

**The Politics of Production of Archaeological Knowledge: A Case Study of the Later
Stone Age Rock art Paintings of Kasama, Northern Zambia**

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Public and Visual History in the Department of History of the University of the Western
Cape.

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Date Submitted: 26th April 2004

Dedication:

In memory of my Mother Ms. March Lupiyá and my young sister Eunice Lishiko

Declaration:

I declare that *The Politics of the Production of Archaeological Knowledge: A Case study of the Kasama Later Stone Age Rock art Paintings of Kasama, Northern Zambia* is my own work, that has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full Name: BILLIARD BERBBINGTON LISHIKO Date: 26TH APRIL 2004

Signed BB

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Abstract:

This study has been an attempt to examine and illustrate the politics in the production of rock art. Whilst the study may not be conclusive, it has shown that there are political issues involved in the production of the above kind of archaeological knowledge at various levels. Starting with the theoretical and contextual introduction to the discipline of archaeology, it is not only apparent that the production of archaeological knowledge is fraught with politics at all levels — academic, heritage, national and international - but that in some cases it is used for various political purposes by various organs.

Narrowing down to methods used in the production of rock art archaeological knowledge, such as quantitative, ethnographical and neuro-psychology this study has shown that all have their own merits and demerits. For example, I have shown that some ethnographical theories, especially those that place the southern African rock art painters in the primitivist framework, resulted in the appropriation of rock art by early researchers in the region. Secondly, I have equally shown that the use of ethnographical parallels or comparative methods cannot account for all the types of cultures. I have argued that similar rock art motifs observed in different geographical locations in the world may not imply that the designs had the same historical development (origins), meaning, nor were they developed from the same psychic law. I have instead argued that, if ethnographical parallels are used there is need to look at the process and the history of the development of the customs and beliefs that are depicted by rock art motifs

The above is equally applicable to the shamanistic approach that is based on neuropsychology. Using the Kasama Later Stone Age rock art as a case study, this study has clearly illustrated that this approach is full of flaws and quite unreliable in some instances. Because of the above, I have cautioned against the use of the above approach for interpreting the entire corpus of rock art paintings not only in southern Africa but in other geographical areas of the world.

Clearly illustrated in this study, is also the fact that knowledge produced from rock art, and indeed any other archaeological artifacts, by researchers is the basis for ascribing values or significance to various heritage sites or artifacts. As shown by the Kasama Later Stone Age management conflicts, values or significance attached to various heritage sites and artifacts are usually sources of contention and have resulted in intense management conflicts between various heritage institutions, other institutions and local communities.

My point of departure is that whilst politics in the production of archaeological knowledge will always be present, especially in rock art studies, it is imperative that the various issues that this study has raised are taken into consideration by scholars attempting to interpret rock art. The possible ways of resolving management conflicts that I have outlined may assist those involved in the management of rock art and indeed other types of heritage.

INTRODUCTION:

My first exposure to the world of rock art was in 1992 when, for a hundred days, I researched and documented rock art sites in Kasama, northern Zambia, (the first ever-systematic rock art research in the country¹) with a Ph.D. student, Benjamin W. Smith, from Cambridge University. Being an employee (Conservation Officer/Heritage Manager — Archaeology) of the National Heritage Conservation Commission, a national body responsible for the management and preservation of Zambia's cultural and natural heritage, my role during this research, was merely limited to searching for rock art paintings and compiling an inventory of this heritage (geographical location, type of paintings, size of site, site conservation status and site tourism potential) for my institution. Despite my being an assistant for the researcher my other major role was to ensure that the external researcher complied with my institution's research ethics.² As for the Ph.D. student, his major objective was to put the rock art in a historical framework and at the same time interpret it.³



It should be pointed out here that even though I was an assistant⁴ for this researcher I had no role in the interpretation or production of the archaeological knowledge of the rock art. This was due to the fact that, despite having wide experience in archaeological research and documentation, I had been trained in 'conservation management' (general

¹ No detailed rock art research had been done in Zambia despite repeated calls for more research into the rock art. See rock art research works by Clark, Phillipson and Schofeleers.

² When an external researcher wants to undertake any research in Zambia, he/she applies for a research permit to the National Heritage Conservation Commission. When the application has been approved, the researcher will undertake his/her research with Commission representatives who basically assist him/her and at the same time ensure that the researcher complies with the Commission research ethic and other regulations. See *National Heritage Conservation Commission Act, 1989*, Permits for collection or excavation and condition of permit, Lusaka, Government Printers, 1989, pp. 37-39.

³ Smith B. W., *Rock art in South Africa: A study based on the pictographs of Dedza District, Malawi and Kasama District Zambia*, Thesis submitted for a Ph.D., Department of Archaeology, Darwin College, Cambridge, Unpublished, 1994, p.30.

⁴ Apart from assisting the researcher in searching for and recording and tracing rock art sites, some of my roles included making translations for the researcher during interviews/meetings with the chiefs, headmen, spiritual media, principals of girls' initiation ceremonies and the local communities.

organic and inorganic cultural material, archaeological sites and museums management).⁵

After the completion of his fieldwork in Zambia, Smith went to Malawi where he continued with his research. Following the completion of his research in the two countries, Smith managed to put the rock art of Kasama and Malawi in a historical framework and interpreted it. A book on his new interpretation of the Kasama rock art has since been published.⁶ Temporary exhibitions on the Kasama rock art have also been put up at the Rock Art Research Institute at Witwatersrand University, Livingstone National Museum, and Lusaka and Kasama Commission regional offices. Currently, it is this ‘new knowledge’ produced by Smith in the Kasama rock art research that is being filtered into Zambia’s institutions of learning and into tourism industry by the Commission.⁷ The above, therefore means that, the importance of this rock art heritage is based on the significance or values that Smith ‘identified’ and attached to this heritage.⁸ Smith is now the Director of the Witwatersrand Rock art Research Institute at the Witwatersrand University.



Before Smith’s work, Zambia’s rock art had originally been classified into two major categories viz: Schematic and Naturalistic.⁹ Naturalistic paintings were considered to be the works of a group of people referred to as the BaTwa and described by various

⁵ I undertook a certificate course in ‘Museums Collections Management’ offered by the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and postgraduate diploma course in ‘Museums Conservation Management’ course jointly offered by University of London and ICCROM at University of Ghana.

⁶ Smith, B.W., and the National Heritage Conservation Commission, *Zambia’s Ancient Rock Art: The Paintings of Kasama*, Livingstone, National Heritage Conservation Commission, 1997.

⁷ The Commission has a Department (Information and Public relations) responsible for dissemination of heritage information. *National Heritage Conservation Commission Organizational Structure*, 1997.

⁸ The Kasama rock art landscape with paintings was proclaimed under *Government Notice No. 333* of 1959 and finally declared under the National Heritage Conservation Commission (NHCC) Act, Cap 173 of the laws of Zambia and was declared collectively as a National Monument under Government notice No. 255 of 1964. Despite the proclamation and declaration which was based on Mrs. L. E. Hodges 1955 (who searched, recorded and excavated one rock art site), and Clark’s 1959 work, it is only Smith who interpreted the rock art.

⁹ Schematic paintings — geometric figure, and Naturalistic paintings — animals and human figures Phillipson D.W., *The National Monument of Zambia*, Ndola, Mission Press, 1972, p. 14. & Clark, J. D., *The Prehistory of Southern Africa*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1959, p.32.

archaeologists as small statured dark skinned and hairy skillful hunters,¹⁰ or “as small bearded hunters who used bows and arrows...”¹¹ This description originates from the now defunct racial science¹² whose one its numerous objectives was to show that Europeans were a superior human species. I argue here that, the so-called Twa were not different from any human being. Schematic paintings on the other hand were and are attributed to the Iron Age peoples.¹³

Whilst Smith concurs with earlier researchers on the identities of the executers of the naturalistic and schematic paintings, using what he referred to as a “multi stranded” methodology,¹⁴ he classified Zambia’s rock art into four artistic traditions, viz: the red animal, the red geometric, the white spread-eagled, and the white zoomorphic traditions.¹⁵ Despite the fact that he criticized and disagreed with Lewis-Williams’ use of a shamanistic approach to interpret rock art in south-central Africa,¹⁶ indicating that out of the five hundred sites recorded in Kasama only three sites clearly depicted shamanistic scenes, in agreement with Lewis-Williams’ shamanistic model of interpretation he still fits the Kasama paintings in the shamanistic interpretation framework as evident in the contradiction below:



Except the Twa red geometric tradition...All Kasama red animal tradition scenes that obviously depict people can thus be seen to have elements, which suggest a connection with trance dancing.¹⁷

¹⁰ See Gabel, C., *Stone Age hunters of the Kafue: the Gwisho A site*, Boston, Boston University Press, 1965, p.23. Sandelowsky, B. and Robinson, K. R., *Fingira: A Preliminary Report, Department Antiquities publication, No. 3*, Malawi Government Press, 1968, p. 56. Clark J. D., “The stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia”, *South African Archaeological Society*, Claremont Cape, 1950, pp. 49-59.

¹¹ Clark J. D., “The stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia”, *South African Archaeological Society* Claremont Cape, 1950, p.121

¹² For more details on Darwin’s Evolutionary Theory and how it may be applied to archaeology see Trigger B.G., *A history of Archaeological Thought*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 113-118.

¹³ White Schematics paintings especially those found in the eastern Zambia are presumed to be the works of Early and Later Iron Age peoples (farming groups), in particular the ancestors of the present Chewa-Nyanja. The yellow, red and bichrome schematics are also believed to be the works of Early and Later Iron Age peoples (farming groups).

¹⁴ A combination of techniques such as — analogy, contextual and imitations/simulations. See Smith, op. cit., 1994, p.297.

¹⁵ For the meaning of each tradition see Smith B.W., op. cit., 1997, p.12.

¹⁶ Smith, B.W., op. cit., 1994, p.23.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.47.

A critical look at what Smith refers to as Twa 'red geometric tradition' shows that, despite the fact that he claims that it does not fall under the shamanistic framework, his interpretation of this art still supports the above framework.¹⁸

Ten years later, after being exposed not only to various critical issues in museums and heritage studies but also to various debates around the production of knowledge in what is presented as heritage, I was prompted to critically examine and investigate Smith's research findings and interpretations of the Kasama rock art in Zambia.¹⁹ This basically meant examining and investigating the politics in the production of knowledge in the discipline of archaeology at academic, heritage institutions, at national and global levels.

I will further investigate and examine how interpretations of rock art as derived from shamanistic practices were born in and have been propagated by, the Rock Art Institute Research of the Witwatersrand University.²⁰ I will then look at how this interpretation has been utilized at rock sites in Southern Africa, in particular in Kasama, northern Zambia, and whether specific local conditions have been taken into consideration in these interpretations.



The secondary issue that also became apparent to me after Smith's work in Kasama, and after conducting a literature review of other researchers and rock art institutions' works, was that the management and preservation/presentation of rock art sites or heritage was mainly dependant on the interpretation that had been conferred by those particular sites.

¹⁸ Smith interprets red geometric as symbols of rain making rituals. The above interpretation does not actually imply that the art is not shamanistic, to the contrary, because the Shamanistic approach but argues that one of the supernatural powers that Shamans draw in a trance is power for of the making rain. The implication of the above is that all the Kasama paintings are Shamanistic.

¹⁹ In 2001 I undertook a postgraduate diploma course in *Museums and Heritage Studies*, which was jointly offered by the University of the Western Cape, University of Cape Town and Robben Island Museum. In 2002 I completed the course work for my Masters degree in *Public and Visual History* offered by the University of the Western Cape. Some of the issues museums and heritage studies include the concept of various types of heritage, their production, management and presentation (text and visual presentations) in public/private institutions and sites for tourism, education/research purposes and so forth.

²⁰ The Rock Art Research Institute of the Witwatersrand University has been the centre for Rock art studies in Southern Africa and has undertaken numerous research works on the San Rock art.

The above also became apparent from the short course on rock art conservation management that I attended in both Zimbabwe and Zambia.²¹ The implication of such interpretation is that if the academic researcher from a learning/research institution indicated that a site was very important, it was such sites that received full attention by national and international preservation bodies and, in most cases, the tourism industry.

The above simply means that the discipline of archaeology reflected values that are legitimized within and through academic institutions and national and international preservation bodies. As argued by Crooke it is “the new knowledge that has been produced by the researcher that is subsequently filtered to the public through the education system and ancillary institutions such as museums, actual sites.”²²

But since rock art is believed by various heritage institutions to have historic value and to illustrate and provide evidence of people’s cultural development, or an important phase or period within that culture’s history, there is need to preserve this ‘heritage resource’²³ by cultural or and other research institutions (such as universities) from loss and depletion. These institutions therefore should not only preserve only the paintings but also other cultural beliefs of both the past and living societies and the landscape. And in order to find possible lasting solutions on how the rock art paintings of Kasama and elsewhere could be preserved for posterity, I decided to investigate and examine the root

²¹ I attended a Two weeks course on Conservation and management of Rock art in the Southern Africa organized by ICCROM and the Witwatersrand University and the National Museums and Commission of Zimbabwe in the Matopos Zimbabwe in 1999. Cases studies showed complex management problems due to differing interpretation/values attached to rock art sites by heritage institutions and the tourism industry, etc. Another two weeks course on Conservation and management of Rock art in the Southern Africa organized by two bodies above and the National Heritage Conservation Commission that I attended in 2001 showed complex management problems due to differing interpretation/values attached to rock art sites by heritage institutions, the tourism industry, local authority, and forestry departments between these bodies and the community.

²² Cooke, E. *Politics, Archaeology and the Creation of a National Museum in Ireland: An Expression of National Life*, Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2000, p.19.

²³ These are places/material culture governments/communities attach special cultural or natural values See *Protecting Local Heritage Places: A Guide for Communities*, Australian Heritage Commission, Goanna, Print Canberra, 1999, p.21.

causes of management conflicts that arise between heritage, other governmental and non-governmental institutions and ‘the community.’²⁴

The main purpose of this study is to investigate and examine the politics in the production of archaeological knowledge especially in rock art, at academic, heritage institutions and national and global levels. It aims to trace and examine the development and ‘movement’ of particular hypotheses or interpretations and their appropriateness in the study and management of rock art heritage in southern Africa.

Although archaeological interpretation may constitute a form of narrative and may be both a scientific and literary enterprise,²⁵ the production of archaeological knowledge is somehow fraught with struggles over control at the level of academic, heritage institutions, national, regional, and at the level of continental and global politics.

Archaeology may always be an unavoidably political enterprise; at every stage it reflects values that are legitimized within and through academic, [heritage] institutions and national politics.²⁶

The quotation above implies that archaeological research and interpretations are influenced by various factors, the major one being the social context (milieu) in which archaeologists live and work. Archaeology is always therefore socially engaged,²⁷ and directly linked to ideologies and political uses.²⁸ “The way we interpret the past cannot be divorced from the way we perceive the present.”²⁹

²⁴ In case of Kasama, ‘the community’ includes the people that live in the landscape with Rock art paintings.

²⁵ Kohl, P. L. & Fawcett C., (ed.), *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p.5.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 1995, p.5.

²⁷ Hodder, I., “Archaeological theory in contemporary European societies: the emergence of competing traditions”, in Hodder, I. (ed.), *Archaeological Theory in Europe*, London, Routledge, 1991, p.22.

²⁸ Slapsak, B., “Archaeology and the contemporary myths of the past”, *Journal of European Archaeology* **2**, 1993, p.192.

²⁹ Nassaney, M. S., “An epistemological enquiry into some archaeological and historical interpretations of 17th century Native American-European relations”, in Shennan, S. L., (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1989, p.89.

The implication this according to Clarke,³⁰ is that archaeology is still a series of divergent traditions, each with its locally esteemed body of theory and preferred form of description, interpretation and explanation. Other factors that might influence the above may include the resources that are made available for archaeological research, the institutional contexts in which research is carried out, and the kind of investigations societies or government are prepared to let archaeologists undertake. The above simply means that “the social, political and economic contexts within which archaeology as a discipline operates wield both overt and covert influences on it.”³¹

If the above assertion is correct, then it can be argued that, whatever archaeological methods are used or knowledge produced may be influenced by the researcher’s sense of what is significant, (and the other factors mentioned above) which in turn reflects his or her theoretical presuppositions. Hence, as pointed out by McGuire,³² “the knowledge produced in this discipline is socially created in the context of times, it is embedded in social and political relations that either supports or challenges, and in the end submits to the political forces that the researcher confronts.” These created hierarchies of interest groups or political forces indirectly become the producer of valid archaeological knowledge.³³

The above is quite apparent in the production of rock art archaeological knowledge where:

As each new generation of researchers, coming from its own intellectual background, turns to the art, new research interests will emerge, new meanings will be generated and new problems will be recognized.³⁴

³⁰ Clarke, D. L., (ed.), *The Analytical Archaeologist*, London, Academic Press, 1979, pp.28, 84.

³¹ Mannheim (1963) and Habermas (1973) quoted in the article of Kaiser, T., “Archaeology and Ideology in south Europe”, in Kohl, P. L. & Fawcett, C. (eds.), *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*. Cambridge, University Press, 1995, p.118.

³² McGuire, R. H., *A Marxist Archaeology*, California, Academic Press, Inc., 1992, p.3

³³ See Ronayne, M., “Object Lessons: The Politics of Identity in Archaeological Discourse”, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton 1997 <http://www.shef.ac.uk/assem/2/2ronayn.html> (Accessed 14th February 2003).

³⁴ Lewis-Williams, D., & Dowson, T. A., “Aspects of rock art research: A critical retrospective”, in Dowson, T. A. & Lewis-Williams, D. (eds.), *Contested Images: Diversity in Southern African Rock art Research*, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1994, p.221.

Various communities in different parts of the world have left traces of their past activities. The diversity and importance of these traces and activities in particular rock art paintings have been realized by a number of researchers such as Chase & Dibble,³⁵ Davidson & Noble,³⁶ Mellars,³⁷ Lindly and Clark,³⁸ Lorblanchet³⁹ and Bednarik⁴⁰ which Chippendale and Taçon⁴¹ concur with and have summed them up as:

The accumulation of ancient rock paintings and engravings are a testament to visual art as a medium of mediating, recording, recounting and a new means of more fully experiencing those profound human events and changes which have shaped our histories through what we now collectively refer to as rock-art, we see how different peoples, at various times of the past, represented or interpreted change *for themselves*. What is remarkable is not so much the particular images of certain regions but rather the widespread and truly global nature of this phenomenon. For at least 40,000 years and perhaps for much longer, human beings have increasingly marked landscapes in symbolic ways. A characteristically human trait, this is one of the ways we socialise landscapes. The result is a great and a scattered array of visually striking imagery as time and chance have let it survive to us at sites or within regions over vast periods of time.

It is from the many traces left by human beings that, researchers have attempted to reconstruct different 'pasts' of societies by means of disciplines such as Archaeology. Archaeology is an academic discipline that uses material remains as signs of past events to answer questions about the past. It is basically a collection of techniques designed to uncover and explore our material inheritance from the past and to use it to reconstruct human life and thought.⁴²

³⁵ Chase, P. and Dibble, H., "Middle Palaeolithic symbolism: A review of current evidence and interpretations", *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 6: 1987, pp.263-96.

³⁶ Davidson, I. & Noble, W., "The archaeology of perception: traces of depiction and language", *Current Anthropology* 30 (2), 1989, pp.125-55.

³⁷ Mellars, P., "Major issues in the emergence of modern humans", *Current Anthropology* 30 (3), 1989, pp.349- 85.

³⁸ Lindly, J. M. & Clark, G. A., "Symbolism and modern human origins", *Current Anthropology* 31 (3), 1990, pp.233- 61.

³⁹ Lorblanchet, M., "Response to Bednarik, Mathpal and Odak", *International Newsletter on Rock Art* 6, 1993, pp.14 -16.

⁴⁰ Bednarik, R., "The Pleistocene Art of Asia", *Journal of World Prehistory* 8 (4) 1994, pp.351-75.

⁴¹ Chippendale & Taçon, op. cit., 1999, p.1.

⁴² Woodhouse H. C., *Archaeology in Southern Africa*, Cape Town, Purnell & Sons (SA) Pty, Ltd, , 1971.

It is these traces of human beings that researchers and preservation bodies are preserving and presenting as evidence of the past to the public.⁴³ But like any research discipline, archaeology as a discipline for reconstructing the past has undergone an intense intellectual revolution in both methods/techniques and theories. The result of the above is that the ‘pasts’ that archaeologists construct are determined by what they wish to explain — they are constructed by their specific hypotheses, concepts, idiosyncratic understanding, personalities and interests.

And for most archaeological research conducted in the third world by western archaeologists/researchers, a single ‘past’ defined by them becomes the correct one, and it is this that is filtered to the public.⁴⁴ No wonder archaeologists can be likened to politicians, who create their own power bases and marginalize others but privilege the interests of the social classes from which they come.⁴⁵ Archaeology, especially in its endeavours to construct a past, that is, to decipher the motives and meaning of rock art (petroglyphs — engravings and pictographs — paintings) as already indicated above is full of politics at various levels.



Whilst it is clear that there are no universal explanations that can be applied to all petroglyphs and pictographs due to differing cultural factors involved in the production of the art itself, and the artists themselves. In South Africa, the Witwatersrand Rock art Research Institute has identified three groups as the painters of the art, viz; the Khoi⁴⁶ (especially handprints, art work and petroglyphs), the Iron Age black farmers (thick white

⁴³ Ndoro, W., “Your Monument our Shrine” The preservation of Great Zimbabwe”, *Studies in African Archaeology* 19., Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala, Uppsala University, 2001, p.1

⁴⁴ Ellison, J., “Writing History”, *African Archaeological Review*, Vol.7, No.10 March 1996, p.7-15.

⁴⁵ Archaeological research has always marginalized other groups. Few examples may include the colonial research and interpretation of the Great Zimbabwe (See Hall, M., *Archaeology Africa*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1996, pp.21-29), early rock art research in Namibia (see Lewis-Williams, J. D., and Dowson, T. A., *Images of Power: understanding Bushmen rock art*, Cape Town, Book Publishers (Pty) Ltd, 1989, pp.6-7.), and Zambia’s Nachikufu cave rock art interpretations (see Clark D. J., “The Paintings of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland”, in Summers, R., *Prehistoric Rock art of the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, Glasgow, University Press, 1959) can suffice as examples.

⁴⁶ The KhoiKhoi believed to have been once part of the hunter-gatherers later acquired flocks and herds of cattle and became distinguished from the hunter-gatherers (Bushmen or San). Note this difference is superficial as both the San and KhoiKhoi are collectively referred to as Khoisan. See Lewis-Williams, D., & Dowson, T., op. cit., 1989, p.9.

or red paint often depicting geometric forms often found superimposed over San or Khoi paintings. This art is believed to depict initiation rituals and political protests⁴⁷) and the San to whom most of the paintings in South Africa are attributed to by various academics in South Africa.

The works of art (both petroglyphs and pictographs), in particular those attributed to the San, by the Witwatersrand Rock art Research Institute are interpreted as ‘essentially’ shamanistic works.’⁴⁸ It is believed by the Witwatersrand Rock art Research Institute that, principally, a great deal of San art depicts the San’s most important ritual, the healing or trance dance, the complex somatic experiences of dancers and various metaphors, such as death, weather divination, fertility, hunting, etc.⁴⁹ These paintings are also believed to contain imagery that must have/had social, political and religious significance.⁵⁰

The basis for the above interpretations in South Africa is derived mainly from the ethnographical data collected from the descendants of the San.⁵¹ And in defending the assumption that ‘all the San rock art was executed by medicine men and women whilst in trances’, Lewis-Williams and his Rock art Research Institute students appeal to the critics to take into consideration the word ‘essentially.’

Lewis-Williams and his Rock art Research Institute students argue that because no one knows what was in the minds of painters and in order to “avoid being driven into

⁴⁷ *African Rock art: the Southern Zone*, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hdrock/ha_rock.htm (14th February 2003)

⁴⁸ Shamanism is derived from Tungus word from central Asia. It refers to someone in a hunter-gatherer society believed to have direct contact, through an ecstatic state, with the transcendent world and was able to heal people, foretell the future, control the weather, ensure good hunting and so forth. See Nachtgall, H., “The cultural-historical origin of shamanism”, in Bharati, A. (ed.) *The Realm of the Extra-human: Agents and Audiences*, The Hague, Mouton Press, 1976, pp.315-323.

⁴⁹ See Lewis-Williams, D., & Dowson, op. cit., 1989, p.31.

⁵⁰ See “South African Museum: People past to present– Stone Age Archaeology”, Rock art exhibition captions, Cape Town, South African Museum, 2002.

⁵¹ D. F., Bleek’s works on the South Africa San and ethnographical records on Kalahari foragers collected by Anthropologists are cited by various rock art researchers in South Africa as the main sources of San rock art Interpretations. See Parkington, J., *The Mantis, the eland and the hunter: Following the San*, Cape Town, Credo Communications, 2002, pp.8, 11; Lewis-Williams, J. D., *Believing is Seeing : Symbolic meaning in southern San rock art*, London, Academic Press, 1981, p.7.

unnatural monolithism that conceals the allusiveness of the San thought,⁵² it is therefore imperative that the above word is taken into considerations. I actually view the above appeal as a contradiction because a look at; Lewis-Williams' summary it does not show that the paintings mean anything else other than shamanistic representations.

Because the shamanistic interpretation has, become a yardstick for interpreting rock art despite lack of ethnographical data and diverse cultural factors involved in the production of the art itself, let alone the artists themselves in some countries in the southern Africa and other countries in the world. I will argue that most rock art researchers have failed to come up with independent, meaningful interpretations of rock art.

