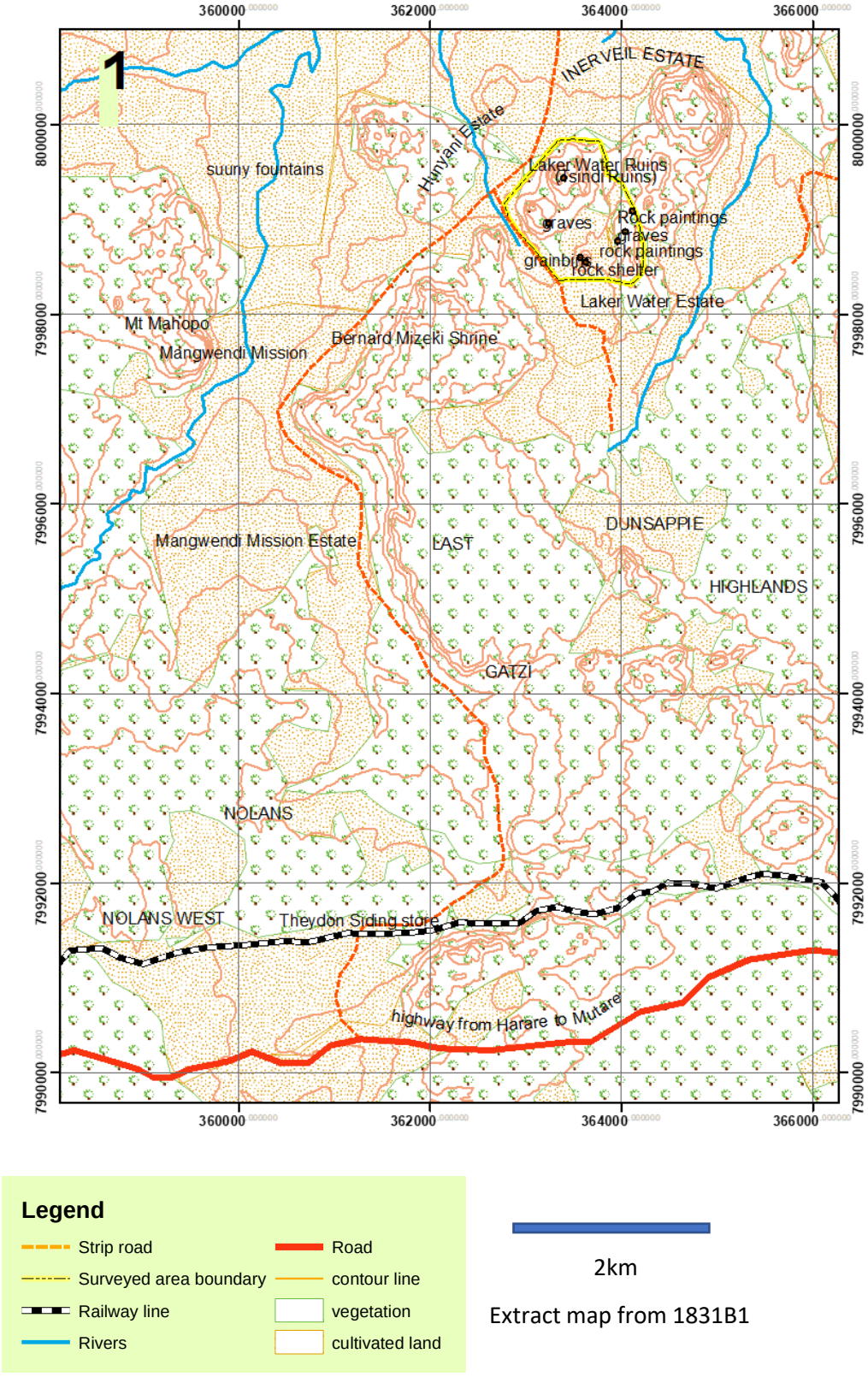
Madzimbahwe were divided into three phases namely Mapungubwe (AD1220-1290), Zimbabwe (1200-1550) and Khami (AD 1450-1700) (Pwiti *et al.* 2013). Each phase was named after the biggest site which presumably served as the capitals of the states (Huffman 2007; Pwiti *et al.* 2013). Without much empirical substantiation, Tsindi is generally viewed as a provincial centre of the Zimbabwe state (Pwiti *et al.*2013). However, these views have been recently challenged by some researchers (see for example Chirikure *et al.* 2013; 2013a; 2016, Chirikure and Pikirayi 2008; Mahachi and Ndoro 1997; Pwiti 1996). The primary reason is that historical states are smaller than archaeological reconstructions (Chimhundu 1992). In addition, capitals of historical Shona states (AD1500 – 1900) shifted depending on who became the ruler (Sinclair *et al.* 1993). This makes it inappropriate to fix capitals of states on individual places for the rise, flourishing and decline of different political formations.

The scenario described above shows that research has mostly focused on bigger sites such as Great Zimbabwe and Khami and those that yielded large quantities of accompanying grave goods such as

Mapungubwe. Consequently, not much is known about smaller sites like Tsindi and their status within the broader context of the Dzimbahwe still remains largely unexplored. Against this background, this study seeks to investigate the archaeology of Tsindi, a relatively smaller dzimbahwe located in north-eastern Zimbabwe through fieldwork, laboratory studies and African centred conceptual frameworks. Observations from various levels of analyses will be combined to provide a clear and detailed context of Tsindi in the Madzimbahwe.

1.2 BACKGROUND

Located on a relatively small hill, Tsindi is situated about 29 kilometres north east of Marondera town (Fig 1.2). It is located on GPS reference 36k0363336-UTM7999363. The summit of Tsindi has a good command view of all directions, across a wide expanse of flat country to the north (Rudd 1984). Tsindi archaeological site (Fig 1.2) is spread over an area of almost two hectares on the hilltop and the smooth granite rocks drop away steeply on all but the south side (Targart 1987). A perennial river flows between Mount Mahopo and the raised area with the Bernard Mzeki Shrine plantation area. There are two intermittent streams that flow one on the eastern side and the other on the western side; both with sources from Tsindi (fig 1.2). These natural water sources were an important resource for Tsindi Iron Age communities. Hardly any research attention has been given to the flat area because most of it has been disturbed by several decades of agriculture activities which makes it difficult to conduct archaeological studies.



Legend

- Strip road
- Surveyed area boundary
- Railway line
- Rivers
- Road
- contour line
- vegetation
- cultivated land

2km

Extract map from 1831B1

Figure 1. 2 Map showing the location of Tsindi in the context of surrounding areas (extract from 1:50000 Geological Survey Map)

1.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

According to local oral traditions, Tsindi was formerly occupied by the vaNhowe people (Rudd 1984; Edwards 1926). In 1891 Mungati, the then Chief Mangwende, stated that the Nhowe people had lived in the Marondera area for 250 years (Farrant 1966). They lived under Chief Mangwende on Mount Mahopo which rises steeply from the west bank of the Nyakambiri River (Rudd 1984) a distance of about five kilometres. Mangwende was a 'paramount' chief whose territory covered a large area (Farrant 1966). Chanaiwa (1971) asserts that economically, the VaNhowe pursued agriculture and craftsmanship in metal and other activities. Looking back in time, there exists numerous hilltop Iron Age sites (including Tsindi) that show a long history of settlement in northern Zimbabwe, Marondera area included.

Some of the settlements include those that were described by Theodore Bent (1969) during his visit to Chief Mangwende's territory. Bent narrates visiting ruined stone structures while in the area. For example, he explains how such sites were overgrown with 'jungle' at the time. As a team that had been to Great Zimbabwe there was something about the site in Mangwende's territory which was similar for example to what he calls 'triple line of fortifications' and that the entrances were rounded. There were some sharp differences that made him doubt if the builders were the same. Bent describes the stonework as uneven, the walls being built of shapeless stones, roughly put together with mortar. The walls were also low, narrow and uneven (Bent 1969). The description by itself is grossly inadequate to determine if it is Tsindi or another site which was being referred to. In any case, most smaller sites are lower, smaller and have less perfected finish than Great Zimbabwe , therefore, Bent may or may not have been referring to Tsindi. Farrant (1966) refers to Mangwende as a paramount chief meaning he presided over a large geographical area and over other chieftaincies so the ruin he mentions could be any one in the area other than Tsindi.

Records in the National Archaeological Survey at the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare show that Tsindi was excavated by Shiela Rudd, from 1963 to 1966. The results were subsequently published in 1967 and 1984 (Rudd 1967; 1984). Observations made demonstrated that Tsindi is a settlement site as evidenced by the abundance of pottery, slag, daga rubble, metal objects and structures for human habitation like hut floors. Targart (1987) evidently wrote using Rudd's work and noted at least ten enclosures of varying shape and size from the unified cluster with linking walls blended to natural features such as boulders and rocky outcrops to create enclosed areas. This is a distinct similarity with Great Zimbabwe and many other related sites (Garlake 1970; Pikirayi 2001; Huffman 2007; Chirikure *et al.* 2012; Pwiti *et al* 2013). Rudd (1984) associated the free standing walls with the Great Zimbabwe tradition. Other forms of archaeological evidence recovered from the excavations include water drainage holes, hut remains, hammer and grinding stones, slag, pottery of the Harare tradition (Rudd

1984) and several cattle bone remains (Turner 1984). This brief background shows that historically Tsindi is connected to some communities such as Mangwende while archaeologically it has elements that are related to Great Zimbabwe. This motivates for a detailed exploration of the archaeology of the site to understand its material culture for a deeper reflection of the implied historical and cultural relationships.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

While similarities have been drawn between the architecture and ceramics of Tsindi and those from Great Zimbabwe, not much attention has been accorded to differences that exist and what these might mean. More importantly, the thinking that southern Africa was dominated by very huge empires is Eurocentric and fails to understand the dynamics of African political formations (Chimhundu 1992). This requires a reassessment of the archaeology of Tsindi and other smaller sites to explore their relationship to other Dzimbahwe sites using concepts grounded in local thinking (Chimhundu 1992; Chirikure *et al.* 2012).

1.5 Research Aims

Flowing from the need to investigate smaller dzimbahwe sites, initially on their own and subsequently in relation to other chronologically overlapping similar sites, this research seeks to analyse the material culture of Tsindi archaeological site. Therefore, the objectives of the study are:

1. To explore and identify the archaeology of the communities that lived in and around the area of Tsindi site.
2. To assess the material culture recovered from the site in order to evaluate the position of Tsindi in relationship to other larger Dzimbahwe sites.

These aims will be pursued using a theoretical and methodological approach that combines insights from Shona concepts- lifeways as layed out in ethnonographic writings (Chimhundu 1992; Lathan 1974; Lan 1985; Bourdillon 1976; Beach 1980 etc) and archival research with those from archaeological fieldwork and artefact studies. This focussed framework will contribute towards a decolonisation of current understanding of the narratives of dzimbahwe, which are still very colonial (Chirikure *et al.* 2017). This is hugely significant because the observations from disciplines such as African languages and literature are rarely integrated in meaningful ways to produce pasts that are closer to local experiences than is currently available (Chimhundu 1992).

1.6 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This thesis is organised as follows: Chapter 2 deals with a review of the literature focussing on available historical and archaeological works relating to madzimbahwe in general and Tsindi in particular. Theoretical and methodological approaches are presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the survey and excavation results. Chapter 5 is a presentation of analysis and results of Tsindi Pottery while Chapter 6 will outline and discuss faunal remains and other finds. Chapter 7 will draw conclusions based on the discussion of previous research, fieldwork findings and analysis.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter critically engages with what is known about Madzimbahwe in general before focussing on the archaeology of Tsindi. The review exposes a significant accumulation of material related to madzimbahwe since the turn of the 19th century (e.g. Bent 1896; MacIver 1906; Caton-Thompson 1931; Summers *et al.* 1961; Garlake 1973; Huffman 1972; Pikirayi 2001; Chirikure and Pikirayi 2008; etc). However, given the different contexts in which the knowledge was produced, it is essential to unpack some of the biases in earlier work. For example, that archaeology was introduced as a tool of the colonial empire cannot be contested. This also means that some of the frameworks used to explain the archaeology were also imperial in nature and character (Ndoro 2001). For example, antiquarians such as Theodore Bent were of the view that the Madzimbahwe was not local in authorship. On their part, some professional archaeologists were influenced by this idea of grand empires such as the Roman Empire, the Assyrian Empire and so on to the extent that each and every site smaller than Great Zimbabwe was without substantiation, accorded the status of provincial or district centre under the Great Zimbabwe state depending on the whims of the theoretician at hand (see Chirikure *et al.* 2014; Chirikure *et al.* 2016 for a detailed critique). Indeed, this speaks to concerns raised by scholars in African cultures and languages such as Chimhundu (1992) who has eloquently argued that the idea of grand empires stretching from the Indian Ocean to the Kalahari that is deeply entrenched in southern African archaeology is out of sync with historical, linguistic and local cultural evidence. This shows that while great work was performed on the Madzimbahwe to date, there is need for re-orientation to make it less colonial and more in tune with local experiences and understanding. This prompted Chirikure and colleagues to call for concept revision to address some of these concerns (Chirikure *et al.* 2017). Of the site-specific studies, Rudd (1984) presents detailed excavations at Tsindi and exposes very interesting material culture including pottery that is related to that at Great Zimbabwe. However, the material was mostly discussed as representing an outpost of the Great Zimbabwe state and which means that an opportunity to learn what the inhabitants of Tsindi did and did not do was not fully exploited.

2.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCHES ON THE MADZIMBAHWE

When the westerners first came to stay in Zimbabwe, they sought to understand archaeological sites they came across like the Great Zimbabwe. This means archaeology in the area was established by them, with no meaningful contribution from the locals (Chirikure *et al* 2016). That resulted in an

archaeology that is incompatible with local understandings and expectations (Pwiti and Ndoro 1999; Chirikure *et al* 2013a). According to Pikirayi (2001), Cecil Rhodes was eager to justify his occupation of Mashonaland and the alleged Phoenician link was to justify his choice as a treasure hunter. The assumption that the Zimbabwe plateau promised more gold than the South African Rand formed the prime motive behind the occupation of Mashonaland in 1890 (Mahachi and Ndoro 1997). Theodore Bent, a distinguished English traveller and antiquarian (Summers 1957) claimed that Great Zimbabwe was constructed by the Sabaean Arabs to facilitate gold trade and that other Madzimbabwe were arranged to facilitate the passage of caravans to the Indian Ocean from the gold mining interior (Pikirayi 2001). This, however, was the popular settler view of the time which was based on the view that Great Zimbabwe was built by foreigners because locals were incompetent of making such achievements (Chirikure *et al* 2013a). Some of the evidence and context that would be necessary for interpretation of the Zimbabwe type sites was lost as the Ancient Ruins Company methodically reduced sites in search for precious metals (Pikirayi 2001). The company is known to have ransacked an estimated forty-nine ruins (Mahachi and Ndoro 1997).

Later, David Randall-MacIver, a trained archaeologist examined Great Zimbabwe and other Zimbabwe type sites and concluded that Great Zimbabwe settlement was medieval in date and thus local in origin (Pikirayi 2001; Chirikure *et al* 2013a; Garlake 1982; Huffman and Vogel 1991; Chirikure *et al.* 2013; Huffman 1972; Huffman and Vogel 1991). Strong beliefs in African incapacity, and lack of absolute dating methods resulted in his findings being resisted and his conclusion warranted the assigning of Gertrude Caton-Thompson to explore the same sites (Chirikure *et al.* 2013a; Pikirayi 2001; Huffman and Vogel 1991). She also concluded that the sites were of African origin and strongly recommended a good understanding of Shona people in order to interpret Great Zimbabwe better (Pikirayi 2001; Caton-Thompson 1930; Hubbard and Burrett 2012; Huffman 2000). This understanding makes it imperative for archaeologists to blend archaeological studies of the Madzimbahwe sites with Shona ethnography.

In the late 1950s, an interdisciplinary study of Great Zimbabwe to correlate artefacts types to the stratigraphy by Roger Summers, Keith Robinson and Antony Whitty was conducted (Chirikure *et al* 2013a; Chirikure *et al.* 2013; Huffman and Vogel 1991). They produced detailed work that became the source of primary data for the site (Summers *et al.* 1961; Chirikure *et al.* 2013a). Artefactual information was combined with architectural information, stratigraphic details and radiocarbon dates to define a five-phase sequence of occupation at Great Zimbabwe. Period I (AD 100-300) was characterised by the presence of class I pottery, while period II and its class 2 pottery dated between AD 300 and 1085. Period III, defined on the basis of class 3 pottery and P-style walling (earliest with no clear courses) flourished between AD 1085 and 1450. On its part, period IV and the associated class

4 pottery and Q-style (neatly coursed) walling lasted from 1450 until 1833. Finally, period V (AD 1833-1900), characterised by class 5 pottery and R (rough) walling, was the youngest (Chirikure *et al* 2013a; Chirikure and Pikirayi 2008,).

2.3 EMERGENCE OF THE MADZIMBAHWE

Professional archaeology continues to show that the madzimbahwe, which is associated with early complex societies and states in southern Africa emerged and gradually developed over time to produce the different features that are now available for study. Archaeological evidence in southern Africa has shown that the late first and early second millennium AD was associated with remarkable growth in cultural, economic and political terms (Pwiti *et al.* 2013). One such development is the rise of cultural attributes that later crystallised as what is now known as the Zimbabwe tradition or madzimbahwe. There are many schools of thought with regards to the development of socio-political complexity in southern Africa, madzimbahwe included. Kim and Kusimba (2008) refer to transformations in the Shashe -Limpopo basin, saying that they included rapid demographic growth, due in part to migration and natural growth, an increase in societal inequality evidenced by differential household sizes, wealth and status, and the emergence of site hierarchies. Huffman (1972) highlights two opposing schools of thought- a religious and a trade hypothesis that explain the existence of the madzimbahwe also as a kingdom. The religious hypothesis proposes that Bantu speaking migrants with a special religious superiority established a kingdom prior to any external connections. Arabs later heard of a wealthy nation and developed contacts with it. On the contrary, trade hypothesis maintains that Zimbabwe was a result of surplus wealth from the East African gold trade. The two theories are limited in their explanations. Huffman (1972) further explains that no state has ever developed from such a foundation.

State formation has been ascribed to various opinions. The dominant views are silent on the role of warfare in state formation. Chirikure *et al* (2013) highlight a view commented on by Kusimba (2006) and Kim and Kusimba (2008) that warfare and coercion historically promoted state formation but have been marginalised in the study of socio-political complexity in southern Africa. The Zulu kingdom under Tshaka was one of the most organised and powerful political systems recorded in modern KwaZulu-Natal history. Warfare excellence made Shaka claim a large empire (Hamilton 1992). It is a great possibility which will have to be tried with evidence as a major contributing factor to the rise in complexity of madzimbahwe.

2.4 CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VARIOUS MADZIMBAHWE ENTITIES

The Dzimbahwe constitutes various cultural entities which collectively define it. From researches conducted so far (Robinson 1985; Pikirayi 2001; Pwiti *et al.* 2013), it is clear that the practice of building with stone started from the late first millennium AD. While first millennium AD communities were advancing to be more complex and a climax was reached in the 13th century at Mapungubwe (Pwiti *et al.* 2013). Earlier on, it was generally assumed that Great Zimbabwe was the epi-centre of the madzimbahwe such that all culturally related places were either provincial or district centres (Garlake 1973). Revisionist scholarship from Huffman (1982) challenged such thinking and argued that Mapungubwe was the first capital of the first state system of Southern Africa (see also Huffman 2007). Mapungubwe period sites are found in the Shashe Limpopo basin and adjacent areas of southwestern Zimbabwe and north-eastern Botswana. In the absence of robust criticism informed by locally-centred positions, the general view became that when Mapungubwe collapsed, it gave way to Great Zimbabwe which in turn gave way to Khami. In this thinking, sites like Tsindi are viewed as 'provincial ruins' occupied during the Great Zimbabwe phase of the madzimbahwe. As Great Zimbabwe declined, the madzimbahwe spread into two regions; the Mutapa state from 1450 to 1900 in the north and the Torwa based at Khami from 1450 to 1650 (Huffman 1996; Pikirayi 2001; Beach 1980).

Huffman (2009; 2000; 2001; 2012) borrowed elements from cognitive structuralism, Venda ethnographies and Portuguese records to develop models for the use of space at Great Zimbabwe and related settlements. In particular he argued that all madzimbahwe settlements, regardless of size, had space for five components: a palace, court, royal wives' area, place for followers and place- for guards. This arrangement of space which he labelled the Zimbabwe Pattern was arrived through considering evidence from the recent past, moving backwards in time to the archaeological record. At Great Zimbabwe, Huffman assigned the Hill complex to the King, the Valley Enclosures to royal wives and the Great Enclosure to initiation ceremonies (Huffman 1996). Commoners were allocated unwalled settlements on the western side of the perimeter wall while guards were assumed to have formed a ring at the back of the Hill Complex. The Zimbabwe pattern model was heavily criticised for assuming that the madzimbahwe was unchanging from its inception up to the 19th century, regardless of time and place (Lane 2005). Beach (1998), also criticises the methodological premise underpinning the idea of a Zimbabwe pattern arguing that it relies upon misunderstood documents, dubious oral traditions, and inappropriate comparisons which arrive at a picture of cities that were essentially static in their use of space for 800 years.

Beach (1998) offers an alternative interpretation that draws upon Shona historical and anthropological sources and, imagination to show how political processes within a Shona dynasty could have affected the building of the central part of Great Zimbabwe. Without being prescriptive,

and aware of local dynamics, Beach (1998) advocates for an interpretation that is derived from workings of a Shona society which, in his view, might be valuable in interpreting not only Great Zimbabwe but also other settlements making up the madzimbahwe. To this, one can add the observation by Lindahl and Matenga (1995) that in terms of the study of settlement patterns, the study of Shona villages or homestead should provide comparative basis for assessing change and continuity through time. Chirikure and Pikirayi (2008) argue that because use and function are correlated, a study of objects and material culture in different spaces must reach convergence with implied uses and meaning. Their study showed that there were incompatibilities between the recovery of crucibles, slag, and other male associated material culture from the valley enclosures believed by Huffman (1996) to be a royal wives residency. At Tsindi, Rudd (1984:103) suggest that the perimeter wall 7 (Q) could have been used as a pen for livestock. This points to the viability of approaches that seek to revisit Zimbabwe type settlements to study them in detail using evidence from various areas, both material and non-material to develop new understandings of how people may have lived in these places. This motivated a revisit of Tsindi archaeological site to explore various activities and dynamism of practice within the site and in the Zimbabwe culture as broadly construed.

2.5 AFRICAN CONCEPTS AND THE MADZIMBAHWE

A reading of Herbert Chimhundu's (1992) work makes it clear that most previous understandings of the madzimbahwe failed to fully incorporate African concepts and ways of life. In making this point, Chimhundu (1992) points out that in attempts where African concepts were used, they seem unaware of the various changes brought about by colonialism. For example, the southern Rhodesian missionary conference resulted in the division of people who are now known as Shona into separate tribes – Zezuru, Ndau, Korekore etc which previously did not exist. Colonial archaeologists took these 'tribalised' identities as valid divisions for historical reconstructions, of which they are not. For example, Portuguese historical records refer to the inhabitants of the Mutapa as Karanga and the landscape as Mukaranga. And yet, the southern Rhodesian Missionary Conference gave the label to Karanga to those in the south and Korekore to the northerners. Furthermore, Chimhundu makes it clear that the sizes and territorial extent of many Shona social formations such as states and kingdoms were much smaller than colonial exaggerations allowed for. This requires a reassessment of some of the knowledge that is used to build archaeological interpretation, a phenomenon which Chirikure (*et al.* 2017) labelled as concept revision.

Chimhundu's (1992) assessment converges with Beach's (1994) study of Shona dynasties that highlighted the presence of various chiefdoms all over the territory now known as the Zimbabwe plateau and adjacent lowlands. Most people in regions such as Mt Darwin and Dande, part of the

landscape of the historical Mutapa state identify with stone walled settlements which are associated with some former Mutapa rulers (Chirikure *et al.* 2016). Equally, the people of Mangwende in Murehwa used to occupy the area around Tsindi and conducted their rituals there. Their traditions connect origins to this site. However, resettlement during the colonial period broke this cultural practice as the area around Tsindi became a private farm (Fig 1.2).

One interesting cultural principle that comes from Shona cultures is the principle of rotational political succession. Lathan (1974) highlights that the Shona were normally divided, throughout their history, into territories under rulers, which were subdivided into wards under sub rulers and house heads, each made up of a number of villages under village heads; these territories varied in size and in the wealth and power of their rulers. David Lan (1985) explains how in many African contexts that includes the Shona, how political authority is expressed in terms of ownership of the land. The formation of each chiefdom happened differently. Each chiefdom has its traditions about the founding of the chiefly dynasty and about its history (Bourdillon 1976). A chief and his followers could sometimes move into a country or in other areas there were inhabitants to be conquered and, in many cases, have detailed histories of migration (Bourdillon 1976).

Within the individual chiefdoms, Chirikure (*et al.* 2012) advocate for the principle of rotational succession which indicates that centres of power shifted from time to time, changing the status of settlements. They cite the example of the Mutapa state where the descendants of Nyatsimba Mutota whose many sons formed houses where future kings were derived following the system of rotational succession (see also Beach 1994; Pikirayi 1993; Sinclair *et al.*, 1993). New leaders, after political succession, ruled from their existing homesteads which they expanded to match their new status. Consequently most of the elite dry stone walled sites are identified with former rulers such as Mutota, Chiwawa, Nowedza and Kasekete among others (Chirikure *et al.* 2012; Pikirayi 1993; Pwiti 1996). Chirikure (*et al.* 2012) attribute shifting of capitals and the presence of many elite centres in northern Zimbabwe and other areas to this kind of succession politics. The concept of rotational succession is succinctly explained in the historical narrative of the Mhazi dynasty which reiterates that chieftainship would rotate among those who belonged to the chiefly family, creating a series of centres of power on the landscape as leaders succeeded each other (Zvarevashe 1978). The narrative also reveals the bloodshed that would accompany those on the journey to the throne. Whoever would have established himself as the next chief, would establish his own *muzinda* (court) somewhere else not on the previous chief's *muzinda.* Chirikure (*et al.* 2012) pushes for a model where elite stone walled sites possibly changed status with time, both horizontally and vertically. Chirikure (*et al.* 2012) views Gombe, Tsindi, and Harleigh farms as centres of independent polities together with Mapela and Mapungubwe in line with dynastic politics (see Beach 1994). While the actual unfolding of these

events may never be known, such a way of thinking is very close to local understanding than models which were developed using old archaeological theories from other parts of the world and using poorly interrogated colonial information. This raises the possibility that Tsindi was at some point a capital of an independent polity associated with groups that may have become the Mangwende of today. However, more work is required at Tsindi itself to understand the archaeology using lenses different to colonial ones.

2.6 PREVIOUS RESEARCHES ON TSINDI

2.6.1 Shiela Rudd's work

Previously known as Lekkerwater Ruins, Tsindi was previously excavated and studied by Shiela Rudd. To foreground my own research, this section summarises Rudd's (1984) work which, at the time, was a standard archaeological study of the settlement remains on Tsindi hill. However, the work excluded the surrounding flat areas. Surveys on the hill produced a plan of the site (Fig 2.1). The survey produced a plan showing what Rudd called phase III occupation, with entrances III and IV. A map showing plan of excavations and profile was produced. Cross-section plans of trenches have helped to elaborate the report.

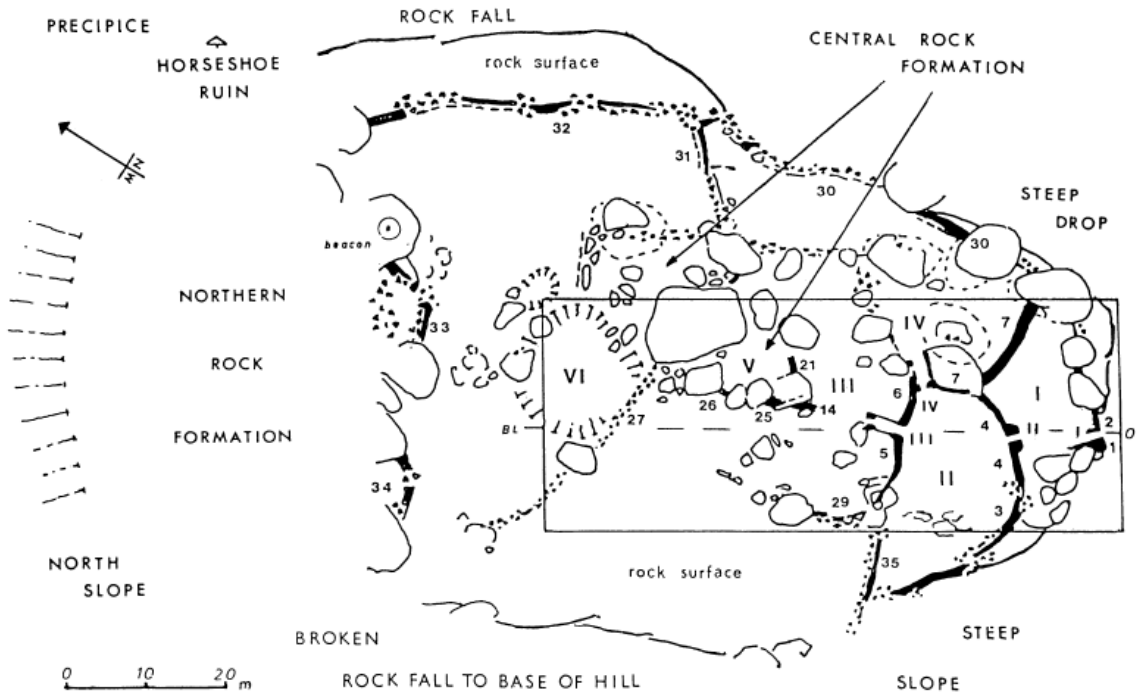


Figure 2. 1 Site map extract from Rudd (1984) showing previous excavation areas

2.6.1.1 Nature of site

Tsindi hill site was described by Rudd (1984) as a typical batholithic peak in exfoliation process. The summit is a grass covered plateau, bounded by wide bare granite surfaces and excavation revealed discontinuous rock layers that form the surface of the hill. Retaining walls divide the southern end into three surface levels between enclosures I and V (Fig 2.1). There was evidence of erosion found at all levels. The stone walled area covers about 2 hectares. The excavated area was divided into enclosures; areas more or less divided by walls and natural features and designated by upper case Roman numerals I to VI (Fig 2.1). Outer walls and those that bound rock formations belong to class P of Antony Whitty classification (Whitty 1959). Rudd recorded Class Q walls as having features common to the class of building at Great Zimbabwe.

2.6.1.2 Excavation and results

Shiela Rudd's (1984) excavations revealed hut remains which included, a stone platform, daga floor fragments, and pole and daga rubble. Rudd recovered pottery remains which she attributed to Great Zimbabwe, Harare, and Gokomere traditions. The research unveiled 64 glass beads from Tsindi. There were also seven metal beads and eighteen arrowheads that were recovered from the excavations. The iron artefacts resemble the assemblage from Nyanga. The excavations also unveiled two iron shafts, one with a split end and another with a chisel-shaped flat end. This includes half an iron ring, two bangles, a hoe with central rib and another two in a process of disintegration.

Spindle whorls were also found at Tsindi. They were all made of red clay, burnt on one or both sides but one was without a hole (Rudd 1984). In the same article, Rudd refers to various stone artefacts she found at Tsindi. A pendant, two black-green polished stones and a number of oval, quartz polishing stones were found in surface layers. Granite tools, one hammer and four grinding stones, were found in association with phase 1 occupation. Rudd suggests that their presence in association with worked and paving stones and a possible anvil signified that the inhabitants were actively engaged in iron working. This was cemented by the fact that 60 slag fragments were collected from Rudd's (1984) excavations where fragments of tuyeres and a crucible also occurred in surface layers.

2.6.1.3 Chronology and sequencing

Rudd's work identified four chronological phases. Phase I was identified with a chronological sequence based on the stratified deposits at the south end of the site. A hammer and grinding stones together with worked and pitted paving stones and possible anvil were found in this phase which suggests that the inhabitants actively worked iron. The presence of 60 slag fragments confirmed the existence of iron working. The first three dates on table 1 account for the Phase I period.

Phase II was sub-divided into two periods of the same phase. Q type walling is found in this phase but span up to the 15th Century. Phase II huts are characterised by massive kerbs which are typical of the

Later Iron Age. The period is also associated with the Harare pottery tradition. The complex of entrance III separated two enclosures with two different sources of raw materials. Stone quarrying by exfoliation was identified at the south side of the hill and the Q type walls were built from the south decomposing granite which was available in enclosure VI to raise the surface of the platforms and to level the deposits in enclosures III and V. Dates numbered 3-6 in Table 1 make phase II. Dates numbered 7-9 were executed to check apparent anomalies in the same phase.

The second half of Phase II shows a change in class of pottery, that followed the levelling of enclosures II, III, and V by layers (8), (6), and (6a). Rudd suspects that the second half of Phase II might signify a new phase of occupation by Q type builders. Dates numbered 10 and 11 in Table 1 account for the second half of phase II.

Phase III is concluded to have been characterised by destruction and replanning as some huts were demolished and their remains formed foundations for other huts. Huts A, B, and D occupy the south end of the site in phase III and it is concluded that they are not dwellings as they present a number of structural anomalies. Phase III is ascribed a religious significance. Hut A is viewed as a Banya -a religious hut which was to be used by a spirit medium, a place for bringing offerings to ancestral spirits.

The final phase of occupation at Tsindi was Phase IV. Rudd concluded that the site was abandoned in the 1830s. Some of the ruined daga walls must have remained standing when the passages were levelled. Associated with the period is construction of rough walls. No permanent water source is available at the summit. Pottery of almost all classes as well as most artefacts found displaced in layers are found in stratigraphic layers that are associated with this phase. The midden is not a reliable source of information as pottery classes C and D are found in the same deposit. The presence of few beads and total absence of exotic pottery show that Tsindi Hill was most probably never a trading post. Instead, the site may have been used as a religious centre throughout the Later Iron Age. Below is a table showing radiocarbon dates that were acquired through Rudd's research.

1.	IIA/2(12)	Lumps of charcoal on (ii)	SR-170	1040 B.P. ± 90	A.D. 910
2.	IIIB/3(9a)	Scattered fragments	SR-181	835 B.P. ± 95	A.D. 1115
3.	IIC(12)	Charred post (base *in situ)*	Pta-899	810 B.P. ± 50	A.D. 1140
4.	IIA/2 on (i)	Charcoal layer under (10)	SR-108	560 B.P. ± 120	A.D. 1390
5.	Ent.III.S. on (10)	Under curve of wall 6	SR-124	440 B.P. ± 90	A.D. 1510
6.	VA/3(5)	Wall 21 (burnt stockade)	Pta-900	560 B.P. ± 50	A.D. 1390
7.	Ent.III.N.(9)	Foundation layer (destruction)	SR-109	650 B.P. ± 120	A.D. 1300
8.	Ent.III.N.ext.(9)	As no. 7	Pta-903	620 B.P. ± 50	A.D. 1330
9.	IIC(9)	Destruction (filling)	SR-194	705 B.P. ± 65	A.D. 1245
10.	IIIB/3(8)	Pure charcoal under hut B (h)	SR-184	365 B.P. ± 105	A.D. 1585
11.	VIB(2)	Charcoal layer over ash midden	SR-182	370 B.P. ± 90	A.D. 1580
12.	Ent.III.N. on (10)	Scattered fragments in the ruins of hut N. (ph*II)*	SFU-281	1030 B.P. ± 160	A.D. 920

Table 2. 1 Radiocarbon dates from Shiela Rudd's excavations (Rudd 1984)

2.6.1.4 Interpretation

Rudd (1984) mentions that the interpretation of hut A as a Banya (religious house) in the enclosures she excavated was assisted by Aeneas Chigwedere on the superficial premise that he was not only a historian but an active participant in Shona rituals. She further reports that the western half was occupied by a spirit medium and platform (b) would made offerings to the spirits. Chigwedere's interpretation of the huts was mainly in terms of their use- in ritual processes. Rudd (1984) posits that Ambrose Moyo, a lecturer in African Traditional Religion and New Testament studies at the University of Zimbabwe confirmed Chigwedere's interpretation of the hut sites. Moyo was impressed by the huts' proximity to the deep rock shelter in enclosure IV which would be a focal point in any traditional religious centre. Huffman (1996) holds a different view on the area excavated. He argues that it as a chief's area and not a place for spirit mediums. Huffman claims that Chigwedere interpretation is flawed because a banya is a large open hut where the participants can witness an act of possession (cites Gelfand 1959). Huffman (1996) asserts that spirit mediums were mistakenly presumed to be important in the past because they have been important in living memory. In a letter to National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) in 1985 Chigwedere (see appendix 1) distances himself from Rudd's (1984) comments. He claims that an African polity was a theocracy with politics, religion, economics and social life inseparably intertwined. He further explains that the chief who resided at Tsindi was also the chief priest of his chiefdom but not necessarily a spirit medium. Thus, Chigwedere denies the interpretation of Tsindi being a religious centre as religion was part of other everyday aspects of life. Huffman (1996) concludes Tsindi was a typical palace. They were to him like a template of interpretation on the sites. However, Garlake (1972) in his assessment of Nhunguza, saw huts A, B, and C as domestic sleeping huts because of their reasonably large diameter (3.0 to 3.75m). Hut D is interpreted as one of the main living-huts; central dividing walls occur in huts at the Tsindi and Khami ruins (Garlake 1972 also citing Rudd, 1968; Robinson 1959) whose internal fittings show that they were living-huts. He further describes one which he calls the Main Hut which appears unsuited for any domestic role and, therefore, cannot be compared to the other huts. Garlake suggests that hut D was designed to fill a ceremonial role. Rudd (1984) ascribes the Tsindi area to Moyo Rozvi who dominated the area from the middle of the 17th century till they were driven out by Nguni invaders in the 1830s. Rudd (1984), citing Beach (1980) claims that the Nguni must have been responsible for the demolition of the phase II occupation and the construction of the decorated daga huts in phase III. She concludes that huts A, B and D are clearly not dwellings.

Pottery discussions of Tsindi were mainly addressing questions of relative chronology, identifying prehistoric human group identities (Pikirayi and Lindahl 2013). There were a few examples of stamped wares and one of the sherds matches the description of Gokomere ware (Rudd 1984) also citing

Schofield (1948). There is a class which Rudd (1984) named Class T/L B with a pottery assemblage that resembles Harare Ware. It had 18 pots and 11 bowls represented. Class T/L C has a type of pots that have bands of clay applied to neck which are examples of Khami and Great Zimbabwe.

2.7 DISCUSSION – THE NEED FOR CONCEPT REVISION

There is no doubt that significant amount of work has been carried out to understand the madzimbahwe. The focus of such research work and interest on selected sites such as Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe have consequently more popular than places such as Tsindi. Notwitstanding this imbalance, a historiography of the madzimbahwe has produced significant amount of information. However, locals are conspicuous with their exclusion in knowledge production. The expatriate researchers partitioned themselves into those that believed that Great Zimbabwe was local in origin and those who were of the view that it was built by foreigners. Ironically, these contestations raged on while local facts on madzimbahwe were overlooked. For instance, that some madzimbahwe sites were associated with local chieftaincies and that locals knew that the culture was a product of local innovation.

Furthermore, in culture historical terms, existing work has laid out a good foundation for understanding the development of the madzimbahwe. For example, that the madzimbahwe evolved from the Leopard's Kopje tradition and local equivalents thereof such as Gumanye, Harare and Musengezi is not contested. What is contested is the old idea that the madzimbahwe evolved linearly from Mapungubwe (AD1220-1290), via Great Zimbabwe (AD1300 – 1450) and ended with Khami and Mutapa (both flourishing between AD1450 and 1900). Research performed in southwestern Zimbabwe and other areas such as north-eastern Botswana has shown that there are localised entities with cultural attributes that are similar to those at Great Zimbabwe. Equally, the dates obtained by Rudd (1984) show a developmental sequence from the 10th century AD, continuing into the 16th century. This was buttressed by pottery sequences that showed the presence of Gokomere, Harare, and Great Zimbabwe pottery types. Whether this occupation was continuous or not is another issue but the radiocarbon and ceramic typological evidence shows that there were people successively on the landscape, mirroring developments elsewhere. It is for this reason that a reassessment of the archaeology of Tsindi is essential. It has potential to generate comparative insights on the evolution of the madzimbahwe in a region different to the Shashi-Limpopo as broadly defined.

More importantly, without a proper understanding of sites such as Tsindi and related ones that are currently poorly understood, it is difficult to properly situate the mechanisms of interaction within and between various polities. The presence of local and imported goods shows that the madzimbahwe

participated in trade and exchange. However, the volume and nature of the trade is not well known owing to the fact that information from smaller sites that were part of the exchange networks is poorly understood (Chirikure *et al.* 2017). The 64 glass beads from Tsindi (Rudd 1984) were obviously imported confirming that the inhabitants of the site directly or indirectly participated in the Indian Ocean trade and exchange network. However, what was exchanged for these glass beads and what do they represent in local value systems? These questions are essential because it was recently demonstrated that glass beads performed roles other than prestige (Chirikure 2014; Moffett and Chirikure 2016). For example, they may have been used as fashion statements, as accessories in spiritual activities and so on. However, of particular importance is the local productive base: what was produced by Tsindi that it exchanged with others. Again, this directs research about the site to fully understand its productive base.

The resurgence of work that is African centred motivates for a revisit of the archaeology of Tsindi as a first step towards developing broader comparative insights. More importantly, it is essential, where possible, to establish connections between historical groups and the archaeological site of Tsindi. For example, the last known group of people to live near the site are the Mangwende people whose leadership lived at Mount Mahopo about 5 kilometres from Tsindi (Rudd 1984; Chanaiwa 1971; Edwards 1926). The Mangwende people had spiritual connections with Tsindi which they saw as a shrine (see Ndoro 2005). It is possible that like with the Buhera Dynasty which is characterised by a spatially dispersed network of capitals associated with the development of the polity, the Mangwende dynasty also had its own similar history. This however, requires more research (see Beach 1994; Chirikure *et al* 2012), that aims to revise concepts to ensure that outcome knowledge is as close to local understanding as possible.

2.8 CONCLUSION

It is evident from the gaps that exist on the subject of madzimbahwe, more research is required to shed more light on the archaeology of individual sites such as Tsindi. The traditional tendency to assume that sites similar but smaller to Great Zimbabwe were lesser order administrative centres in the state requires revisiting in light of the thinking that some of the social formations were not very expansive. Nevertheless, these would have been networked with others which produced dynamic histories. To address higher order questions, it is essential to understand the individual sites such as Tsindi as a step towards building bigger comparisons. However, from the review of literature only a little research has focused on Tsindi site as much attention was focused on bigger sites. From the issues raised, it can safely be concluded from previous studies that Tsindi was not a trade centre as it lacked significant amount of evidence to prove that.

A number of scholars termed Zimbabwe culture sites ‘elite’ but, from previous research, Tsindi has not produced enough evidence to support that notion. Rudd concluded that it was a religious site because of types of structures found. Even the bones and pots found can complement the point as a lot of cattle were killed for ritual purposes. It is more of a ritual place than a palace.

Sites were ranked in a way that even their development was traced from the capitals. Judging from evidence revealed from other sites like Mapela, and ignored dates of Tsindi from Rudd, it is safer to see Zimbabwe culture sites in the view of having advanced autonomously, sometimes overlapping but not necessarily associated.

The conclusion by previous scholars that sites like Great Zimbabwe and Khami were capitals were successive kings stayed have sparked debate. The result of the debate illuminating differences between Eurocentric interpretations and Afrocentric ones. Eurocentric views were based on failure to understand African systems. Especially among the Shona people, chiefdoms are autonomous and the issue of a centralized government is quite foreign.