The above imposed interpretations not only have wide ramifications in the studies of rock art but also in the management of this particular heritage. One of the results is that the significance of particular sites to archaeologist and researchers do not necessarily equate with its value to the present societies. And because of such interpretations (so-called 'official' interpretations) or different values attached by researchers and preservation bodies to these sites, conflicts have not only arisen between states and 'indigenous' communities claiming different historical and cultural ties with sites in these landscapes, but also between communities themselves with conflicting claims. Differences have also cropped up between state departments responsible for wildlife, forestry, ecology, mining and national preservation bodies.

Domboshava and Silozwane rock art sites of Zimbabwe, Kasama rock art sites in northern Zambia, and Chinhamapere I rock art site of Manica District in Mozambique are among many areas where the above conflicts are rife. For example, the importance of Domboshava rock shelter⁵³ and Silozwane cave⁵⁴ to the communities is that these sites

⁵² See Lewis-Williams J. D., "Quanto?: the issue of 'many meanings' in southern Africa rock art research", *South African Archaeological Bulletin* **53** 1998, pp.86-53. See also the works of his student, Laue, G. B., *Taking a stance: Posture and meaning in the rock art of the Waterberg, Northern Province, South Africa*, Unpublished MSc. Thesis, Witwatersrand University, 2000, pp.17-18.

⁵³ See also Taruinga, P. "The beauty of the mouth resuscitation": Salving vandalized rock art at Domboshava national monument in north eastern Zimbabwe", Unpublished Report, Harare, Museums of Human Sciences, 2000, p.33.

are their 'shrines' for rainmaking rituals and ceremonies that are performed regularly. But for the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe the importance of these sites lie in their prehistoric value (they are believed to represent the art works of the so-called hunter-gatherers), whilst for the tourism industry, these sites were important for tourism purposes. The result of such conflicts saw the destruction of over 75% of the paintings at Domboshava rock art shelter by the locals in Domboshava Village.⁵⁵

Similarly, the significance of the landscape with rock art paintings in Kasama to the community living in the landscape with rock art does not lie in the paintings but in their living traditions (spaces of spiritual guidance in times of drought and diseases. The landscape is also important as it used for thanks giving for good harvests).⁵⁶ Besides the landscape being spiritually revered, it is also exploited for other resources such as traditional medicine, firewood, small game (animals), quarry stones and soils for lawns (for sale to constructors). As for rock art in Mozambique, Manica District it suffered irreparable damage due to different values attached to the landscape with rock paintings by various groups. For the government, Chinhamapere I, II and III rock art sites were important because of their prehistoric values to the country whilst for the local community in the vicinity who claimed that they did not have any kin relation to the painters; hence the landscape was important for mining purposes.⁵⁷

It should also be pointed out here that in some cases, because of lack of respect or recognition of values attached locally to certain landscapes, by both the government and

⁵⁴ The community's contention was/is that whilst the tourism industry was benefiting financially from their Shrine (Silozwane Cave) they were not, and demanded for a share from the monies that this industry was making. See "Conservation and Management of Rock art in the Southern Africa - COMRASA Course Study Manual", op. cit., 1999, p.99.

⁵⁵ "On 14 May 1998, the site was vandalized during the night. The graffiti are very severe. A dark brown enamel (oil-based alkyd) paint was used to obliterate the paintings as a result of which 75% of the painted surface was affected. Of the 146 paintings, 65 - 70% were damaged". See Heritage at Risk ICOMOS: Southern Africa-Vandalism http://www.international.icomos.org/risk/southernafrica_2000.htm (14th February 2003). See also Taruinga, P., op. cit., 2000, p.34.

⁵⁶ Note all the landscapes with important spiritual values are named after a spirit that is believed to reside in there. See Sinkamba, L.F.J and Lishiko, B. B., "Rock art survey in Kasama District: A retrieval of archaeological heritage", Unpublished Report, Livingstone, National Heritage Conservation Commission, 1992, pp.137-8, 141, 151.

⁵⁷ Domingo, F., "The study visit to rock paintings in Manica District" Unpublished, Paper presented at Documentation and inventorying of Immovable Heritage Seminar, Livingstone, 9-15 October 2000, p.4.

private organizations, developmental projects have greatly impacted upon traditional sites in these landscapes resulting into contentious rock art management conflicts. Some of the developmental projects that have greatly impacted on cultural sites include road and dam constructions, mining activities, mechanised agricultural activities, urban and rural housing developments, industrial developments, land resettlements programmes and many other developments.

Lack of effective legislation and poor or non-existent heritage management programmes and involvement community participation could also be cited as one of major causes of management conflicts. For example in Zambia, the National Heritage Conservation Commission Act (legislation on archaeological heritage research and management) does not clearly define the role or allow participation of the local communities either in research or management of archaeological sites.⁵⁸

In this study, I argue that the use of archaeological methods to interpret rock art is fraught with struggle over control at the level of academic institutions and at the level of national and global politics. In reference to the Kasama rock art paintings, I will demonstrate that, although some archaeological methods or approaches themselves might not be wrong in interpreting rock art heritage, the use of the South Africa ‘San’⁵⁹ shamanistic approach/interpretation, as propagated by the Witwatersrand Rock art Research Institute, especially where it becomes a yardstick of interpreting rock art in other countries in Southern Africa, can be misleading because the above approach fails to consider the different contexts in which these paintings could have been executed.

As regards archaeological knowledge production and the way it reaches various segments of societies, I will show that mechanisms exist in the countries world over to filter this

⁵⁸ For example in Zambia, the National Heritage Conservation Commission Act (legislation on archaeological heritage research and management) does not clearly define the role or allow participation of the local communities either in research or management of archaeological sites. See Chikumbi, D. C. “The 1989 Zambian Heritage Act: Archaeological Implication”, Thesis submitted for Masters of philosophy in Archaeology University of Cambridge, Unpublished 1992, p.43.

⁵⁹ In South Africa the people widely known by the name Bushmen are now often called San (San is their name in the Hottentot language). Both words, Bushman and San have pejorative connotations though several researchers use them.

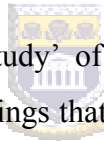
knowledge that is actually laden with academic, heritage institutions and national politics. Examined here also will be the role and the relationship of the researchers with the public.⁶⁰

I will further demonstrate that because of the control of this knowledge by these organs they are indisputably political. Demonstrated also will be that archaeological heritage management (be it rock art or any other heritage) is intimately linked with political ideologies, whether academic, national, colonial or imperialist.

This work aims to make an original contribution to the study and management of rock art, in particular to the politics involved in the production of archaeological knowledge in Zambia. Whilst it is an undeniable fact that numerous works have been produced, on rock art studies, none have specifically looked at how politics in academic, heritage institutions and government influence the knowledge produced or interpretations and their effects on the management of rock art heritage. Secondly, since no exhaustive rock art heritage management conflicts studies have been undertaken in Zambia, this work will be the first of its kind. It aims to present a radical alternative to rock art heritage management practices.

⁶⁰ Since archaeology as a mode of production of the past is a discipline inevitably linked to the public in general (See Shanks, M. & McGuire, R., “The craft of Archaeology”, *American Antiquity*, **61**, 1996, p.82) the concept of ‘Public archaeology’ will be explored. Different goals pursued under the rubric ‘Public Archaeology’, will be analyzed and, perhaps more importantly, critical examinations of what this work with the public does, in terms of archaeology as a discipline and in social life more generally— its relevance and role in society. But it should be pointed out here that “engaging the public’ means that archaeologists take on responsibilities that both complement and compete with their primary aim of ‘researching the past’. Whether ‘presenting data’, ‘sharing methods to empower others’, or ‘tailoring pedagogy to meet curricular needs’, publicly active archaeologists face a range of new choices/compromises. Are archaeologists ready to accept the above challenge?” See Jeppson, P. L., Pitfalls, Pratfalls and Pragmatism in Public Archaeology (Abstract), paper presented at Public Archaeology: International Perspectives, Debate and Critique, Center for Archaeology/Baltimore County Public Schools and Brauer, George, <http://www.p-j.net/pjeppson/SHA2001/abstracts.htm> (Accessed 15th March 2003). See also the works of Martin Hall on the debates of roles of Public Archaeology, Hall, M., op. cit., 1996 pp.31-55. Armstrong, P., The Peggy Armstrong Public Archaeology Award: Definition of Public Archaeology, Ottawa, Ontario, (<http://www.canadianarchaeology.com/association/ontario/ottawa/otchh.htm>) Accessed 15th March 2003.

Two complementary methods were used in this research — archival and fieldwork. Literature that contained data on archaeology as a research discipline for reconstructing diverse human ‘pasts’ and the politics in the discipline were reviewed. The second set of literature reviewed was that with data specifically on rock art research and various interpretations. The third set of literature reviewed was that with data specifically on the concept of culture. The fourth body of literature reviewed concerned rock art research works conducted by National Heritage Conservation Commission and the Rhodes Livingstone National Museum in Zambia and individual (external) researchers. This was followed by a review of literature (in southern Africa) that propagates and perpetuates the San-shamanistic kind of interpretation. The fifth and last body of literature contained general and specific information on archaeological heritage management, cultural and natural heritage management. This category also included rock art research and management reports of the National Heritage Conservation Commission and Rhodes Livingstone National Museum.



The other method used was a ‘case study’ of the Later Stone Age rock paintings of Kasama. An analysis of only rock paintings that Smith claimed had shamanistic⁶¹ scenes was made, and investigations to investigate the claims that some of the paintings in Kasama portrayed fertility and potency practices among the ethnic groups of this area were also conducted. Carried out also (through questionnaires, interviews and review of various heritage, government and non governmental documents and legislation) was a detailed investigation into conflicts over management of the Kasama rock art heritage sites between the local community and the heritage institution, and other governmental and non-governmental institutions.

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The first chapter (“Politics of Production of Archaeological Knowledge”) provides a theoretical and contextual introduction to the discipline of archaeology. It further demonstrates that in most cases archaeological

⁶¹ Out of over six hundred sites in Kasama, three sites were said to have shamanistic scenes by Smith See Smith, B. W., op. ct., 1997, pp.32-46.

knowledge produced by this discipline always has some elements of academic, heritage institutions and government politics.

Using rock art studies, one of the fields of the discipline of archaeology, chapter two (“Politics of Production of Rock art Archaeological Knowledge”) examines and shows the politics involved in the production of archaeological knowledge. It further examines how rock art researchers (archaeologists, anthropologists, art historians, etc) have sought to interpret or decipher the meanings of rock art how in their endeavours a lot of interpretations and meanings and values have been ascribed, and how old interpretation have been replaced by new ones. This will be demonstrated in a general overview of Southern Africa rock art studies. Examined also in this chapter are roles the of research institutions in particular the Rock Art Research Institute of the Witwatersrand University, in the production of rock art knowledge. Besides showing politics involved in the production of rock art knowledge at institutional level, this chapter also shows that archaeological knowledge produced by institutions is greatly influenced by the national politics of the day.



The third chapter (“Zambia’s Archaeology and Rock Art”) gives a brief of the development of archaeology and a history of Zambia’s rock art.⁶² This chapter also acts as a prelude to chapter four, which presents a case study of the Kasama Later Stone rock art. The extent to which rock art studies carried out by the Rock art Research Institute of Witwatersrand University have influenced or affected studies and interpretation of rock art in most countries in Southern Africa is also demonstrated. This chapter also demonstrates that in most cases the interpretation of rock art is dependant on the researcher’s hypotheses. It further shows how each new generation of researchers, coming from its own social and intellectual background, turn to the art and how new research interests emerge and new meanings are generated.

⁶² Included in the history of Zambia’s rock art is the research works undertaken in the country on rock art, the interpretation and the ‘management system’ of this heritage.

Chapter five of this thesis examines the concepts of significance and value as applied to rock art sites, with particular reference to public perceptions — i.e. the community living in landscapes with these sites. It further examines the effects of the knowledge (interpretations or values/significance) produced by researchers in rock art heritage management. Using Kasama rock art sites as a case study, this chapter demonstrates how interpretations/and values attached to rock art by heritage institutions and researchers have resulted in conflicts between preserving bodies, other state departments (mining, forestry, provincial local authorities, etc) and the community. Conflicts between various state departments due to different values attached to the landscape with paintings are also analyzed.

Since the current methods of managing the rock art of Kasama are not unique to this area but represent methods that are generic to many countries in southern Africa, this chapter concludes by giving possible practical guidelines on how the conflicts in management of rock art can be addressed. The final chapter is a conclusion, which draws together the key issues raised in the above chapters.



CHAPTER ONE

POLITICS OF PRODUCTION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

Like many research disciplines, archaeology has seen various developments in its theories, methods, approaches, and techniques in order to produce archaeological knowledge or ‘pasts’. But:

Is archaeology a science that can reconstruct some objective view of the past or, instead, merely a reflection of the present, used to satisfy our own often unrecognized ideological needs?⁶³

The above and similar questions have challenged the intellectual dominance and academic complacency of archaeology since its introduction in the 19th century as a discipline, in the process contesting its philosophical basis, substantive interests and explanatory capabilities.⁶⁴ This chapter, which provides a theoretical and contextual introduction to the discipline of archaeology, is intended as a critique of archaeology as a discipline that produces knowledge of the ‘past’.



This chapter is divided into two major parts. The first part is basically a brief history of the development of archaeology as a discipline, and its aims. This section further demonstrates that in most cases archaeological knowledge produced by this discipline always reflects some elements of academic, government, and international politics. An exploration of ‘recent’ archaeological schools of thought used to abstract answers (or produce knowledge) human pasts is also given. The second section shows that the production of archeological knowledge at heritage institutions is also influenced by national and international politics.

⁶³ Whitley, D. S., “New approaches to old problems Archaeology in search of an ever-elusive past”, in Whitley, D. S., (ed.), *Reader in Archaeological Theory*, London, Routledge, 1998, p.1.

⁶⁴ Whitley, D. S., op. cit., p. 1. See also Wylie, A., “A proliferation of New Archaeologies: Skepticism, Processualism, and Post-processualism”, in Yoffee, N. & Sherratt, A., (eds.), *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda?* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp.20-26.

It is impossible due to space in this thesis to deal or examine adequately with every archeological theory or even regional archeological tradition. However, in order to demonstrate the politics involved in the production of archeological knowledge, I will focus on a limited number of major developments in archeology that have shaped different archeological interpretations or have produced specific ‘historical or cultural knowledge of the past.’

1.1 Definition of Archaeology:

The field of archaeology as a science encompasses a broad spectrum of interests ranging from studies of the origin of humans to the microscopic analysis of ancient tools and artifacts. It includes studies of art and architecture of past societies; it deals with the histories of peoples; it serves as an adjunct to written history; and it informs us of the ancient ways of humans.⁶⁵



From the above, it is clear that diverse definitions exist for the term ‘archaeology,’ hence it can only be defined in reference to the numerous disciplines it exploits or draws on for its theoretical models and practical applications. These may include cultural anthropology, history, geology, biological ecology, evolutionary biology, zoology, geography, geomorphology, palaeontology, astronomy, computer science, economics and so forth. Making use of the above fields, archaeology may simply be defined as “the systematic study of antiquities as a means of reconstructing the past”⁶⁶ or as simply put by Humphreys as “a set of methods and techniques used for making observations about the human past.”⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Hole, F. & Heizer, R. F., *An Introduction to Prehistoric Archaeology*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc. 1969, p.1.

⁶⁶ Fagan, M. B., (ed.) *Introductory Readings in Archaeology: The Discipline of Prehistory*, Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1970, p.3.

⁶⁷ Humphreys, A. J. B., *Searching for the Past: The Methods and Techniques of Archaeology*, Cape Town, David Philip, Publisher (Pty) Ltd, South Africa, 1986, p.8.

One of the aims of the above, according to Mason,⁶⁸ is the search for the origins of epoch-making ideas in order to comprehend the history of human development, or as put by Hole and Heizer,⁶⁹ “to investigate and document the rich, unique features of past cultures; locate them in specific social, economic, and historical contexts; and trace their emergence and transformation over tradition.” It should be pointed out here that no single goal of archaeology exists. For example in reaction to definitions that restrict archaeology’s aims to the study of material remains, Daniel argues that the above “would be to cultivate a new artifact-centred antiquarianism.”⁷⁰ Nevertheless, most archaeologists continue to consider archaeology as a means to study human behaviour and cultural change in the past through material remains.

But, as observed by Binford,⁷¹ archaeologists merely attempt to make systematic observations on the remains of the remote and recent past human behaviour; that is, they investigate and interpret the archaeological record.⁷² However, archaeological practice is contemporary, and observations that are made through various archaeological methods or techniques are contemporary observations. The interest is in the past but the observations are made in the present.



1.2 A Brief History of Archaeology:

Though there are some critics about what philosopher and archaeologist R. C. Collingwood said⁷³ that “no historical problem should be studied without studying ... the

⁶⁸ Mason O, T., “The birth of invention”, in *Annual Report Smithsonian Institution for 1892*. Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C., 1893, p.403.

⁶⁹ Hole, F. & Heizer, op. cit., 1969, p.18.

⁷⁰ Daniel, G., *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology* (2nd ed.), Duckworth, London, 1975, pp.371-6.

⁷¹ Binford, R. L., *Nunamiut Ethno archaeology*, New York, Academic Press, 1978, pp.1-4.

⁷² Archaeological record’ is any remains from the past that are investigated by archaeologists. See Patterson, T. C., *The Theory and Practice of Archaeology: A Workbook* (2nd ed.), New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1994, p.4.

⁷³ One of the critics is that the falseness of theoretical formulations is independent of social influences and hence of history but can be determined by applying scientifically valid procedures of evaluation to adequate bodies of data. The above therefore implies that it is not essential for graduate courses to be histories of thought but should instead expound and articulate current theories. See Schiffer, M., (ed.) *Behavioral Archaeology*, New York, Academic Press, 1976, p.193.

history of historical thought about it,”⁷⁴ many archaeologists agree with him. One of those who strongly concur with Collingwood is Daniel, who states that:

The history of archaeology needs studying not only as an interesting and exciting story in itself, an account of the development of one of the newest humanistic disciplines in the historical sciences, but because without an historical perspective we can at the present day forget, our peril, or even repeat, past errors.⁷⁵

Apart from forgetting, our peril and repeating past errors, Daniel further argues that, “actually the great values of studying the history of archaeology is to realize that it is not a simple straightforward record of discovery; it is a record of discovery mixed with *false assumptions and forgery* and refusal of established archaeologists to regard their work historically...”⁷⁶ Trigger also agrees with the above and points out that the study of a history of archaeology would offer a platform from which respective merits of opposing positions or views could be evaluated.⁷⁷

Archaeology began as the handmaiden of history but later developed its own techniques and became a discipline in its own right. All archaeology before the nineteenth century was actually pre-scientific and inductive. It accepted certain postulates found in books and attempted to square the facts of observation with those postulates.⁷⁸

But tracing the long historical development of archaeology as a discipline is complicated by the important differences in national and regional traditions. Undeniably, in many respects as noted by Dietler⁷⁹ it would be more fitting to avoid the singular altogether and speak instead of the histories of archaeologies. Nevertheless, most of the major works on the subject agreed in dividing this complex history into a number of periods broadly

⁷⁴ Collingwood, R. C., *An Autobiography*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1939, p.132.

⁷⁵ Daniel G., (ed.), “Introduction: The Necessity for an historical approach to archaeology”, in *Towards a History of Archaeology*, London, Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1981, p.10.

⁷⁶ The false archaeological theories for political ends that Daniel cites include — the Nazi– race Germany archaeology, and the Fascist Italy. Apartheid South Africa archaeology and the Great Zimbabwe can be added to the above examples. See Daniel G., op. cit., 1981, p.13.

⁷⁷ Trigger G. B., *A History of Archaeological Thought*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p.2.

⁷⁸ Crawford O.G.S., “*Archaeology in the Field*”, London, Phoenix House Ltd, 1953, p.21.

⁷⁹ Dietler, M., “Archaeology”, in Barnard A. & Spencer J. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, London, Routledge, 1997, p.47.

characterized by certain shared intellectual perspectives and research orientations.⁸⁰ Below, I offer a brief, but highly explicit version.

First and foremost an antiquarian fascination with ancient objects and their evocations of prior epochs was already a feature of the societies of antiquity in many parts of the world.⁸¹ However, the origins of archaeology as a systematic discipline are generally traced to the preoccupation with classical antiquity which developed as part of the humanist intellectual movement during the ‘European Renaissance and Enlightenment.’⁸²

The transition from the above phase to a new orientation among both European and North American scholars towards a systematic description, classification and temporal ordering of objects occurred in the nineteenth century. The above phase was brought about by theoretical and methodological developments in response to the challenge of providing more coherent data for the growing interests in ‘prehistoric’ antiquities from areas outside the realm of classical civilization and their historical texts. Some of the major developments in this phase were the ‘Three Age system’, a model of technological evolution from ‘stone to bronze to iron’⁸³ (a seriation as a form of chronology appropriate to ordering cultural remains)⁸⁴ and ‘geological principles of stratigraphy’⁸⁵ as a means of

⁸⁰ See the works of Willey, G. R. & Sabloff, J. A., *A History of American Archaeology*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1974; Sklenár, K., *Archaeology in Central Europe: The First 500 Years*. Leicester, University Press, Leicester, 1983 and Trigger G. B., *A History of Archaeological Thought*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

⁸¹ Schnapp, A., *The Discovery of the Past: The Origins of Archaeology*, London, British Museum Press, 1996, p.20.

⁸² A belief that humanity as was encountered was not something simply given by God, but something that unfolded with time, a product, above all of history. It is within this new historical perspective the development of human society became a problem worthy investigation, with particular emphasis on exotic ‘others’ or ‘noble savages’ and their relevance to European identity. See Vermeulen, H. F., “Enlightenment Anthropology”, in Barnard A. & Spencer J. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, London, Routledge, 1997, p.183.

⁸³ Iron working is believed to have begun in the Middle East See Gibson, A.V. B., *Instruction in Archaeology*, London, Museum Press Ltd., 1963, p.77.

⁸⁴ Though a Chinese scholar had speculated that there existed a sequence of stone, bronze and iron (See Chang, K., *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1963, p.2.), this theory was only later revived and documented archaeologically in the first half of the nineteenth century between (1816 and 1819) by a Danish – Thomsen, C. J. For more information on the history and the implication of this model in archaeology see Trigger G. B., *A History of Archaeological Thought*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp.73-109.

providing relative temporal ordering for objects and fossils recovered from the earth. Since the systematic study, classification and chronological ordering of ancient artifacts and monuments are among the fundamental principles of the discipline of archaeology, it is clear that the above developments marked the triumph of the scientific method of observation and deduction over the authoritarian method which argued from the general to particular, from statements in books to the facts of nature.

Archaeology has not only seen numerous innovations in the techniques of data collection and analysis, and use of other disciplines, but has also been characterized by diverse interpretative frameworks. These frameworks have resulted in births of numerous archaeologies. The index to Bruce Trigger's book on the history of archaeology lists eight such perspectives: cultural-historical archaeology, social archaeology, contextual archaeology, behavioral archaeology, symbolic archaeology, critical archaeology, theoretical archaeology and structural archaeology.⁸⁶ To this list, McGuire⁸⁷ feels that 'feminist archaeology,'⁸⁸ Marxist archaeology, post-processual archaeology and post-structuralist archaeology could be added.



Archaeological Knowledge: A Political Production

Having given a brief of history the development archaeology and its objectives above, I will now demonstrate how knowledge produced in this discipline is affected by the politics of governments, academic and heritage institutions.

⁸⁵ For evidence of the decisive importance of geological principles of stratigraphy or time scale see the Article by Tasch - (Tasch, P., "Darwin and the forgotten Mr. Lonsdale", *Geological Magazine*, LXXXVII (July-August 1950), 1950, pp.292-6).

⁸⁶ Trigger, op. cit., 1989, p.478.

⁸⁷ McGuire, R. H., *A Marxist Archaeology*, California, Academic Press, Inc., 1992, p.5.

⁸⁸ Feminist archaeology appeared in the mid 1980s with critiques of andocentric biases in the practices of archaeology (See Gero, J., Lacy, D. M. & Blakey, M., eds., "The Sociopolitics of Archaeology" *Research Report 23*, Department of Anthropology, Amherst, University of Massachusetts, 1983 and Gero, J. "Sociopolitics and the woman-at-home ideology", *American Antiquity* 50, 1985, pp.342-50) and interpretations of the past (Conkey, M. W. & Spector, J. D., "Archaeology and the Study of Gender", *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 7, 1984, pp.1-38. It challenges processual, post-processual and Marxist archaeologists for failure to recognize gender bias in the conduct of archaeology. See South S., *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, New York, Academic Press Inc., 1977, pp.15-16.

Archaeology, like any scholarly discipline has its own set of theories and concepts as well as its typical subject matter or data. The two, along with goals or central problems, are inextricably interrelated.⁸⁹ Archaeology has also seen various intellectual revolutions in both methods/techniques and theories. But despite the development that it has undergone, archaeology is still a discipline, as argued by Shanks and Tilley,⁹⁰ that bases its construction of the ‘past’ largely on hypotheses. This discipline is a social practice that is conducted in specific circumstances whose research is guided by strategies and hypotheses that researchers wish to test or explain. It is actually a political and concept forming practice laden with all kinds of supposed scientific or professional judgement about the ‘past’ it constructs.⁹¹

The validity of the above assertion can only be proved by answering many questions that have been contested in the discipline of archaeology. Some of these questions include: Who needs the knowledge of the past? Who produces this knowledge of the past? What methods, models, techniques are used to produce in present societies? How is this knowledge of the ‘past’ filtered to different publics?