More research on Tsindi has potential of contributing positively to current debates that seek to reinterpret ‘Zimbabwe tradition’ especially after more evidence has been revealed. There is need to unearth more evidence that can solve debates on dates that Zimbabwe sites were occupied. How the sites were used and their status in society still remain debatable only until more information is produced. A detailed understanding of Tsindi requires a robust theoretical approach and methodology that brings to the fore the importance of African centred understanding, which is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3 THEORY AND METHODS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the theoretical and conceptual framework that informs the archaeological study of Tsindi. It builds on existing archaeological theories and methods with a heavy leaning towards African centred theories. Of particular interest is the need to integrate archaeology with observations from writers such as Chimhundu (1992) who noted some discrepancies between generally accepted understandings of political formations in southern Africa which are anchored on old western theories and local versions of how such formations may have functioned. This may call for concept and knowledge revision as was done in other regions of the world such as South and Central America where a reassessment of individual sites demonstrated that there was not a single Maya state (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996) but a number of them and that the organisation of the political economy was in some ways different to predictions in theories formulated by Gordon Childe and others (Feinman and Nicholas 2012).

The research adopted several strategies to data collection. These include a desktop study of primary and secondary sources. In this study, primary sources included unpublished sites reports and survey records filed in the survey section of the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare. When added to a study of existing collections, this primary data is useful for enhancing an understanding of Tsindi. Secondary sources studies in this research include published historical and archaeological materials by Rudd (1984) and others such as Farrant (1966). This groundwork was essential for building a platform on which to explore previous work on the site to develop strategies for the current study. The objects from the previous excavations were also studied to understand the nature of the material culture from different areas. Finally, based on desktop studies, dedicated archaeological surveys were performed at Tsindi, that yielded diverse information which was consolidated to compile a picture of lifeways and past activities at the site

3.2 MATERIAL CULTURE

In the conduct of their day to day activities, human beings make objects to implement their strategies for survival. Consequently, humans are distinguished from other animals not only because they make tools but rather that they rely on the objects and their lives are shaped and in turn shape technologies and other adaptive responses (Hollenback and Schiffer 2010). These objects, which are also known as material culture, are a repository of tangible and intangible traces of past human behaviour (Caple

2005). Woodward (2007) refers to material culture as objects that people encounter, interact with and use. The interaction between humans and the environment normally results in production of objects of varying sizes that include artefacts, relics, buildings, tools and other objects that constitute the material evidence of (usually past) societies (Viduka 2012; Woodward 2007; Waugh 2004; Hicks 2010). By studying material culture, archaeologists can access information on subsistence, economy, trade and exchange, religion, politics and others. Through the available material evidence one is able to deduce information on past cultures. Archaeology is one of the means to studying material culture as it examines physical remains and traces of human activity. (Viduka 2012). Against such a definition it is therefore not possible to pursue this study without studying the material culture of the site in question (Hollenback and Schiffer 2010). However, any material culture that is available is conditioned by what survives in the archaeological record and the techniques of recovery that are utilised (Waugh 2004).

The above highlights the diversity of issues that have been studied using material culture. Indeed, as alluded to in the previous chapter, objects have played an important role in understanding the madzimbahwe (Pwiti 1996; Pikirayi 2011; Huffman 2014; Ndoro 2005; Manyanga and Chirikure 2017). Consequently, this study will employ material culture theory in broad terms. However, because specific categories of material culture such as pottery are in turn associated with theories of their own (see for example Huffman 2007), the approach adopted in this study is that detailed theoretical approaches are provided before a group of objects is presented.

3.3 CONCEPT REVISION AND LOCALLY CENTRED APPROACHES

The basic thread running through this thesis is an awareness of the fact that most existing knowledge on the madzimbahwe was produced using old theories derived from elsewhere. Consequently, there is need to approach sites such as Tsindi using locally centred frameworks to build a broader comparison. In this regard, recourse will be made to studies that focussed on the cultures of Shona people and their history. Consequently, the observations from Chimhundu (1992), Beach (1974; 1980; 1998), Bourdillon (1976), Chanaiwa (1971), Lathan (1974), and among others Lindahl and Matenga (1995) will be used to develop an understanding of the site of Tsindi.

Of interest are the ideas of Chimhundu (1992) who advocates for a domestically-centred approach to studying past political formations. This is important in the context of Tsindi because sites with stone walling are currently viewed as belonging to the elites. That leads to a crucial research question: how

do we understand class from a locally centred perspective? Suggestions are that often class was very fluid and was not always defined by access to material culture (Chirikure *et al.* 2018). As far as politics is concerned, one of the long enduring concepts is that the capitals of Shona states and chiefdoms changed as political succession moved from one leader to the next (Beach 1994; Sinclair *et al.* 1993). Furthermore, the groups that are now known as Shona are known to have polities across and beyond the Zimbabwe plateau. Given the high levels of mobility, this often-produced material culture that was similar but did not necessarily imply that all the places with identical material culture were under a single centralised administration. Beach (1994) shows that various dynasties had their own changing capitals that often intermarried with others. What was the organisation of life in individual centres of power? Older theories argue that capitals known as *mizinda* were occupied by the elites and commoners who were allocated to different residential zones (e.g. Huffman 1996). However, Beach (1998) makes it clear that some Mutapa leaders only lived as small families in their *mizinda*. This has convergence with historical reports where chiefs lived in their own homesteads while commoners lived in their own homesteads sometimes away from the centre (Zvarevashe 1978). Specialists and advisers too lived away from the centre (Chirikure *et al.* 2018). This local information motivates for comparison with the picture in the archaeology to identify similarities and possible differences. It is anticipated that material culture from various areas of Tsindi will contribute towards a pursuit of this objective.

3.4 METHODOLOGY

This study deployed a stepped methodology to collect data for addressing the research questions posed at the beginning of this study. Initially, desktop studies were performed together with an assessment of existing collections in the archive. This was followed by archaeological surveys and excavations to retrieve well contextualised samples for study (Roskams 2001). Cumulatively, this combination of methods brought together complimentary data that aided interpretation of the site through traces of human behaviour left by its inhabitants.

3.4.1 Desktop Study

There is not much information available for studying Tsindi. The most comprehensive works are that of Sheila Rudd (Rudd 1984; Turner 1984) that presented details about site layout and objects that were recovered from the excavations. This was essential for developing strategies to data collection at the site. However, Roskams (2001) warns researchers that although previously published

archaeological works on any site are important, they must be treated with great care in order not to be misled, especially with very old observations. One way of avoiding such biases involves revisiting original field notes and collections to develop nuanced understanding.

3.4.2 Study of survey records from the museum, and collections and histories.

To add to insights from published works, a detailed study was performed on unpublished reports in the survey section of the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences. The records in the national archaeology inventory section include excavation records, notes and maps. However, not much information is available but indications are that Rudd's (1984) publication serves as a consolidated site report. Subsequently, an effort was made to locate the excavated materials in the same museum. While Rudd's publication makes it explicit that a sizable amount of material was recovered from her excavation, the material was not located in the museum. In fact, the collection could not be accounted for. This means that it was not possible to study Tsindi using previously excavated materials thereby motivating for an archaeological survey and excavation.

3.4.3 Archaeological Surveys at Tsindi

There are many pre-excavation strategies that may be applied to an archaeological research. An archaeological survey was conducted in this research to assess the extent of Tsindi site. Archaeological survey helps in identifying the distribution of artefacts with diagnostic structural information which may be used as a guide to excavation tactics and interpretation (Roskams 2001). The purpose of survey was to understand the site: distribution of features, its size, interpret activity areas and select where to dig. This was also to verify the site's settlement status and infer possible use of space on the site (Marufu 2008). To develop broader ideas about the site, the surveys included the stone walled areas and their surrounding environments. The surveys were also supplemented with information from local informants who assisted with the identification of places of historical and cultural value around Tsindi (figure 3.1). The results are presented in the next chapter.

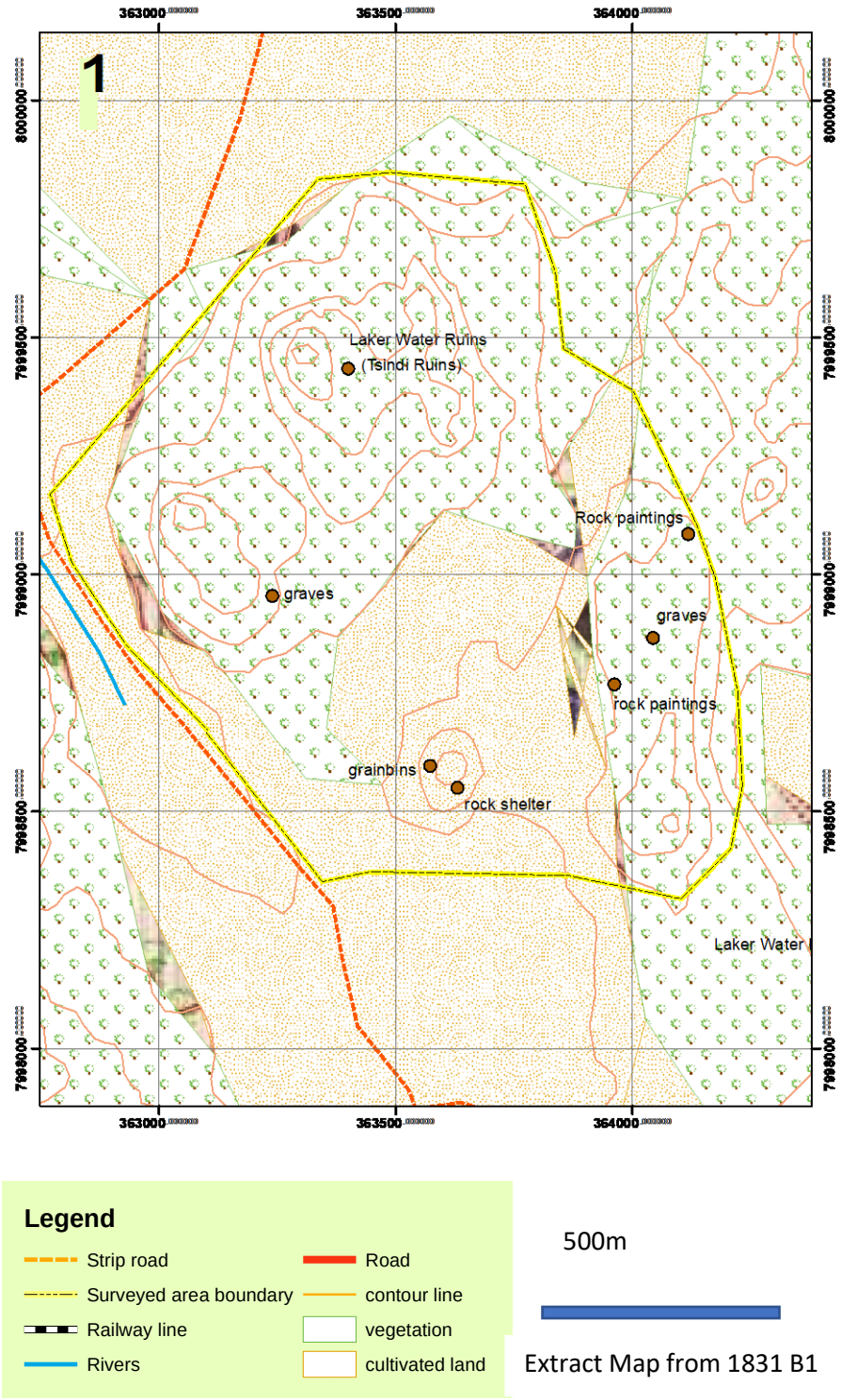


Figure 3. 1 Map showing Tsindi hill's nearby sites (extract from 1:50000 Geological Survey Map)

3.4.4 Excavations

Based on the intelligence gathered from surveys and known locations of Rudd's (1984) study, a decision was made to dig three trenches. Trench 1 was a 1 metre (length) by 1 metre (width) square trench while Trench 2 was 2 metres by 1 metre trench. Trench 3 had same dimensions as Trench 2. Trenches were set out on ground using a marked wooden square to mark a square metre (Fig 3. 2) and for control purposes, excavations proceeded in 10 centimetre spits. However, at the end, the excavations were reconciled with the natural layers to correspond to the events represented at the site.

Figure 3. 2 Trench 2 Layer 1

3.4.5 Limitations

The study marshals various theories and techniques to data collection. However, one of the major limitations is that the collection from Rudd could not be accounted for. This means that it could not be reassessed. The objects that are available in the museum are mostly daga fragments and few pottery fragments.

The study was limited in assessing land use in a more holistic way as the greater part of flat land had been repeatedly cultivated for agriculture purposes. This disturbed archaeological material and

contexts. This creates an impression that only hills were occupied and used in the area yet the farming fields have artefacts which are just difficult to put into context.

The displacement of people who lived around Tsindi by the colonial government to make way for commercial farms scattered the VaNhowe people further away from the site. Data collection method of interviewing more of the people who have traditions in Tsindi hills suffered setbacks as it became not only expensive but also could not match project timelines. This left the research to rely more on desktop information. However, future research may rectify this.

Ancient burials in Tsindi hills are a possible source of valuable information on the lifeways of past societies. The time and financial resources allocated to the study did not make it possible to pursue the mortuary studies as well. Such studies require a lot of bureaucratic processes that should normally be done before commencement of a project.

The majority of the few decorated pottery sherds were too fragmented that they could not be further analysed in context of other attributes. Some were too small to establish vessel profiles and shape.

3.4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, a physical record of the past lifeways of Tsindi communities exist mostly in the material culture found in the place. A study of the remains in form of walls, pottery, and other artefacts will shed more light on their subsistence, economy, politics and other issues. Material culture studies have been instrumental to different madzimbahwe studies.

Information collected from primary and secondary sources became the foundation for building the reaseach. Existing gaps from previous researches prompted a review of the madzimbahwe concept. Central to this research is the use of locally centred frameworks which will widen the scope of Zimbabwe tradition studies. Old theories have produced narratives and interpretations that are foreign to locals who were in the first place not targeted recipients. A study of Tsindi material culture takes a locally centred approach in a bid to revise the madzimbahwe concept.

This whole process of studying Tsindi past cultures through its archaeological artefacts would not have been possible without a planned methodology. Tsindi research followed through planned stages of data collection. The methodologies were ideal but some stages were met with different harsh realities that exposed the study to some limitations. The limitations generally reduced the amount of ease of data collection but not necessarily stopping it. The results of the data collection approaches are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4 PRESENTATION OF SURVEY AND EXCAVATION RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results of the data collection strategies employed in this research. Desktop studies were conducted to understand both the site and the broader concept of the madzimbahwe as well as the focus areas of previous research in different areas. It became clear that Rudd's work mostly focused on the stone-walled area of the site. Consequently, a decision was made to survey the surrounding landscape for sites to gain additional insights. An attempt was also made to study already excavated material but most of it could not be located at the ZMHS where it used to be kept. This motivated for another excavation as the previous material culture retrieved required to be analysed in context of locally centred frameworks. A survey of Tsindi hill was conducted. The survey also included flat areas surrounding the hill. This helped to widen the understanding of the site in context of its environment. It was through desktop and survey results that excavation points were identified. Subsequent excavation work exposed underground artefacts which were collected in the process. The excavation helped to gain a holistic understanding of the development of the site.

4.2 DESKTOP STUDIES RESULTS

Tsindi site is situated on a granite hill with a grassy plateau. Surveys conducted by Shiela Rudd (1984) resulted in different features being documented. She recorded dry stone walls which are bounded in the north by rocks and divided the place into enclosures (fig 2.1) that are further subdivided by both stone walls and natural features. Tsindi stone walls were ascribed to the Great Zimbabwe building traditions. Antony Whitty's (1959) classes P and Q dominate the Tsindi walling establishment. Wall 30 has a drain running through its southern section. A few of the walls are both free standing and form rock platforms. This is exemplified by wall 7 which is free standing between enclosures I and IV but forming a platform by facing a boulder in enclosure II.

Rudd's excavations exposed a number of features and artefacts. Evidence of occupation was, therefore, unearthed. Phase III structure remains in form of unsupported walls were found in brick red daga with fine, even granite grains. There also exist evidence of Phase II filling; hardened kerbs, floors and others in course grey/brown, decomposing granite gravel. Earliest Phase II floors were recorded in their Dark red 'clayey' daga with little granite context. Rudd suspects that pottery sequence would be confusing because of factors like intense erosion at all levels, movement of decomposing granite transferred within enclosures and the levelling of daga ruins in enclosures II and III. Rudd recovered Gokomere wares that she classified as T/L A. Class T/L B resembled Harare and had 18 pots and 11 bowls represented. Class T/L D was defined by vertical, conical and concave necks together with rolled and beaded rims and the general use of graphite. The fourth pottery class was T/L D which was allocated all pottery from disturbed surface layers that include refuge period and later Shona wares. Other cultural objects found from the excavations included glass and metal beads, a gold ring, iron arrow heads, 9 blades (all thin and rusted), a spear, figurines, spindle whorls and stone artefacts. Rudd's survey and excavation results contributed immensely in guiding this research in terms of filling in gaps. The results of which are presented in the next sections.

4.3 SURVEY RESULTS

The survey conducted at Tsindi confirmed the features observed by Rudd but also identified previously unrecorded components in spaces contiguous with Tsindi Hill. For example, drystone walling and grain bins were recorded on granite boulders about a kilometre to the southern side of Tsindi hill. To the south east of Tsindi hill is another cluster of boulders with burials. The rock overhangs also have rock art paintings. In these areas, pottery fragments, house remains and other material culture were found. Another burial site is in close proximity to the stone walls, close to the foot of Tsindi Hill. Not much material culture was identified on the flats owing to nearly a century of commercial farming.

4.3.1 Tsindi South drystone wall cluster

GPS reference; UTM7998593-36k0363574

About 800 metres from Tsindi lie four drystone walls in series and on different parts of the hill. Wall 1 is about 4m wide, 2m high and a 50cm wide and 60cm high entrance with a broken stone lintel (Fig 4.1 a)). The wall is facing west and forms a barrier between two boulders which in turn make a passage to a boulder surface with another dry-stone wall and grain bin platforms. The southern half of the wall has greenish grey colouring with lichens while the northern half has almost clean stones on a dripline. Wall 2 is about 5m long, 1m high and about 50cm wide. One end of the wall has a monolith on top.

The wall is right on the edge of a steep slope and in between two boulders. The wall also encloses grain bin bases (Fig 4.1 b)). Wall 3 is a low walling which is 30-40cm high and one part goes up to about 60cm following rock contours but maintaining an almost level top (Fig 4.1 c)). Wall 4 is on top of one of the highest boulders on the rock cluster (Fig 4.1 d)). The boulder makes subsequent access to the wall was very difficult. Purpose of the wall could not be immediately established. Tsindi South as a whole is possibly a refugee site judging by the number of grain bin bases and platforms as well as the strategic location of the site with a good command view of the surrounding.

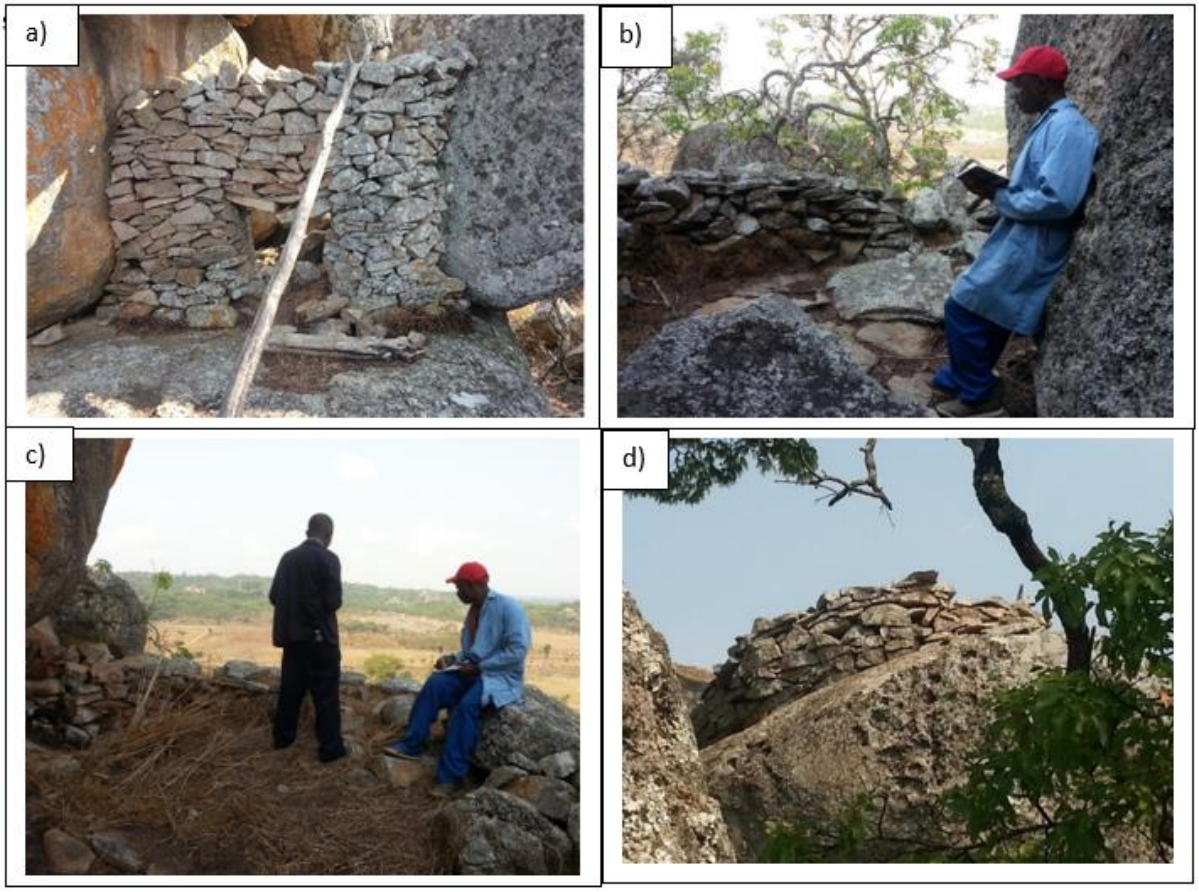


Figure 4. 1 a) Stone wall with a broken lintel, b) wall 2, c) Wall 3, d) Wall 4 on a boulder top

4.3.2 Tsindi Burials

(GPS reference 36k 0364045-UTM7998865 and GPS reference; 36k 0363632- UTM 7998549

Burial places and rock art sites were discovered through a thorough survey of the area surrounding Tsindi Hill. Balancing granite rock boulders (Fig 4.2 a) are located about a kilometre to the south east of Tsindi hill. There are visible burials that are strategically placed, some at the foot of the bottom

boulder and other ones in the middle where the top boulder converges with the bottom one. The graves are built of stone blocks and sandy clay mortar. Dry stone walls make a barrier from the burials on most of the sections. The walling is about 5m long and has an entrance with flat stone blocks door frames (Fig 4. 2 c)). While the western side of the burial is daga plastered, the eastern side plastering exhibits visible handprints. The next cluster of burials is situated about a kilometre to the south of Tsindi hill (Fig 1.2). One burial is at the foot of a Rock Shelter with two stone walls at its base. They are configured in a format that resembles some burial sites discovered at Tsindi. The walling is defined by straight joints and building blocks of differing sizes. One end of the wall is collapsed, most probably as a result of animal action. Another feature is a granite boulder with a grave underneath. In front of the grave is an almost complete small ceramic pot. The pot is graphite burnished and has identifiable finely incised cross hatching decorations on the shoulder. The mouth is partially broken. The third section of burials is about 500m to the south western side of Tsindi hill (fig 1.2) under a rock shelter next to the NMMZ interpretive centre building. Judging from visible evidence, at least six graves constitute the burial site. The graves are built in a similar design as the ones described above .