1.3.1. *The uses of Archaeological Knowledge*

Since its inception archaeology has been deeply involved in nationalist enterprises. Archaeology and nationalism have had a long history of association in quite complex ways. Both discourses developed particular forms in the context of the ‘Enlightenment’ and have drawn heavily from one another.⁹² It is under the impetus of nationalism⁹³ that the later half of the nineteenth century saw the abandonment of a primary focus on

⁸⁹ South, S. A., op. cit., 1977, p.7.

⁹⁰ Shanks, M & Tilley C., *Reconstructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987, p.34.

⁹¹ Tilley, C., “Archaeology as socio-political action in the present”, in Pinsky V. & Wylie A. (eds.), *Critical traditions in contemporary archaeology*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1989, p.112.

⁹² See Diaz-Andreu, M. & Champion, T. C., (eds.), *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, London, UCL Press, 1996. See also Trigger, B. G., “Alternative Archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, imperialist”, *Man*, **19**, 3, 1984, pp.355-370.

⁹³ Spencer Defines ‘Nationalism’ as the political doctrine which holds that humanity can be divided into separate, discrete units – nations – and that each nation should constitute a separate political unit – a state. The claim of nationhood usually invokes the idea of a group of people with a shared culture... etc. See Spencer J., “Nationalism”, in Barnard A. & Spencer J. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, London, Routledge, 1997, p.391.

‘evolutionary archaeology’ to documenting and interpreting the archaeological record of specific (the exotic others or noble savages or barbarians, and their relevance to European identity) and of self.

As a discourse of modernity, archaeology has been concerned both implicitly and explicitly with narratives of identity. This is not the first time that this particular assertion has been made. A number of scholars from various countries such as Shanks and Tilley,⁹⁴ Thomas,⁹⁵ Gathercole & Lowenthal⁹⁶ have made it explicit in a recent plethora of publications on culture history, ethnicity, nationalism, supra-nationalism and indigenous claims to cultural property.⁹⁷

It can also be argued here that it was the search for these ‘identities’ that saw the birth of what Trigger⁹⁸ has labelled as ‘Nationalist,’ ‘Colonialist’, and ‘Imperialist’ archaeologies. And although archaeological research has undergone numerous dynamic changes in the field of methodology, bureaucratic organization, and overall scope, much however remains relatively unchanged in the area of interpretation. Most notably, nationalist, colonialist⁹⁹ and imperialist archaeological interpretations are still prevalent in both the

⁹⁴ Shanks, M. & Tilley, op. cit., 1987.

⁹⁵ Thomas, J., *Time, Culture and Identity: An Interpretive Archaeology*, Routledge, London, 1996.

⁹⁶ Gathercole, P. & Lowenthal, D., (eds.), *The Politics of the Past*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1990.

⁹⁷ See, as varied and often contradictory examples, Jones, S., *Archaeology and Ethnicity. A Theoretical Perspective*, London, Routledge, 1996; Graves-Brown, et al., *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities*. London, Routledge, 1996; Diaz-Andreu & Champion op. cit., 1996; Kohl, P. L. and Fawcett, C., (eds.), *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995; Ucko, P. J., (ed.), *Theory in Archaeology: A World Perspective*, London, Routledge, 1995; Shennan, S. J., *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, Routledge, London, 1994; Gathercole & Lowenthal op. cit., 1990; Layton, R. (ed.), *Who Needs the Past? Indigenous Values and Archaeology*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1989a., and Layton, R. *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1989b and Murray, T. “Communication and the importance of disciplinary communities: Who owns the past?” in Yoffee, N. & Sherratt, A., (eds.), *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda?* New York, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

These vary in aim and perspective from a concern to re-assert the authority of the archaeological discipline in the face of ‘outside influences’, to post-structuralist, interdisciplinary perspectives, to prioritizing the relation to the non-western.

⁹⁸ Trigger, B. G., op. cit., 1984, pp.355-70.

⁹⁹ Shepherd observes that Colonialist archaeology is the most dominant form of archaeology practiced in Africa. See Shepherd, N., “What Future for studying the Past? Heading South, Looking North. Why we need a Post Colonial Archaeology”, *Archaeology Dialogue*, December 2002, p.5.

west and in countries that were once referred to as the ‘other.’¹⁰⁰ Examples of the application of the above archaeologies can be drawn from various areas of the world. Europe and East Asia are some of the areas where the above type of archaeologies is/was practiced.¹⁰¹

Who needs the knowledge of the past? Nations have always needed pasts to justify their existence.¹⁰² It provides a view of development of nations, people and their cultures. These materials are “important points in the process of discovering [and construction] of identities...”¹⁰³ It is also believed to provide tangible contact with the past and in some cases it helps to reinforce a sense of stability in a period of great social and cultural change and uncertainty.¹⁰⁴ This knowledge of the past can “construct and strengthen our understanding and sympathy in the present.”¹⁰⁵ Archaeological knowledge has equally been used to give nationalist political ideology authenticity and historical realism.¹⁰⁶ Using beliefs that non-Europeans did not have the capability to develop without external stimuli, the western states colonized the so-called uncivilized states (such as African¹⁰⁷ and non European nations).



¹⁰⁰ Most African countries use/used archaeology to validate national identities. Countries such as Israel are currently using archaeological interpretations to authenticate its claims of ownership and justify the occupation of Palestine. See paper presented by Killebrew, A. E., at the Archaeological Congress (WAC 4), University of Cape Town, South Africa in 1999. Killebrew, A. E., “Presenting the past to public in Israel: Unrepresented peoples past” Paper (Abstract) presented at The World Archaeological Congress 4 (WAC 4), University of Cape Town, South Africa, 10th – 14 January 1999.

¹⁰¹ See the articles by different authors on how archaeology has been used and abused in the name of nationalism in the book edited by Kohl P. L. and Fawcett, C., op. cit., 1995, pp.3-246.

¹⁰² Ronayne, M., *Object Lessons: The Politics of Identity in Archaeological Discourse*, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton 1997, <http://www.shaf.ac.uk/assem/2/2ronayn.html> (Accessed 14 February 2003).

¹⁰³ McAleese, part of the remarks (on importance of material culture in the Irish society) by the President Mary McAleese at the presentation of the Gulbenkian Foundation and Heritage Council Awards at Dublin Castle, Office of the Secretary to the President 1998. Cited in Crooke, E., “Confronting a troubled History: which past in Northern Ireland’s museums”, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2001 p.131.

¹⁰⁴ Numerous countries in the world have used archaeological interpretations or knowledge produced from archaeological ventures for the above purposes. Some of these countries include Japan, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Russia, Spain, Portugal, China, Ireland, Korea, South Africa, Israel to mention but a few.

¹⁰⁵ Robinson, M. “Preface”, in Campbell, S. J., *The Great Irish Famine: Words and Images from the Famine Museum*, Famine Museum, County Roscommon, Strokestown Park, 1994.

¹⁰⁶ See Discussion in Champion, T., “The power of picture”, in Molyneaux, B. L., (ed.), *The Cultural Life of Image: Visual Representation in Archaeology*, London, Routledge, 1997.

¹⁰⁷ In Africa, archaeology as both a discipline and an idea was introduced as part of the process of colonial expansion. See Shepherd, N., op. cit., 2002, p.5. See also Hall, M., op. cit., 1996, p.1.

It is also ‘archaeological evidence’ that has also been used as a justification for occupying other countries,¹⁰⁸ and used for the creation of racial regimes. For example archaeological knowledge was central to the cultural propaganda of the Nazi. Under its administration a particular interpretation of archaeology was used to assert the racial purity and superiority of the Germans and so justify genocide.¹⁰⁹ Just like in Germany, the recent genocides in Rwanda are equally a result of the nineteenth century archaeological and anthropological racial theories.¹¹⁰

The ‘knowledge’ produced by archaeology and other related disciplines that study the human past has been and is still used by political forces. As pointed out by Lillios¹¹¹ and Nassaney¹¹² the fact that whilst archaeologists are not politicians per se, their work is always political. “Consciously or unconsciously, historians [archaeologists] perform political task expressing his or [her] political interests and inclinations in his or [her] choice of particular topic [research], in his or her methodological tools, and his or her representation of historical [archaeological] data.”¹¹³



¹⁰⁸ Israel’s occupation of Palestine can suffice as one of the many examples. Note that, in Israel, religious leaders and government politicians have used archaeological excavations to reinforce their own pre-eminence. See Silberman, N. A., “The Politics and Poetics of Archaeological narratives”, in Kohl, P. L. & Fawcett, C., (eds.), *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p.258. See also paper presented at the World Archaeological Congress 4 shows how archaeology has been pressed into the service of national politics — Marx E., “Steps towards a Middle Eastern archaeology: The case of Israel”, *The World Archaeological Congress 4 (WAC 4)*, University of Cape Town South Africa, 10th – 14 January 1999, p.1.

¹⁰⁹ MacCann, W. J., “Volk and Germanetum: the presentation of the past in Nazi Germany”, in Gathercole, P. & Lowenthal, D., *The Politics of the Past*, Unwin Hyman, London, 1990. See also Bettina Arnold, B. and Hassmann, H., on how the Nazi of Germany abused archaeology for ideological and political purposes (Arnold, B. and Hassmann, H., “The Germany Nazi”, in Kohl, P. L. and Fawcett, C. (eds.), *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge, University Press, 1995, pp.70-81).

¹¹⁰ Hall, M., op. cit., 1996, p.130.

¹¹¹ Lillios, K. T., “Nationalism and Copper Age research during the Salazar regime (1932-1974)”, in Kohl, P. L. & Fawcett, C., (eds.), *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp.57-69.

¹¹² Nassaney, M. op. cit., 1989, pp.89.

¹¹³ Shnirelman, V. A., “Soviet archaeology in the 1930s and 1940s”, in Kohl, P. L. and Fawcett, C. (eds.), *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p.125.

Numerous examples to illustrate the above can again be drawn from ‘archaeological practice’ in apartheid South Africa. Shepherd¹¹⁴ notes that, whilst the apartheid government funded archaeological programmes and allowed the archaeologists substantial latitude in the practice of their discipline, it still denied them the recognition they deserved in the archaeology fraternity worldwide, “forcing on them the skills of duplicity and cunning.” The above was similar to the filtering of their ‘findings’, which was strictly controlled — only what the government considered as fit for the ‘public’ was filtered to the public.¹¹⁵ The sentiments expressed by Engela¹¹⁶ clearly illustrate the above problem:

Although the archaeological community was busy with its own robust and intellectually challenging debates, very little of this work entered the mainstream of South African academic life. Archaeological information most often functioned as text in the form of brief introductory remarks or was relegated to footnotes of curiosity-value.

The works of Martin Hall,¹¹⁷ which clearly point out the contradictions especially in regard to Iron Age work carried in South Africa during the Apartheid era and the filtering of the produced knowledge to the public, can also suffice as another example.

Whilst it is clear that a good number of archaeologists in South Africa such as M. Hall, David Lewis-Williams, T. Maggs, A. Mazel, A. J. B. Humphreys, J. Deacon and others¹¹⁸ opposed the type of archaeology the state expected them practice, Trigger argues that in such eras, it is possible that some archaeologists in research institutions (universities)

¹¹⁴ See Sheppard, N., “Archaeology and Post Colonialism in South Africa: The Theory, Practice and Politics of Archaeology after Apartheid”, Unpublished, University of Cape Town 1998, p.162.

¹¹⁵ See Hall, M., “Hidden History: Iron Age in Southern Africa”, in Robertshaw, P., (ed.), *A History of African Archaeology*, 1990, London, James Currey; Portsmouth (NH): Heinemann, 1990, p.59-77.

¹¹⁶ Engela, R., “Why archaeology, now, in South Africa?”, Abstract of Paper presented at World Archaeological Congress 4, University of Cape Town, 10th - 14th January 1999.

¹¹⁷ See Hall, M., *op. cit.*, 1990, p.59-77.

¹¹⁸ See Blundell, G., “Archaeology in a dangerous time”, Abstract of Paper presented at World Archaeological Congress 4, University of Cape Town, 10th - 14th January 1999.

willfully, deliberately ignored and distorted archaeological records on behalf of the state.¹¹⁹

The above is equally true with the ‘archaeological knowledge’ that was produced and filtered to the public. It is possible that only ‘archeological knowledge’ relevant to the government of the day filtered, whilst knowledge that was contradictory to the government policies, history, beliefs, and so forth was suppressed.¹²⁰ The ‘apartheid South Africa Government’ and its control of archaeological and historical knowledge (archaeological findings, the ‘evolution of humans’, early African and southern African history) can again suffice here as an example. Archaeology was generally excluded from the South Africa schools syllabi till 1994 due to the fact that, it did not conform or justify the ideals of “Apartheid Government.”¹²¹

1.4 Methods, Hypotheses and Theories: Tools of Archaeological Knowledge Production



The above examples show how the practice of archeology is inescapably a government politically controlled discipline. And a look at academic institutions equally shows that politics exist in the production of archaeological knowledge. These politics are around approaches, theories, methods or type of archaeological practices that should be used to produce knowledge of the past. Though much has been written regarding the claims on various approaches or type of archaeological movements that are believed to be ideal for producing the past, all that I present below is an outline of some of the theories or hypotheses used in the construction of the ‘past’ in these archaeologies. Whilst I give

¹¹⁹ See Trigger, B. G., “Romanticism, nationalism, and archaeology”, in Kohl, P., & Fawcett, C., (eds.) *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p.274.

¹²⁰ See Shepherd, N., *op. cit.*, 1998, p.167. See also Trigger, B.G., *op. cit.*, 1995, p.272.

¹²¹ See Hall M., “Archaeology under Apartheid”, *Archaeology* **41**, 1988, pp.62-64; Smith A. B., “The Hotnot syndrome: myth-making in South African School textbooks”, *Social Dynamics* **2**, 1983, pp.37-49; Mazel A. D. & Stewart P. M. “Meddling with the mind: the treatment of the San hunter-gatherers and the origins of South Africa’s Black population in recent South Africa school African History textbooks”, *South African Archaeological Bulletin* **42**, 1987, pp.166-170; Parkington, J. & Smith, A. B., “Guest Editorial”, *South Africa Archaeological Bulletin* **41**, 1986, pp.43-4 and Wright J. B. & Mazel, A. D., “Bastions of ideology: the depiction of pre-colonial history in the museums of Natal and KwaZulu”, *Southern African Museums Association Bulletin* **17**, (7-8), 1987, pp.301-10.

what has been described as their merit and demerits in this chapter, their application is looked at in detail in chapter two and chapter four.

Every archaeological decision is influenced by theoretical assumptions. The decision ranges from whether to use a grid to record data in the field, count artifact pieces or estimate whole artifacts represented by fragments, to undertake quantification studies designed to abstract culture process or concentrate on the particular history story [ethnographical] an artifact has to reveal.”¹²² Every archaeologist must therefore accept the challenge that:

An archaeological record is a contemporary phenomenon. It is above all a static phenomenon... Getting to the past is then a process in which an archaeologist gives meaning to static phenomenon in dynamic terms.¹²³

Archaeological observations are contemporary facts, and they are static. The job of an archaeologist therefore is to make meaningful statements about the past from contemporary facts and make meaning statements about dynamics from static facts.¹²⁴



Humphreys¹²⁵ concurs with Binford and states that actually:

Archaeological remains can never speak for themselves. The archaeologist therefore manipulates the remains in various ways so as to produce his data or information. All archaeologists operate within a particular paradigm. This means that they have certain explicit (or more often implicit) expectations with regard to the archaeological record.

As regards theory, Willey and Philips¹²⁶ also note that:

While archaeology provides data and generalization in such fields as history and general anthropology, it lacks a systematic body of concepts and premises constituting archaeological theory. According to this view, the archaeologist must borrow his [her] theoretical underpinnings from the field of study his [her] work happens to serve or do without.

¹²² South, S. A., *Method and Theory in Historical archaeology*, New York, Academic Press Inc., 1977, p.1.

¹²³ Binford, L. R., “Archaeological perspectives”, in Binford, S. R. & Binford, L. R., (eds.), *New Perspective in Archaeology*, Chicago, Aldine, 1968, p.23.

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, p.23.

¹²⁵ Humphreys, A. J. B., *op. cit.*, 1986, p.43.

¹²⁶ Willey, G. R. & Philips, P., *Method and Theory in American Archaeology*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958, p.1.

The above quotations voice a common opinion regarding the use of theories, methods and techniques in constructing the ‘past’ in archaeology and the degree to which this discipline can be said to make use of a body of theory that is unique or even specific to itself. This simply means that any presentation of method implies presentation of relevant theory and the assumptions that stand behind the method.

It is the use of diverse archaeological theories/approaches from various schools of archaeological thought for the production of archaeological knowledge of various ‘pasts’ that have constantly been questioned. Below I present only the two major schools of thought, namely, ‘Processual’ and Post-processual’ archaeologies. Besides giving a brief historical overview, I will pay particular attention to the ways in which archaeological interpretations are structured by theoretical, representational and methodological frameworks, of these approaches, or what each paradigm or approach propagate in the production of archaeological knowledge. And the application of the various approaches will be dealt with in detail in chapter two and four.



1.4.1 Processual Archaeology:

In the late 1970s and 1980s, a number of archaeologists became increasingly dissatisfied with the direction archaeology was taking. It seemed to them that Processual Archaeology¹²⁷ or as it is sometimes referred as New Archaeology, an approach that stressed the dynamic relationship between social and economic aspects of culture and the environment as the basis for understanding the processes of cultural¹²⁸ change, was drying up in intellectual vitality.

¹²⁷ Processual archaeology’s approaches that stress the dynamic relationship between social and economic aspects of culture and the environment as the basis for understanding the processes of culture change (cultural changes occurred as adaptation to changing external condition, culture is “Man’s extra somatic [outside of the blood] means of adaptation...”). It stresses on the use of scientific methodology of problem statement, hypothesis formulation, and subsequent testing - Owen, B., *Cognitive Archaeology Introduction to Archaeology: Class 17 2002*, <http://members.aol.com/postquem/32402f17.htm> (Accessed 11th April 2003). See also the works of Kirch on the critic on ‘adaptive culture theory or approaches’ by Kirch P. V., “The archaeological study of adaptation: Theoretical and methodological issues”, in Schiffer, M. B., *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, Vol.3, Tucson, Academic Press, 1980, p.101-148.

¹²⁸ The approach of processual archaeology is sometimes referred to by archaeologists as *positivism*. Its main points included an interest in explaining empirical observations about human behaviour through cross-cultural generalizations or laws; a belief that these empirical observations (our archaeological data)

It is in reaction to the excesses of the New Archaeology and the processual approach which tended to emphasize adaptation to the environment, economic or material determinism and a systemic view of society in which subsystems or subgroups acted in certain ways in response to certain conditions, that Post Processual Archaeology was born.

1.4.2 Post-processual Archaeology:

The term Post-processual is by its very nature, relational. It implies the antecedent 'processual'; in this case processual archaeology. Post-processual archaeology was a reaction that was aimed at suppressing the processual framework. Since the late 1970s Post-processual archaeology has questioned most of the tenets of processual archaeology such as: the character of science and aims of objective explanation; the character of society; and the place of values in archaeology, the socio-politics of the discipline, its contemporary location as a mode of cultural production of knowledge.

No single definition exists for post-processual archaeologies. Contrasting definitions and interpretations have been presented by authors in the *Norwegian Archaeology View*¹²⁹, 22, 1989, and Viewpoint section of *the Cambridge Archaeological Journal*¹³⁰ among others. But to use Whitley's¹³¹ definition, post-processual archaeology is "an approach that seeks explanations of human behaviour at least in part by explicit reference to the human mind. In this view it retains a commitment to science and scientific method, although not necessarily to the positivism of processualism."

are independent of our theories, that these data can be used to test theories, and that the result will be objective knowledge about the past; and the idea that the logical structure for scientific testing and explanation could be found in the natural sciences (such as physics or chemistry).

¹²⁹ See Trigger, op. cit., 1984; Hodder, I., "Archaeological theory in contemporary European societies: the emergence of competing traditions", in Hodder, I. (ed.), *Archaeological Theory in Europe*, Routledge, London, 1991, p.1-24; Patterson, T. C., op. cit., 1994; Yoffee, N. & Sherratt, A., (eds.), *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets The Agenda?* New York, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

¹³⁰ *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 3 (2), 1993.

¹³¹ Whitley, D. S., op. cit., 1998, p.6.

1.4.3 *Processual Archaeology Versus Post-processual Archaeology:*

Archaeologists such as Hodder, Tilley and Shanks,¹³² who have major voices in post-processual archaeology, argue that the types of functional materialist explanations of the processualist are flawed because they assume ‘objective knowledge’ of the past whilst the that data is defined by theory. They contend that, actually, theory either explicit or implicit determines what we consider to be important and what we observe. They strongly believe that archaeologists or other researchers involved in the production of archaeological knowledge do not necessarily reconstruct the ‘past’, we construct it in the present to serve present goals. “The meanings [knowledge] we produce are always in the political present, and always have political resonance. Interpreting the past is always a political act.”

Other critics of the processual model argue that this model ‘assumed people as merely robots or passive objects in anonymous systems’, whilst the truth is that, people in the past clearly understood the ‘rules’ and norms around them and endeavoured to manipulate them in a resourceful manner to accomplish desired results.

The meanings of material culture are complex, argue the post-processualists, they do not have fixed meanings as viewed by processualists, but are like texts. Text can be manipulated and can mean different things to different people. And since meaning can be actively manipulated, they argue that “there is not therefore only one reading of the ‘text’ – we should therefore consider multiple ‘readings’ of the past because every “decoding of a message is another encoding, all truth is subjective.”¹³³ “All archaeological interpretations are subjective creations, which are scarcely constrained, if at all by archaeological evidence.”¹³⁴ Johnson concurs with Tilley and states that in fact:

¹³² Readers who want to grapple directly with the dense style of the post-processual proponents then the core texts are: Hodder, I., *Reading the past*, Cambridge University Press, 1986; Shanks, M. & Tilley, C., *Re-constructing Archaeology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

¹³³ Tilley, C., (ed.) *Reading Material Culture*. Oxford, Blackwell, 1990, p.338.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*, p.275.

Data are always theory-laden, and thus we can never confront theory and data. Instead, we see data through a cloud of theory. Interpretation is always hermeneutic. When we interpret things, we do so by assigning meanings to them, meanings that we assume were also in the minds of the ancient peoples who made and used them. All archaeologists do this whether they admit it or not.¹³⁵

And, instead of only exploring material culture for archaeological data of the past, Hodder¹³⁶ argues that archaeology should be human centred. He stresses the importance of cultural traditions as factors that play an active role in structuring cultural change. And he strongly believes that it is these traditions that supply most of the knowledge, beliefs, and values that simultaneously influenced economic and social changes and were reshaped by the change. Owen¹³⁷ further observes that in order to understand what people were doing in the past, one must understand what they were thinking and try to get a sense of these people's ideology and cosmological framework for the world, which consequently shaped their understanding of and response to conditions they encountered.

It is clear that post-processual archaeology is not a single theoretical approach but a range of various approaches to an objective interpretation. To sum up the tenets of post-processual approaches in archaeology, it is apparent that they set themselves as anti-processual: post-processual archaeologies “reject cultural evolutionary generalization; reject the processual search for universal laws; reject explicitly scientific methods; reject processual emphasis on objectivity and ethical neutrality; reject the systemic view of culture; and reject the processual emphasis on etic phenomena.”¹³⁸

In short, as argued by Trigger,¹³⁹ “processual archeology, along with neo-evolutionism, structuralism, cultural materialism, and cultural ecology, are considered redundant because they unduly reify stability, treat the causes of cultural change as being external to social relations, and regard humans as inert objects that are molded by external factors.”

¹³⁵ Johnson, M., *Archaeology Theory - Post-Processual Approaches*, (Summary), (<http://www.ecu.edu/org/ags/archives/postprocess.html>), Accessed 15th April, 2003.

¹³⁶ Hodder, I., “This is not an article about material culture as text”, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **8**, 1989, pp.250-269.

¹³⁷ Owen, B., *Cognitive archaeology Introduction to Archaeology: Class 17 2002*, <http://members.aol.com/postquem/32402f17.htm> ((Accessed 7th June 2004).

¹³⁸ Johnson, M., op. cit.

¹³⁹ Trigger, G. B., op. cit., 1997, pp.339-4

Archaeological explanations should move beyond the vulgar materialism of processual archaeology, the sterile idealism of historical particularism, and the ersatz Marxism of the critical and structuralist approaches¹⁴⁰ because knowledge of the past and self-consciousness are not absolute, but products of specific societies.¹⁴¹

But whilst post-processualists have argued for “a general anti-positivism and have advocated for multiple interpretations, and an openness to competing knowledge claims,”¹⁴² the above approach have not been spared from criticisms. For example, Roy D’Andrade in the article *Moral Models in Anthropology* critiques postmodernists’ (which is an approach advocated by post-processualists) definition of objectivity and subjectivity by looking at the concept behind moral models. He argues that these moral models are purely subjective. Although value-free objectivity is impossible, it is the goal of the anthropologist [archaeologists] to get as close as possible to a correct ‘past’. He argues that there must be a separation between moral and objective models because, “they are counterproductive in discovering how the world works.”¹⁴³ From there he takes issue with the postmodernist attack of objectivity.



He states that objectivity is in no way dehumanizing nor is objectivity impossible. He states:

Science works not because it produces unbiased accounts but because its accounts are objective enough to be proved or disproved no matter what anyone wants to be true.¹⁴⁴

Johnson concurs with D’Andrade and argues that if the post-processualists argue that all truth is subjective, the implication is that there is no final truth; it is therefore practically impossible to utilize their range of approaches to produce an objective or correct past.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Trigger, G. B., op. cit., 1997, p.369.

¹⁴¹ Trigger, G. B., op. cit., 1990, p.340

¹⁴² Shepherd, op. cit., 1998, p.104

¹⁴³ D’Andrade, R., “Moral Models in Anthropology”, *In Current Anthropology*. Vol. **36** (3): 1995, p.402.

¹⁴⁴ D’Andrade, R., op. cit., 1998, p.404.

¹⁴⁵ Johnson, M., *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*, Blackwell, 1999, p.166.

Similarly, Yoffee and Sherratt observe that a call by post-processualists for multiple versions of the past and an assertion that they may all be valid is a total contradiction to the demands of construction of an objective past. They further argue that, “archaeologists today cannot afford multiple versions of the past to propagate. Rather it is critical that archaeologists assert that there is at least a partially knowable antiquity and that archeologists are guardians of this integrity.”¹⁴⁶ Other critics argue that, after all, what post-processualists need to know is that it is possible to distinguish between a more true, less true and simply a wrong explanation.¹⁴⁷

The accuracy of our knowledge of the past can be measured, argues Binford:¹⁴⁸

“The Yardstick of measurement is the degree to which propositions about the past can be confirmed or refuted through hypothesis testing...”

So is its value:

A measure of value of any approach rests ‘with the design characteristic of a methodology and the procedure of its implementing rather than with the characteristics of a particular observer.’¹⁴⁹

And as regards use of scientific methods, Spiro also argues that post-processualists cannot dismiss the scientific method. If anthropology [archaeology] turns away from the scientific method, then it will become the study of meanings, not the discovering of causes which shape what it is to be human. Spiro further states, “the causal account of culture refers to ecological niches, modes of production, subsistence techniques, and so forth, just as a causal account of mind refers to the firing of neurons, the secretions of hormones, the action of neurotransmitters...”¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Cited in Shepherd, N., op. cit., 1998, p.107.

¹⁴⁷ Laue, G. B., op. cit., 2000, p.14.

¹⁴⁸ Binford, L. R., *An Archaeological Perspective*, New York, Seminar Press, 1972a, p.90.

¹⁴⁹ See Binford, L. R., “Objectivity Explanation Archaeology”, in Renfrew, C., Rowlands, M. J. & Segraves, B. A., (eds.) *Theory and Explanation in Archaeology* (1981), New York, Academic Press, 1982, pp.126-8.

¹⁵⁰ See Spiro, M. E., “Postmodernist Anthropology, Subjectivity and Science: A Modernist Critique”, In *Comparative Studies in Society and History* V., 1996, p.759-780.

And, whilst Spiro agrees that the social sciences require very different techniques for the study of humanity than do the natural sciences, he notes that, “while insight and empathy are critical in the study of mind and culture...intellectual responsibility requires objective (scientific methods) in the social sciences. Without objective procedures ethnography is empirically dubious and intellectually irresponsible.”¹⁵¹ And since in most cases the ‘owners’ or producers of the material cultures that archaeologists tumble upon are not present for interviews, the only possible way to discern what underlay the construction and use of these objects and what the peoples of these communities knew, thought, and did is to try to use scientific methods from ‘cognitive science’.¹⁵²

Lastly, one major critic of post-processual approaches is its lack of interest in the questions of social value and social engagement. Looked at in retrospect, Shepherd argues that the major emphasis of post-processual has been more on ‘theory’ rather than ‘society.’¹⁵³

1.5 Production of Archaeological Knowledge in Heritage Institutions: A Political Act



Worldwide, all countries have institutions ranging from universities and other research institutions whose main objective is to produce archaeological knowledge or knowledge of the past. Other institutions in these countries include those that are entrusted with responsibility for preserving these ‘sources’, sites, or ‘artifacts’ of the produced archaeological knowledge.¹⁵⁴ Tourism organizations, whether government or private, are among those that use these sources of archeological knowledge for tourism purposes.

¹⁵¹ Uses of ethnographical methods seem to be highly approved by post-processualists.

¹⁵² Segal, E. M., “Archaeology and Cognitive Science”, in Renfrew, C. & Zubrow, E., (eds.), *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive, Archaeology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp.22-28. Note, ‘Cognitive Science’ looks at the mind of human beings. In reference to the ‘past’ it looks at ‘What people thought in the past, when they thought it, how they came to think about it, and how that affected other things.’

¹⁵³ Shepherd, N., 1998, op. cit., p.193.

¹⁵⁴ Individual countries in various parts of the world have national bodies that play a vital role in the production of knowledge of the past. These bodies research, regulate research, control the knowledge produced and preserve and present to the public what is deemed worth preserving and presentable. For example in Zambia National Heritage Conservation Commission, in South Africa Heritage Resources Agency, in Zimbabwe, the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe, etc.

Involved in the above activities are also international bodies. For example UNESCO, whose major objectives through various conventions (one of which is the ‘Management Guidelines for Cultural World Heritage Sites’)¹⁵⁵ is responsible for the identification and listing of cultural and natural properties of outstanding universal value on the World Heritage List that are to be protected under the convention. The body also offers financial and technical assistance for the preservation of world heritage. Other international bodies that play preservation and presentation roles of what is selected as ‘heritage’ include the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM),¹⁵⁶ the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and sites (ICOMOS)¹⁵⁷ and The International Charter for the Protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage, (ICMAH).¹⁵⁸

The next chapter illustrates, some of the theoretical, paradigmatic, methodological and archaeological considerations discussed above. It will specifically show the politics involved in the production of knowledge of ‘rock art’¹⁵⁹ in southern Africa. Examined also in this chapter, are roles of research institutions; in particular the Rock art Institute (now the San Heritage Centre) of the Witwatersrand University in the production of rock art archaeological knowledge. Besides showing politics involved in the production of rock art knowledge at institutional level, this chapter also shows that archaeological knowledge produced by institutions is greatly influenced by the national politics of the day.

The chapters that follow will equally show how the knowledge is authenticated and turned into ‘official narratives’ by archaeologists, academic and heritage institutions will also be illustrated in chapters three, four and five.

¹⁵⁵ Feilden, B. M. and Jockileto, J., *Management Guidelines for Cultural World Heritage Sites*, (2nd edn.), Rome, International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, 1998.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.106.

¹⁵⁷ Feilden, B. M. and Jockileto J., *op. cit.* 1998, p.106.

¹⁵⁸ See *The International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM)*, Lausanne, ICOMOS, 1990.

¹⁵⁹ Rock art world over is one of archaeological (record) material culture that has been researched using various methods, theories, and techniques and has received various interpretations which are still ‘contested.’

CHAPTER TWO

POLITICS OF PRODUCTION OF ROCK ART KNOWLEDGE

Chapter one outlined the politics around the production of ‘past’ using archaeological records. This chapter narrows this down to one specific type of archeological record, or knowledge produced from a specific ‘material culture’¹⁶⁰ — ‘rock art’. It examines and shows the politics in the production of knowledge of rock art. It further examines how rock art researchers (including amongst them archaeologists, anthropologists and art historians) have sought to interpret or decipher the meanings of rock art. It also shows how researchers have ascribed ‘values’ to rock art and how old interpretations have been replaced by new ones.

Also examined in this chapter are the roles of research institutions; in particular the Rock Art Research Institute of the University of the Witwatersrand in the production of rock art archaeological knowledge. Besides seeking to show the politics involved in the production of rock art knowledge at institutional level, this chapter also aims to show that archaeological knowledge produced by institutions is greatly influenced by the national politics of the day.

2.1 Rock art Archaeological Knowledge: A Political Production

The study of rock art is a branch of archeology. Rock art is viewed as ‘material culture’ that may tell us about the living culture that produced it.¹⁶¹ But, researchers in their efforts to decipher the past from material cultures not only have their archaeological ‘schools of thoughts, theories, methods, techniques been questioned, but also the ‘archeological knowledge’ or interpretations.¹⁶² No wonder Renfrew¹⁶³ has questioned

¹⁶⁰ Charlotte Seymour-Smith defines ‘Material culture’ as: “The *sum* or *inventory* of the technology and material artifacts of human group, including those elements related to subsistence activities as well as those, which are produced for ornamental, artistic or ritual purposes”. See Seymour-Smith C., (ed.), *Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology*, London, The Macmillan Press, 1987, p.183.

¹⁶¹ Willcox, A. R., *The rock art of Africa*, Johannesburg, Macmillan, 1984, p.7.

¹⁶² See Shanks and Tilley, 1987, op. cit., p.7. See also Kokko, T., *Some Insights on Building Scientific Archaeology: Cognitive Archaeology the Study of Past ways of Thought and Symbolic Structures from Material Remains*, <http://www.anistor.co.hol.gr/english/enback/v015.htm> (Accessed 2nd April 2003). For ‘visionary’ seeing or subjective interpretations see Tilley, C., & Bennett, W., “An Archaeology of

whether the material culture is really able to tell the public what was in the makers' minds:

Is it possible to make the 'mute stones [pictographs] speak', and will they tell us how (if not what) our predecessors were thinking?

The world over, the study of rock art has produced various interpretations over the motives underlying the production and the meanings of the art as will be shown below. Since much has been written regarding the problem with interpretation of rock art and arguments that attempt to assess the diverse interpretations and their validity, what follows is far from an exhaustive account of 'all' the diverse contestations over the 'motives and meaning' of rock art otherwise this work will end up becoming an encyclopedia. I have sought limitations by concentrating on mainly pictographs in the southern Africa.

2.1.1 Definition of Rock art:

Rock art is a universal phenomenon. It is some form of "a handwriting, a signature of prehistoric 'man', and an indelible mark that 'man' was here before us."¹⁶⁴ According to Anati,¹⁶⁵ rock art "is represented in all continents and in all climatic zones except in the true arctic areas." This art of the world is "filled with symbols, visibly demonstrating the invisible. Through the exploration of such images in a particular civilization or society, we learn about the ideas and values that intrigued and informed a people."¹⁶⁶

Supernatural Places: The case of West Penwith", in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, **7**, 2001, pp.335-362. For cognitive meanings and significance see Bell, J. A., *Reconstructing Prehistory: Scientific Method in Archaeology*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1994, pp.312-323.

¹⁶³ See "Preface" to a collection of papers, which Renfrew, C., edited under the title *The ancient mind: elements of cognitive archaeology*. Renfrew, C., "Towards a cognitive archaeology", in Renfrew, C., & Zubrow, E., (ed.), *The Ancient Mind*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p.9.

¹⁶⁴ See Katanekwa, N., M., "Rock art that Tells a Story – Zambia's Unique Prehistoric art Heritage", in *Zambia Heritage News* **1**, Ndola, Mission Press, 1992, p.6.

¹⁶⁵ See *Heritage @ Risk Rock Art ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Rock Art* http://www.international.icomos.org/icomos/e_summary.htm (Accessed on 14th February 2003).

¹⁶⁶ Williams, S. H., "Foreword", in Herbert M. Cole (ed.) *Icons: Ideals and Power in the Africa Art*, Washington D. C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989, p.7.

Two classes of rock art typology exist: *chattel* or *mobile art*, that is, art applied to small objects especially found in archaeological deposits either in caves or in the open, and *parietal* art which is restricted to walls, roofs, in some cases on floors of caves and rock shelters.¹⁶⁷ Parietal art might take two forms: markings ‘scratched’ or ‘pecked’ into rock surfaces, which are commonly known as engravings or petroglyphs, and markings painted onto rock surfaces sometimes referred to as pictographs.¹⁶⁸ Since the term ‘pictographs’ refers not only to motifs executed using pigment but also daubings or drawing (features that are common at rock art sites) it will be employed in this work and not ‘rock paintings’ which only refers to paintings.

2.1.2 Rock art: Politics of Authorship

Southern Africa has a great number of rock art sites. It is so far the richest region in the world with an estimated 30, 000 or more sites from the Cape to the Zambezi.¹⁶⁹ This long and rich rock art tradition includes paintings and engravings, distributed widely over southern Africa. Currently, evidence from painted stones in a cave deposit in Namibia shows that an artistic tradition, with the ‘ritual and symbolism’ that is associated with it, extends back at least 27,000 years.¹⁷⁰

The above corpus of prehistoric rock art is believed to be mostly the works of the ‘Later Stone Age’ peoples, the ‘hunter gatherers’, and a small percentage of rock art is attributed to the ancestors of the ‘Early Iron Age’ herders, the ‘Bantu’. The ‘Later Stone Age’ of

¹⁶⁷ See Clark, G., *The Stone Age Hunters*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1969, p.67. See also Ucko P. J., and Rosenfeld A., *Paleolithic Cave Art*, World University Library, Officine Grafiche Arnoldo Mondadori, Verona, 1967, p.8.

¹⁶⁸ Schaafsma refer to markings painted drawings, or motifs executed using pigments or any other material onto a rock surfaces as pictographs. See Schaafsma, P., “Form, content, and function: theory and method in North America rock art.” in Schiffer, M. B., (ed.) *Advances in Archaeological Methods and Theory Vol. 8*, Academic Press, Orlando, 1985, pp.237-277.

¹⁶⁹ Parkington, J., 2002, op. cit, p.8.

¹⁷⁰ The painted stones of Apollo 11 shelter in Namibia gave the above date. See Garner, P., *The Sounds of Beethoven in the Bush Battlefield: History – San/Bushmen Hunter Gatherers*, <http://www.battlefield.co.za/tour/beethoven/index.htm> (Accessed on 14th February 2003).

Africa is the chronological or technological equivalent of the Upper palaeolithic period of Europe¹⁷¹ to which rock art is attributed.¹⁷²

Whilst, rock art is believed to be the works of the above peoples, the painters were placed in a primitivist framework by various researchers. For example, Theal¹⁷³ viewed the so-called Bushmen or San of South Africa as “The aborigines of South Africa [i.e. Bushmen], [who] were savages of very ‘low type’... pigmies in size, yellowish-brown in colour...[with] faces broad in line with the eye... [And] to the eye of a European no people in any part of the world were as unattractive...”

Similarly, according to Lucy Lloyd, A Bushman “...remains all of his life a child...”¹⁷⁴

The above is echoed by Willcox¹⁷⁵: “Palaeolithic ‘man’ and his modern representative the Bushmen remained, in their capacity for abstract thinking, always young children...”¹⁷⁶ And like Theal, Woodhouse¹⁷⁷ believed that the Bushmen were racially unique: “Pure-bred Bushmen have distinctive physical features. Their skin is yellowish and their faces are heart shaped...The average height of a mature Bushmen is less than one and a half metres, so they are small but well proportioned. Many individuals exhibit a pronounced inward curvature of spine, which makes the buttocks protrude backwards and the stomach forward... a physical characteristic known as *steatopygia*.¹⁷⁸ A number of men have a semi-erect penis, the *penis rictis*. These were merely a “pristine primitive”¹⁷⁹

¹⁷¹ Barham, L. S., *The Middle Stone Age of Zambia, South central Africa*, Bristol, Western Academic & Specialist Press Ltd, 2000, p.4.

¹⁷² Parietal rock art in Europe is believed to be the works of the peoples of the Upper Palaeolithic Period. See Ucko P.J., and Rosenfeld A., op. cit., 1967, p.8.

¹⁷³ Theal, G. M., *South Africa*, London, Fisher Unwin, 1894, pp.1-2.

¹⁷⁴ Remarks made by Lucy Lloyd in 1923. See Bleek, D. F., *The Mantis and his Friends*, Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1924, (no page number).

¹⁷⁵ Willcox, A. R., *Rock Paintings of the Drakensberg*, Johannesburg, Thomas Nelson & Sons (Africa) Pty Ltd, 1956, p.85.

¹⁷⁶ Remarks made by Lucy Lloyd in 1923. See Bleek, D. F., op. cit., 1924, (no page number).

¹⁷⁷ Woodhouse, B., *The Bushmen Art of Southern Africa*, Cape Town, Purnell, 1979.

p.18.

¹⁷⁸ The ‘Buttock (steatopygia) and thighs’ (staetomeria) were believed to have a similar function of that of a Camel’s hump — food storage. See Pager, H., *Stone Age Myth and Magic: As Document in the Rock Paintings of South Africa*, Austria, Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, Graz, 1975, p.15.

¹⁷⁹ The label ‘primitive’ has a pejorative connotation, it had earlier replaced the earlier term ‘savage’, which was employed in the 19th and early 20th century social science to refer to less technologically developed cultures. “One of the principle criticism of the use of ‘primitive’ is that it implies that the people so designated represent an earlier or older stage or an evolutionary SURVIVAL thus denying that all human societies, including the technologically simpler ones participate in the processes of historical change and development” (Seymour-Smith, C., op. cit., 1987, p.232). See also and Bodley, J. H., *Anthropology and*

[hunter gatherers], juveniles, simple-minded peoples who suffered stunted growth on their march to supposedly higher, mechanistic civilization.”¹⁸⁰

I should point out here that, though ‘racial science’ is generally dead, there are still prominent rock art researchers who still describe the so-called hunter-gatherers in racial terms. For example, Pager¹⁸¹ observes that “though equal to modern man (*Homo sapiens sapiens*), the San are a special sub species of an older Africa stock”¹⁸² Like Pager, similar views are also held by Lewis-Williams who despite acknowledging that genetically, the ‘San’ are of equal standing with modern man (the so called Bantu in southern Africa), still considers them as a descendant of the proto-Bushman from ‘earlier African populations’. “Their physical make up”, he argues, “is represented by such skulls as those found at Hopefield in Cape, Florisbad in Orange Free State and that of the [Broken Hillman] in Kabwe in Zambia.”¹⁸³ Apart from the above, he considers them biologically different from the Bantu in southern Africa: “Their...diminutive stature distinguishes them from neighbouring Bantu speaking peoples.”¹⁸⁴ My contention here is that the above is a racial description.



Lewis-Williams does not only seem to believe that the San were a descendant of the above ‘proto-Bushmen’ but that “the southern San groups is now *extinct*.”¹⁸⁵ Whilst it is common knowledge that research institutions such as the University of Witwatersrand, the University of Cape Town, and the South African Museum are laden with thousands of Bushman skeletons) it is not correct to say that they are extinct. The problem is that

Contemporary Human Problems, California, Benjamin/Cummings, 1976, pp.14-17; Anderson, R. L., *Art in Primitive Societies*, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1979, pp.1-22 and White, H., “The Homecoming of the Kagga Kamma Bushmen”, *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Summer 1993, pp.63.

¹⁸⁰ Yoshida, K. & Mack, J., (eds.), *Images of Other Cultures: Reviewing Ethnographic Collections of the British Museum and the National Museum of Ethnology*, Osaka, Osaka NHK Services Center, Inc., 1998, p.298.

¹⁸¹ Pager, H., op. cit., 1975, p.16.

¹⁸² *ibid.*, p.16.

¹⁸³ See Lewis-Williams, J. D., & Dowson, T. A., *Images of Power: Understanding Bushmen Rock art*, Johannesburg, Southern Book Publishers, 1989, p.9.

¹⁸⁴ Lewis-Williams, J. D., “San” in Turner, J., *The Dictionary of Art* Vol. 36, London, Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1996, p.695.

¹⁸⁵ See Lewis-Williams, J. D, op. cit., 1989, p.11. See also Lewis-Williams, J. D., “San” 1996, p.695.

extinction implies a natural process whilst there was in fact a process of hunting Bushmen down.¹⁸⁶

Holm¹⁸⁷ is yet another researcher who in his book titled *Bushman Art* uses the phrase such as ‘primitive hunter’ or ‘primitive art.’ Smith’s¹⁸⁸ rock art research in Zambia endorses the ‘racial descriptions’ cited from the works of earlier researchers such as Clark.¹⁸⁹ The ‘Twa’ or ‘Bakafula’, who are considered as the ‘Bushmen’ of Zambia and believed to be the authors of most of the country’s rock art, are described as “a small statured dark skinned, and hairy proficient hunters,”¹⁹⁰ “with wrinkled skin on their stomach.”¹⁹¹

In Zimbabwe, Walker believes that the paintings are the works of the ancestors of the San and he refers to them as ‘Bushfolks.’¹⁹² Walker also refers to ‘Bushfolk’ as genetically a distinct African people whose language is diverse, indicating a considerable ‘antiquity’ or ‘ancientness.’¹⁹³ Lewis-Williams’ seems to concur with Walker: “Bush languages are in



¹⁸⁶ See the works of the following: Skotnes, P., (ed.), *Miscast: Negotiating the presence of the Bushmen*, Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 1996, pp.67, 72, 96; Legassick, M. & Ciraj Rassool, C., *Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African Museums and the Trade in Human Remains, 1907- 1917* (South African Museums and McGregor Museum, 2000; Koch, E., *Guide to South African Arts, Culture and Heritage: How should the remains of Africa’s early Inhabitants be treated? How can one satisfy claims – between descendants and museums – to these priceless relics?* 1998, p.3., and Rassool, C., “Towards the Repatriation of Skeletons in South Africa’s Museums”, paper presented at the South African Museum Association Conference, Port Elizabeth, 5-7 June 2001, p.11., Rassool, C. & Hayes, P., “Science and the Spectacle”, in Woodward, W., Hayes, P. & Minkley, G., *Deep Histories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2002, pp.117-158.

¹⁸⁷ Holm, Snr, E., *The Insight Series: Bushmen Art*, Pretoria, De Jager-HAUM Publishers, 1987, p.6.

¹⁸⁸ See Smith, B.W., op cit., 1997, p.17.

¹⁸⁹ See Clark, J. D., “Archaeological investigation of a painted rock shelter at mwana Wa Chenchere, north of Dedza, Central Malawi”, *Society of Malawi Journal*, 26, 1973, p.45.

¹⁹⁰ Chaplin, J. H., “Further Unpublished Examples of Rock art from Northern Rhodesia”, *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 17, 1962, pp.5-12.

¹⁹¹ According to Phillipson, ethnographical from Central Zambia showed that, the locals referred to the authors of rock art as ‘ututunta mafumo’, which literally means ‘with wrinkled skin on their stomach’. The above feature, Phillipson claims is a ‘characteristic of the Bushmen’. See Phillipson, D. W., “The Prehistoric Sequence at Nakapapula Rock Shelter, Zambia”, *Proceedings of Prehistoric Society*, 35, 1969, pp.172-202.

¹⁹² Walker, N., *The Painted Hills: Rock Art of the Matopos*, Gweru, Mambo Press Zimbabwe, 1996, p.8

¹⁹³ Walker, op. cit., 1996, p.16.

fact mutually unintelligible.”¹⁹⁴ One wonders what criteria Holms and Lewis-Williams use to judge the ‘ancientness and intelligibility’ of a language!

And whilst it is clear that, Lewis-Williams’ work shows that he is somehow aware of the politics around ‘evolutionary theories and his work on the San rock art may be viewed as ‘a voice of liberal consciousness and an advocate of social justice’ for the ‘San’,¹⁹⁵ as shown by his various works that tries to show that the San were just like any other ordinary persons, I strongly feel that by considering them San as a product of the primitive proto hominids, with ‘unintelligible language’, he is indirectly supporting the ‘primitive paradigm’. The above, leaves me with no choice but to ask Lewis-Williams and others to pay more attention to vast works on ‘race’ or the ‘race paradigm’, evolution theories’ and the so-called ‘primitive languages’.¹⁹⁶ Special reference should equally be paid to the construction of the ‘Bushmen and Bantu’ identities by the likes of Theal,¹⁹⁷ Sir George Grey governor of Cape Colony from 1854 to 1861 and his librarian, Wilhelm Bleek.¹⁹⁸



I hope it is clear that the above no means adds its voice to the chorus of views held by those that degraded the ‘Bushmen’. On the contrary, I would hope that it opens a way for

¹⁹⁴ Lewis-Williams, J. D., “The San: Life, Belief and Art”, in Cameron, T., (ed.), *An Illustrated History of South Africa*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1986, p.31. See also Lewis-Williams, J. D., “Some Aspects of Rock art research in the politics of present-day South Africa”, in Helskog, K & Olsen B., *Perceiving Rock art Social and Political Perspectives*, Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, 1995, p.335.

¹⁹⁵ See various works written by him (Lewis-Williams) on views and interpretation by earlier rock art researchers, Colonial and Apartheid South African Governments.

¹⁹⁶ Extensive literature on the above issues, See Bodley, J. H., op. cit., 1976; Hallpike, C., *The Foundation of Primitive Thought*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1979; Montagu, A., (ed.), *The Concept of Race*, Free Press, New York, 1964; Boonzaier E. & Sharp, J., *South African Keywords: The Uses & Abuses of Political Concepts*, Cape Town, David Philips Publisher, 1988; Banton, M., *Racial and Ethnic Competition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983; Drake, St. C., *Black Folk Here and There: An Essay in History and Anthropology*, Vol. 2., Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, 1987; Gregory, S. & Sanjek, R., *Race*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1997; Groves, C. P., *A Theory of Human of Evolution*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989; Fernandez, J., *Persuasions and Performances*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1986; and Shweder, R. “On savages and other children”, *American Anthropologist* 84, 1982, pp.354-66.

¹⁹⁷ Theal, op cit., 1854.