All of Tsindi burials discovered so far are located in rock shelters with the grave mouth sealed with stone and mortar. Some of the graves are barricaded by a dry-stone wall barriers. Huffman (2007) describes Zimbabwe pattern of burials which includes burying of leaders on hilltops or in rock shelters outside their capitals. Tsindi burials match most of his description on the what can be seen without necessarily opening the grave. This corresponds well with the burials Crawford (1967) describes which are in rock shelters. Huffman (2007) argues that the burials would be outside the ‘capitals’. In the context of Tsindi, this means outside the main stone enclosure that would have been the place of residence. However, when people moved from one place of settlement to another, they could use the abandoned place for burials. The closest burial to the Tsindi hill stone walled site is about 500m which makes it either part of the capital or alternatively reduce the stature of the site to a mere homestead.

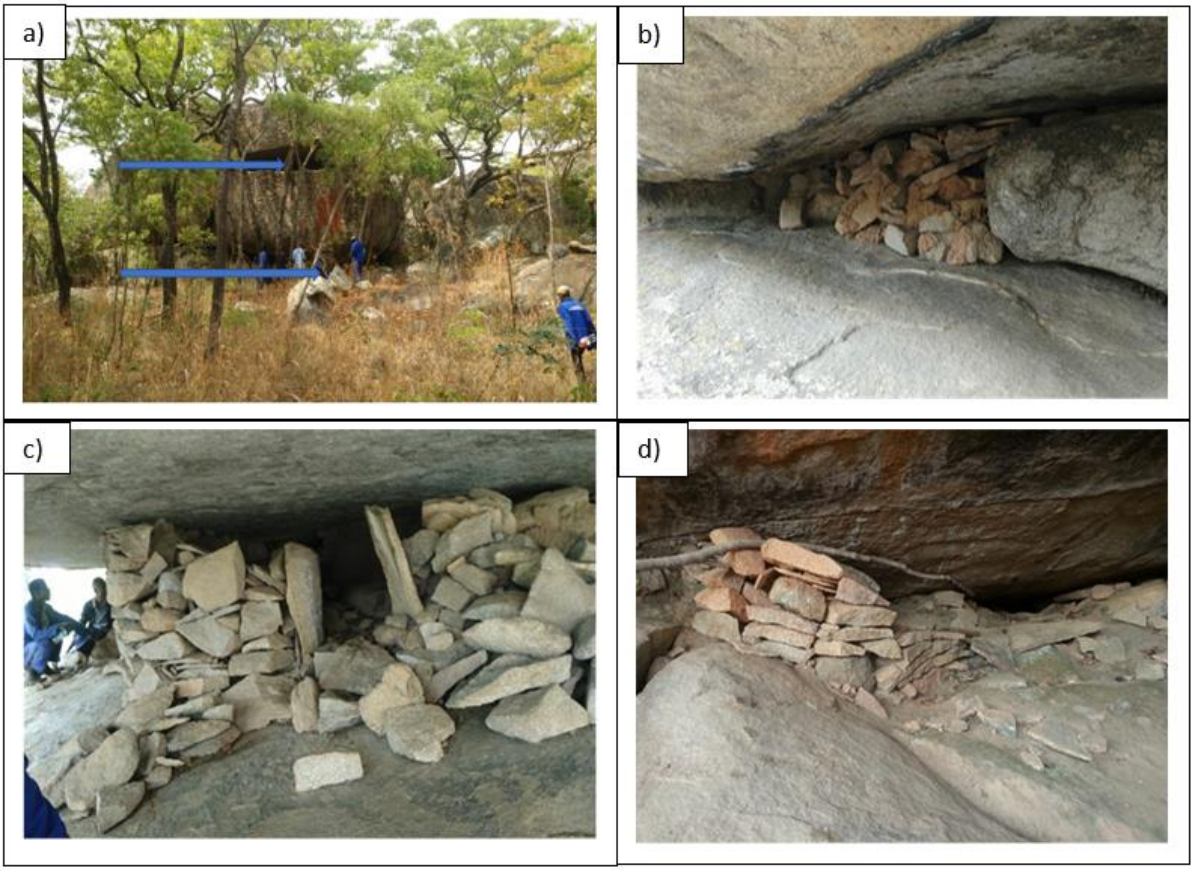


Figure 4. 2 a) Balancing rocks with graves in between and underneath; b) Burial with daga mortar; c) Burial entrance with stone slab door frames; d) Tsindi South burial

Figure 4. 3 Pot found at grave at Tsindi south

4.3.3 Tsindi Hill east

GPS reference; 36k 0363401-UTM7999433

Figure 4. 4 Hut remains at Tsindi hill east

The eastern flank of Tsindi hill has a large scatter of pole impressed daga pieces. About five hut platforms are clearly visible. Grain bin platforms are also evident to make the place represent a homestead. The site also has an abundant scatter of potsherds. Two of the trees in this area have dassie wire traps set on them showing some of the animals that the environment supplies.

4.4 EXCAVATIONS

This section outlines excavation results. Tsindi hill had three points identified at different parts of the hilltop for excavation. The excavation units derived from the points were for purposes of this research named trenches 1, 2, and 3. The choice of the points for excavation trenches was larged informed by the concentration of surface artefacts and their respective position on Tsindi hill so as to get a fair representative sample for analysis.

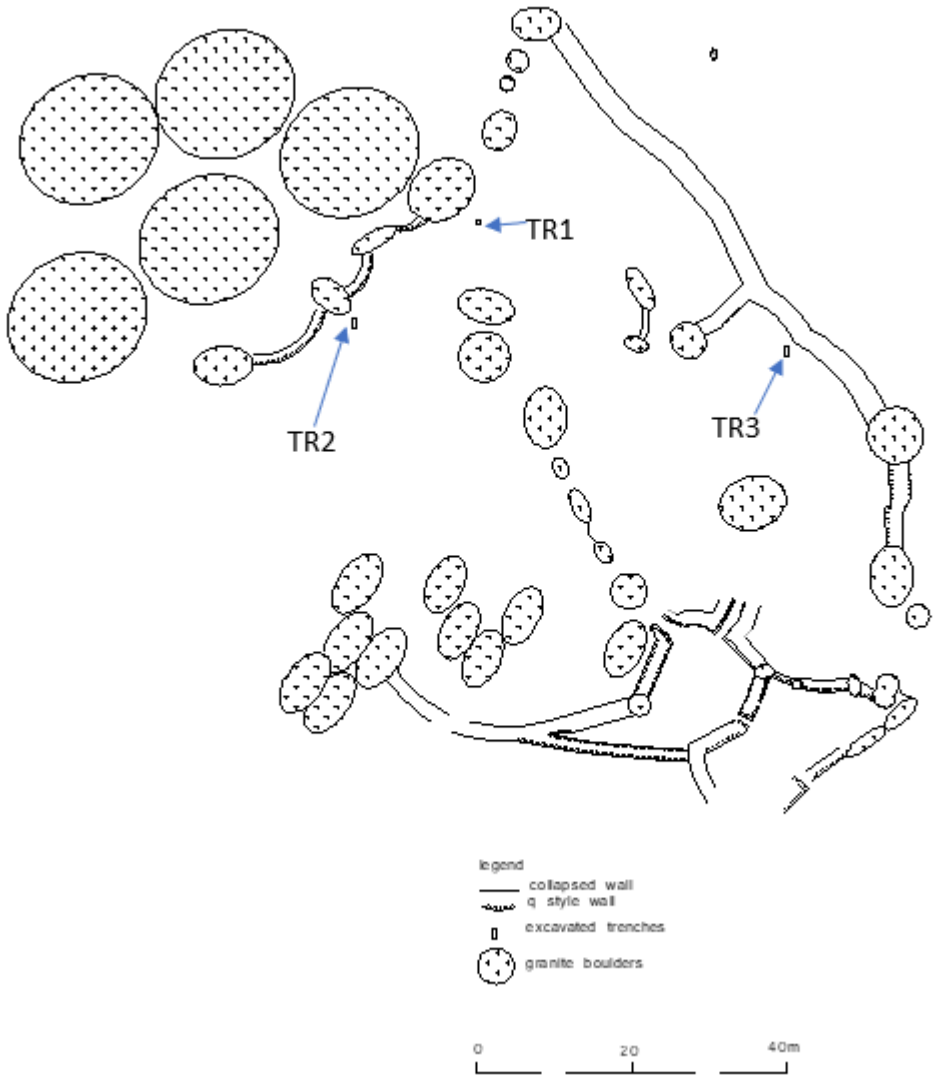


Figure 4. 5 Site map showing excavation trenches positions

4.4.1 Trench 1

Trench 1 is located in the middle part of the northern end of the hill a few metres before the area defined by a high concentration of boulders that make the steep edge of the hill. The concentration of surface potsherds, slag and daga rubble to a greater extent influenced the decision to excavate trench 1 in its position. The artefacts were a good indication of subsurface finds in the area. Very dark sandy loam soil with dark ash constitute the better part of the top layers of the trench (Fig 4.7). 4 pieces of slag and 7 daga remains were also collected. Layer 1 (0-10cm) had 27 diagnostics and 64 undiagnostic potsherds. The same layer yielded 2 pieces of slag, 2 glass beads (1 white and 1 black), 1 bone fragment and 3 daga lumps. Three quarters of Layer 1 base had dark grey sandy-clay loam and the south eastern corner is a lighter shed of grey. Layer 2 (10-20cm) produced 5 diagnostic and 26 undiagnostic potsherds. 1 unidentifiable bone fragment and 10 daga fragments were found. Layer 3 (20cm-30cm) was least in yielding cultural material. It produced 3 diagnostic and 2 undiagnostic potsherds, 3 glass beads and two pieces of daga rubble. Layer 4 (30-40cm) was the closest to layer 1 in yielding many artefacts. 18 diagnostic and 40 undiagnostic potsherds, 2 bone fragments, 2 tuyere fragments and 1 daga piece were collected from layer 4. Layer 5 suddenly became sterile and the soil type became fine granite gravel. The dark grey soil colour was lighter at the bottom of layer 3.

Figure 4. 6 trench 1

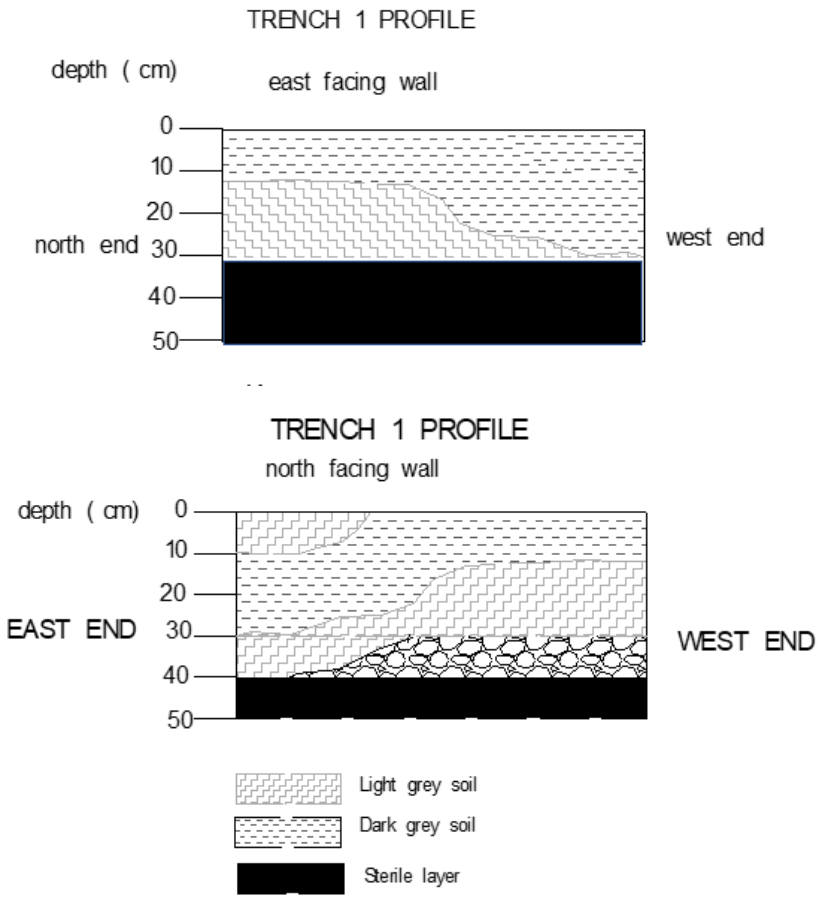


Figure 4. 7 Trench 1 stratigraphy

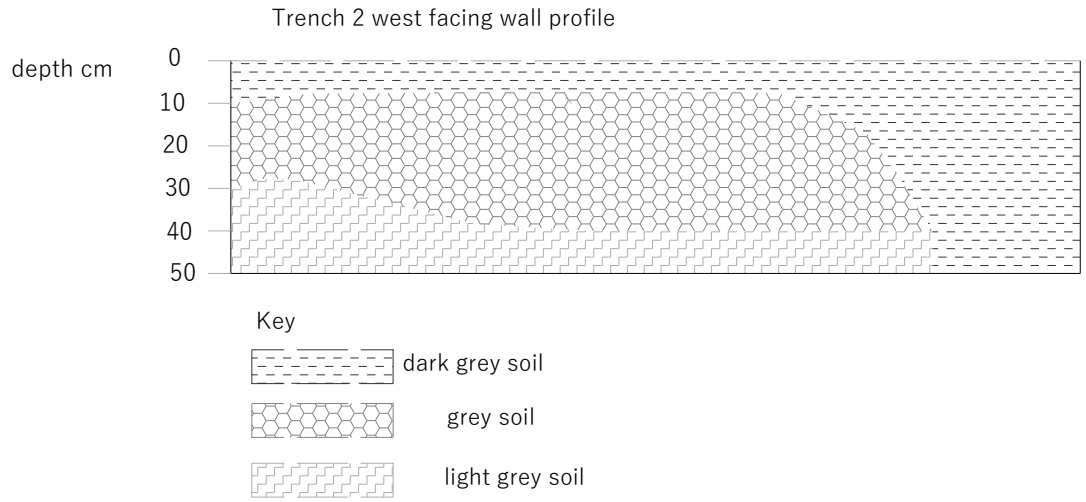
4.4.2 Trench 2

This was located to the north western side of trench 1. Trench 2 was pegged in an area with concentration of pottery fragments, slag and daga rubble on the surface. This trench yielded substantial evidence of mineral smelting which could possibly be either gold or iron. Light grey sandy clay loam soil defines Layers 1 to 4 and a marked transition to light brown course sandy clay (Fig 4. 9). Of the 38 pottery fragments on the surface, 7 were diagnostic and 31 were undiagnostic. Five small slag pieces and 13 daga fragments were collected from the surface. Layer 1 yielded the highest number of potsherds in a single layer on this trench. 10 of the pottery fragments were diagnostic and the remaining 129 were unidentifiable. 33 fragments of iron slag were recovered from the layer. Layer 1 also yielded 1 copper bead, 4 bone fragments, 9 daga pieces, 1 iron fragment, 3 glass fragments and charcoal. A few of the daga pieces show traces of pole impressions.

Layer 2 had a lower artefact yield compared to layer one but produced a variety of pieces of evidence of past human occupation. Of the 63 potsherds, 31 had diagnostic features identifiable with some

known pottery traditions like the Great Zimbabwe. Layer 2 yielded 27 slag pieces, 1 glass bead, 2 bone fragments, 3 tuyeres, 9 daga pieces and 2 glass fragments. Layer 3 had fewer types of artefacts from Layer 2. Of the 50 potsherds 6 were diagnostic and 44 were undiagnostic. The layer yielded 17 pieces of slag, 11 daga pieces and a few charcoal fragments. Artefacts in the 4th layer resemble those found in layers 3, 4, and 5 in terms of types and quantity per layer. Pottery fragments from layer 4 were 52 in total and 15 were diagnostic and 37 were undiagnostic. Layer 4 produced 31 pieces of iron slag, 6 tuyere fragments, 2 crucible remains, 15 daga rubbles (which were most probably furnace remains) and about 12 small pieces of charcoal.

Of all the excavations conducted in this research Trench 2 was unique in that it had more than five productive layers yielding diverse cultural material. The fifth layer had 9 diagnostic and 41 undiagnostic pottery sherds. 25 iron slag pieces, 5 tuyere remains, 3 pieces of daga, and 12 small fragments of charcoal. Layer 6 did not yield much as it marked the change from the dark ashy soil to a more sterile layer. Of the 8 pottery fragments collected, 3 were diagnostic and 5 were not. Only 5 iron slag pieces, 2 daga fragments and a few pieces of charcoal were collected.



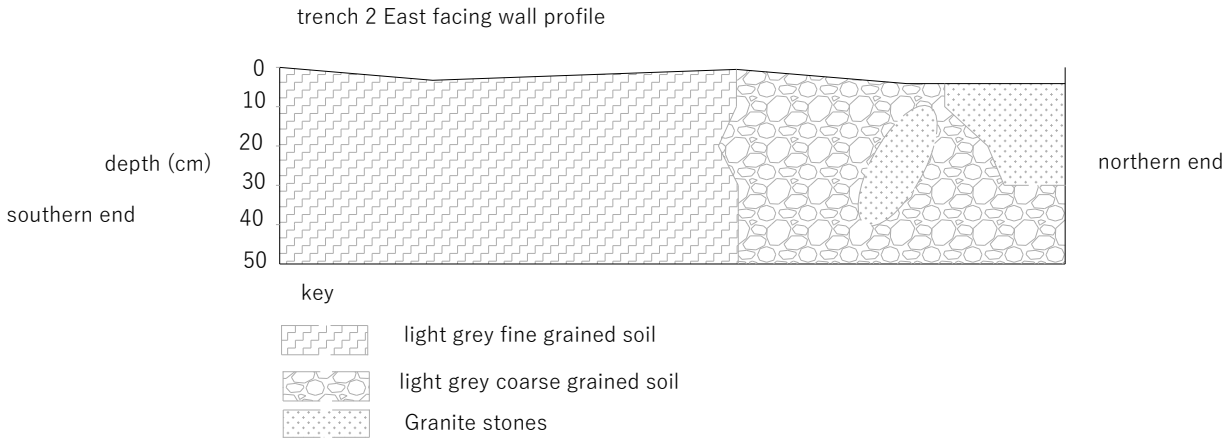
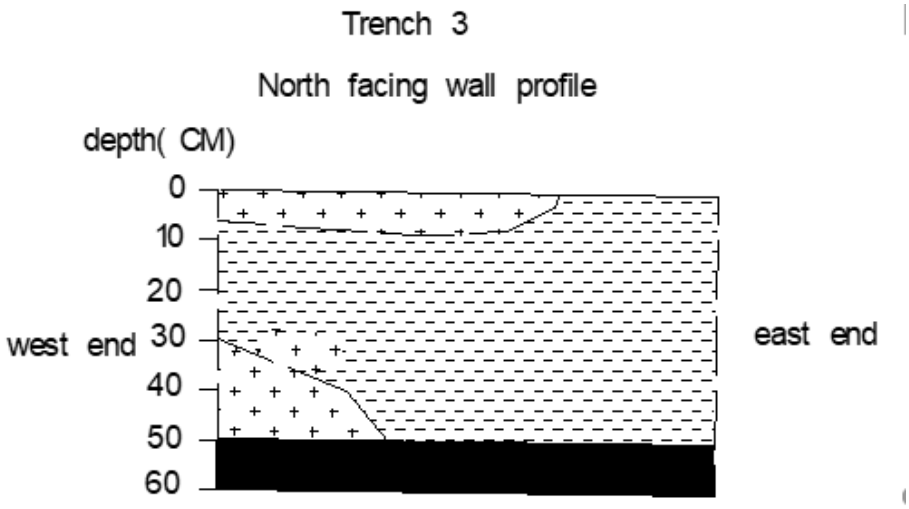


Figure 4. 8 Trench 2 stratigraphy

4.4.3 Trench 3



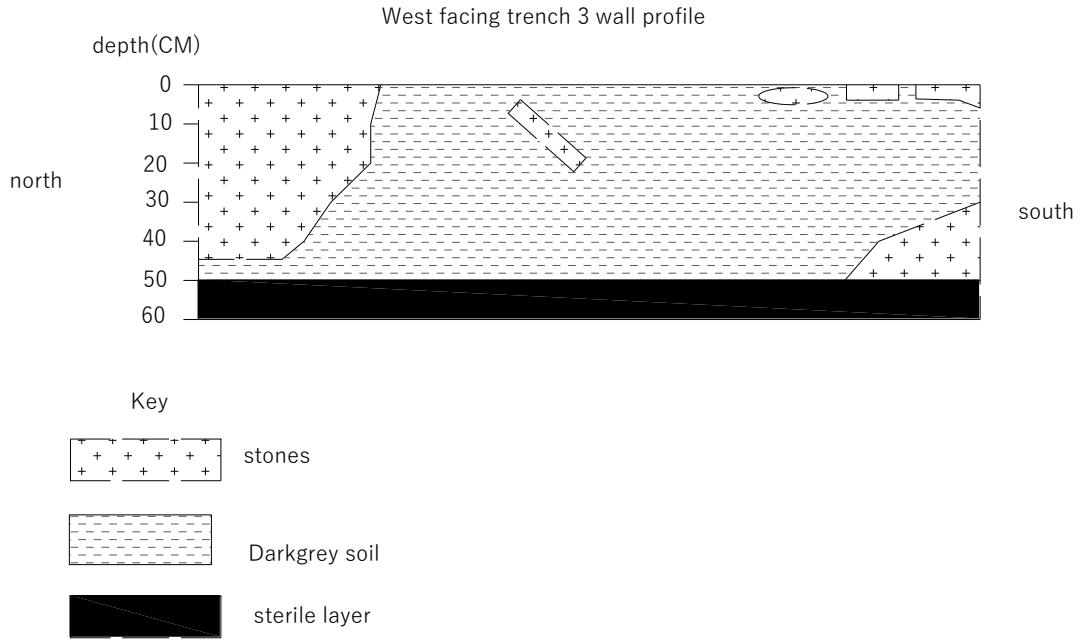


Figure 4. 9 Trench 3 stratigraphy

In order to assess use of space at the hilltop, a third trench was excavated in a place at the north eastern end of the hill. Trench 3 was set on a midden on the eastern side of Tsindi hill within the eastern perimeter wall. Unlike trenches 1 and 2, trench 3 yielded larger numbers of pottery fragments, lesser amount of minerals related artefacts and and comprartively large amounts of faunal remains. The surface of trench 3 yielded 13 diagnostic and 18 undiagnostic potsherds. Three iron slag pieces and 5 bone fragments completed the surface collection. The surface collections was related with materials excavated materials.