¹⁹⁸ Bleek was a “Prussian intellectual whose kin, mentors and friends included many of the greatest figures of the German Romantic period who coined the term Bantu” See Thornton, R., “Culture: A contemporary Definition”, in Boonzaier, E. & Sharp J., (eds.), *South Africa Key Words: The Uses & Abuses of Political Concepts*, Cape Town, David Philips Publisher, 1988, p.21.

reading the demeaning views held about the Bushmen — primitivity, childlike, ancientness, unintelligible language, close to nature, and so forth. I hope that, it also shows that some rock art researchers are still stoked by the idea that the Bushmen are one of our last connections with a hunter-gatherer existence, a way of life that was a human universal until some 10,000 years ago. But it should clearly be noted that:

All ‘men’ living today belong to a single species, *Homo sapiens*, and are derived from a common stock...There is a great genetic diversity within all human populations. Pure races — in the sense of genetically homogenous populations— do not exist in human species.¹⁹⁹

Yet as pointed out by Delgado and Stefancic,²⁰⁰ “society frequently chooses to ignore these scientific facts” instead “invents races and race categories, manipulates and endows them with pseudo-permanent characteristics.”²⁰¹ The above is very true in reference to the ‘unfortunately’ so-called ‘classic hunter-gatherers societies’ who Lewis-Williams²⁰² and others have permanently fixed in a constructed time frame or period —‘the Later Stone Age’.



My contention here is that, every society in the world once ‘hunted and gathered’ and I concur with Coon:

Long ago by our reckoning, but only a tick or two ago on cosmic clock, our ancestors roamed forests and grasslands in the most favored parts of the earth. There they picked wild fruits, dug up juicy tubers, robbed wild bees of their honey, stalked [hunted] swift footed animals with spears and bows, gathered basketful of shellfish from the shores at low tide and cooked and ate tasty meals.²⁰³

Or as simply put by Lee and DeVore:

¹⁹⁹ Race—What the World Scientist Say: *Unesco Proposals on the Biological Aspects of Race, South Africa Institute of Race Relations Johannesburg, June 1968, p.3.*

²⁰⁰ Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J., *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*, New York, New York University Press, 2001, p.8.

²⁰¹ *ibid.*, p.7.

²⁰² Lewis-Williams, J. D., “Southern African Archeology in the 1990s”, *South African Archaeological Bulletin (SAAB)* **48**, 1993, p.31.

²⁰³ Coon, S. C., *The Hunting Peoples*, Dallas Pennsylvania, Offset Paper back Inc. 1976, p.21.

Cultural Man and [Women] has been on earth for some 2,000,000 years; for over 99 percent of this period he has lived as a hunter-gatherer.²⁰⁴

I therefore, view the continuous classification of the Bushmen as a ‘hunter-gatherer’,²⁰⁵ ‘living fossils’ in a ‘timeless ethnographic present’, or representing the ‘Later Stone Age’ peoples as merely a racial category that endeavours to validate the ‘ancientness’ and belief that the ‘Later Stone Age’ peoples are ancestors of ‘modern man’.

Surely, just because some of the ‘Bushmen’ of Kalahari, ‘Pygmies’ of the Congo, the ‘Andaman Islanders’ in the Bay of Bengal, the ‘Australian and Tasmania Aborigines’, the ‘Ainu’ of northern Japan, ‘Eskimos’²⁰⁶ to mention but a few, still practice or depend on ‘hunting and gathering’ does not mean that they should permanently be fixed in the now ‘highly contestable period’²⁰⁷ referred to as Later Stone Age. This period just like others is purely a ‘construct’, and the history of its construction is quite traceable in numerous Archaeology ‘Stone Ages’ literatures.²⁰⁸



2.1.3 Appropriation of southern Rock art:

The cozy image of researchers as benign and informed scholars has been replaced by that of a presumptuous imposter appropriating to him or herself the right to represent cultures that are not their own. It is not a matter of speaking ‘of’ or ‘about’ other cultures but seeking to speak ‘for’ them, a political and not merely a documentary act.²⁰⁹

Because of ‘degrading stereotypical primordial’ views held about the authors of rock art in southern Africa, by some of early researchers, mainly due to archaeology’s long

²⁰⁴ Lee, R. B. & DeVore, I., (eds.), *Man the Hunter*, Chicago, Aldine Publication, 1968, p.3.

²⁰⁵ The concept of ‘hunter-gatherer’ is believed to be an ‘anthropological construct’ and has been questioned, so are the effects of its numerous stereotypical views: See an Article by Feit, H. A., “The Enduring Pursuit: Land, Time, and Social Relationships in Anthropological Models of Hunter Gatherers and in Subarctic Hunters’ Images”, in Burch, E. S., Jr. & Ellanna, L. J., (eds.), *Key Issues in Hunter – Gatherer Research*, Berg Publisher Inc., 1994, pp.422-439.

²⁰⁶ Coon, C. S., op. cit., 1976, p.22.

²⁰⁷ The emergency of New Archaeological in the 1950s saw some amendments to the Middle Stone age and questioning of the exact point in time when the so-called Middles Stone Age gives way to Later Stone Age, See Barham, I. S., op. cit., 2001, p.2.

²⁰⁸ See Goodwin, A. J. H. & Van Riet Lowe, C., “The Stone Age cultures of South Africa”, *Annals of the South African Museum* 27, 1929, pp. 1-289 and Woodhouse, H. C., *Archaeology in Southern Africa*, Cape Town, Purnell, 1971, pp.46-70.

²⁰⁹ Yoshida, K., op. cit., 1998, p. 65.

involvement with ‘politics of identity,’²¹⁰ culture, nationalism, colonialism, that it was initially assumed that the so-called Bushmen were incapable of producing any kind of rock art in these regions. The result of the above Eurocentric viewpoint, was the viewing, through a ‘western kaleidoscope’ and ‘appropriation’ of southern African rock art as illustrated by a few ‘classical’ examples I have selected from Namibia, South Africa, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe

2.1.3.1. Namibia, South Africa and Lesotho:

Examples demonstrating how early researchers appropriated and re-contextualized southern African rock art include Abbé Henri Breuil, an eminent French, Prehistorian and authority on prehistoric art of the 19th century, who claimed that one of the human paintings at Brandberg in Namibia was definitely not the work of the so-called Bushmen but the works of the west. The image, he argued, was that of a ‘White Lady’, a female (Caucasian) of Mediterranean origin²¹¹ (see illustration 1). But the picture reflected neither a woman nor Caucasian; instead, it is like any other male figures carrying a ‘bow and arrow’ commonly found in South Africa and Namibia.²¹² Like Breuil, the Rudners²¹³ also ‘discovered’ a ‘Real Indian’ shelter’:

This man has interesting physical features – a straight nose, a pointed chin or beard... He carries a small plain bow and a couple of arrows... This profile does not fit in with the native tribes in South West Africa [now Namibia] but the nudity and armament do.

²¹⁰ Taylor, E., calls it ‘Politics of recognition — the West categorized societies with different philosophies and thought systems as inferior and sub-standard. See ‘Taylor, E., “*Primitive Culture*”, Vol. 2, John Murray, London, 1871. Cited in *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, Routledge London, & New York, 1997, p.142.

²¹¹ Breuil, H., “The White Lady of the Brandberg, South-West Africa, her companions and her guards”, *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 3, 1948, pp.2-11.

²¹² Willcox, A. R., *Rock art of South Africa*, London, Nelson, 1963, p.44.

²¹³ Rudner, J. & Rudner, I., *The Hunter and his Art*, C., Cape Town, Struik (Pty) Ltd., 1970, p.77.

And in South Africa, Breuil ‘discovered’ paintings of ‘Phoenicians’ in Drakensberg²¹⁴ and a ‘Phoenician boat’²¹⁵ in Cederberg in western cape. In Lesotho he discovered Sumerians men (‘cloaked’) with Mesopotamian quivers. Professor Raymond Dart, the renowned anthropologist, one of the many that supported the idea of ‘foreignness’ in African rock art, was ‘able’ to identify ‘cloaked Asiatics’ of the Babylonian-Phoenician period.²¹⁶ The eminent rock art specialist Breuil blessed Dart’s observation and interpretation!



III. 1. White Lady’ Rock paintings in Brandberg “Burnt Mountain” (photograph courtesy of Leonardo Gribaudo²¹⁷). Interpreted by Breuil as “The lonely ‘White Lady’ in wait ...Dressed in a clinging garment with a belt ornamented with four rows of pearls. Pearls also decorate her arms, knees shoulders and breast, while a band of pearls stretch from her ear to forehead and others adorn her hair and hang around her neck. Her flesh is white

²¹⁴ See Lewis-Williams, op. cit., 1989, p.8

²¹⁵ Coulson, D. & Campbell, A., *African Rock Art Paintings and Engravings on Stone*, New York, Harry Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 2001, p.41.

²¹⁶ Dart, R. A., “The Historical Succession of Cultural Impacts upon South Africa”, *Nature* 115, 1925, pp.425-9. See also. Wilcox, A.R., op. cit., 1963, p. 43 and Yates, R., Parkington, J & Manhire, T., *Pictures from the Past: A History of the Interpretation of Rock Paintings in and Engravings of South Africa*, Pietermaritzburg, Centaur Publications, 1990, p.23.

²¹⁷ Footsteps of Man, “*Rock paintings and Engravings in Namibia*”, *Trace Online Rock Art Bulletin*http://rupestre.ne/trace_php/modules.php?name=Sections&op=viewarticle&arid (16 (Accessed 2nd April 2004)

and her hair dark reddish brown, not quite reaching her shoulders, but cut squarely... There can be no doubt about the Mediterranean character of the profile.”²¹⁸
The above is the description by Breuil from a Black and white photograph before he even saw the actual painting in Brandberg, Namibia

Besides researchers, even clergymen in the 1900s did not consider southern African rock art African. For example, Albert Schweiger a Catholic missionary identified ‘Phoenician or Arabic sailors, Egyptian soldier and a white Queen’ in a rock shelter in the valley of the Great Kei River.²¹⁹ Professor Dart authenticated the clergyman’s interpretation, though he further identified figures wearing “Babylonians, Phrygian and Chinese caps.”²²⁰

2.1.3.2. Zambia:

In Zambia, the larger schematic painting at Nachikufu Cave, Central province, was identified as a debased form of writing “a copy done by some illiterate person of the early Arabic (Kuffic) words *Bismillah* (in the name of God)...”²²¹ (See illustration 2). The above was considered as the works of the “Erythriote or ‘Hamitic’ related to the same physical type to which the Europeans belong.”²²²

²¹⁸ See Breuil, H., “The Influence of Classical Civilization on the Paintings of South Africa”, in *Proceedings of the First Pan African Congress on Prehistory*, 1947, pp.234-237. Cited in Wilcox, A.R., ‘Rock art of South Africa’, Johannesburg, Thomas and Nelson & Sons (Africa) (Pty) Ltd, 1963, p.43. See also Breuil, H., “Some foreigners in the frescoes on rocks in southern Africa, *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 4, 1949, pp.39-50. Breuil, H., “The White Lady of the Brandberg, South-West Africa, her companions and her guards”, *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 3, 1948, pp.2-11.

²¹⁹ Schweiger, D. M. A., “Bushmen caves at Keilands”, *Catholic Magazine of South Africa* **23** (253), 1912, pp. 103-9; (254), pp.152-9; (255), pp. 204-8; (256), pp. 251-5; (257), pp.302-4.

²²⁰ Dart, R. A, op. cit., 1925, pp.425-9.

²²¹ See Clark J. D., “The Stone Cultures of Northern Rhodesia”, Claremont, Cape, The South African Archaeological Society, 1950, p.118.

²²² See Clark J. D., op. cit., 1959, p.261.



III. 2. Tracing of a pictograph at Nsalu Cave Central Province Interpreted as (Arabic) *Bismillah* (in the name of God)...”

Whilst the researcher admits that other schematic paintings from this cave submitted to the same ‘Arabic authority’ he did not produce any evidence to authenticate the interpretation, he insisted that the above ‘theory’ would establish the presence of people of Arabic origin in the region (Zambia and Tanzania, Zimbabwe).²²³ Professor Dart also identified the Chifubwa rock engravings in Solwezi, northwestern Zambia, as ‘archaic writing’ and longhaired ‘teddyboys’ from Egypt²²⁴ (See illustration 3).

²²³ See Clark, op. cit., 1959, pp.217-217.

²²⁴ See Dart, R. A., “Rhodesia Engravers, Painters and Pigment Miners of the Fifth Millennium BC”, *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, **32**, 1935, pp.91-96.



III. 3. Chifubwa Rock Engravings (Solwezi, North Western Province) interpreted by Darts as ‘Archaic writing’ and longhaired ‘teddy boys’ from Egypt (Courtesy of NHCC)

Based on the excavation carried out at the site by Clark, dismissed the above interpretation as excavation works at the site showed that the engravings could be recent.²²⁵ To date, the pictographs of Nachikufu Caves and Chifubwa petroglyphs have not been interpreted.

2.1.3.3 Zimbabwe:

Like Zambia, the rock art in Zimbabwe was attributed to southwest Asian peoples by various researchers. Breuil and others identified some paintings of human figures in Zimbabwe as Persians,²²⁶ probably as a way of strengthening the Great Zimbabwe myth, a belief that the Great Zimbabwe not built by the indigenous peoples.²²⁷ Gulubahwe cave is also another site in the Matopos, in Zimbabwe, where one painting was interpreted as a

²²⁵ Cited in Wilcox, A.R., *The Rock art of Africa*, op. cit., 1963, p.5

²²⁶ Coulson, D. & Campbell, A., op. cit. 2001, p.41.

²²⁷ See various ‘Interpretations’ on the builders and occupants of Great Zimbabwe’, in Hall. M., *op. cit.*, 1996, pp.23-31.

‘floating vessel’ similar to that of Noah’s Ark.²²⁸ According to Holm the pictograph of the ‘vessel’ was executed by the:

Prehistoric Europeans painters who must have navigated their vessels along the rivers of the east coast of Africa in search of new hunting grounds. Wherever they came across caves [in southern Africa] they apparently practiced their customs and rituals, thereby initiating the natives into such customs.²²⁹

Holm seems to be one of the researchers who even by 1987 still believed that the art of painting in southern Africa was copied from the Europeans voyagers. He argues that, the Mantis (Kaggen) and the elephant (as the ‘Rain bull’) folklores of the Bushmen in South Africa and the painters of the Matopos in Zimbabwe respectively were brought by European voyagers.

The few examples above clearly show that southern African rock art was thought by earlier rock art researchers to be a European invention. The “pristine primitive [hunter gatherers], were seen as juveniles, simple-minded peoples who suffered stunted growth on their march to supposedly higher, mechanistic civilization,”²³⁰ and did not have sufficient artistic sensibilities to paint.

2.2. Rock art Knowledge Production: Methods, Hypotheses and Theories

In nearly every case around the world, there is no way to ask the artist what he or she intended by his work, what ceremonies revolved around it (or vice-versa), and what significance rock art had to his or her community. A researcher is very hard pressed to keep his own prejudices and assumptions out of his interpretation because of this void of evidence. The implication of the above is that “Seeing is not believing and beliefs do not

²²⁸ Coulson, D. & Campbell, A., op. cit., 2001, p.41.

²²⁹ See Holm, E., op. cit., 1987, pp.43, 47.

²³⁰ Yoshida, K. & Mack, J., op. cit., 1998, p.298.

make facts,”²³¹ because interpretation of rock art is based on the concepts established by various disciplines, such as history of religion, history of art, economic anthropology and others.

Using some anthropological/ethnographical approaches,²³² Lartet and Christy,²³³ in reference to European palaeolithic parietal rock art, argued that one of the motives behind painting or engraving was basically for aesthetic or ornamentation purposes (‘Art for Arts Sake’). This they argued was because the artists had plenty of time at their disposal.²³⁴ Reinach demolished this interpretation on the grounds that most rock art was executed in contexts that were difficult to access and most of the images suggested animals that were potential food.

Reinach,²³⁵ in 1902 instead propagated a ‘Sympathetic magic and totemism’, interpretation as the major reason for executing rock art. This theory which interprets game animals and hunting scenes as the success that hunter wished to bring about argued that: The primitive hunter would depict his quarry merely to gain ‘control’ over it through his magic arts thereby facilitating the kill. As expounded by Pager,²³⁶ these images were executed in order to gain magical control over the movements, reincarnation and procreation and killing of the prey. The above theory has since been discarded on the grounds that archaeological remains associated with rock art²³⁷ showed that pictographs did not necessarily depict a menu card of the diet of the artist, nor did they represent a fair sample of the animals encountered in the normal course of daily living.²³⁸ The other

²³¹ Hyder paraphrased Lewis-Williams’ *Seeing is Believing: Meanings in Southern San Rock Paintings*, Academic Press, London, 1981. See Hyder, W. D., “Some Problems in the Use of Sign Language to Interpret Rock Art”, Paper presented at the 15th annual meeting of the American Rock Art Research Association, Ridgecrest, CA., University of California, Santa Cruz, May, 1988.

²³² Researchers exploring shamanism or other models to explain rock art need to recognize that culture is a fluid process in which they are participants, not just observers.

²³³ See Ucko, P. J. & Ronsefeld, A., op. cit., 1967, p.117.

²³⁴ Lartet and Christy argued that the environment was so rich with animals hence it was easy to kill animals of their choice and had more than enough time to adorn themselves and their surrounding. See Ucko, P. J. & Ronsefeld, A., op. cit., 1967, p.117.

²³⁵ Ucko, P. J. & Ronsefeld, A., op. cit., 1967p.123.

²³⁶ Pager, op. cit., 1975, p.38.

²³⁷ See also research conducted by Parkington, J. & Poggenpoel, C., “Excavated at De Hangen”, (1968), *South Africa Archaeological Bulletin* 26, pp.3-36.

²³⁸ See Vinnicombe, P., *People of the Eland: Rock Paintings of the Drakensberg Bushmen as a Reflection of their Life and Thought*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1976, p.151.

ground on which the above theory was discarded is the fact that only a small percentage of all the animals depicted are dead or wounded. The above theory actually falls short in many of the same respects that the narrative idea does, such as the entopic phenomena, and other abstract forms.

Within the sympathetic magic interpretive framework, the ‘fertility magic’ due to, in some cases “indeterminate amorphous signs/symbols that were identified as sex organs in some sites or caves in France.”²³⁹ The above kind of an approach meant that all the images were explained with a narrative theory of interpretation by various research. For example Rudner²⁴⁰ described the pictographs in Brandberg and Eronga and Naukluft mountains in Namibia by what he thought they depicted, ‘Man and Sheep’, the ‘Girls school frieze’, ‘Real Indian’ shelter’, ‘Rhino Hunt’, and in Botswana one cave was referred to ‘Eland rock’.

Similarly, in South Africa, researchers such as Pager referred to pictographs at Mount Paul near Harrismith as ‘The Stone Age Ballet.’²⁴¹ For Walker,²⁴² some images at Silozwane cave in Zimbabwe depicted “women grinding, men working with arrows and a group of children nearby”. In Zambia, the pictograph of a site in Mkushi is referred to as Haley’s Comet.

It was the above kind of theories that in the 1920s, the noted French prehistorian Breuil²⁴³ imposed on the rock art of southern Africa. For example Burkitt,²⁴⁴ Willcox,²⁴⁵ and

²³⁹ Ucko & Ronsefeld, op. cit., 1967, p.138.

²⁴⁰ Rudner, op. cit., 1970, pp.71, 77-78.

²⁴¹ This painting is at Mount Paul near Harrismith. See Pager, H., 1975, p.13.

²⁴² Walker, op. cit., 1996, p.3.

²⁴³ Abbé Henri Breuil interpreted the art as an expression of hunting magic basing on anthropological observations of the Arunta aborigines in Australia. The Arunta painted kangaroos to ensure a plentiful supply of prey in rituals comparable to those of other foraging populations. See Bower, B., 1996, *Human origins recede in Australia.*, Science News, **150** (13), 1996, p.196.

²⁴⁴ Burkitt, M.C., *South Africa’s Past in Stone and Paint*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1928, p.158.

²⁴⁵ Wilcox, op. cit., 1963, p. 266; Wilcox, A. R., “Review of Lewis-Williams, J. D. & Dowson, “Images of Power: Understanding Southern Africa Rock Art”, *Rock Art Research* 8 1991a, p.70; 1991b; Wilcox, A.R., “San informants on the practice of art in Transkei, South Africa”, *Rock Art research* 8, 1991b, pp.124-26.

Cooke²⁴⁶ interpreted southern Africa rock art using the ‘Art for Art’s sake’ theory. Whilst the sympathetic magic interpretation has since been discarded, the ‘fertility magic’ interpretations still find echoes in recent rock art research.²⁴⁷ As the following sections will show, even the presupposed correct motivations and meanings of rock art are contestable the world over.

2.2.1. Recent Rock art Knowledge Production: From Meaning to Contest:

The most hotly-debated issues in rock art studies involve the inference of meaning in art forms. But according to Clottes,²⁴⁸ approaching a workable theory for the production of rock art in southern Africa or anywhere else requires the conquest of several methodological difficulties. Failure or use of inappropriate approaches will result in archaeologists or art historians continue imposing their own interpretations on the rock art.

Some of these theories and methods include those that are supported by processual (‘scientific’) and post-processual archaeologies outlined in chapter one. Put simply, these include approaches concerned with a quantitative definition of the site, which takes in to considerations emerging cultural and environmental history of the region.²⁴⁹ And secondly, approaches concerned with ‘context’ and look at the whole picture — not just the artifact but also the processes, structures and mechanisms that underlie intelligent action that produced specific material culture. Or in short a “behaviour must be understood before attempting to understand its meaning”²⁵⁰ kind of an approach.

²⁴⁶ Cooke, C. K., *Rock art of Southern Africa*, Books of Africa, Cape Town, 1969, p.50

²⁴⁷ The use of ‘fertility magic’ kind of interpretation will be illustrated in Chapter four

²⁴⁸ Clottes, J., “Who Painted What in Upper Paleolithic European Caves”, in Whitley, D. S. & Loendorf, L. L., (eds.), *New Light on Old Art: Recent Advances in Hunter-Gatherer Rock Art Research*, Institute of Archaeology, Los Angeles, University of California, Monograph **36**. 1993, pp. 1-8.

²⁴⁹ See Butzer, K. W., et al. “Dating and context of rock engravings in southern Africa”, *Science* 203, pp. 1979, 1201-14.

²⁵⁰ See Trubshaw, B., *What did Prehistoric People Think? The Science of Cognitive Archaeology*, <http://www.indigogroup.co.uk/edge/> (Accessed 5th May 2003). See also Carl A. Bjork who observes that “To understand the message that the rock art symbols are communicating we must fully understand the worldview of the “artist” and what motivational pressures and impacts were controlling this person”.

(Bjork, C. A., *Semiotic Relationships and Rock Art Sites*, <http://www.goldrush.com/~cbjork/ResearchFP.htm> (Accessed 5th May 2003)

2.2.2 Scientific Research Methodological Approaches:

2.2.2.1 *Quantitative Approach:*

In order to reconstruct a picture of peoples' past technological, social, economic, spiritual and other cultural activities, we need sometimes to use contact-period records, (ethnography) which offer some direct insight about indigenous meaning. But more often especially in the case of rock art, we have no direct record, and instead have to use 'formal methods' to learn from the evidence of the pictures themselves.

In southern Africa, the 1960s and the late 1970s saw extensive analytical work in rock art research whose main aim was to compile a history of the "manners and customs of the authors of pictographs as depicted by themselves."²⁵¹ In order to achieve the above, philosophies, theories and practices of natural science were employed, and, I should point out here, are still used by different rock art researchers.²⁵² Researchers pursuing the above approach seek to systematically observe and document pertinent sites attributes such as pictographs and other site related features, classify them into 'possible' categories, and finally analyze them.



But like any other 'scientific' approaches, this approach has its own merits and demerits. For example, it is the numerical methods employed by Werner,²⁵³ and later by Vinnicombe²⁵⁴ that revealed or demonstrated that the 'Eland' was one of the most frequently painted animals in South Africa. Vinnicombe concluded that it could have been an important animal to the artists.

²⁵¹ The above was one of the major aims of the collection and statistical compilation works of the 'Bushman' rock art by Vinnicombe, op. cit., 1967, pp.129-41; Mazel, A. D., "Eland, Rhebuck and Cranes: Identifying seasonality in the paintings of the Drankesberg", *South Africa Archaeological Society Godwin Series 4.*, 1983, pp.34-37; Pager, H., "Quantitative analysis elucidate the motives of the South African rock paintings", *Almagoreen 5*, 1976, pp.219-26; Lewis-Williams, J. D., "Superpositioning in a sample of rock-paintings in the Barkly East district", *South African Archaeological Bulletin 29*, 1974, 93-103; Lewis-Williams, J. D., "The syntax and function of the Giant's Castle rock paintings", *South African Archaeological Bulletin 27*, 1972, pp.49-65

²⁵² Smith's rock art research in 1992, besides using imitation/simulation and ethnographic contextual analysis a statistical or mathematical kind of approach was used to interpret the art. See Smith, op. cit., 1994, p.17.

²⁵³ Werner, A., "Bushman Paintings", *Journal Roy African Society 7*, 1908: pp.387-393.

²⁵⁴ Vinnicombe, P., 1967, op. cit. pp.129-41.

In Zambia, Clark²⁵⁵ and Chaplin,²⁵⁶ classified the pictographs into major categories, viz, ‘schematic and naturalistic.’ Phillipson²⁵⁷ identified four stylistic sequences in eastern Zambia. Similarly, through ‘numerical inventories’, four rock art ‘traditions’ have since been generated by Smith²⁵⁸ in Zambia. Apart from the above, he has demonstrated that out of over 500 sites documented, only about 119 had animal figures, and that out of this number, the species of at least seventy percent could not be identified.²⁵⁹ His meticulous analysis of superimpositions has also shown a possible chronological order of the pictographs in Kasama.

Out of the 169 pictographs sites documented and analyzed in Dedza, Chingoni Highlands, Malawi, Smith²⁶⁰ was also able to demonstrate that the “art was highly conventionalized, conforming to regularly repeated patterns both in appearance/execution and its placement”. Pager,²⁶¹ one of the greatest rock art recorder was able to demonstrate numerically that ‘people’ were the commonest figures’ (58%), and in terms of group compositions (i.e. recurrence in actual paintings), animals were the most numerous themes (about 58%) of pictographs in Zimbabwe pictographs sites. In Namibia his “locational and statistical analyses has revealed many fascinating insights, such as the differing roles of men and women in that culture.”²⁶² For example hunting was mainly a male activity, whilst gathering of roots, nuts and berries was mostly done by women.²⁶³

Though it is clear that if ‘properly’ used the mathematical approach can be used as a basis for comparison, correlation and inference,²⁶⁴ the major weakness for the above approach is that, whilst the approach’s aim was to expel subjectivity, it is instead very subjective.

²⁵⁵ Clark, J. D., op. cit., 1959a, pp.163-220; See also Clark, J. D., op. cit 1959b, pp.231-244.

²⁵⁶ Chaplin, J. H., op. cit., 1962, pp.5-12.

²⁵⁷ Phillipson, D. W., *The Prehistory of Eastern Zambia*, Nairobi, British Institute in East Africa, 1976, p.185.

²⁵⁸ See Smith, B. W., op. cit., 1997, p.12.

²⁵⁹ See Smith, op. cit., 1994, p.190.

²⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.87.

²⁶¹ See Pager, P., op. cit., 1996, p.31.

²⁶² See Bahn, P., *Stumbling in the footsteps of St Thomas: Rock art scholars are stuck in their drug- culture phase*, Council for British Archaeology, <http://www.britarch.ac.uk/ba/ba/html> (Accessed 5th May 2003)

²⁶³ *Rock Art in Namibia its Past, Present And Future* (<http://www.natmus.cul.na/events/rockart/open.html>) Accessed 31st March, 2004.

²⁶⁴ Hall, M., op. cit., 1996 p.74.

The mere selection of only certain attributes during quantitative research is highly questionable; so is the fact that the meaning of the pictographs is not inherent the quantified data.²⁶⁵

Pictorial representations do not necessarily speak for themselves, nor do explanations emerge ‘logically or inescapably’ from ‘masses of data’, as has been assumed by various researchers such as Woodhouse,²⁶⁶ the Rudners,²⁶⁷ Pager²⁶⁸ and others in their rock art statistical studies. But the truth is that properties of an artifact are not given and countable. What actually is countable are the properties human beings agree to count as properties these, I will argue, are far from being absolute or stable enough for an argument to be based on a count of them.

Whilst superimpositions can show a sequence of pictographs, it is practically impossible to determine the exact time that elapsed between the executions of various motifs. And for those that use a ‘scientific’ adaptationist, ecological theoretical approach, the major weakness of this approach according to Lewis-Williams,²⁶⁹ is that rock art is explained as an ‘adaptive mechanism.’

In view of these weaknesses, other rock art researchers strongly believe that the only way ideal and viable approach that pictographs can be interpreted is by using ethnographic analogies. Failure to use this approach, they argue, would result in imposing western notions of art and artists. One of the major research institutions that have argued strongly against the use quantitative of approaches is the Rock Art Research Institute of Witwatersrand University. This institution has instead advocated an ethnographic analogy approach to interpret rock art.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ Lewis-Williams, J. D. & Loubser, J. H. N., “Deceptive appearance: A critic of Southern Africa rock art studies”, *Advance in World Archaeology* Vol 5, 1996, pp.255-258.

²⁶⁶ Woodhouse, op. cit., 1979, p.55.

²⁶⁷ Rudner, J., & Rudner, I. *The Hunter and his Art*, Cape Town, Struik (Pty) Ltd., 1970, ix, p.40.

²⁶⁸ See a Review by Lewis Williams of Pager’s book *The Rock art of the Upper Brandberg, Part I*, Amis George Cologne, Heinrich Barth Institute, 1989, pp.126-13.

²⁶⁹ Lewis-Williams, J. D., “Seeing and construing: the making and ‘meaning’ of a Southern African rock art motif”, in *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* Vol. V, 5, (1), 1995. pp.3-23.

²⁷⁰ See Lewis-Williams, J. D., op. cit., 1980, pp.467-482, Lewis-Williams, J.D., op. cit., 1981, p.7, Lewis-Williams, J.D, and Dowson, T., op. cit., 1989, p.26-36, Dowson T. A., & Lewis-Williams, J. D., “Myths,

Before I critically examine the approach that has been strongly advocated by Lewis-Williams, who was the Director of the above institution for over two decades, I would like to state that, whilst I concur with some of the sentiments expressed by Lewis-Williams and others over the use of ‘scientific’ approaches, I strongly believe that before we turn to ethnographical sources, which are very rare, in order to fully understand the stylistic complexity of rock art, and be able to decipher its meaning and motives, we need to:

Start with the site, studying the pictographs of the site, its relationship to its spatial environment including geographical and geological considerations, climatic patterns, acoustical qualities, water and food resources, travel and trade route patterns, celestial viewing properties and the many other values that would make a site useful to a culture.²⁷¹

The importance of studying the above features as a prerequisite in trying to fully understand the painters and the motives behind the undertaking of activities in a landscape has equally been stressed by Tilley²⁷² and Ingold.²⁷³

As regards the usefulness of statistical or mathematical approaches that Lewis-Williams²⁷⁴ has tried to discredit since the late 1970s, I find his position very shaky and contradictory. Below were his views on the importance of statistical (quantitative) approaches in the study of rock art before he started discrediting the methods and other researchers.

...in my account of the content of the art, I have presented numerical statements which indicate that the painters regarded the eland as especially important. Critics of the application of quantitative techniques to rock art claim that statistics may demonstrate almost anything; I respond that one cannot make

Museum and Southern Africa Rock Art”, *South African Historical Journal* **29**, Nov. 1993, pp.44-60, Lewis-Williams, J. D. & Loubser, J. H. N., op. cit., 1996, p.265, Lewis-Williams, J. D. & Clottes, J., “Shorter Notes– Upper Paleolithic Cave: French and South African Collaboration”, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* **6**, **1**, 1996, p.138.

²⁷¹ Bjork. C. A., op. cit., <http://www.goldrush.com/~cbjork/ResearchFP.htm> The importance of studying “prominent topographical features such as mountains, rivers, the sea (See also Tilley, C., *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, Oxford, Berg, 1994) as well as the boundaries between such features attracted the human imagination.

²⁷² See Tilley, op. cit., 1994, p.12.

²⁷³ See Ingold, T., “The temporality of the landscape”, *World Archaeology* **25**, (2), 1993, pp.152-172.

²⁷⁴ See Lewis-Williams, op. cit., 1977, pp.53-4.

useful statements about the meaning of the art *without* preliminary quantification.²⁷⁵

The above quote is part of a summary of Lewis Williams' chapter two in his PhD Thesis on four rock art sites that he had worked on using 'Quantitative methods' from 1968-1976.

By advocating for the use of only ethnographical analogy for interpreting rock art,²⁷⁶ I argue, Lewis-Williams wishes to establish a hegemonic position that structures all rock art inquiry.²⁷⁷ The above kind of approach has been highly criticized by Trigger, Hodder, Gilman, Dunnell, Binford to mention a few. They argue that it is not impossible to answer all archaeological empirical questions by using one theoretical perspective. No material culture that can be studied using one approach —'ethnographic analogy', but approaches from a combination of various scientific disciplines, such as zoology, botany, geology, chemistry and physics. And as observed by Solomon "if rock art is to be seen as a trace of ancient 'mind', technology and artistic praxis require further attention, alongside the iconographical studies which have largely characterized the sub-discipline."²⁷⁸

Also the mere fact that Lewis-Williams considers the Bushmen as, a 'Later Stone Age people; as a hunter-gatherer society,²⁷⁹ with an unintelligible language, which is a sign of their ancientness, as I have clearly illustrated in the preceding section, is a very big contradiction. The so-called 'Later Stone Age period' and 'Hunter-gatherers societies' are not natural but are a 'construct'²⁸⁰ from the same statistical or mathematical and other

²⁷⁵ See Lewis-Williams, J. D., *Believing and Seeing: An Interpretation of Symbolic Meanings in southern San Rock Paintings*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Natal University, Natal, 1977, pp.36, 38.

²⁷⁶ Dowson, T. A., & Lewis-Williams, J. D., op. cit., 1993, pp. 44-60, Lewis-Williams, J. D. & Loubser, J. H. N., op. cit., 1996, p.265.

²⁷⁷ See McGuire, R. H., *A Marxist Archaeology*, California, Academic Press Inc., 1992, p.5.

²⁷⁸ Solomon, A., "The Antiquity of Man (Exploring human evolution and the dawn of civilization). Meanings, models and minds: A reply to Lewis-Williams", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, June, 1999 <http://www.antiquityofman.com/index.html> (Accessed 3rd June, 2003).

²⁷⁹ See Lewis-Williams, J. D., *Believing and Seeing: An Interpretation of Symbolic Meanings in southern San Rock Paintings*, Academic Press, London, 1981, p.3. See also Lewis-Williams, J. D., op. cit., 1986, p.31.

²⁸⁰ See Ucko P. J., & Rosenfeld, A. op. cit., 1967, pp.116-117 for the criterion used for 'construction' of both stone Ages and Hunter-gatherers societies.

scientific approaches that he condemns.²⁸¹ The Later Stone Age, (as I have already demonstrated in chapter one), just like other periods are a creation based solely on the techniques of stone working employed and on the principal types of shapes of stone tools size, shape or use of other material other than stone such as bones for making tools or weapons and so forth. It is this that is believed to indicate technological advancement specific of ‘human development periods.’ The invention of the ‘Stone Age Cultures (Periods)’ in South Africa is clearly illustrated by the works of Goodwin and van Riet Lowe.²⁸² The above ‘classificatory categories’ would not have been ‘coined’ if ethnographical approaches alone had been used. Let me also point out here that, despite the fact that currently archaeologists use the ‘classificatory categories’ as the ‘framework of human cultural development’, it has been and is still contested:

The Stone implements, potsherds, iron artifacts [rock art], and other tools of prehistoric man are the raw material of archeology, from which the past is reconstructed. But the classification of these artifacts and concept of type are two of the most controversial subjects in archaeology.²⁸³



The works of Rodden²⁸⁴ shows the history of ‘the development of the three age system classification whilst controversy on the ‘concept of type’ is clearly illustrated by Ford.²⁸⁵ Daniel²⁸⁶ shows the politics around the classifying of rock art under certain periods.

I should also point out here that, the value of rock art does not only necessarily lie in its meaning, but also in other attributes such as the rock art’s technology — raw material used, stylist patterns, age and so forth. This, therefore means that, besides ethnographic approaches, an in-depth understanding of rock art can only be possible by “recording of superimposition and stratigraphy, quantitative analysis of the subject matter, evaluation

²⁸¹ See Ucko and Rosenfeld, *op. cit.*, 1967, p.9. See also Derricourt, R. M., 1976, Derricourt, R. M., “Archaeology in Zambia: An Historical Outline”, *African Social Research*, **21**, June 1976, p.42 and the ‘Articles’ of Rouse, I., “Classification of Artefacts”, in Fagan, B. M., (ed.), *Introductory Readings in Archaeology*, Boston, Little Brown & Company, 1970, pp. 185-198.

²⁸² Godwin, A. J. H., & van Riet Lowe, C., *op. cit.*, 1929.

²⁸³ See also Fagan, B. M., (ed.), *Introductory Readings in Archaeology: The Discipline of Prehistory*, Boston, Little Brown & Company, 1970, p.183.

²⁸⁴ See Rodden, J., ‘The development of the Three Age System: Archaeology’s first Paradigm’ in Daniel, G., *Towards a History of Archaeology*, 1978, pp.51-61.

²⁸⁵ See Ford, J. A., “On the Concepts of Types”, *American Anthropology* **56**, 1954, pp.42-53.

²⁸⁶ Daniel, G. E., *A Hundred Years of Archaeology*, London, Duckworth, 1950, pp.131-132.

of stylistic patterns, study of raw materials...²⁸⁷ I repeat, comprehensive rock art knowledge cannot be produced by the single approach Lewis-Williams advocates.²⁸⁸ Lewis-Williams as a ‘cognitive archaeologist’,²⁸⁹ should be fully cognizant of the fact that his “academic discipline [cognitive archaeology] has developed from a merger of interests among certain linguists, psychologists, philosophers, computer scientists, anthropologists, neuroscientists, and others.”²⁹⁰

2.2.2.2 *Ethnographic Analogy:*

Analogical reasoning is based on analogies, or similarities in cultural studies. It is a ‘comparative’ kind of approach that is based on the assumption that material cultures are intimately connected with behaviour of those who produce or use them.²⁹¹ The use of ethnographic analogy in interpreting the ‘past’ has a long history. For example, Dugdale,²⁹² a British antiquarian, compared the stone artifacts he had discovered with those of the living American Indians as early as 1656. Thomnsen also used a similar approach; he made comparisons between the Stone Age inhabitants of northern Europe and modern ‘savages.’²⁹³ In rock art studies the use of the above approach in Europe can

²⁸⁷ See *Rock art History of Research*, <http://www.iatp.am/ara/besp/iii.htm> (Accessed 4th June 2003).

²⁸⁸ On the importance of the use of other scientific approaches, See Philip Barker’s chapter 8, 10 and 11 ‘Analysis: Recognizing and Recording of the evidence’, ‘Interpreting of Evidence and ‘Scientific Aids’, in his book titled *Techniques of Archaeological Excavation*, London, Anchor Press Ltd., 1979, pp.187-201, 216. See also the two ‘Articles’ by Spaulding, A. C., ‘The Dimension of Archaeology, pp.201-218, and Spaulding A.C., “Statistical Analysis”, in Fagan, B, M., (ed.), *Introductory Readings in Archaeology*, Boston, Little Brown & Company, 1970, pp.219-232.

²⁸⁹ Lewis-Williams is considered as a Cognitive Archaeologist whose duty is to answer questions about the knowledge, purposes, practices, and skills of the people who produced rock art. See Cameron, T., op. cit., p.31. Definition: ‘Cognitive Archaeology’ is the study of past ways of thought and symbolic structures from material remains. It is basically a field that tries to ‘discover’ ‘what people thought in the past, when they thought it, how they came to think it, and how that affected other things. Owen, B., *Cognitive archaeology Introduction to Archaeology: Class 17 2002*, <http://members.aol.com/postquem/32402f17.htm>2002 (Accessed 7th June 2004). For more details on Cognitive Archaeology see the book by Renfrew, C. & Zubrow, E., (eds.), *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994.

²⁹⁰ Norman, D. A., (ed.), “Perspective in cognitive science”, in Norman, D. A., ed., *Perspective in Cognitive Science*, 1981, p.12.

²⁹¹ See Flannery, K., “Cultural history vs. culture process: A debate in American archaeology”, *Scientific American* 217, (2), 1967, pp.120-122. See also Salmon, M. H., *Philosophy and Archaeology*, London, Academic Press, Inc., 1982, p.57.

²⁹² See Dugdale, W., (ed.), *Antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated*, London, Thomas Warren, 1656, p.778.

²⁹³ See also Kelindt-Jesnen, O., “Archaeology and ethnography in Denmark: Early studies”, in Daniel, G., (ed.), *Towards a History of Archaeology*, London, Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1981, pp.15-19.

be attributed to Reinach, though Breuil and Begouen²⁹⁴ popularized it. As already indicated this approach resulted in the birth of the sympathetic magic and fertility interpretations.

Stow²⁹⁵ can be viewed as the pioneer of the ethnographic method in South Africa, followed by Vinnicombe²⁹⁶ and Lewis-Williams.²⁹⁷ The use of ethnographical records of Bleek and Lloyd Orpen and recent ethnographical research on the Kalahari Bushmen²⁹⁸ has resulted in what Lewis-Williams *et al*²⁹⁹ have referred to as, “an inventory of Bushmen’s life, ritual and myths,”³⁰⁰ or as a total “San belief system”³⁰¹ (a social history documentation³⁰²). These rock art images of southern African are associated with trance dance and trance experiences of shamans. They are “all [principally] shamanistic in that they are part of a shamanistic cosmology and are situated on a surface that had meaning within that cosmology.”³⁰³ According to Lewis Williams four categories of Shamans exist: “Medicine men of the game, medicine men of the rain, the curers, and finally those who use their powers to bring sickness to their enemies.”³⁰⁴ Shamans enter the spirit

²⁹⁴ See Ucko P. J. & Rosenfeld A., op. cit., 1967, pp.129, 131. See also Smith B. W., op. cit., 1994, p.16

²⁹⁵ See Stow, G. W., *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, Swan Sonnenschein & Company Ltd., 1905

²⁹⁶ See Smith, B. W., op. cit., 194, p.13.

²⁹⁷ Lewis-Williams, op. cit., 1981.

²⁹⁸ See *African Art: Ancestral Bushman (San) Rock Art (San Ethnography Metropolitan Museum of Art)*, New York (http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/san/hd_san.htm (Accessed 4th June 2003). See also some works that seem to confirm with the records of ethnographical recordings of Bleek by Biesele, M. A. “Folklore and ritual of !Kung hunter-gatherers”, Unpublished PhD., thesis: Harvard University, 1975; Howell, N., *Demography of The Dobe!Kung*, New York, Academic Press, 1979; Katz, R., *Boiling Energy: Community Healing among the Kalahari Kung*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1982; Lee, R. B., *The !Kung San: Men and Women in a foraging society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979 and Lee, R. B. and DeVore, I., (eds.), *Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1976.

²⁹⁹ Lewis-Williams *et al* 1993, p.277.

³⁰⁰ Lewis-Williams & Dowson, op. cit 1989, pp.25-26.

³⁰¹ The rock art are depictions of the material culture, traditions and myths of the San. These include marriage rituals, religious beliefs, weather divination (rain making rituals), and the works of great spiritual healers the shamans.

³⁰² The history of the common people, the history of everyday life in the home, work place, community according to Tosh. See Tosh, J., *The Pursuit if History: Aims, Method and New Directions in the Study of Modern History* (second, ed.), New York, Addison Wesley, Longman, 1997, p. 96. Or negatively put by Tarevelyan: “the history of the people with the politics left out”. See Tarevelyan, G. M., (1950:72), Cited in Tosh, J., 1997.

³⁰³ Lewis-Williams 1998, op. cit., p.89.

³⁰⁴ See Lewis-Williams J. D. “Remarks on Southern San religion and Art”, *Religion in Southern Africa*, Vol 1, (2), July, 1980, p. 22. See also Lewis-Williams J. D., “Ethnographic evidence relating to trance and

world by activating a supernatural force in certain animals that would allow them to enter the ethereal world. The shamans later painted these trance visions (zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, therianthrope, geometric/entopic³⁰⁵), hallucinations, and experiences during altered states of consciousness to portray contact with the spirit world and produce rain, control game animals, and heal people.³⁰⁶

Lewis-Williams further argues that, unlike earlier interpretations³⁰⁷ of rock art which were based on anthropologists' vague and misguided notions of 'primitive mentality' rather than reliable ethnography,³⁰⁸ the 'neuropsychological model'³⁰⁹ was an explicitly anthropological model based upon ethnography, medical science, laboratory findings, and human beings shared neurology.³¹⁰ Southern Africa rock art should therefore be interpreted exclusively in terms of shamanism, because it is associated with San medicine people.³¹¹ The rock art, "despite significant separation in time and space and some linguistic differences...represents a 'pan-san cognitive system'"³¹² of all the 'Later Stone Age' peoples in the entire southern Africa region. The implication of the above holistic/inclusive approach is that the painters had similar cultural beliefs. This is despite the fact that there is a very strong argument in cultural studies that human beings are not

shamans among the Northern and Southern African Bushmen", *South African Archaeological Bulletin* **47**, 1992, p. 56.

³⁰⁵ Lewis-Williams J. D. & Dowson, T. A., 1989, cit., pp.38-59, 60-67, 68-91, See also Lewis-Williams J. D., 1995, p.6, Campbell, C., "Images of War: A problem in San art research", *World Archaeology* 18, 1986, pp.255-68. Zoomorphic— General term for unrecognizable animal figures. Therianthrope — figures with a mixture of human and animal features, and anthropomorphic— human figures. See Lenseen-Erz, T., "Structure and Meaning of the Catalogue used for a survey of rock paintings in the Brandberg, Namibia", *Catalogue* (Case Study G. 10 in Manual Study of the Conservation and management of the rock art of southern Africa— COMRASA), Unpublished, 2001, p.295-296. See also Pager, H., *The Rock Paintings of the Upper Brandberg. Part III. Southern Gorges*, Koln, Heinrich Barth Institute, 1995.

³⁰⁶ Lewis-Williams, J. D. & Dowson, T. A., op. cit., 1989, pp.23-36. See also Lewis-Williams J. D., 1995, p.6.

³⁰⁷ Earlier interpretations here mean sympathetic hunting magic, totemism, fertility art for art's sake etc.

³⁰⁸ According to Lewis –Williams only Bleek's records ethnographical material are reliable.

³⁰⁹ Basically a research method on the representation of figures and shapes perceived during altered states of consciousness.

³¹⁰ Lewis-Williams, 1982, p.430. See also Lewis-Williams, 1988, op. cit., pp.201-204.

³¹¹ Lewis-Williams & Dowson, op. cit., 1989, p.30.

³¹² Lewis Williams, J. D., "Seeing and Constructing: The Making and Meaning of Southern African Rock Art Motif", *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Vol. **5**, No.1, April 1995, p.7. See also Lewis-Williams J. D., "Preparation for transformation: Some remarks on the role of metaphors in San Shamanism", in Sienaert, E. R. & Bell, N. A., *Catching Winged Words: Oral Traditions and Education*, Durban, Natal University, 1988, p.134.

committed in detail by their biological constitution to any particular variety of behaviour (Cultures are learned, rather than inherited biologically).³¹³

What, therefore, Lewis-Williams and others that support the ‘pan-san cognitive/ consciousness’ are basically doing is what Langness identifies as the main problem with researchers who try to produce cultures of people using individuals to represent entire communities. By using individuals to represent entire communities Langness observes that, what these researchers actually do is “...patterning of peoples beliefs and conceptualizations of the past events, rather than the ‘truth or falseness’ of these accounts.”³¹⁴ Benedict³¹⁵ also observes that because of the above approach “People are represented in an imaginative way; they are put in one box and whatever might actually have been common, prominent or not, what could have been mere daily events are turned into major events and cultural traditional religious rituals into myths.” The above is true as Bleek’s informants and the Kalahari San have now become representatives of the rock art painters in other countries in the southern Africa, and have been delegated the authority to tell the artist’s traditional cultural past.³¹⁶



I have absolutely nothing against interpretation *per se*, provided that it is put forward as tentative hypothesis and applied to a limited range of rock art in areas where it is assumed to be ideal. But, like Bahn,³¹⁷ I strongly feel that there is no rationale for fostering

³¹³ Benedict, R., *Pattern of Culture*, Routledge, Kegan Paul Ltd, London, 1971, p.10. See also Thornton, R., op. cit., pp.24-28 and Haviland, W. A., *Cultural Anthropology*, Florida, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1993, p.29.

³¹⁴ See Langness, L. L., *The life History in Anthropology Science (series of studies in anthropological method)* Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965, cited in Pelto, J. P & Pelto, G. H., *Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry*, London, Cambridge University Press 1983, p.76.

³¹⁵ Benedict, R., op. cit., 1971, p.10. See also Thornton, R., op. cit., 1988, pp.24-28 & Haviland, W. A., op. cit., 1993, p.29.

³¹⁶ See Moyer, J., *Step-by-Step Guide to Oral History*, http://www.dohistory.org/on_your_own/index.html (7th June 2003). As observed by Turnbull, for Lewis-Williams and other that use Bleek’s records, for interpreting rock art, the informants gave Bleek a narration of their material culture, and traditions and myths. See Keyan Tomaselei’s review of David Turnbull, *Images of another world* (video-BBC-TV Screened on A & E Ancient Mysteries, Viedo, 1989), Tomaselei, K., “Short Review”, David Turnbull, *Images of another world* (video-BBC-TV Screened on A & E Ancient Mysteries, Viedo, 1989), 1997 <http://www.und.ac.za/und/ccms/amp/reviews/rockart.htm> (7th June 2003).

³¹⁷ See Paul, B., *Stumbling in the footsteps of St Thomas: Rock art scholars are stuck in their drug- culture phase*, Council for British Archaeology, 1998, <http://www.britarch.ac.uk/ba/ba/html> (Accessed 5th May 2003).

simplistic and all-encompassing explanations onto every rock art motif in other countries in the region. I argue that there are no ‘universal explanations’ that can be applied to all petroglyphs and pictographs, as I will demonstrate below and in chapter four.

Like ‘scientific’ approaches, ethnographical analogies have their merits and problems. Researchers (anthropologists, archaeologists, and art historians) “...have long recognized the problems of ethnography and the difficulties of obtaining accurate and understandable information about beliefs, values, and meanings directly from informants who may not be able to articulate meaning or beliefs, may use metaphoric language, may themselves misunderstand cultural symbols, may be disinclined to articulate them, or may intentionally mislead and make false statements.”³¹⁸ The above observation is true as lamented by Lewis-Williams in regard to the unreliability of San’s ethnographic records in early 1970s before he championed its use later in 1981:

Ethnography is fragmentary, extensive as it is, it is of course, not a complete inventory of Bushmen life and belief. More over, the ethnography provides no simple straightforward explanations of the art...³¹⁹

Not only is ethnography criticized for exaggerating the specific cultural importance of rock art in some cases, but also for undervaluing for it. Ethnographic analogies, I argue are laden with various problems. These may range from reliability of the sources, authenticity, selectivity, inclusions, exclusions and silencing of other information by either the source or the researcher. Other demerits in the use of ethnographic records are the issue of authorship, the transitions between language, and the translation from oral to written (rock art interpretations) history.³²⁰ Or worse still: What of the fallibility of human memory?³²¹ What of the human tendency to impose a narrative structure on

³¹⁸ Whitley, D. S., “Prehistory and post-positivist science: A prolegomenon to cognitive archaeology” in Schiffer, M. B. (ed.), *Archaeological Method and Theory*, Vol. 4, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1992, p.76.