Layer 1 of trench 3 yielded 106 diagnostic and 184 undiagnostic potsherds. The same layer produced 15 pieces of slag, 3 beads, 13 daga pieces, 2 corroded iron fragments and 6 remains of copper wound wire. A pack of 119 bone fragments dominated by cattle and a few are of other smaller animals also defined layer 1. Layer 2 also yielded a high number of potsherds as layer 1. 139 pottery remains could be identified and 169 were undiagnostic. A number of vessels were large enough to be identified in colour, decoration and profile. 64 bone remains from different parts of different animals could be identified and 250 fragments remained unidentifiable. Some had cut marks from different objects. Some bone remains were heavily weathered but others were in a more stable condition. Four slag pieces, small charcoal fragments and copper wound wire were collected from layer 2.

Layer 3 decreased yield of pottery compared to 1 and 2 but had more bones than any other layer. Pottery remains in layer 3 had more identifiable sherds to the tune of 88 pieces against 53 undiagnostic ones. 54 diagnostic bone remains and 399 unidentifiable fragments were collected from

layer 3. 17 pieces of daga rubble several small pieces of charcoal completed the layer 3 collection. Layer 4 was more or less like layer 3 in terms of artefact yield. 111 potsherds were classified as identifiable and 38 undiagnostic. 66 identifiable and 320 unidentifiable bones, 3 daga pieces and a few charcoal pieces were collected. Layer 5 yielded fewer artefacts and the soil colour was changing to be lighter and taking that of the sterile undisturbed layer which is light brown course sandy. It yielded 12 diagnostic potsherds and 18 undiagnostic ones. 11 slag pieces, few pieces of charcoal and 8 identifiable and 36 unidentifiable bone remains were collected.

4.5 SUMMARY OF OBJECTS FROM THE EXCAVATION

The finds from all the trenches were cleaned and tabulated by context (Table 4.1). The materials were then studied in detail as reported in subsequent chapters.

Provenance		Artefact Type	Undiag.	Diag.	Totals	Comments
Trench 1	Surface collection	Pottery	13	6	19	
		Slag			4	
		Daga			3	Light brown sandy clay
	Layer 1	Pottery	64	27	94	
		Slag			2	
		Glass beads			2	White and black
		Bone	1		1	weathered
		Daga			3	
	Layer 2	Pottery	26	5	31	
		Bone			1	
		Daga			10	
	Layer 3	Pottery	2	3	5	
		Glass beads			3	red
		Daga			3	
	Layer 4	Pottery	40	18	58	
		Bone	2		2	Undiagnostic and weathered
		Tuyere			2	2 fragments of a tuyere
		Daga			1	
Trench 2	Surface collection	Pottery	31	7	38	
		Slag			5	
					13	
	Layer 1	Pottery	129	10	139	
		Slag			33	
		Beads			1	Copper bead
		Bone	4		4	
		Daga			9	Pole impressed
		Iron			1	Unidentifiable due to corrosion
		Glass			3	3 broken fragments

	Layer 2	Pottery	32	31	63	
		Slag			27	
		Glass beads			1	Black
		Bone	2		2	
		Tuyeres			3	Fragments from a broken tuyere
		Daga			9	
		Glass			2	
	Layer 3	Pottery	44	6	50	
		Slag			17	
		Daga			11	
		Charcoal				Pack of unquantified charcoal fragments
	Layer 4	Pottery	37	15	52	
		Slag			31	
		Tuyere			6	
		Crucible			2	
		Daga			15	
		Charcoal			12	
	Layer 5	Pottery	41	9	50	
		Slag			25	
		Tuyere			5	
		Daga			3	
		Charcoal			12	
	Layer 6	Pottery	5	3	8	
		Slag			5	
		Daga			2	
		Charcoal				
Trench 3	Surface collection	Pottery	18	13	21	
		Slag			3	
		Bone	5		5	
	Layer 1	Pottery	184	106	290	
		Slag			15	
		Glass beads			3	All Red
		Daga			13	
		Iron fragments			2	
		Copper wire			6	Copper wound wire
		Bone	119		119	Mostly Cattle but heavily weathered
	Layer 2	Pottery	169	139	308	
		Bone	250	64	214	
		Slag			4	
		Charcoal				
		Copper wire			1	
	Layer 3	Pottery	53	88	141	
		Bone	399	54	541	
		Daga			17	
		Charcoal				
	Layer 4	Pottery	38	111	149	

		Bone	320	66	386	
		Daga			3	
		Charcoal				
	Layer 5	Pottery	18	12	20	
		Slag			12	
		Charcoal			11	
		Bone	36	8	44	Cattle teeth on jaw fragment and complete phalanx

Table 4. 1 Summary of excavated finds

4.6 RADIOCARBON DATES FROM TSINDI

In order to estimate the age of the excavated deposits, samples of charcoal were submitted to Beta Analytic for radiocarbon dating. The absolute chronology was also essential for comparing with dates from Rudd's (1984) excavation. The dates obtained suggest that the events represented by the excavated materials span between cal AD1024 and AD1190 for Trench 2 and cal AD 1405 and 1455 for Trench 3. This chronology overlaps with that of Rudd (1984).

Provenance	Sample type	Lab Number	Uncalibrated Dates	Calibrated dates
Tsindi Trench 2 Layer 4	Charcoal	Beta – 495452	990 +/- 30 BP	1024 - 1154 cal AD
Tsindi Trench 2 Layer 6	Charcoal	Beta – 495453	960 +/- 30 BP	1032 - 1190 cal AD
Tsindi Trench 3 Layer 4	Charcoal	Beta – 495454	520 +/- 30 BP	1405 - 1455 cal AD

Table 4. 2 Current Tsindi radiocarbon dates

4.7 DISCUSSION

The area around Tsindi hill has been a commercial farming area since the colonial period. Most of flat land that has been utilised by farmers can hardly produce useful archaeological data as the areas have been cultivated several years and cultural contexts got distorted in the process. A sample survey around the surrounding hills revealed that most hilly places have archaeological information that is susceptible mainly to natural disturbance. Hills to the southern side of Tsindi host cultural material dating to the Stone Age and Iron Age.

All burials discovered in this study are in caves or rock shelters. The burial areas do not have significant evidence of residential structure remains. There seems to be a deliberate separation between Tsindi hill settlement site and the burial places. Grain storage area is on hilltop, while the burials are at the foot of the hill. Tsindi South site has numerous grain storage facilities in one place. Stone walls of modest height were found in association with some of the grain bin platforms. Most grain storage foundations are located on top of boulders which exposed them to rain but the erosion made it impossible to see how the grain could have been protected from the rain.

Stone Age paintings are part of the Tsindi cultural landscape. Burials on Tsindi south and Tsindi south east are in close proximity to the rock paintings. Although many centuries separate the inhabitants that authored the paintings and those that buried people in the same palces, there is sufficient evidence to prove that pull environmental factors that attracted Stone Age inhabitants to occupy certain places remained constant even during the Iron Age period.

Tsindi settlement site extended from the top of hill beyond the perimeter wall to the east. Hut platforms and abundant daga rubble to the eastern slope of Tsindi hill also constitute part of human settlement evidence.

In setting excavation trenches, previously excavated areas were purposefully avoided. Although all the 3 trenches did not reveal any hut floors, they all yielded remains which should be remnants of some kind of structure(s). Trench 1 has a few tuyere fragments and small fragments of slag will point to metal processing in the area. However, the slag fragments might also be eroded from the area of trench 2 which is on a raised place and has the artefacts in abundance. Tuyere fragments are only found in the 4th layer as well. Only 3 pottery sherds have other decorations that are other than a wholly graphite burnished vessel.

Trench 2 yielded tuyere fragments and plenty of slag, daga and charcoal from multiple layers. More slag was collected from trench 2 than other trench. Tuyere pieces were collected in layers 2, 4 and 5. Daga fragments excavated from this trench were too fragmented to be obvious what the structures built could have been. They were available in all levels of the trench. Deep straight sided bowls with rough surface were found inside the trench. The different levels/ layers as shown in the trench's stratigraphy show that the place was used for mining activities over during different phases of occupation.

Trench 3 was set on a midden next to the eastern perimeter wall named number 30 by Rudd (1984) (Fig 2.1). Dark grey soil dominates the soil profile from layer 1 to layer 5. The trench produced more faunal and pottery remains than any other. A probable kitchen refuse dumping site must have been excavated here. An estimated 68 (35.97%) of the identifiable bones were burnt. Most of them are so burnt it can only be post dispositional modification which could be a result of burning to clear trash or periodic veld fires that affected dump sites. There was a marked abundance of graphite burnished pottery in all layers of the trench especially category 9 which has necked pots with out-turning rims.

4.8 CONCLUSION

Given the foregoing, surveys conducted revealed that Tsindi hill is part of a greater cultural landscape that include burials to the west of Tsindi hill, a granite infested hill to the south which is home to grain

bin bases, dry stone walls, burials and ceramic pots. Another granite boulder cluster located to the south east of Tsindi hill has rock paintings and burials that are carefully placed under rock shelters and built using stone and mortar. The north eastern side of Tsindi hill exhibits evidence of settlement that includes hut platforms and pole impressed daga pieces. Data collection generated material that is essential for understanding life styles at Tsindi. The next three chapters will each analyse the following material culture categogies; Pottery, Faunal remains and other finds respectively.

CHAPTER 5 TSINDI POTTERY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Pottery artefacts dominate Iron Age collections in the archaeological record and they are probably the most reliable material culture remains that can be used in explaining culture change (Pikirayi and Lindahl 2013; Pikirayi 1996). This section outlines and discusses an analysis of the pottery collected from the excavations. Pottery studies have potential of producing prehistoric information. Ceramics are material culture that can express group identity because they form a repeated code of cultural symbols (Huffman 2007). They are direct indicators of past subsistence activities such as food processing and consumption (Pikirayi 1996). Analysis of pottery creates a ceramic database which aims at gaining insight into one or more of the many facets of past human life (Pikirayi 1993). Pottery analysis was carried out to define the range of variation of the ceramics hence the traditions they represented (Pikirayi 1993).

Madzimbahwe sites are associated with various pottery traditions, hence the importance of cermaics in this research. Pottery sherds from the Early Iron Age have a wall thickness normally of 12-15mm. Great Zimbabwe tradition sherds are on average thinner 6-9mm with general characteristics of grey to black, graphite polished outer surface (Pikirayi and Lindahl 2010). Some sherds may not have graphite polish but have incised lines, impressions and coloured panels reminiscent of sherd material from Great Zimbabwe tradition sites (Pikirayi and Lindahl 2010). Ceramic analysis was achieved through registering measurable variables and special features of pottery sherds (Lindahl and Matenga 1995). Attributes recorded include vessel type, shape, style and fabric. Sherd thickness distribution was also recorded to assess the different uses of the vessels. Huffman (2007) explains ceramic style as a result of patterned behaviour which are created and learned by groups of people. This means makers and users of certain styles belong to certain people groups. This study is aimed at locating and assessing the position of Tsindi within the wider madzimbahwe context using pottery and associated artefacts. The major limitation to pottery analysis was that most sherds were too fragmented to produce important attributes for analysis. Too much fragmentation limits information extraction from the objects. Pottery traditions are difficult to trace when the shapes and decorations cannot be determined because of fragment size.

5.2 POTTERY ANALYSIS METHODS

Pottery from Tsindi excavations were studied through a multi-dimensional approach (Pikirayi 1993; Huffman 2007). A multi-dimensional approach is used to statistically analyse and characterise the stylistic and decoration attributes of pottery assemblages at intra or inter-site levels (Nyamushosho

2016). In general pots are identified with anatomical parts such as lips, necks, rims, shoulders and the bodies. The different decoration techniques were applied on the different positions of the vessels or body parts as illustrated by fig 5.1 below.

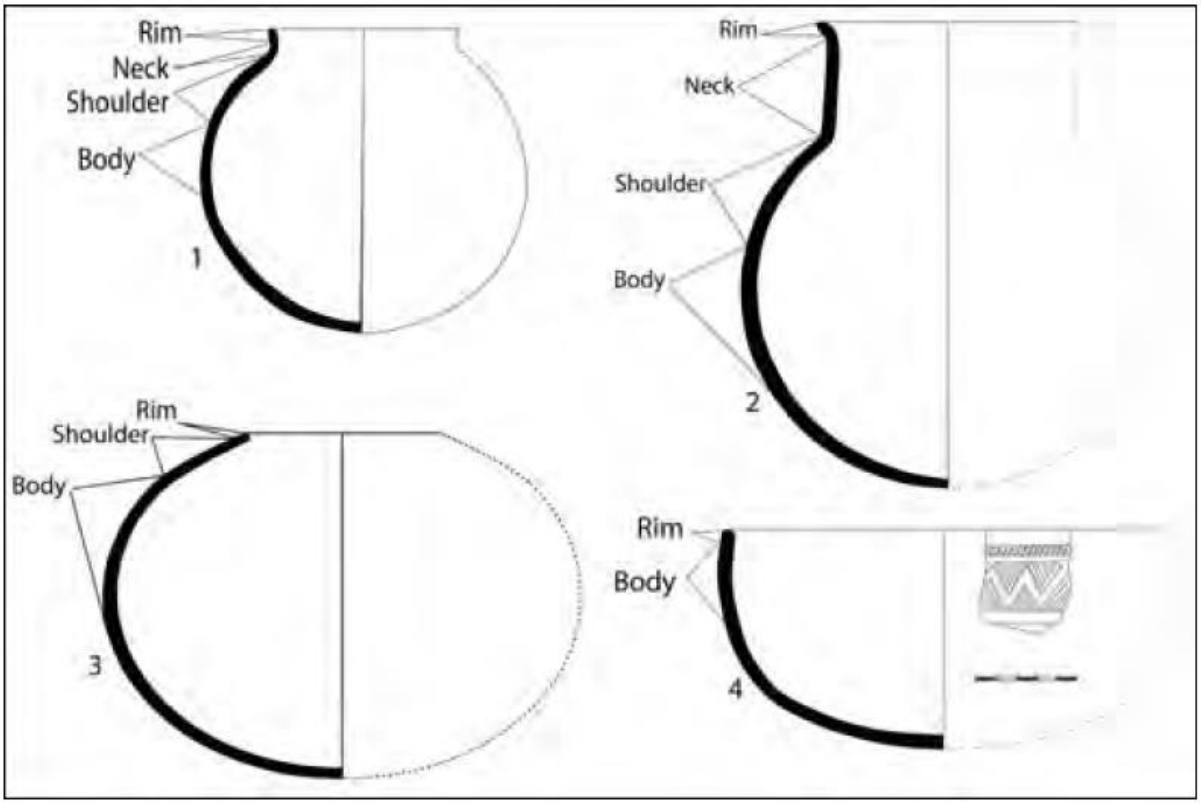


Figure 5. 1 Vessel forms showing decoration placement areas (Extract from Mukwende (2016))

Diagnostic potsherds (i.e those with decoration, rims, lips and graphite burnishing) were set apart for further study as the first stage of the process. Forms were designed to capture stylistic attributes of decoration technique, placement, motifs, vessel type, vessel shape, fabric and metric details that set apart sherds.

Pikirayi (1996) explains that pottery may be used as evidence for past trade. Ceramics have been mainly restricted to addressing questions of relative chronology, identifying prehistoric human group identities, and tracing movements of people from one region to another (Pikirayi and Lindahl 2013; Huffman 2007; Pikirayi 1993). Huffman (1980) established an outline for the identification of Iron Age groups in southern Africa through pottery. The framework uses ceramic style in tracing migration. The criteria assume that the makers and users of the pots are one. However, the same style may be found in different places as a product of trade and exchange (Pikirayi 1996).

According to Ndoro (1996, see also Huffman 1980; Pikirayi 1993) early analyses of pottery in southern Africa used the stratigraphic unit as the context and also salient features of decoration to demonstrate similarities and differences between assemblages. However, recent classifications have used both

stratigraphic and decoration context and individual pots in an assemblage (Huffman 2007). Ndoro (1996) expresses dissatisfaction with the point that most archaeologists appear to have accepted that pottery typologies are etic. An example of etic typology uses selected pottery attributes as a chronological index. To this Ndoro argues that this kind of framework has problems because it ignores the fact that formal similarity does not imply similarity in meaning and yet it is the culturally constructed meaning that is central to any analysis of culture. To this problem, a solution which advocates for addressing questions archaeologists endeavour to answer through ethnohistory and ethnography as well as the technology of ceramic production process maybe found (Pikirayi and Lindahl 2013; Ndoro 1996). Pikirayi (1997) also argues against the etic approach as it gives an appearance of landscapes that had more pots than people (see also Beach 1980). The methodology of pottery typological classifications has been criticised for concentrating on identifying groups of people in the past and less on attempting to comprehend prehistoric cultures and lifeways (Chirikure *et al.* 2013). Despite being limited the method will still be applied to this study for easy of comparison between Tsindi ceramics and those from other madzimbahwe.

5.3 RESULTS

A total of 1536 pottery sherds were collected from the 3 areas that were excavated. This included all material that was found on the surface and subsurface. Of the 1536, 726 (47,26%) were diagnostic. 160 (22.03%) of the diagnostic sherds had visible lip forms. 95 (59.37%) out of 160 were rounded, 23 (14.37%) were squared, 24 (15%) were tapered, 7 (4.37%) rounded out turning and 11 (6.87%) were bevelled. Only 20 (2.75%) pottery *sherds* had decorations from the diagnostic total. The diagnostic number of pot *sherds* was comparatively much lower than that of graphite burnished pottery which totalled 525 (72.31%) pieces. 19 (3.61%) were only burnished without graphite application. 6 (0.82%) sherds were graphited but not burnished. 34 (4.68%) sherds had a reddish-brown finish and 9 (1.23%) had soot. Among the graphite burnished, 289 (39.97%) sherds had a shiny grey colour. 190 (26.27%) were black, 97 (13.41%) greyish brown and 34 (4.70%) reddish-brown. The fabric of the pottery was also analysed in terms of the material granular size. These were grouped into categories of fine and course. 588 (81.32%) sherds were made of the fine fabric which composed of mainly clay which had the least amounts of other larger soil particles. 28 (3.87%) were made of course fabric which was composed of clay mixed with more amounts of larger grains of sand and decomposing granite particles.

5.4 STYLE ATTRIBUTES

5.4.1 Vessel shape and form

Sometimes referred to as vessel profile, vessel shape and form denotes vessel outline (Huffman 2007). Sherds were documented in categories according to vessel parts of rim, neck, shoulder, body and base or their combinations. Analysis categories were created by blending Pikirayi, (1993) and Pwiti (1996) classifications which all borrow from Huffman's (2007) established method. Eight vessel form categories were identified as shown below.