³¹⁹ Lewis-Williams, op. cit., 1972, p.64.

³²⁰ Rassool, C., “Local Resistance, Collective Identities and Ordinary experience: Social History and the Productions of Lives in South Africa”, paper presented at UCT., *Problematizing History and Agency: From Nationalism to Subalternity*, 1997, p.16.

³²¹ Human memory is given to error, misconception, elision, distortion, elaboration and downright fabrication. See Keegan, T. *Facing the Storm: Portraits of Black lives in Rural South Africa*, 1988, p.152-62.

events that may not be closely connected? What of the self-serving motives of the storyteller? What of the power relationships between interviewer and interviewee that affect what and how events are reported?³²² “What of the differences between the spoken and written word? What of the inaccuracies that creep into meaning when trying to put a conversation onto paper?”³²³

What about the question of accuracy of the oral life reminiscences, the reliability and validity of the data used or collected? What about the fact that memory, whether individual or collective, is not a mere repository of images, stored in some subterranean gallery of our thought, but the selective reconstruction and appropriation of aspects of the past that respond to the needs of the present?³²⁴, which I believe could have been the case with Bleek’s informants.

Some of the problems I have mentioned above have clearly been demonstrated by Bank³²⁵ in a review of the Bleek and Lloyd’s records which are the basis of Lewis-Williams’ interpretation. Most importantly, he shows clearly how the so-called ‘huts in the garden’ (the space used for interviews of Bleek’s informants), has been created and misrepresented to justify the method of data collection.³²⁶ Lewis-Williams has constantly referred to huts as spaces that were used for interviews, so have Deacon, J. and Watson, S. claims that Bank has clearly proved baseless, as interviews took place in the main house.

Equally made clear by Bank is how the records have been manipulated and misused in the interpreting of southern Africa rock art. Bank also observes that whilst records clearly show that translations of the /Xam text were done “days, weeks, months” or even years

³²² Bank has clearly illustrated the kind of relationship (submissive, resistance oppressive, dominating, interviewee made to perform and so forth) that existed between Bleek and his informants. See Bank, A., (ed.) “From pictures to performance: Early learning at the hill”, *Kronos*, Journal of Cape History **28**, 2002, pp.94-98

³²³ Judith Moyer, J., op. cit.

³²⁴ Rassool, C., Minkley, G. & Witz L., “Thresholds gateways and spectacles: Journeying through South Africa hidden pasts and histories in the last decade of the twentieth century,” paper presented at the Future of the Past Conference, UWC., July 1996, p.14.

³²⁵ Bank, A., op. cit., 2002, pp.66-101.

³²⁶ See Bank, A., 2002, op. cit., pp.68-76.

later,” so was the correction of translations. Lewis-Williams, probably for the sake of authenticating the so-called ethnographic records, claims that translation was done a few days after recordings.³²⁷

The use of ‘visual images’ to elicit data from the informants (that is, asking informants to explain what the pictographs on a photograph represent or mean) is not in itself an alien ‘visual world’ but clearly shows an ‘ethnographic misunderstanding.’ Lewis-Williams has deliberately ignored, the above fact and has instead, insisted that it was the best method to elicit data.³²⁸ For example /A!kunta, an informant who was shown a picture of an euphorbia plant with roots in a picture book identified it as a ‘Zebra.’³²⁹ Note also that Lewis-Williams used a similar method for his ethnographic research on the Kalahari San who did/do not practice rock art nor speak the South African San languages. These San, apart from identifying animals such as antelopes, were in some cases unable to identify human figures and let alone therianthrope figures, yet it is the so-called similarity of the ‘!Kung and San beliefs’ that have been used to interpret southern Africa rock art.³³⁰



I have argued above that “Seeing is not believing and beliefs do not make facts,” just like the Kalahari !Kung saw only animals and not ‘rituals’ in Lewis-Williams’ rock art photographs yet he saw a common shared ‘cognitive culture’, despite the fact that he realized their inappropriateness: “Kalahari ethnography can cautiously be used to fill the twentieth century ethnography.”

³²⁷ See Lewis-Williams, J. D., op. cit., 1981, p.21. The translation by Joseph Millard Orpen of Qing’s explanations of the southern Lesotho paintings (‘People leading a hippo like animal’ site) from San language into Bantu then English clearly shows layers problems of meaning construction. See Orpen J. M., A glimpse into the mythology of the Maluti Bushmen, *Cape Magazine* (N.S.), 9 (49), 1874, pp.1-3.

³²⁸ Bank, A., op. cit., 2002, p.81.

³²⁹ Bank, A., op. cit., 2002, p.89.

³³⁰ See Lewis-Williams J. D., “Seeing and Constructing: The Making and ‘Meaning’ of Southern African Rock Art Motif”, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 5, 1995, p.5, See also Lewis-Williams J. D., op. cit., 1981, p36-37, Lewis-Williams J. D., “Some Aspects of Rock art research in the politics of present-day South Africa”, in Helskog, K. & Olsen, B., *Perceiving Rock art Social and Political Perspectives* 1995, p.328-329. See also Lewis-Williams, J. D., *Reality and Non Reality in San Rock Art*, (Twentieth fifth Raymond Dart Lecture delivered 6th October, 1987), Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press 1988, p.2.

The other serious problem that Bank³³¹ illustrated is that, despite the fact that there existed an imbalance in power relations and a clear master-servant relationship between Bleek and his informants, Lewis-Williams' work presents a cordial relationship and portrays Bleek as a saviour of the San. In 1870 //Kabbo, a /Xam (San) Bushman convict in Breakwater Prison, met Dr. Wilhelm Heinrich Emmanuel Bleek, a linguist from a celebrated scholarly German family. Bleek was there because he had heard that nearly thirty Bushmen were incarcerated there, and knowing that the future of these people was in jeopardy, he wanted to study their language before it was lost. //Kabbo, who was a /Xam shaman, became Bleek's teacher.³³² I wonder whose voices we are hearing in the ethnography: is it those of the informants or those of Bleek and Lewis-Williams?

2.3 Neuropsychology and Shamanism and its implication:

Neuropsychology and Shamanism are subjects of intense debate, especially as to how they are applied in rock art studies at present. Here I wish to add my own idiosyncratic views. First and foremost, defining shamanism is intrinsically problematic, mainly because it is a word (a neologism) for the West, its meaning inevitably universalized and repeatedly re-fabricated.³³³ The word shaman derives from the word *saman*, used by the Tungus people of Siberia, to mean "one who is excited, moved, raised."³³⁴ The word shaman was made into an 'ism' by anthropologists³³⁵ to refer to 'healers' in various cultures who seemed to practise their art in similar ways. "Fascinated by its titillating

³³¹ See Bank, op. cit., 2002, pp.94-95.

³³² See a book review by Texas, A. & M University Press Consortium of J. D. Lewis-Williams' Book: *Stories That Float from Afar: Ancestral Folklore of the San of Southern Africa* (<http://www.tamu.edu/unpress/index.html>), Accessed 20th May 2003. It should be noted here that the informants were still prisoners even at his house (/Akunta was in a grated room and guarded by former prisoner warder with a gun).

³³³ Wallis, R. J., *Virus: Journeying the Politics of Ecstasy: Anthropological Perspectives on Neoshamanism*, <http://virus.lucifer.com/virus/0845.html> (posted Sun Jul 28 2002), Accessed 20th May 2003.

³³⁴ For more details on the history of shamanism, religious rituals, roles of shamans in communities and so forth See Eliade, M., *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* Bolingen Series LXXVI. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1972; Nicholson, S. (ed.) *Shamanism: An Expanded View of Reality*, Theosophical Publishing House, Wheaton, Illinois, 1987 (different articles by different authors); Lewis, I. M., *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession*, London, Routledge, 1989; Halifax, J., *Shamanic Voices: A survey of Visionary Narratives*, New York, P. Dutton, E. P., 1979; Halifax, J., *Shaman: The Wounded Healer*, New York, Crossroad Publishing, 1982; Drury, N., *The Elements of Shamanism*, Longmead, Element Books Ltd, 1989.

³³⁵ Mousalimas, S. A., *Introduction: First Seoul International Consultation: Christianity and Shamanism*, <http://www.oxfordu.net/seoul/intro> (Accessed 20th May 2003).

bizarreness, people have romanticized shamanism, associated themselves with the ‘noble savage’ and are becoming neo-shamans.”³³⁶ No wonder that Wallis has pointed out that ‘Shamanism’ may be one of the most used, abused and misunderstood terms to date in anthropology, archaeology and popular culture. The above I believe is true as it is used by Lewis-Williams and Dowson, as will be demonstrated below.

Abused and probably misapplied in the production of rock art archaeological knowledge is the concept of neuropsychology. Its origins clearly illustrate my contention:

The neuropsychological paradigm arose after imagery [pictograph] in 4,000-year-old Trans-Pecos rock art was interpreted to represent psychoactive plants evidenced in the archaeological context of associated rock shelters. This interpretation hinges on the unproven viewpoint that those plants were consumed in sufficient quantity to result in hallucinatory phenomena, rather than for their known medicinal properties.³³⁷

The above quote raises numerous questions on the origins of neuropsychological paradigm. For instance it is that there is/was no proof to show that the cave was occupied by entirely one group. And if various groups inhabited the cave at various periods it simply means that it is practically impossible to tell which group consumed the plants. Secondly, it would equally not only be illogical but also injudicious to assume that because some occupants took the plants they are the ones that painted the rock art. Like Bednarik’s³³⁸ observation that of all the literature that he has so far consulted on both neuroscience and shamanism; there is no published record of a shaman making rock art, I have equally not come across any.

³³⁶ Shamanism is now taught in different countries an act that is viewed by Hine as cultural imperialism. See comment by Phil Hine during and interview with Gyrus: *An Interview with Phil Hine* by Gyrus, <http://norlonto.net/index.cfm/action/interviews.view/itemID/74/pg/12> (Accessed 20th May 2003).

³³⁷ Jacobs, J. Q., *The Dawn of Prehistoric Rock* (1998), Arhttp://www.jqjacobs.net/rock_art/dawn.html (Accessed 20th May 2003).

³³⁸ Bednarik, R., op. cit., 1990, pp.77-80.

Yet, despite the above defects, Thackeray *et al*³³⁹ used the neuropsychology model to interpret the motifs in the Wonderwerk cave in South Africa, as did Maggs and Sealy in the south-west Cape.³⁴⁰ It is the above model that Lewis-Williams and Dowson took up in the 1980s, developed, and used as a proof for the shamanistic framework. They have even used the Kalahari San to substantiate the shamanism-neuropsychology hypothesis despite the fact that the Kalahari San do not use hallucinatory plants.³⁴¹

Since then, in rock art in southern Africa, according to the above proponents, "...both paintings and engravings [are] were associated with the activities of Bushman medicine people, or shamans."³⁴² "Whatever meaning was encoded in the art, it was essentially, largely or principally associated in some way or ways with Bushmen shamanism."³⁴³ They are "all shamanistic in that they are part of a shamanistic cosmology and are situated on a surface that had meaning within that cosmology."³⁴⁴

I contend that this model is fraught with flaws. Due to pressure on the validity, appropriateness and the applicability of the shamanism and neuroscience models to rock art in the southern Africa, Lewis-Williams and Dowson have openly acknowledged the weakness of their model. In response to numerous criticisms, they have made hasty modifications, which, when critically examined clearly show a number of contradictions and the speculative and inadequacy nature of the model(s) as will be illustrated below.

Whilst the neuropsychological hypotheses holds that all humans ('shamans', non-shamans) in certain states of trance see 'entoptic phenomena',³⁴⁵ it lacks an explanatory

³³⁹ Thackeray *et al*, "Dated rock engravings from Wonderwerk Cave South Africa", *Science* **214**, 1981a, pp.64-67.

³⁴⁰ Maggs and Sealy used neuropsychological model to interpret paintings in the south-western Cape. See Maggs, T. M. O'C. & Sealy J., "Elephants in boxes", *South African Archaeological Society Godwin Series* **4**, 1983, pp.44-48.

³⁴¹ See various works of Lewis-Williams on the Kalahari San

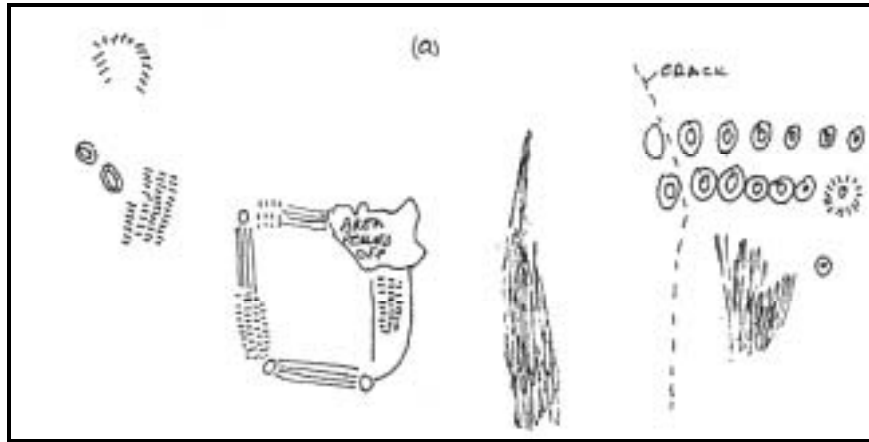
³⁴² See Lewis-Williams, J. D., *op. cit.*, 1981, pp.67. See Lewis-Williams and Dowson, *op. cit.*, 1989, p.30.

³⁴³ See Lewis-Williams & Dowson, *op. cit.*, 1994, p.210, Dowson, T. A., "Revelations of religious reality: the individual in San rock art", *World Archaeology* 20 (1), 1988, pp.116-128.

³⁴⁴ See Lewis-Williams, J. D., *op. cit.*, 1998, p.89.

³⁴⁵ According to Lewis-Williams, and Dowson there are three stages of trance and these include: 'entoptic', the 'construal' and the 'iconic' stage. Entoptic include: zigzags, chevrons, dots, grids, vortexes, and nested U-shapes. See (Lewis-Williams, J. D., & Dowson, T., *op. cit.*, 1989, pp. 60-61). See also Lewis-Williams,

mechanism; it does not explain why the entoptic images were created nor what they mean. For example, if the pictographs from Kasama northern in Zambia (see sketch 4 and tracing 5 of some pictographs from Kasama) were visualized by a ‘shaman’ during a ‘trance’, the above model does not tell us *why* they were executed, let alone their *meaning*. The model equally fails to explain why, for instance the painters of rock art in Kasama, a place which has over 1000 rock art sites out of which more than three-quarters of the sites have geometric figures and less than a quarter are depictions of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures, painted *only* the images they saw in level one (the entoptic stage) and two (the construal stage), and not three (the iconic stage).



III. 4. Sketch of Mwela Rocks, Chishma Central Site, No.26. Sketch of pictographs was done by the writer during the 1992 Kasama rock art survey. If the shaman painted what he/she saw in a trance, the question is what do the above pictographs mean?

J. D., “Discussion and Criticism: On Vision and Power in the Neolithic: Evidence from the decorated mountains”, *Current Anthropology* Vol **14**, Number 1, February 1993, pp.56-57.



III. 5. Tracing of animal pictographs in Mwela Rocks Mwela Pamawmaba Hill Site No.24 (Courtesy of B.W. Smith). If the shaman painted what he/she saw in a trance, the question is what do the above pictographs mean?

In order to show the weakness and problems of the shamanism-neuropsychological hypothesis and its application in the production of rock art knowledge, I have posed a number of questions (in italics).³⁴⁶ The ‘quotes’ are responses from the proponents of the models (Lewis-Williams and his supporters):

- i. *Does it mean that all the ‘geometric forms’ in the southern Africa rock art are generated in trances?*

...it is important to note that the range of entoptic phenomena does not cover all possible geometric forms...³⁴⁷

- ii. Can neuropsychology explain why particular motifs were chosen, let alone what the motifs meant to the artist?

³⁴⁶ Note that the questions above are among the many that have been asked by different researches on the usefulness and validity of use of the shamanism – neuropsychological model.

³⁴⁷ Lewis- Williams & Dowson, op. cit., 1994, p.215.

... [neuropsychology] cannot explain why those particular forms were chosen, what they meant to those who experienced them, or why they were incorporated into a graphic system that was understood by many people in that society.³⁴⁸

iii. *Can neuropsychology tell us why the artists engraved or painted?*

...it would be impossible to defend a ‘total explanation of any sort, for we shall never be able to know what was in each and every painter’s mind.’³⁴⁹

iv. *Why did most of the artists, for instance those of Kasama, paint only geometrics and not zoomorphic or anthropomorphic figures?*

These three stages of the intensified spectrum of consciousness are not ineluctably sequential. Some subjects report being catapulted directly into the third stage, while others do not progress beyond the first. [Hence] the three stages should be seen as cumulative rather than sequential.³⁵⁰

v. *Since all southern Africa rock art according to the model is a manifestation of the ‘pan-san cognitive system’ (a product of universal psychological tendencies³⁵¹) did the painters think in the same way?*



...just which stages of altered consciousness are emphasized and highly valued depend on the social context of an expression of shamanism.³⁵²

vi *If the southern African rock art is shamanistic according to the model, is it exclusively the works of shamans(medicine men /women)?*

The delicate workmanship and sureness of lines that are evident in the southern African rock art suggests that it is unlikely that all shamans painted. At some times and in some places, the making of rock art paintings may have bestowed a privileged status on those that possessed

³⁴⁸ Lewis-Williams, J. D., 1994, op. cit., p.216.

³⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.211.

³⁵⁰ Lewis-Williams, J. D., *The Mind in the Cave: Consciousness and the Origins of Art*, London, Thames and Hudson, 2002, p.130.

³⁵¹ Hall, M., observed that the ‘pan-San cognitive advocated by Lewis-Williams “tend[ed] to be highly reductionist... [and `did] little to advance the understanding of rock art”, See Hall, M., “Understanding the past through material culture”, *Human Sciences Research Council Bulletin* **1**, 1989, p.1.

³⁵² Lewis-Williams, J. D., 2002, p.134.

necessary skills.³⁵³ No one to my knowledge has ever claimed that there are direct statements to the effect that shamans painted the art.³⁵⁴

vii *Did the shamans paint whilst in trance and, if not, is it possible to recall accurately and in detail what one saw in a semi-conscious state(ASC)?*

It does not seem that shamans painted while in deep trance. More probably, they painted while in a 'normal state of consciousness, recalling in their vivid glimpses of the spirit world and making power-filled images of those visions.³⁵⁵

The above quotes show glaring contradictions and inadequacies of the shamanism-neuropsychological model. If the Lewis-Williams acknowledges that entoptic phenomena do not cover all possible geometric forms, nor explain why they were chosen or incorporated into a graphic system and which stages of altered consciousness were emphasized in producing a shamanistic symbol, and let alone the exact meaning then he contradicts himself by advocating for southern Africa a pan-San cognitive system.

Secondly, if it is practically impossible to know what was in each and every painter's mind, then why should rock art be viewed as shamanistic? Thirdly, one wonders what really makes a painting a shamanistic symbol. Is it the going through of the three stages of trance or not? If Lewis-Williams argues that not every subject goes through the stages, one wonders also why should their work should still be considered as shamanistic? It is also contradictory for Lewis-Williams and his supporters to refer to all rock art in the southern Africa as shamanistic when they acknowledge that not all paintings were done by the so-called shamans.

Since the shamanistic model argues that some images (especially zoomorphic and anthropomorphic images) can only be seen when the painter is in the third stage of the altered state of consciousness (ASC), it may be asserted that the painters of Kasama who

³⁵³ Lewis-Williams, J. D., 2002, p.160.

³⁵⁴ Note, the above quote was a response by Lewis-Williams to Willcox's critic of the Shamanism model. See Lewis- Williams, J. D., "Reply to A. Willcox", *Rock art Research* Vol. 12, Number 7, 1990, p.64.

³⁵⁵ Lewis-Williams, J. D., op. cit., 2002, p.160.

painted numerous entoptics did not reach the third levels.³⁵⁶ If this is the case, the model fails to explain why these painters only ended up in levels one and two. And if what is painted from a ‘chain of visions’ in the ASC depends on what is highly valued by the shaman in specific social contexts.³⁵⁷ I do not see how the ‘pan-san consciousness’ postulation can be sustained. I strongly argue that the concept of a ‘pan-san cognitive system’ and its application to the rock art in the southern Africa is not only inappropriate but does not take into considerations different historical context in which rock art is produced. Lewis-Williams does not take into account that “there is considerable intra-cultural diversity in attitudes, feelings and beliefs, and that an accepted social form of expression or action like those embodied in ritual do not imply that actors concerned share the same beliefs or feelings about the ritual.”³⁵⁸ This has clearly been shown by modern anthropology.

Similarly, the above quotations show that the model has no explanation of what was highly valued by the shaman and why. Thirdly, the quotations show the glaring flaws, inappropriateness and the unreliability of the model to the study of rock art. No wonder Bednarik doubts whether entoptic phosphene art is necessarily a function of shamanic ritual, as it may be produced by any number of individuals (not only shamans), but even children.³⁵⁹ No wonder Lewis-Williams and his supporters that see rock art from a shamanistic point of view may be accused of perpetuating racist stereotypes of ‘indigenous peoples’, the notions of the Bushmen as natural peoples and medicine ‘men’ who work a ‘spirit world’ in harmony with nature? The implication, as noted by Ross is that the “the label’ ‘shaman’ negates the diversity of religious practitioners among colonized indigenous nations, and, on the other hand, obscures common practices, based upon human cognitive structures and physiology.”³⁶⁰

³⁵⁶ The model argues that

³⁵⁷ Lewis-Williams, J. D., op. cit., 2002, p.134

³⁵⁸ Seymour-Smith, 1987, op. cit., p.249.

³⁵⁹ Bednarik, R. S., op cit., 1990, pp.77-80.

³⁶⁰ Cited in *Antiquity* ‘Comments’ made by Strong, R., on “Current Problems in Dating Paleolithic Cave Art: Candamo and Chauvet”, in Pettitt, P. & Bahn, P, *Antiquity*, Vol. 77, 295, March 2003, pp.134-141.

The other major weakness of the above model is the assumption that the images seen (zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, entoptic phenomena) in trance by the shamans could later be reproduced on the surfaces of rocks as rock art! But the ability to see, in a semi-conscious state and to be able to reproduce the visions in a normal mental state are totally different activities. Or put in simpler terms, seeing a vision does not automatically turn you into a great artist or give you 'artistic abilities' to reproduce what you visualize.

Since at certain times in painters' careers, important advances are made and these skills may be displayed in the painter's various artworks, does it mean that a shaman can not paint (free style) images from his data bank (brain) but only those images seen in the trance? The model has no explanation, though it insists that all rock art should be seen as shamanistic. As Goodman³⁶¹ has shown, a human being is not a 'robot' but uses all his/her senses when creating rock art:

The eye comes always ancient to its work, obsessed by its own past and by old and new insinuations of the ear, nose, tongue, fingers, heart, and brain. It functions not as self-powered and alone, but as a dutiful member of a complex and capricious organism. Not only how but what it sees is regulated by need and prejudice. It selects, classifies, analyzes and constructs.

In short, Goodman simply argues that 'style' is learned; secondly, the painters of rock art chose what to paint and decided how to paint or engrave (See illustrations 6, 7 and 8 from Kasama which show how the painters decided to depict animals). They selected a set of pictorial conventions, which became the carriage of meaning. And, it is these pictorial conventions that represented the visual, psychological, emotional and probably the spiritual world. The above simply means that even if all people in trance are liable to perceive entoptic phenomena,³⁶² the manner in which painters of rock art encoded the images was culturally specific. This point is well illustrated by Wittkower,³⁶³ who concurs with Goodman and observes that what is painted is sanctioned by habit and tradition. "The work of art itself is a compound of ideas, concepts, sense messages ordered, adjusted and digested in the artist's mind..." The implication therefore is that:

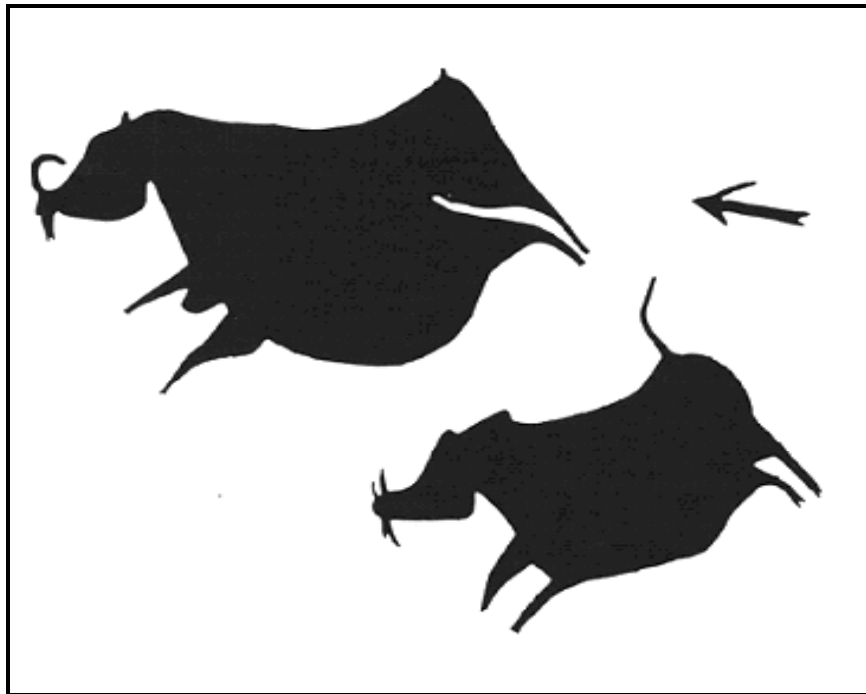
³⁶¹ Goodman, N., *Languages of Art*, London, Oxford University Press, 1969, pp.7-8.