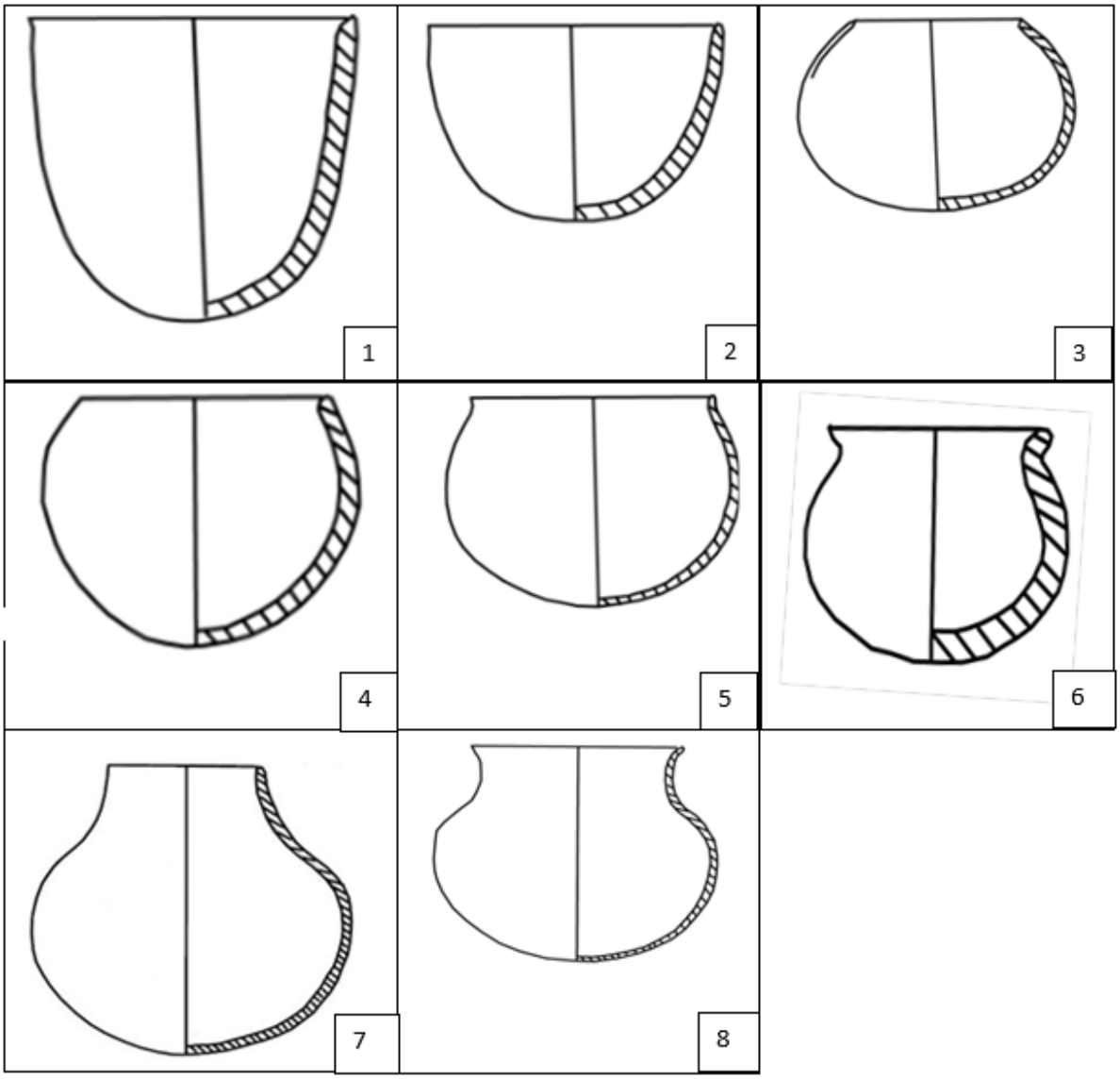


Figure 5. 2 Pottery Vessel Categories

1) Open, deep straight sided vessels. Tapered lip form
2) Open hemispherical bowls
3) Constricted vessels, in slopping rim
4) Slightly constricted hemispherical bowls
5) Necked bowls
6) Shallow constricted bowls with short out turning rims
7) Necked pots with vertical rims
8) Necked pots with out-turned rims.

There are 77 pottery sherds with identifiable vessel profiles in the Tsindi assemblage. The collection is dominated by necked pots with out-turned rims (Fig 5.2.8) with a frequency of occurrence of 32 (41.55%). Shallow constricted bowls (Fig 5.2.6) with short out turned rims occur 12 times. Open hemispherical bowls (Fig 5.2.2) have 2 pot sherds appearing in this collection. 1 pot sherd belong to the slightly constricted hemispherical bowls category (Fig 5.2.4). Open deep straight sided bowls (Fig 5.2.1) occur a total of 9 times. Necked pots with vertical rims category (Fig 5.2.7) occur 14 times. All the open deep straight sided bowls were collected from trench 2. They are identical to the same kind of pot recovered from Great Zimbabwe – see figure 5. 3.

Figure 5. 3 Deep straight sided vessel

Figure 5. 4 Shallow constricted bowls with out turning rims

5.4.2 Decoration technique

Decorations are further details added to a finished pottery vessel. These are executed in various forms and using diverse methods and tools. The majority of Tsindi pottery was only graphite burnished without any extra designs apart from the vessel form. A few sherds had punctation, some had incisions and a few more were comb stamped (2.75%).

1. Incision– this denotes to cutting the pot with an object which can produce either fine lines (Fig 4.3) or broad ones (Fig 5.5).

Figure 5. 5 broadly impressed pottery

2. Comb stamping – this refers to the use of a linear multi-toothed tool to make impressions on the leather-hard vessel surface and continuous impressions to produce a repeated pattern (fig 5.12) (Mukwende 2016).

3. Punctation – this is piercing a vessel surface with a pointed instrument to make several designs that can produce circles or dots (Fig 5.10).

4. Wrapped fibre/bead – a decoration produced by impressing wrapped fibre or beads on a pot to yield a pattern (Fig 5.9).

5. Graphiting – refers to application of graphite to the surface of a vessel as a result giving it colour. This can be done without smoothening.

6. Burnishing- this refers to polishing that gives a smooth black or grey shiny finish (fig 5.6).

Figure 5. 6 burnished ware from Tsindi

7. Graphite burnishing – is the combination of application of graphite and smoothening it to make a black or grey shiny finish on the vessel surface. This can either be on the external surface or internal (fig 5.8).

5.4.2.1 ***Decoration Technique at Tsindi***

Generally, Tsindi pottery exhibited more plain graphite burnished pottery than all the other decoration techniques found at the site. Of the 570 sherds found 525 were graphite burnished. 19 were only burnished and there was no graphite applied to them. 6 of the sherds from the excavations were graphited but still maintained a rough finish which meant they had not been burnished. 7 sherds were decorated by punctations. 3 were comb stamped and 6 were decorated using the wrapped fibre or bead technique. A total of 9 sherds had both graphite burnish and another technique See fig 5.13 shed had a combination of both punctates and wrapped fibre/ bead.

The first trench excavated did not yield many pottery sherds with other decoration techniques than graphite burnishing. Layer 1 had 2 sherds one comb stamped and the other decorated using the wrapped fibre technique. 1 small shed from layer 5 was incised. The trend observed in trench 1 is also evident in trench 2 which yielded predominantly graphite burnished pottery in the collection. Layer 2 has 2 sherds decorated with the wrapped fibre technique, 1 comb stamped, and only one is burnished but not graphited.

Trench 3 yielded the bulk of the identifiable pottery sherds from the excavation and most of which were graphite burnished. 1 shed picked from the surface was comb stamped and another was incised with broad lines. Layer 1 yielded 1 incised shed and 1 only burnished shed. Layer 2 had 4 only graphited sherds and 7 only burnished ones. From layer 3 were collected 4 punctated sherds, 1 incised, 1 only graphited, and 4 only burnished. Layer 4 yielded 3 punctated sherds, 1 only graphited and 4 only burnished. Layer 5 produced 2 sherds which are only burnished.

Figure 5. 7 Graphite burnished stamped wares

5.4.3 Decoration placement

Pottery vessels are often produced with decorations placed on different parts of the vessel which may include lip, neck, rim, shoulder and the body. The different decoration techniques were applied on the different positions of the vessels.

5.4.3.1 ***Decoration placement on Tsindi pottery***

Trench 1 yielded only a small sherd decorated on the rim and neck from the surface collection. Trench 2 yielded 3 sherds with identifiable decoration placement area. 1 was collected from layer 2 and the other 2 from layer 3, all having decorations on the neck.Trench 3 yielded 2 sherds with identifiable placement areas for decorations. Layer 1 had the one with decoration on the rim and layer 4 had 4 decorated on shoulder.

Pottery collected from excavations was decorated mainly by graphite burnishing which was applied to the rest of the external surface. One shed was graphite burnished on the internal surface of it. Of the 525 sherds which are graphite burnished, 1 has wrapped fibre decoration on the upper part and graphite burnish on the lower part (fig 5.8). Another sherd is graphite burnished on the neck and the remaining part of the shed is light brown in colour. Of the rest of decorated pot sherds, 2 sherds are not graphite burnished but one is comb stamped on the rim. It is an open deep straight sided vessel. The other shed has incisions executed using a thick object on the rim just below the lip. 7 of the sherds are neck fragments with decorations on them. 1 shed exhibits both graphite burnishing and comb stamping on the vessel body. The limitation of this collection is that most vessel pieces that show a larger part of the profile are only graphite burnished. All other decoration types are found on very small sherds. One pot discussed in the survey results section, which was found at Tsindi South burial was both graphite burnished and had cross hatching pattern decoration executed by a sharp pointed object which produced fine lines of incisions.

Figure 5. 8 combined graphite burnishing and wrapped fibre technique

5.4.4 Decoration motif

Decoration motif as defined by Mukwende (2016) refer to the decoration combinations found on vessels. The current excavations at Tsindi revealed four decoration motifs namely; wrapped fibre/ bead, comb stamping, punctations and incisions. Not many of the motifs could be found at Tsindi. There are 6 comb stamped sherds from the excavation and 4 are similar that they could be part of the same vessel (fig 5.12). 2 have the impressions appearing as small squares forming diagonal lines that stretch from the upper parts of a body of open deep sided vessels to the rims. The stamping depicts triangular impressions on the vessel forming larger triangular shapes on the shoulder. They are all graphite burnished as well. Wrapped fibre/ bead motif appears on 7 sherds. Some of the most distinct sherds have the motif forming a triangular pattern with the. Other sherds in the same category form a curling pattern which uniformly goes up and down.

The Incisions motif had two broader categories in it (Figs 5.5; 5.11). The broad lines of incision and the fine lines of incision. The fine lines of incision were on a vessel shoulder drawn in a cross-hatching pattern. Broad lines of incision were on rims of sherds that appear to be open, straight sided bowl vessels. Comb stamping decoration motifs were observed on ome of the incised sherds. The final decoration motif identified in this research is the punctuation motif. The sherds with the decoration motif have dots forming lines.

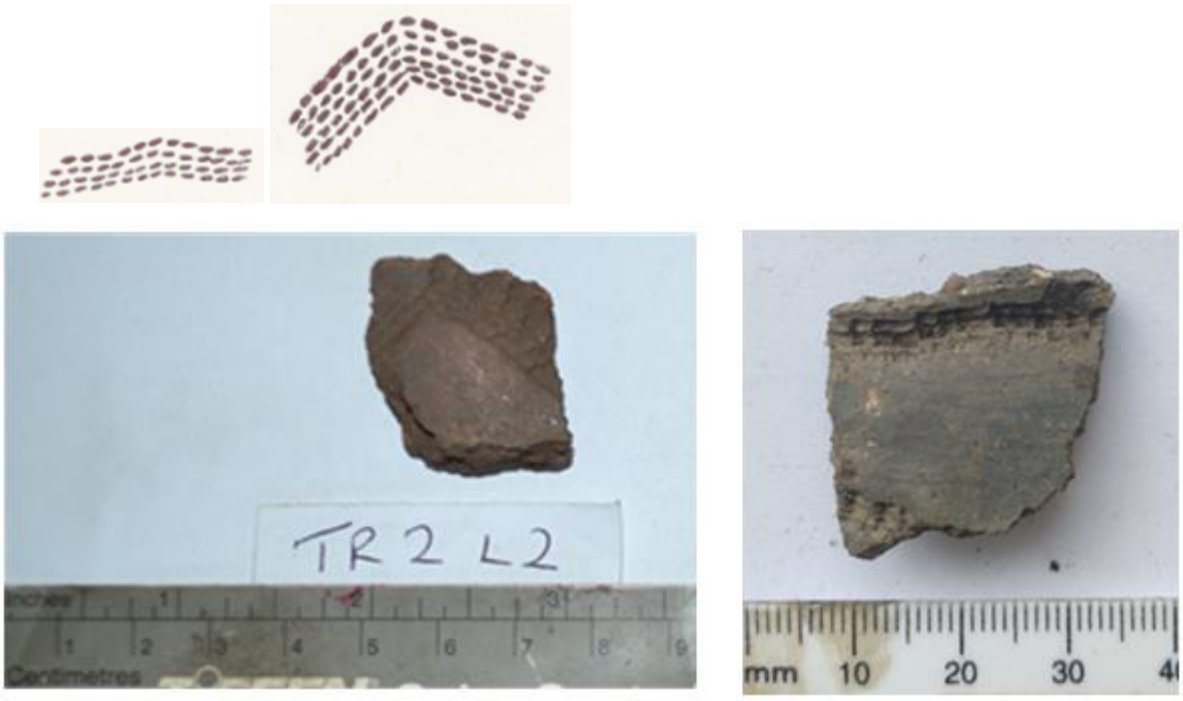


Figure 5. 9 wrapped fibre pottery

Wrapped fibre/ bead motif

Figure 5. 10 Punctation motifs

Punctation motif

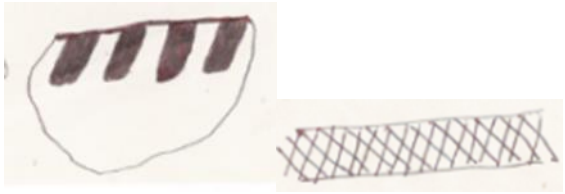


Figure 5. 11 finely incised vessel

Incisions motif

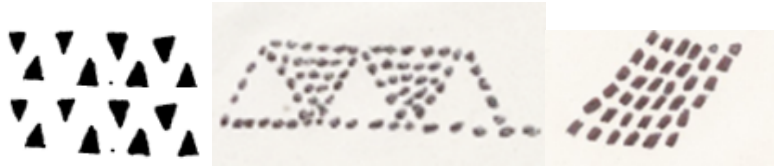


Figure 5. 12 Comb stamped wares

Comb stamping motif

Figure 5. 13 punctates and wrapped fibre

Combined punctates and wrapped fibre/ bead motif

5.4.5 Tsindi ceramic assemblage

Analysis of Tsindi pottery has shown that bowls and necked pots dominate the collection. The whole assemblage is rarely decorated. Only 2.75% of the diagnostic total is decorated. The majority of the

decorated sherds do not have identifiable profiles except for a few sherds that clearly belong to profile categories 2 and 8.

Tsindi had 8 vessel profile categories identified in this research. Vessel profile category 8 dominated in terms of occurrence. There is 1 shed that has an identifiable neck showing the profile and also has comb stamping triangular motifs on the shoulder. The other 3 sherds showing identical decorations are broken in a way that only leaves the decorations identifiable. They are however identically graphite burnished that they could be part of the same vessel. Most of all other category 8 vessels are graphite burnished and the majority were recovered from trench 3. These type of pottery vessels were found in all excavation layers except surface layer.

Vessel profile category 1 composed of the deep straight sided vessels which are generally small in size. Vessels profile category vessel 1 objects have a rough finish which shows no effort to smoothen. Both inside and outside surfaces is very uneven. They were mainly collected from trench 2. They vary in thickness and size but they all tend to be tapered at rims and progressively become thicker toward the bases. It is highly likely that the pots were used in iron processing.

A closer look at Tsindi pottery shows that most of the vessels were made of raw materials found locally. The greyish, greyish brown and reddish-brown clays most of which are sandy or gritty. Excavation soil profiles revealed similar soil types as the pottery.

5.4.6 Discusion: Identity of the Tsindi Iron Age inhabitants

This research confirmed the existence of pottery types associated with Gokomere (AD 200-500) , Harare (AD1150-1450) and Great Zimbabwe (AD1300-1500). Gokomere ware was identified by Rudd (1984). This excavation confirmed the existence of such wares which are comb stamped (Huffman 1971). Only 2 sherds were found from trench 1 surface deposits and trench 2 layer 3. The trench 1 shed is an open hemispherical bowl. They are both brown in colour. Huffman's (1971) outline of Iron Age sequence for northern Mashonaland places Gokomere somewhere between AD200 and AD500. This will mean that either Tsindi excavation profile sequence shows pottery mixed in different layers or that similar pottery vessels to those from Gokomere were made and used at Tsindi. Normally surface finds are the latest deposits which means that Tsindi communities who existed at least three centuries later designed their wares in a similar fashion.

Rudd (1984) identifies Harare ware in form of vessels she numbered 26-36. The description of Harare matches a number of pottery vessels found in trench 3. They are made of fine and sandy material. The surface finish is dark brown burnished.

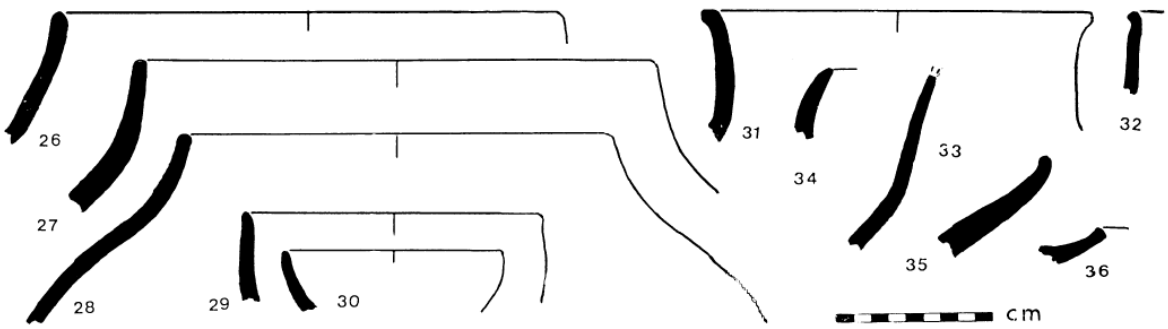


Figure 5. 14 Diagram showing Harare form of vessels identified by Rudd (1984)

Figure 5. 15 Harare ware pottery

Several undecorated pottery vessels were available at Tsindi. Some bowls have thickened rims, rounded and others are bevelled. They have grey surfaces and most are burnished and graphite burnished. Rudd (1984) attributes them to the Refugee period and suspects that some are derived from Zimbabwe class 4. These pots have attributes that match Robinson's (1961) classes 2 and 4 of Great Zimbabwe pottery. From class 2 there are bowls and gourd shaped and tapered necked pots and generally undecorated. Vessel profile category 8 has pots whose attributes are similar to Great Zimbabwe class 2 pottery. Bevelled and rolled rims are available but with no decorations. Class 4 fits most of Tsindi pottery with fine clay, generally graphited, vertical necks of varying heights. Vessel profile category 8 which has the bulk of pottery with rims from Tsindi will match that description.

None though has raised ribs but 1 full pot at Tsindi South grave has fine line incised cross hatching designs. Burrett (1998) describes Zimbabwe phase pottery as jars with “constricted-necks” which show little decoration but highly distinguished by virtue of their highly burnished, often graphited outer surfaces.

It should be noted that the bulk of pottery excavated in this research had a number of elements that match Great Zimbabwe pottery. However, there are many other typological differences that make Tsindi unique. Most of the attributes of Great Zimbabwe pottery and the wide variety its vessel shapes was not found at Tsindi by either the previous or the current excavation. As an example, Great Zimbabwe has a range of bowls that are wide open and very shallow which were not found at Tsindi. Tsindi yielded fewer sherds that depicted any kind of decorations which is slightly similar to Great Zimbabwe class 4 pottery but with main differences that Great Zimbabwe frequently had a red of buff mat finish (Robinson 1961). From comparing the pottery from the two sites, it is evident that there are similarities but with numerous differences. It seems people or builders and occupiers of the stone walled sites made and used ceramic vessels of various designs, shapes, fabric that probably suited specific and local uses. The differences also reveal the amount of independence that pottery makers at Tsindi had in ending up with pottery types that were meant for their community.

5.5 CONCLUSION

In light of the above discussion, pottery types found from the excavations have been consistant with Rudd’s (1984) findings which associated them to Gokomere, Harare and Great Zimbabwe. The sample for Gokomere and Harare is very small, mostly from surface finds. There are notable similarities in the pottery traditions mentioned above with some of the pot sherds found at Tsindi. However, pottery from Tsindi could only match a small section of the traditions they have tended to be likened to. For example, graphite burnished pottery recovered from Tsindi, mostly from Trench 3 match a few of classes 2 and 3 descriptions. The many differences between Tsindi vessels and Great Zimbabwe pottery make it safer to conclude that Tsindi communities made their own pottery that had resemblences of some few vessels from Great Zimbabwe. The several differences and limited similarities paint a picture of an independent Tsindi state. It is most likely that the community’s ideas of craftsmenship were affected by what they got from other places but ending up with their own unique and relatively similar products of craftsmanship. The next chapter looks at faunal remains and other artefacts from Tsindi.

CHAPTER 6 TSINDI FAUNAL REMAINS AND OTHER FINDS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Animal remains may provide information on diet, economic status, hunting methods, butchery methods, industries, trade and religion as animals were an important part of people's lives in the past (Kausmally and Western 2005). Faunal studies have been used to reinforce arguments on and for social stratification in southern African Iron Age societies. Mukwende (2016) highlights Thorp's (1995) argument that social stratification at Great Zimbabwe was reflected through a high proportion of young cattle bone deposits at the Hill Complex midden. The Hill complex is the area attributed to the King's residence (Huffman 1996). It was argued so as it had been found that the said 'commoner' areas had deposits of older animals in their areas. This argument though cannot be supported by ethnography. Garlake (1972) highlights that cattle dominated the diets of the occupants of most madzimbahwe sites.

This research established minimum number of individual (MNI) animals per taxon represented by identified elements and Quantifiable skeletal parts (QSP) (Grayson 1978; Manyanga 2001). The bones were grouped into Bovid class categories (table 6.1) and a closer look at their condition, modification and the occurrence of skeletal parts was taken following Manyanga (2001).

Bovid Size Class	Species
Bov I (Small) 0-23kg	Common duiker (Sylvicapra grimmia) Steenbok (Raphicerus campestris) Klipspringer (Oreotragus oreotragus)
Bov II (Medium) 23-84 kg	Bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus) Impala (Aepyceros melampus) Sheep (Ovis aries) Goat (Capra hircus)
Bov III (Large) 84 – 296 kg	Greater Kudu (Tragelaphus strepsiceros) Blue wildebeest (Connochaetes taurinus) Tsessebe (Damaliscus lunatus) Sable (Hippotragus niger)

	Waterbuck (Kobus ellipsiprymnus) Cattle (Bos Taurus)
Bov IV (Very Large) >296 kg	Buffalo (Syncerus caffer) Eland (Tragelaphus oryx)

Table 6. 1 Class sizes for bovid species found in Zimbabwe (Manyanga 2001)

6.2 FAUNAL ANALYSIS

Tsindi bone remains were identified and analysed taking after Manyanga (2001). They were sorted initially in the field by separating bones from other cultural remains such as lithics and pottery. From there, the bones were taken to the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences Iron Age laboratory as per the legal requirement that the museum is the repository of all archaeological material collected in Zimbabwe. There identifiable bones were separated from the non-identifiable ones.

The potentially identifiable bones were recorded while accounting for different attributes. The attributes included anatomical element, species, size category, surface condition of the bone, weight, orientation, butchery marks and bone modification (Manyanga 2001). Bone fragments that were too fragmented for positive identification were assigned to a bovine class and where other diagnostic features could not be identified to species, they were assigned to genus of family (Manyanga 2001).

6.2.1 Skeletal parts

Trench 3 layers 2, 3, 4 and 5 yielded all the identifiable bones in this assemblage. Different skeletal parts were identified. Rib fragments especially of cattle dominated the collection which were 55 (29.1%) out of the 189. Trench 3 was excavated on a midden. Teeth and teeth fragments, 44 in total (23.3%). All other skeletal parts identified are spread over the remaining 47.6% (see table 4).

SKELETAL PART	LAYER 2	LAYER 3	LAYER 4	LAYER 5
Metatarsal Fragment	2	1	3	0
Radius Fragment	3	1	0	0

Rib Fragment	16	14	25	0
Ulna Fragment	3	1	0	0
Humerus	1	0	2	0
Femoral head Fragment	3	2	1	0
Metacarpal Fragment	2	0	2	0
Tibia Fragment	1	1	0	0
Shaft	6	0	2	0
Scapula Fragment	1	4	1	1
Tooth	3	4	10	0
Tooth Fragment	10	9	8	0
Thoracic vertebrae	2	0	2	0
Jaw Fragment	0	4	1	2
Mandible Fragment	4	0	3	0
Tarsal	0	0	1	2
Tarsal Fragment	0	2	1	0
Phalange	1	1	1	2
Shoulder plate	1	0	0	0
Vertebra Fragment	3	7	3	0
Carpal	0	1	0	1

Table 6. 2 Skeletal part distribution table

6.2.2 Tsindi faunal remains bovid classes

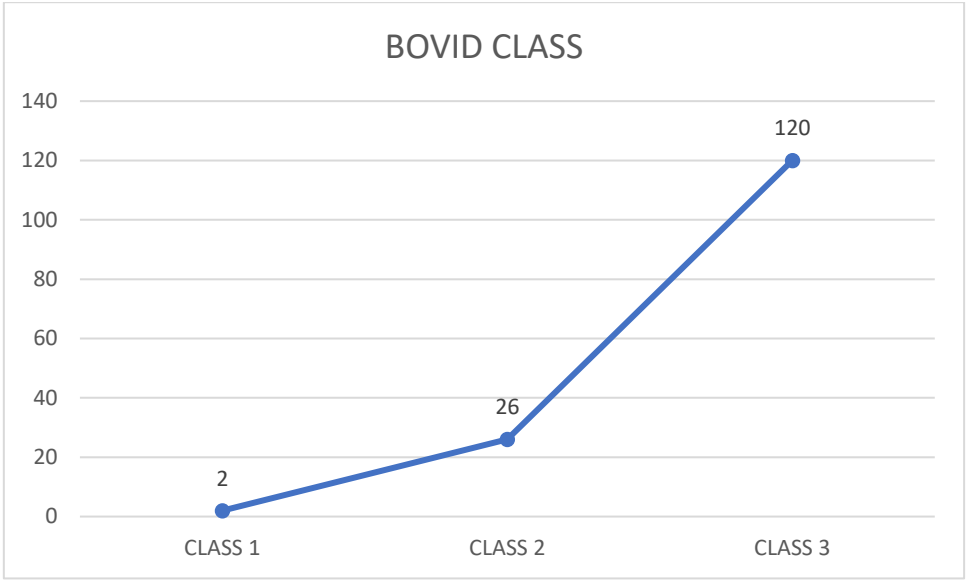


Figure 6. 1 Bovid Class Chart distribution

A total of 1330 bone fragments were collected from this Tsindi excavation. 189 (14.2%) bone pieces from this collection were identifiable. 148 (11.1%) could be positively identified in terms of Bovid class. 2 fragments were from Bovid class 1. Class 2 was represented by 26 bone remains and Class 3 was 120 populated by bone remains. Cattle bones dominated the Class 3 category and these could be positively identified using a comparative cattle collection at ZMHS.

6.2.3 Bone modification

Identification of cut/chop marks helped in classifying the bone collection as natural or cultural as well as shedding light on the butchery methods. Surface modifications on a bone provides affirmative confirmation of human interaction with the bones (Manyanga 2001).

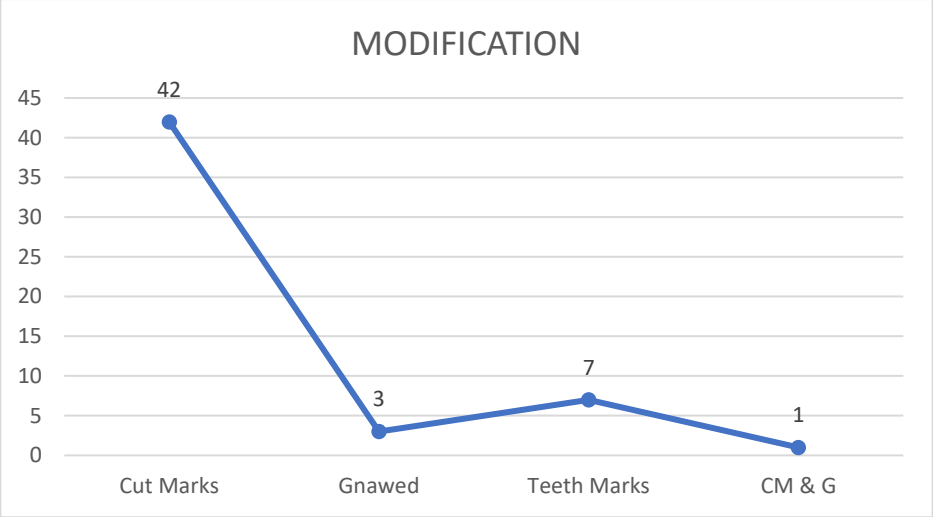


Figure 6. 2 Modification Chart distribution chart

Of the 189 identifiable bones, 53 (28%) had visible butchery marks and teeth marks. The instruments used to cut the bones varied from sharp to blunt objects. There were 3 gnawed bones. All phalanges and carpals were complete even though visible teeth marks are clear on most of them. All long bones were broken and it is likely they were broken using the same instruments referred to above but left no clear marks. 59 of the 189 bones show some kind of burning. Some are too dark that the kind of burning being exhibited is that of one that happened after disposing of the bones. If they had been burnt to that extent during food preparation it would mean that the meat would all be burnt. It is possible that some acquired burn marks during food preparation by method of roasting. All of the bones from Trenches 1 and 2 were heavily weathered. Trench 3 produced all of the identifiable bones.

6.3 OTHER FINDS; GLASS BEADS, SLAG, ETC .

Tsindi and its surrounding area has a number of resources that include animals, vegetation and minerals. The community naturally harnessed environmental elements readily available to it for survival and comfort. Those needs that the surrounding the environment could not supply were acquired though other innovative means such as trade and exchange. It is from the locally and externally acquired resources that some of the crafts found in the archaeological record were made. The arts and crafts from Tsindi include spindle whorls, metals, beads, stone walls and pottery. These communicate social, political, and religious ideals in the art and also emanate from them (Cole 1989). This section will analyse some of the crafts found at Tsindi.

6.3.1 Glass beads

Glass beads are an important part of this study. However not many beads were found at Tsindi even from Rudd's (1984) study of the same site. Rudd excavated numerous trenches and only managed to collect 64 beads in total. However, the few beads can still give an idea of how Tsindi interacted with different trade parties. They also show the ability of indigenous industries to attract luxury commodities into the interior (Denbow *et al.* 2015). Glass beads have been used as a form of trade currency and as a store of value (Pikirayi 1993; Denbow *et al.* 2015). Beads can be used as dating evidence but this must be treated with care as it is not possible to get an accurate historical date but a broad approximation (Pikirayi 1993). This is also because radiocarbon dating analysis replaced beads as a dating method (Van Der Merwe 1989). Van Der Merwe (1989) notes though that beads can still provide better chronological precision than radiocarbon dating in centuries, since the earliest dates of manufacture of certain types are known (table 5.11). Analysis of glass beads can provide insight into trade links between Tsindi inhabitants and the greater Indian Ocean trade (Wood 2009; 2000; Van Der Merwe 1989; Denbow *et al* 2015).

Beads were analysed with emphasis being placed on method of manufacture, colour, shape, diaphaneity and size range (Wood 2009; Nyamushosho 2014) (table 5.10). Apparently, all beads from Tsindi were made from drawing method (Wood 2005).

Size	**Diameter**
Minute	<2.5 mm
Small	2.5-3.5 mm
Medium	3.5-4.5 mm
Large	>4.5 mm

Table 5. 1 Glass beads size categories (Adapted from Wood 2005)

Bead Series	Dates	Method of Manufacture	Colour	Shape	Diaphaneity	Size Range	Typical Sites
Zhizo	CE 700-950	Drawing	Blue, blue-green, yellow,	Cylinders, tubes	Translucent opaque	2-7.5 mm	Schroda, Zhizo Hill

			green and cobalt blue	and oblates			(Robinson 1985; Hanisch 1980)
K2	CE 900-1200	Drawing	beads mostly range between blue-green, and light green	Cylinders, tubes and oblates	Transparent translucent	less than 3.5 mm	K2, Malumba (Bvocho 2005; Wood 2005)
Indo-Pacific	CE 1000-1250	Drawing	brownish-red, yellow, orange, green, and bluegreen	Cylinders, tubes and oblates	Opaque translucent	2.5-4 mm	Pont drift, Skutwater, K2 (Wood 2005)
Mapungubwe	CE 1250-1300	Drawing	Black brownishred, blue-green, yellow, lightgreen, orange and cobalt blue beads	Oblates, cylinder (2.5-3.5 mm) tubes and oblates	Opaque beads transparent and translucent opaque.	2.5-3.5 mm	Mapungubwe, K2, Tabazikamambo, Malumba, Mapela (Robinson 1966; Bvocho 2005; House 2016)
Zimbabwe	CE 1275-1400	Drawing	black, blue-green, yellow, cobaltblue and brownish-red	Cylinders, oblates and tubes	Transparent translucent	2.5-3.5 mm	Great Zimbabwe, Hlamba Mhlonga, and Thulamela (Wood 2011)

Khami	CE 1400-1700	Drawing	Black, brownishred, blue-green, green, yellow, and deep-blue	Cylinders, tubes and oblates	Translucent opaque and Opaque translucent	2 -7 mm	Selolwe, Mtao Village 16, Thulamela, (Manyanga 2006; Wood 2011; Van Waarden 2012).

Table 5. 2 Summary of southern Africa's bead series (Wood 2005)

Tsindi Bead Assemblage

The bead sample from Tsindi is small. This excavation yielded a total of 18 beads of which 17 were glass beads and 1 was copper. As beads were separated into classes , the one copper bead was separated from the others. All the beads fit in 2 size categories; small and medium. Only 3 shape classes could be identified from the Tsindi collection. The whole assemblage had 7 red beads, 6 white of which 1 is opaque and others opaque translucent. There were 3 black beads and 1 was brown. (see tables 5.12; 5.13)

	TR1		**TR 2**		**TR3**		
	Layer 1	layer 3	Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 3
Tube					1		1
Cylinder				1	1	1	
Oblate	2	3		1	1	3	2

Table 5. 3 Glass beads shape distribution

	TR1		**TR 2**		**TR3**		
	Layer 1	layer 3	Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 3
Very Small							
Small	1	3		2	3	3	1
Medium	1					1	2
Large							

Table 5. 4 Bead size distribution table

Trench 1 yielded a total of 5 beads. 2 of the 5 are from layer 1 and the rest from layer 3. 1 is medium sized and 4 are small and they are all oblate in shape. Trench 2 had 2 small beads from layer 2 which

are shaped in a cylinder and an oblate form. Trench 3 yielded more beads than the other 2 trenches combined. 10 beads in total were collected. 3 small beads were collected from layer 1 each representing the following shape categories; tube, cylinder and oblate. Layer 2 of trench 3 produced 4 beads; 3 small and 1 medium sized. The 4 had 1 of cylinder shape and 3 were oblate. Finally Trench 3 layer 3 yielded 3 beads, 1 from small size category and 2 are medium. 1 was from the tube shape class and 2 were oblate.

6.3.2 Iron slag, tuyere fragments, copper wire etc.

From the same Tsindi excavations under study a few other finds were collected. These included daga rubble, charcoal, iron slag, tuyere fragments, copper wire, glass pieces and iron fragments.

All the excavated areas produced evidence of daga structures. Most of the remains found were too fragmented to be analysed further. Notwithstanding that fragmented state, some of the small daga pieces show evidence of pole impressions. Charcoal was collected (see Table 4. 1) from trenches 2 and 3. Trench 3 had charcoal only in layer 5 and from trench 2 charcoal was found in layers 3, 4, and 5. The excavation also yielded iron slag fragments. The fragments were all small to the extent that the largest could be 10mm in diameter. Trench 2 had most of the slag collected from it. It was found in association with tuyere fragments, some daga pieces and crucibles. From trench 3 layer 1 was recovered 3 broken pieces of transparent glass. 1 arrow head and another iron fragment were collected from the excavations. All of these iron tools were at an advanced state of corrosion.

Figure 5. 16 Copper wire fragments from Trench 3 Layer 1

Figure 5. 17 Iron arrow head from Trench 3 Layer 1

Figure 5. 18 Corroded iron fragment from Trench 2 Layer 1

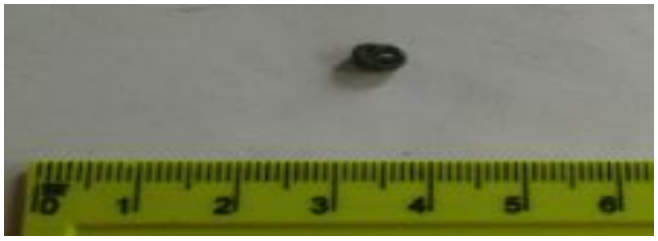


Figure 5. 19 Copper bead from Trench 2 Layer 1

Figure 5. 20 Iron slag from Trench 2 Layer 4

6.4 OTHER FINDS: SUMMARY

The different generations that used Tsindi site for different purposes left remains that show their participation in different subsistence activities such as trade, and craftsmenship. A few glass beads were collected and yet they remain a potential source of information on trade and relative dating. A list of other fewer finds include daga rubble, charcoal, iron slag, tuyere fragments were also found. Charcoal samples collected from trenches 2 and 3 were sent for radiocarbon dating. Trench 2 had more of daga, charcoal, tuyere fragments found in the same context. Heavily corroded iron implements were also collected from excavations.

6.5 DISCUSSION: SUBSISTENCE AND CRAFTS AT TSINDI

Tsindi Iron Age inhabitants were definitely meat consumers judging by the recovered 1330 broken bone fragments. Cattle bones identified in this research correspond with Turner's (1984) analysis of Shiela Rudd's collection of faunal remains. Cattle (*bos Taurus*) outnumbered any other species found at Tsindi in both excavations. Tsindi farming communities were, therefore, cattle keepers. Most of the cattle bones are for adult animals which may be attributed to the need to ease pressure on the breeding herd (Turner 1984). This discovery contradicts Thorp's (1995) argument for social stratification and makes Tsindi a whole 'commoner' place. It remains to be discovered though how they kept the cattle especially overnight security since no kraals have been documented so far.

The availability of many bones, pottery and unique hut structures indicates spiritual activity. The paraphernalia of bone remains maybe as a result of religious sacrifices. Shenjere-Nyabezi (*et al* 2013) argue that the Hill Complex (Great Zimbabwe) bone distribution were a result of religious activity. This could have been another major use for Tsindi site. This though is contrary to Chigwedere (1985-see appendix 1) who claims that the Shona do not have a spiritual secular divide. The social, economic and religious aspects are intertwined to make one inseparable life.

Animals, especially cattle had different roles in precolonial Shona communities. Mukwende (2016 citing Hall 1986) highlighted that cattle were used as a form of wealth, and this was reflected in their use as a brideprice. More cattle signified more power for sustaining larger families, resulting in large labour force for agriculture, metalworking, construction, hunting and other crafts production activities. Tsindi community has evidence of that kind of a society that kept and consumed cattle, as well as engaging in metal working, monumental construction and agriculture. This is indicative of the kind of influence exerted on a community by an elite and or religious fulfilments. Extensive evidence exist on metal working and subsitence in form of metal working residues, pottery and bones.

Most bones except for smaller ones like phalanges, tarsals and metatarsals were broken. Almost all have some kind of modification. Evidence of use of both blunt and sharp objects is visible on both identifiable and unidentifiable bones. The iron objects could be any of the tools that were used to produce sharp cut marks.Teeth marks were probably caused by humans, possibly dogs or even rodents. Turner's (1984) analysis revealed from previous excavation the presence of a few of blue wilderbeast (*Connochaetes taurinus)*, sheep/goat (*Ovis/ Capra*), Zebra (*Equus Burchelli),* impala (*Aepyceros melampus*), common duiker (*sylvicapra grimmia*), and dassies (*procavia capensis*). Some of the wild species are still being hunted to this day. This is evidenced by the number of dassie traps discovered during the survey phase of this research. This shows that the meat diet of Tsindi Iron Age communities was mainly sustained by beef and supplemented by hunting.

Excavations at Tsindi on both (current and Rudd's) occasions did not produce much of glass beads. Among the few found in this research, the Indo-Pacific bead series with brownish red cylinders, tubes and oblates dominated the collection. A few others could be from the Mapungubwe series (table 5.13). Given the numbers found it is not possible to draw conclusions that will speak of trends except maybe that Tsindi was not a trade centre even though it signifies knowledge of external links. Bvocho (2005) has taken an ethnographic approach in drawing social meanings to beads. In Shona society, beads were used on ceremonial, religious and everyday objects like daggers, spears and walking sticks. Bvocho further reveals that glass beads could signify social status with an example of white beads resembling purity of a virgin woman ready for marriage. The presence of the beads is a sign of links with the Portuguese trade (Ellert 1984) but the amounts available do not show signs of Tsindi being a trade centre.

The excavation yielded iron slag from all trenches with the bulk of it coming from trench 2. Evidence of slag fragments is available almost all around the site but in differing quantities. Corroded iron objects were also found showing that Tsindi was an iron working and using community. The amounts of slag, tuyeres and iron products found are too few to point to commercial production but suggests subsistence use. There is a possibility that iron working spaces moved from one place to the other. Trench 2 yielded most of the mining evidence but slag was found in many areas including those excavated by Rudd (1984).

The technology for the manufacture of iron arrow heads and other iron objects as hoes has been in existence in Zimbabwe since the Stone and Iron Ages. Iron arrow heads were locally smelted by craftsman who traded them (Ellert 1984). Zvarevashe (1978) illuminates more on some of the traditional uses of such objects which may include daily usage for hunting, defence and war. Iron objects worked as ceremonial objects like the Chief's ceremonial tools and those used by the spirit

mediums. Objects found at Tsindi could have been used for religious purposes or even for utilitarian purposes.

Tsindi was consistent in yielding bangles wound with copper wire and a fibre core. To this Nyamushosho (2016) suggests the likelihood of experimentation with metal alloying and ornamentation. The technology is as old as the first millennium CE in southern Africa (Nyamushosho 2016). Ellert (1984) contends that copper wires and bangles were fashioned by smiths after the copper had been imported. This kind of influence amounts to the power of some kind of elite who could afford to import copper and some beads making Tsindi one elite site.

6.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Tsindi was a community that survived on crop and animal farming. The harvested grain was stored in the various grain storage areas found during the surveys. Cattle consumption favoured adult animals probably for purposes of maintaining breeding herd. The meat diet was supplemented by hunting. Tsindi was a residence site with different kinds of huts. Power of the community is reflected in monumental construction and high cattle consumption. The few beads found are proof of Tsindi's external links. Copper used to make copper wires and bangles was also imported. Beads had other symbolic and ornamental purposes in the community. Craftsmen locally made iron objects. A combination of iron slag scatter, tuyere and daga fragments, and iron tools and the quantities thereof signified production on a subsistence scale. Therefore, Tsindi was a self contained settlement with a few external links.

Chapter 7

CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the results of the study, against a background of research aims and existing literature, from southern Africa and elsewhere. The primary motivation for studying Tsindi was to understand the activities and cultural behaviours represented at the site as a step towards a broader comparison with other madzimbahwe. As far as chronology is concerned, Tsindi has layers dating to the Harare tradition which are overlain by Great Zimbabwe pottery without a break in stratigraphy. The stone walling, structure and types of houses associated with Great Zimbabwe pottery is similar to that of other madzimbahwe. The material culture recovered from the excavations shows that crop agriculture, animal raising, metallurgy and hunting were some of the major subsistence and craft related activities. At a macro-level, Tsindi is part of madzimbahwe. Tsindi was also a capital of an independent chiefdom associated with ancestors of modern VaNhowe people contrary to historical interpretation that present it as a provincial centre under Great Zimbabwe. That is not to say that Tsindi had no relationships or interaction with other madzimbahwe. While the exact nature of such engagements may never be known, historical evidence cautions us that some states and empires were not as expansive as claimed in older archaeological works (see Chimhundu 1992; Beach 1994). This motivates for more work at other smaller madzimbahwe to build a picture towards a bigger comparison.

7.2 ARCHAEOLOGY OF TSINDI

7.2.1 Historical evidence

Tsindi is known to have been formerly a habitat for the VaNhowe people. Farrant (1966) viewed the VaNhowe's choice of residing on hills as a result of fear of the Matebele raids. As highlighted before, it is difficult to sustain such an argument in light of the knowledge that the Ndebeles only arrived in the area much later when the VaNhowe where already staying in the high places. It was just their preferred choice of settlement and not out of fear of the Ndebeles.

The site was first excavated for study by Shiela Rudd (1984). She concluded that Tsindi was a human settlement site as evidenced by residential and religious structure remains, presence of pottery, modified bone remains, beads and others. Her observations likened the stone walls of Tsindi to those of Great Zimbabwe.

Madzimbahwe is known to follow a trajectory of having started at Mapungubwe as the capital of Zimbabwe state which then moved to Great Zimbabwe and ended at Khami. Tsindi and such sites as Harleigh Farm are considered provincial capitals (Huffman 1996). New evidence from Mapela shows that its initial date of construction is from the 11th century, making it earlier than Mapungubwe by two centuries (Chirikure *et al.* 2014). If dates are anything to go by, Mapela would become the first capital of the Zimbabwe state. Using available dates, Tsindi is much older than Great Zimbabwe thus making it impossible to assume that it was a provincial capital of a state ruled from Great Zimbabwe. Discussions in the Literature Review section show also that Great Zimbabwe and Khami overlapped for over a century before the demise of Great Zimbabwe. This means these sites existed parallelly and they rose and fell without necessarily being under the same leadership.

By the time white settlers arrived around the 1890s, the VaNhowe were not staying at Tsindi (Chanaiwa 1971, Farrant 1966, Edwards 1926). This shows that Tsindi communities shifted centres of power while running of its chiefdoms. As Chirikure (*et al.* 2012) argue that centres of power among the Shona in a single chiefdom would shift from time to time. The shift resulted in the change of status of settlements. As the centres shifted it did not necessarily result in construction of stone walls. In this case it was the chieftaincy that moved location and not a 'statehouse' kind of status for sites that chiefs would rotate to stay in them. Lindahl and Matenga (1995), Chirikure (*et al.* 2013), Beach (1998) and Mahachi and Ndoro (1997) argue for the use of Shona ethnography to interpret use of space at sites.

7.2.2 Archaeological sequence and chronology

Available dates so far, show that Tsindi was occupied from around AD 910 to about AD 1585 (Rudd 1984). Dates acquired during this current research confirmed the dates of Tsindi Iron Age occupation to Rudd's dates. Recent charcoal samples sent for radiocarbon dating produced dates that range from about AD 1024 – AD 1455. Tsindi had an earlier date of Iron Age occupation to Great Zimbabwe (AD 1300 -1450) (Chirikure *et al.* 2016). There was an overlap in periods when both sites were occupied concurrently. Rudd's dates, suggest that Tsindi continued to be occupied even after the demise of

Great Zimbabwe. This dismisses the view that Tsindi was a provincial centre of a Zimbabwe state with Great Zimbabwe as its capital as it was occupied earlier and even continued after Great Zimbabwe's fall. Pottery traditions that dominate Tsindi assemblage mainly belong to Harare and Great Zimbabwe. They all date between AD1150 and AD1500. Both radiocarbon dates and dating by pottery traditions confirm the occupation of Tsindi during the same period. The few Gokomere sherds serve to confirm use of the site from periods earlier than the radiocarbon dates. For comparison purposes, Indo-Pacific series beads found at Tsindi are generally dated between AD1000-1250 and Mapungubwe series AD1250-1300. Therefore, most settlement activity therefore took place beginning around AD1000. This has been supported by radiocarbon dating, beads periods of manufacture and pottery traditions.

7.2.3 Material culture of Tsindi

7.2.3.1 Pottery

A few pottery traditions can be identified at Tsindi. Great Zimbabwe pottery thickness of 6-9mm and general characteristics of grey to black, graphite polished outer surface (Pikirayi and Lindahl 2010) were common among the excavated pots. A few potsherds are of the Gokomere tradition which was dated around AD 300 – 500 (Huffman 1971). Some also matched the descriptions of Harare wares AD 1150-1450 (Rudd 1984). It also shows that Tsindi has a longer history of occupation during Iron Age that stretches back to an earlier period than provided by radiocarbon dates. The different pottery traditions found in same contexts are a sign that there was a cross pollination of ideas among different Iron Age communities where a style found at Gokomere is found at Tsindi and that can happen as people live under their diverse leadership structures.

7.2.3.2 Walling and houses

Rudd's (1984) research identified P and Q styles on Tsindi walls which this study also confirmed. Some sections of the perimeter wall are built of R style which may be as a result of collapsing walls than actual deliberate construction style. It could also be just a matter of expedience resulting in such. This is so especially considering the Q on most walls and the sizes of blocks which are almost uniform. Of interest are the walls at Tsindi South which were all constructed using R style. It may be argued that they are later to Tsindi communities. However, it makes a complete settlement to have Tsindi South be part of the same Tsindi hill community as it was its food storage area. The type of walling could just be more functional than decorative as the walls were meant to hide grain storage away from possible danger. The communities under discussion were farmers who grew crops and harvested enough to keep in storage.

The use of space at Tsindi shows that the place was indeed a settlement site probably of some elite group at some point. Tsindi settlement site had about four definite hut floors found on the area excavated by Rudd (1984). Perhaps because of the size and style of construction of one of the huts it was interpreted by Aeneas Chigwedere as a banya (ritual hut) (Rudd 1984). This research revealed at least three more huts at Tsindi east, a few metres outside the eastern perimeter wall. It was a settlement location largely reserved for metal processing activities. Trench 2 yielded material like slag, tuyere pieces, daga rubble and more charcoal in almost all layers except for a few differences in distribution. Tsindi community had a dump site for all kitchen waste. The midden excavated as Trench 3 had evidence of broken pottery and lots of bones. The bones had numerous different modification marks which show deliberate cutting, probably to fit pot sizes or cooking purposes. To prove that the cutting was for cooking, all short bones like phalanges could only be seen with teeth marks. Burials were located a distance of about half to two kilometres away from place of residence. Huffman (2014) explains how sacred leaders were associated with mountains in death. A Shona leader's body was placed in a rock chamber a year after death. This happened a year after the new leader assumed power. There is evidence of these at Tsindi and the number of individuals buried cannot be quantified. The communities in question obviously grew some grain varieties that they needed to stock in the multiple grain bin site place recorded during this research. It was a security strategy to hide grain away from the residential place a distance of almost a kilometre apart.

7.2.3.3 Beads

Tsindi site's few beads were a sign of external trade and exchange links. Such links could be the same that brought in copper wires and and bangles. The wires were wound to make bangles. The beads could be a form of currency even though their quantity would stagnate economic transactions. Other suggested uses are symbolic, for instance, as a sign of virginity for girls and ornamental purposes are most probable.

7.2.3.4 Crafts

Local craftsman were responsible for making iron tools for different purposes. Abundant evidence of iron working on site suggest local production. The knowledge of iron processing in Zimbabwe has been recorded in many places. Iron objects had daily uses that included hunting, defence and war. Some tools were ceremonial objects used by spiritual mediums or status symbols for leaders. Craftsmanship for pottery at Tsindi was also locally based as most of the pottery was made out of locally available raw material.

7.2.3.5 Burials

Burial areas identinfied around Tsindi are typical of dzimbahwe. It was not possible during this research to acertain their dates. However, it is possible that some were contemporary to Tsindi communities. It is also possible that when the site was abandoned around AD1550, it became burial place for communities that could trace their ancestral roots to Tsindi. There is a possibility that Tsindi site changed use on numerous occasions and being a burial place could have happened at different phases of occupation.

7.2.3.6 Subsistence, economy and politics

Tsindi communities were farmers who grew crops and kept animals especially cattle. The amount of cattle bones recovered by this and Rudd's research show without doubt the quantities of cattle meat consumed. The fact that grain storage facilities were strategically positioned for security from raiders raises a question on how cattle, a very important resource was secured from the same threats. This remains a subject for future research. Tsindi was a community that had its own generations of leadership being buried in rock shelters within the area.

Tsindi communities were not much of war people. Kusimba (2006) and Kim and Kusimba (2008) argued for warfare as a driving force in promoting state formation. This cannot be proved at Tsindi so far as there is not enough evidence to support that there was a military community

Madzimbahwe sites are expected to produce trade goods which are also evidence of them being elitist. The goods are in form of various kinds of cloth, porcelain, stoneware and earthenware (Pikirayi 2001). Though this is an important element of this study, Tsindi site did not yield much evidence even though the amounts do not warrant them being the traders

7.3 WHAT IS THE PLACE OF TSINDI IN RELATION TO DZIMBAHWE?

Archaeological evidence has shown that the material from Tsindi is similar to that from other madzimbahwe such as Great Zimbabwe. At the same time, historical evidence connect Tsindi to VaNhowe people. As Beach (1994) shows, most chiefdoms such as the Buhera polity was associated with a series of madzimbahwe that can be linked with former leaders. Great Zimbabwe is also linked with various communities in the south west. Superficially, therefore, it would appear that the inhabitants of Tsindi were culturally related to those who built madzimbahwe in southern Africa. Despite this general cultural relationship, it appears as if various madzimbahwe were capitals of polities established by related people. In this case, similarity implies cultural but not always political relationships. However, this does not preclude the existence of vibrant, multi-directional networks

that connected people in the region defined by the Indian Ocean to the East and the Kalahari to the west.

From the previous and current researches, it is critical to note that Tsindi's period of occupation spans from around AD1000 which is earlier than Mapungubwe, Great Zimbabwe and Khami. Tsindi rose about the same period with Mapela even though the later had a shorter life span which ended around AD1300. The demise period for Mapungubwe and Mapela is also about the same. Tsindi was occupied about two centuries before Great Zimbabwe then later overlapping periods of existence until the later demise of both about the same period. Tsindi and Great Zimbabwe were active settlements at the same time for about a century together with Khami before their demise as Khami progressed from about AD1450 to around AD1700. Tsindi was occupied for about a century into the Khami period.

Zimbabwe type sites have dry-stone structures (Pikirayi 2001; Chirikure 2012; Pwiti *et al.* 2013) and Tsindi matches that description. However, the stone walls of Tsindi may be similar in raw material to that of Great Zimbabwe only because it is the available type in both areas but the walls are visibly different. Tsindi walls are generally shorter than those of Great Zimbabwe, they are not decorated and Tsindi has fewer styles than those of Great Zimbabwe. Just as the pottery of Great Zimbabwe has some similarities with that of Tsindi, so are the walls but both have numerous differences that need to be accounted for. This is more or less the same with pottery types found whereby the majority of pottery vessels found at Tsindi match a small section of Great Zimbabwe types. Shared similarities are apparent but a greater range of differences or attributes from Great Zimbabwe pottery do not exist at Tsindi. Differences in type of artefacts and availability of beads, metal objects and many other objects reveal differences in the Zimbabwe type communities. It makes sense to view these communities as independent systems that shared knowledge. Tsindi people were not under any obligation to build and make crafts in the same way as their Great Zimbabwe counterparts and they could copy ideas that they wanted from anywhere else, Great Zimbabwe included.

Shona history and ethnography illuminate the understanding of archaeological sites of Shona origin. Bourdillon (1976), Lathan (1977), and Beach (1980) argue that the Shona were normally divided into separate territories under rulers. Therefore, this research argues for a set up that chiefdoms were not necessarily ranked. Different chiefdoms may obviously have commanded different amounts of influence but that did not make them subject to one another (Chirikure *et al.* 2017). This requires concept revision to ensure that local concepts as enshrined in local histories and cultural information is compared to the archaeological picture to generate ideas to think about the past. That there existed multiple, chronologically overlapping chiefdoms bound by various forms of relationships, caution archaeologiosts against assuming that all madzimbahwe that date to the same periods were under

the control of one big dzimbahwe. The fact that Mapela is older than Mapungubwe and Tsindi older to Great Zimbabwe, yet previously assumed otherwise, suggests a review of the dzimbahwe concept. It claims that Zimbabwe state started with its capital at Mapungubwe then moved to Great Zimbabwe and ended at Khami. The existence of different pottery traditions that have both similarities and differences testifies to cross pollination of ideas rather than central leadership as it is possible to have similar cultural traits but not necessarily belonging to the same political leadership. This mean as well that the presence of dry stone walls at Tsindi does not necessarily infer to influence from Great Zimbabwe but just a spread of ideas. This study concludes that Tsindi and other such societies developed separately and had separate leaderships leading them which were least likely to be subject to one another. Future research, must focus more on archaeologically less well known sites to produce a bigger picture with which to explore networks, connections or lack of both, between individual sites and others that collecively make up madzimbahwe. In other words, there is need for more locally grounded alternatives if studies of madzimbahwe are to move forward in a locally liberating way.

7.4 CONCLUSION

Archaeological research at Tsindi has supported the observations made by Rudd (1984). The site has a Harare tradition occupation, which is overlain by ceramics belonging to madzimbahwe period. The typology of the walls is a mix of PQ and Q walling. An analysis of objects revealed that the inhabitants of Tsindi worked iron and gold, processed cotton and kept small and big stock. Hunting supplemented diets. The frequency of glass beads is more restricted. However, in general the highest frequency of this artefact category is known from burials. While this material culture is broadly similar to that from other madzimbahwe such as Great Zimbabwe, recourse to Shona ethnography suggests that Tsindi may have been a capital of an independent chiefdom. Historical evidence points to a chiefdom that belonged to ancestral VaNhowe people. However, the similarities between various madzimbahwe indicate that there were various levels of interaction. Such interation may have involved trade and exchange, warfare and even marriage transactions. Future research could however explore the nature and mechanics of these relationships within a framework provided by local concepts.

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8.1 APPENDIX

8.1.1 Appendix 1

AC/MC

2nd May, 1985

Goromonzi High School
P.O. Goromonzi
Goromonzi

Dear Mrs. Nduku,

I read with concern what I am attributed to have said about the ruins on Tsindi Hill. On no occasion did I say that the stone walls were built for religious centre. I am one of those fully aware that in traditional circles there is no such thing as religion here and politics there. An African polity was a theocracy with politics, relion, economics and social life inseparably intertwined. Therefore, the political centre was also the religiou centre and the centre of everything else. Tsindi was thus as much as political centre as a religious centre and the centre, of everything else. Please get this right. The chief who operated from there was also the chief priest of his chiefdom although he was not necessarily a spirit medium.

Maybe a brief history can help you. Tsindi was the regional centre of Changamire. Mutiusinazita was the national centre of the first National Mutapa. But after his death, the national capital moved to Great Zimbabwe where it remained up to about 1450 when Great Zimbabwe was abandoned. But by then, Tsindi had already been established as the regional centre of the province of Mbire. The ruler of that province up to about 1500 was Changamire. This may put you off a bit because you are often told that Changamire was the ruler of Gurunswa. This is only half-true.

The province of Gurswa was established by Torwa somewhere between 1450 and 1500. In early Portuguese documen ts, it is even known as the land of 'Tolo'a' or Butua. Changamire was the ruler of Mbire and Torwa the ruler of Guruswa. But when Murenga moved from Great Zimbabwe to the Matopos in Guruswa, that Guruswa became the central province. Changamire then eclipsed the Torwa dynasty in Guruswa and became the dominant element there. But this was after 1500. The Rozvi Empire was then formed and the National Rozvi Paramount continued to use the title Changamire. I would like you to realise that Changamire was not a personal name but a dynastic title. The early Changamires were centred at Tsindi. After the movement of the Changamires to Guruswa, Tsindi remained the capital of the regional rulers of Mbire. Their title was not Changamire (after 1500) but Mambire. This remained the position up to about 1700 i.e. crystallization of the Rozvi Empire.

After 1700, Tsindi Hill was taken over by Mangwende descending from Sakubvunza. Around 1833, Mangwende lived about four miles to the south of Tsindi. He was stormed by Zwangendaba and his hordes. He tried to hide his cattle etc. in the walls at Tsindi but they were ransacked. From time to time thereafter, Mangwende's people used Tsindi as a refuge when attacked by the Ndebele. Matipano claimed the other day that he had found somebody who knew something about Tsindi. That can only be a member of the Mangwende dynasty, the last to use the hill.

2/.....

2/.....

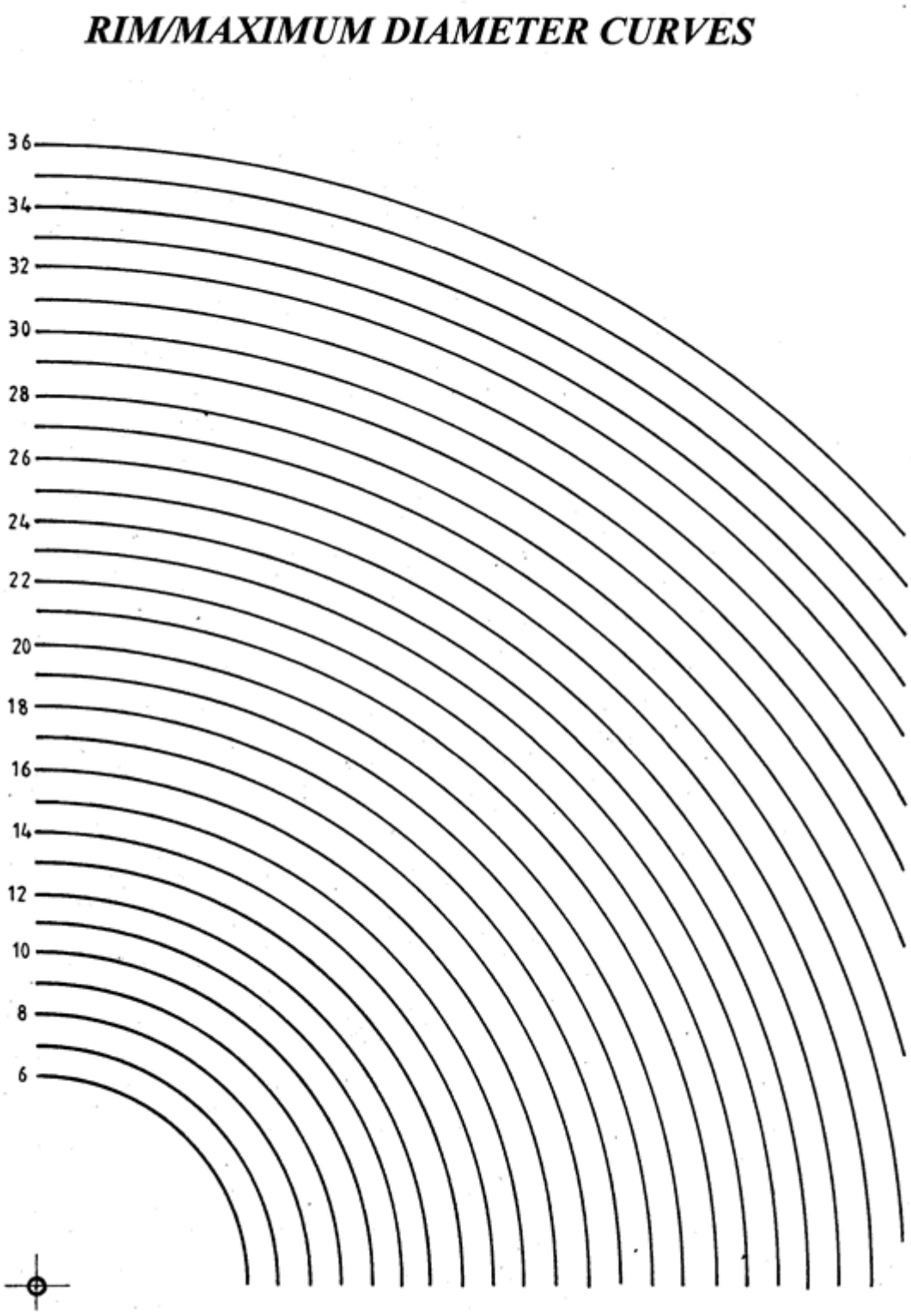
Historically, the stone structures at Tsindi, should be called the Changamire Ruins. 'Tsindi' refers to the hill and not the structures.

The one feature I described as specifically for religion was the hut that showed holes for two poles. I felt that those poles were likely to be forked at the top end with a crossing beam between them wedged in the forks for hanging itmes for religion e.g. materials and skins.

Yours sincerely,

A. Chigwedere

8.1.2 Appendix 2



8.1.3 Appendix 3

Recording Form for Style Attributes

STYLE															**LIP FORM**			
Cat	Pottery type	Fabric					Metric details							Comments (*for shape and profile, PTO*)	RO	SQ	TP	OT
							Thickness				Diam							
		Fine	Coarse	Hard Fine	Hard Coarse	Friable	L	M	S	V.S	L	M	S					

Site Name ……. Sheet Number …….

Cat – catalogue S – small RO – Rounded OT – Out Turned
L – large V.S – very small SQ – Squared
M – medium Diam – Diameter TP – Tapered

8.1.4 Appendix 4

Recording Form for Decoration Attributes

Site Name ……. Sheet Number ……

DECORATION																						
Cat	Decoration Techniques									Placement						Colour						Comments (*for motifs, PTO)*
	wf/b	c-st	Pu	Inc	Gr	B	GB	slip	Pa	L	R	N	Sh	Bo	Ba	G	Gbr	Rbr	blk	st	?	

NB. wf/b – wrapped fibre/ bead c-st – comb stamping Pu – Punctation Inc - Incision Gr – graphiting B – burnishing BG – graphite burnishing Slip – slipping Pa - painting L – lip R – rim N – neck Sh – shoulder Bo – body Ba – base G – grey Gbr – grey brownish Rbr – reddish brown
blk – black st – soot ? – others