³⁶² Lewis-Williams & Dowson, op. cit., 1989, pp.60-61.

³⁶³ Wittkower, R., *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1976, pp.174.

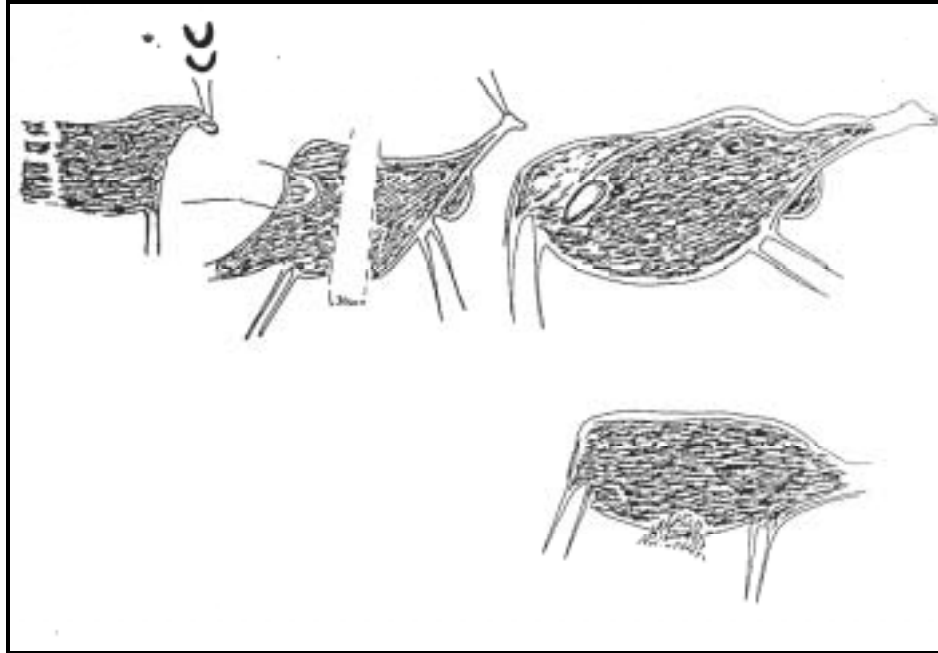
A person who has never seen an elephant cannot interpret this Bushman ideogram ... But even if he possesses the experience, he can only interpret the visual symbol if he knows the conventional or conventionalized formulae used in a particular cultural context Bushman ideogram.³⁶⁴

The assumption that entoptic phenomena in rock art are products of ASC equally reduces the creativity involved in the production of rock art to socio-biological processes and consequently masks variability. Art is learned, it is not genetically inherited; artists make personal choices as regards what to paint or engrave, colours, method of application (by brush or finger), sites, (overhangs or caves) rock panels, and so forth. I am not only skeptical over the inferred biological basis for the representation of entoptic phosphenes, but also strongly feel that the Kasama images below are not products of ASC.

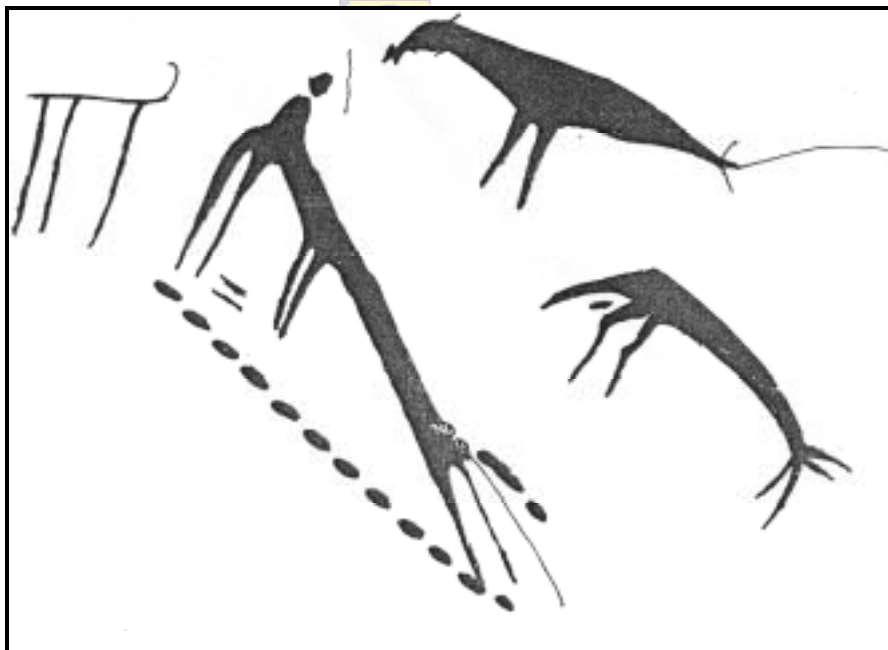


III. 6. Tracing of animals pictographs (Mwankole West Site No. 11), Mwankole Rocks of Kasama (Courtesy of B.W. Smith)

³⁶⁴ Wittkower R., op. cit., 1976, pp.176-177.



III. 7. Fwambo East Hill (Kasama), Site No.2. The sketch of Pictographs was done by the writer during the 1992 Kasama rock art survey.



III. 8. Mwela Rocks Kasama, Nyika Hill site No. 34. The sketch of Pictographs was done by writer during the 1992 Kasama Rock art survey.

The holistic pan-San southern Africa ‘stylistic approach’ is yet another flaw in the neuroscience model. No wonder Bourguignon³⁶⁵ argues that shamanistic experience should be understood within a ‘cultural context’. Whilst it is possible that a shaman may follow a stereotypical sequence of responses during trance, the motifs he/she finally puts on the rock surface are his/her personal choices that reflect specific rock art style in the regions.

2.4 Role of the Rock art Research Institute of Witwatersrand University in interpretation of rock art in Southern Africa

As illustrated in chapter one, research institutions the world over have played major roles in the production of archaeological knowledge. One of these institutions in southern Africa is the Rock art Research Institute (RARI). RARI sprung as unit in 1980 from the Archaeology Department of the Witwatersrand University.³⁶⁶ It is this same body³⁶⁷ which invited Breuil to come and prove that the rock art in southern Africa was the works of the ‘superior race’ the West or Phoenicians and so forth and not the San’. Note that Smuts one of the founders of Bureau of Archaeology believed in ‘cultural and racial purity’ and used the Bureau to avoid contamination from the: “Impure Bushman, or those who posed as Bushman like the “half breeds such as Griquas...”³⁶⁸ Today this institution (RARI) which is tainted with the blood of those it nearly terminated claims to be an institution which tries to challenge the so-called primitive and other stereotyped views of the San and their art work.

This institution endeavours to challenge the “Eurocentric construction of the sub-continent’s past the segregation regime propagated through schoolbooks and other

³⁶⁵ Bourguignon, E., “World distribution and patterns of possession states”, in Prince, R., (ed.) *Trance and Possession States*, Montreal, Bucke Memorial Society, 1968, pp.3-33.

³⁶⁶ In 1935 the Colonial government formed the ‘Bureau of Archaeology’ that became the South African Archaeological Survey in 1944. In 1975 the Archaeology Department was formed and the RARI became a unit of this department. See Lewis-Williams, J. D., “Image and Counter-Image: The Work of the Rock Art Research Unit, University of the Witwatersrand”, *African Arts Autumn*, 1996, p.37.

³⁶⁷ Bureau of Archaeology had become the South African Archaeological Survey

³⁶⁸ See Smuts, J. C., *The Thoughts of General Smuts*, Cape Town, Juta, 1951.

media.”³⁶⁹ Through its various objectives the institute: “seeks to develop understandings of Africa’s rock arts in terms of beliefs, customs, rituals and life-ways. It endeavours, through its numerous publications and other means, to convey to the public, as well as to the academic community, the complexity and subtlety of Africa’s rock arts; it seeks to record Africa’s fast-vanishing rock art heritage through its highly accurate copies and its photographs; it seeks to develop research methods and techniques that are relevant to rock art research worldwide and seeks, through the training and collaboration, to enhance Africa’s capacity to record, study, present, manage and conserve its unique rock art heritage.”³⁷⁰

Whilst it is an undeniable fact that RARI has done extensive research, it is what it refers to as its ‘interpretive framework,’³⁷¹ the shamanistic San-centric approach that it practices which has become the interpretive framework for all the rock art in southern Africa. Despite being cautioned over collapsing all rock art into single explanation by other universities within South Africa such as University of Cape Town,³⁷² the institute has tried to instead imposed its San shamanistic interpretations on the southern Africa rock art.



The institute has produced rock art knowledge, which it refers to as ‘the complexity and subtlety of southern African rock art,’ and has made it official and has managed to filter to it to the ‘public and the academic community’ through publications and other means of dissemination.³⁷³ The complexity and subtlety of the rock art according to the mission statement of the institution include authentic beliefs, customs, rituals and life-ways. Though I have already argued above that culture is dynamic, the institute believes that it can salvage authentic beliefs, customs and rituals. What the institution considers as

³⁶⁹ Lewis-Williams, J. D., “Some Aspects of Rock art research in the politics of present-day South Africa”, in Helskog, K & Olsen B., *Perceiving Rock art Social and Political Perspectives*, Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, 1995, p.318.

³⁷⁰ See Mguni, S., *The Rock Art Research Institute in the new Millennium*, <http://www.wits.ac.za/scinec/archaeology/rari.html> (Accessed 4th June 2003).

³⁷¹ Lewis-Williams, J. D., & Dowson, T. A., *op. cit.*, 1994, p.201.

³⁷² Parkington has warned against collapsing all rock art into single explanations. See Parkington, J., *op. cit.*, 2002, p.12.

³⁷³ See Mguni, S., *op. cit.*

authentic is a selection of certain traditions that it has decided to authenticate as San cultures. Does a pure, intact, living tradition exist out there in the hands of the San in the Kalahari waiting to be recorded by the institute? I argue that whatever the institute has recorded as the beliefs, cultures, and rituals of the painters of southern African rock art is what the Institute has decided to be the 'past'.

The problems with the blanket interpretative model upheld by RARI will further be illustrated in chapter four which is a case study of the Kasama rock art of northern Zambia, but the chapter that follows is a prelude to chapter four. The chapter (three) gives a brief of the Zambia's archaeology and legislation, and also is a brief history of rock art research in that country.



CHAPTER THREE:

ZAMBIA'S ARCHAEOLOGY AND LEGISLATION

The discipline of archaeology is 'bound with the practices and institutions of colonialism'³⁷⁴ Hall concurs with Shepherd and makes it clear that on the whole, "the history [and development] of archaeology in Africa, can best be understood as an interplay between approaches developed and tried out in Europe, and the archaeological record of the different parts of the continent as it has been increasingly developed over the past century and half."³⁷⁵

The above assertion can be illustrated in the development of archaeology not only in Zambia but also in other African countries. For example, research into the prehistoric past research in Zambia, just as in other south-central African countries, has passed through a series of development stages from the time of colonization by Europeans in the nineteenth century.³⁷⁶ Studies of Zambia's archaeological 'past' go back almost to the beginning of the colonial period. Changing patterns of research and models of interpretation have reflected structural changes in the country.

This chapter lays down a theoretical basis for chapter four and five by giving a background of 'archaeological research' and 'archaeological legislation' in Zambia. Since chapter four is specifically on rock art interpretation, a brief of Zambia's rock art research has also been given

3.1 Archaeological Studies in Zambia: Colonial and Post Colonial

Zambia is 752,615 square kilometres in size. It is landlocked and has borders with eight other countries, viz; Angola, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ Shepherd, N., op. cit., 1998, p.8.

³⁷⁵ Hall, M., op. cit, 1996, p.21.

³⁷⁶ See Barham, L. S., op. cit., 2001, p.1.

³⁷⁷ *Zambia Information, Geography*, <http://www.sitesatlas.com/Maps/Factbook/za.html> (4th July 2003).

According to Holmes,³⁷⁸ archaeologically, “...Zambia’s present population lives on lands that have been inhabited by the earth’s forebears for almost uncountable eons. This land, “now known to be one of the cradles of the human race, is the Great Rift Valley, which cleaves the earth from the Lower Zambezi River in Southern Zambia to the headwaters of the River Jordan in Egypt.” Zambia is also mid-way between the two major areas of Africa — Kenya/Tanzania and South Africa where archaeological evidence has been recovered for the earliest stages of human development.

Currently, archaeological research has indicated that Zambia’s prehistoric record extends over at least the 500 000 years that have elapsed since the late Acheulian.³⁷⁹ Though some regions in Zambia remain archaeologically unexplored, the country’s archaeological record is much better known than that of most of its neighbours south of the Sahara.³⁸⁰

By 1900, the known today, as Zambia was made up of two regions namely, North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia and was ruled by the British South African Company (B.S.A.Co.). The amalgamation of the two regions in 1924 resulted in the formation of Northern Rhodesia. In 1924, the B.S.A. Company handed over the administration to the Colonial Office, thus making Northern Rhodesia a British Protectorate. As a British Protectorate, Northern Rhodesia became part of the Central Africa Federation in 1953 and gained independence as the Republic of Zambia on 24th October 1964.

Before archaeological research was conducted in Zambia, it is apparent that the locals in different parts of the country were not only aware of the existence of places or artifacts that were later found to be of archaeological value by researchers but that they associated them with past human groups. For instance, caves and rock art were widely known and

³⁷⁸ Holmes, T., *The History of Zambia*. <http://www.thezambian.com/History> (4th July 2003).

³⁷⁹ See Clark, J. D., *The Prehistory of Africa*, New York, Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1970 and Musonda, F. B., “Aspects of the Prehistory of the Lusemfwá Drainage Basin, Zambia, During the 20,000 years”, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Berkeley, University of California, 1983.

³⁸⁰ See Derricourt, R. M., op. cit., 1976, p.31, Phillipson D.W., *The Later Prehistory of Eastern and Southern Africa*, London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1977.

sometimes associated with past human groups.³⁸¹ Some antiquities such as the Kasamba stream grinding grooves in Luapula province were recognized by Derricourt³⁸² and interpreted. According to the locals, the grooves were footsteps of their ‘Superior being–god’, whilst ‘copper crosses’ dug up last century from Chishi Island were kept as a “valued relic and interpreted as the ‘bed supports’ of the first chief of the local community.”³⁸³

The earliest archaeological research in Zambia goes as far back as 1905 when Zambia was under the British South African Company. Archaeological research was first conducted in the Victoria Falls area based on the reports of the existence of Stone Age artifacts by Fieldon,³⁸⁴ Lamplugh,³⁸⁵ and Balfour.³⁸⁶ This area, especially the river–land gravels of the Zambezi in the Victoria Falls vicinity, yielded the first Stone Age artifacts (which suggested early human habitation) that were reported to the wider world.³⁸⁷ Besides the Victoria Falls area, similar stone artifacts were also noted in Kabwe.³⁸⁸ The findings especially those in the Victoria Falls called for a thorough investigation, and in 1929, Armstrong and Jones,³⁸⁹ with the assistance of Breuil, the French pre-historian carried out extensive archaeological investigations in the Victoria Falls area.³⁹⁰

³⁸¹ Clark, J. D., op. cit., 1950, pp.80-5.

³⁸² Derricourt, R. M., *People of the Lakes: Archaeological Studies in Northern Zambia*, *Zambian Papers* **13**, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1980, p.10.

³⁸³ The above interpretation is according to the ‘oral traditions’ David Livingstone obtained from the locals. See Livingstone, D., London, John Murray, *Last Journal*, 1874, p.315.

³⁸⁴ Felden, H. W., “The Stone Age of the Zambezi valley and its relation in time”, *Nature* **73**, (23 November) 1905, p.77.

³⁸⁵ Lamplugh, G. W. “Notes on the occurrence of stone implements in the valley of the Zambezi around Victoria Falls”, *Journal of Anthropology Institute*, **36**, 1906, pp.159-69.

³⁸⁶ Balfour, H., “Note upon an implement of Paleolithic type from the Victoria Falls, Zambezi”, *Journal of Anthropology Institute*, **36**, 1906, pp.170-1.

³⁸⁷ The Stone Age Artifacts were noted by early writers and discussed in various publications. See Felden, H. W., op. cit., 1905, p.77; Lamplugh, G. W. op. cit., 1906, pp.159-69; Balfour, H., op. cit., 1906, pp.170-1., and Molyneux, A. J., “The physical history of the Victoria Falls”, *Geography Journal*, Jan 1905, p.40.

³⁸⁸ See the works of Chubb, E. C., “List of Vertebrates Remains” (from Broken Hill Man), *Proceedings of Rhodesia Science Association*, 1908, pp.7, 2, 21-23 and White, F., “Further evidence of the occupation of the caves at Broken Hill”, *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association*, 1910, pp.9, 127-128. See also White, F., “Notes on a cave containing Fossilized Bones of Animals, Worked Pieces of Bones, Stones Implements and Quartzite Pebbles in a kopje Zinc and Lead Ore at Broken Hill, North Western Rhodesia”, *Proceedings of Rhodesia Science of Association* **7** (2), 1908, pp.13-21.

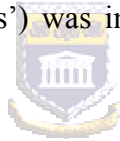
³⁸⁹ Armstrong, A. L., & Jones, N., “The antiquity of man in Rhodesia as demonstrated by stone implements of the ancient Zambezi gravels south of Victoria Falls”, *Journal Royal Anthropology Institute* **66**, 1936, pp.331-48.

³⁹⁰ The Victoria Falls area was later extensively surveyed and test excavation put up. See Derricourt, R. M., op. cit., 1976, p.31.

The 1920s-60s and ten years after Zambia became independent saw the undertaking of numerous archaeological works in both stone (rock art inclusive) and Iron Age.³⁹¹ One of the major archaeological discoveries that Zambia can boast of was that of the Broken Hill Skull associated with archaic hominid, the *Homo rhodesiensis*.³⁹² This discovery brought Zambia's archaeological potential to the attention of the world and stimulated numerous 'archaeological scientific expeditions' by some of the celebrities and the world's professional archaeologists³⁹³ of that era.

Further archaeological research resulted in the dividing of Zambia's Stone Age and Iron Ages into various industries/cultures.³⁹⁴ Basing solely on the techniques of stone working and the shapes of the stone artifacts³⁹⁵ Zambia's Stone Age was divided into three major sequences/industries/cultures viz; Early Stone Age (Oldowan industry), Middle Stone Age (Sangoan industry) and Later Stone Age (Microlithic industry).³⁹⁶

The Early Stone Age or the Oldowan industry³⁹⁷ (an industry associated with 'heavy duty tools, larger flakes and stone hammers') was intensively studied in the Victoria Falls.



³⁹¹ See Derricourt R. M., op. cit., 1976, pp.31-50

³⁹² See Barham, L, op. cit., 2001, p.3., Phillipson D.W., *National Monuments of Zambia*, Ndola, Mission Press 1972, pp.11, 12.

³⁹³ The Italian Scientific Expedition, Cooke S. B. S., and Clark, J. D. (1939), Lowe, C. Van Riet, (1937) Dart, R. A. and Del Grande, N., 1931

³⁹⁴ See Appendix for references on Stone Age works conducted by various researchers in the nine provinces of Zambia from 1900s to the late 1970s in Derricourt, R. M., op. cit., 1976. For works conducted in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, see Musonda, F. B., "Plant food in the diet of the Prehistoric inhabitants of the Lusemfwa Drainage Basin, Zambia, during the 20,000 years", *Zambia Geographical Journal*, 36, 1986, pp.17-27; Smith, op. cit. 1992; Sinkamba F. T. J & Lishiko, B. B., op. cit., 1992, 1994; and Barham, L., "Recent research on the Middle Stone Age at Mumbwa Caves, Central Zambia", in Pwiti, G. & Soper, R., (eds.) *Aspects of African Archaeology: Papers from the 10th Congress of the Pan African Association for Prehistory and Related Studies*, University of Zimbabwe Publications Harare 1996, pp.191-200; Barham, L., Simms, M.J., Gilmour, M., & Debenham, N., "Twin Rivers, excavation and behavioural record", in Barham (ed.), L. S., *The Middle Stone Age of Zambia, South Central Africa*, 2000, pp.165-216; Barham, L. S., & Smart, P., "Early date for the Middle Stone Age of central Zambia", *Journal of Human Evolution* 30, 1996, pp.287-290; Barham, L. S., "Systematic pigment use in the Middle Pleistocene of south-central Africa", *Current Anthropology* 43, 2002, pp.181-190 and Barham, L. S., "Possible early pigment use in south-central Africa", *Current Anthropology* 39: 1998, pp.703-710.

³⁹⁵ See Ucko & Rosenfeld, op. cit., 1967, p.9. See also Derricourt, R. M., op. cit., 1976, p.42.

³⁹⁶ The African "Later Stone Age is the chronological if not the equivalent of the Upper Palaeolithic" whilst the Middle Stone Age of Africa which was once considered to be an equivalent of the Palaeolithic Middle Stone Age is believed to be older than that of Europe. See Chapter 13 of Barham, L. S., op. cit., 2000

³⁹⁷ The name Oldowan is derived from Oldvai gorge in Tanzania where this industry was first recognized.

Further research was also conducted at Kalambo Falls, a site that revealed evidence of the ‘use of fire’ by the early hominids³⁹⁸ of this place.

The Middle Stone Age or Sangoan industry (believed to date to about 50, 000³⁹⁹) is characterized by the occurrences of tools relating to wood working activities. In contrast to Early Stone Age sites, Middle Stone Age sites have fine tools. One of the important areas where this industry was discovered and intensively studied is Kalambo Falls in Northern Zambia.⁴⁰⁰

All the different microlithic industries of the Later Stone Age, viz; ‘Nachikufan II A, B and III’ in identified in Central–Northern Zambia plateau, the ‘Wilton’ found in Southern Zambia, ‘Makwe’ in Eastern Zambia and the ‘Kaposwa’ industry at Kalambo Falls are now believed to have originated from Nachikufan I. This industry has been identified “in a broad belt of the eastern and south–central highlands stretching from Lake Victoria and Southern Kenya, through Tanzania and northern Zambia to the Zambezi.”⁴⁰¹

As with ‘Stone Age’, the result of numerous researches conducted in the Iron Age was a ‘tripartite division’ — Early Iron Age, Later Iron Age and Recent Iron Age.⁴⁰² Although individuals on farms in Zambia had noted Iron Age artifacts, it was only in 1957 that a systematic research into the Iron Ages of the different parts of the country was undertaken.⁴⁰³

The colonial period and the first fifteen years of independent Zambia saw intensive archaeological research. But the 1980s and 1990s has seen very little archaeological research work. The major reasons that can be cited for the above include ‘economic

³⁹⁸ Australopithecines and Homo habilis are hominids associated with this Industry.

³⁹⁹ Phillipson, D. W., 1972, op. cit., p.12.

⁴⁰⁰ Clark studied the Sangoan industry at Kalambo Falls from 1953 to 1966.

⁴⁰¹ Phillipson, D. W., op. cit., 1972, p.13.

⁴⁰² For ‘Typological classifications’ of Zambia’s various Iron Ages, see Phillipson D.W., 1972, op. cit., pp.14-16.

⁴⁰³ See Appendix for references on Iron Age works conducted by various researchers in the nine provinces of Zambia from 1900s to the late 1970s in Derricourt, R. M., op. cit., 1976. See also Katanekwa, N. M., “Radiocarbon dates for Zambia, 1977-1980”, *Archaeologia Zambiana* **20**, 1981, pp.23-24.

reforms' such as the 'Zambianization policy', a policy that saw the replacement of expatriate staff in key positions in both government and parastatal bodies.

The second reason that affected archaeological research in Zambia was the decline of the copper price of Zambia's principal export, and a prolonged drought in 1970s 1980s and 1990s resulting in poor economic conditions⁴⁰⁴ and erratic funding of the National Heritage Conservation Commission (NHCC). A shortage of archaeologists in the country, and the taking up of administrative positions by the few local trained archaeologists, who should have spear-headed research in Zambia, is yet another reason that can be attributed to the decline in research ventures.⁴⁰⁵

The decline of active archaeological research gave birth to a passive kind of research — archaeological reconnaissance surveys.⁴⁰⁶ The 1990s and 2000s despite erratic funding, saw numerous reconnaissances by both local and international researchers.⁴⁰⁷ With the creation of provincial Commission (NHCC) headquarters,⁴⁰⁸ it is possible that active research might be undertaken.



⁴⁰⁴ CIA World Factbook 2002, U.S. Dept. of State Country Background Notes, Zambia–History, <http://globaledege.msu.edu/ibrd/Country History> (4th July 2003).

⁴⁰⁵ Currently, Zambia only has got only seven archaeologists out of which six hold administrative positions and one is retired.

⁴⁰⁶ An archaeological study of identified sites aimed at evaluating their potential eligibility for inclusion into the Zambia National Monuments Register. For other definitions see *ACS Archaeological Consulting Services Phase I Archaeological Reconnaissance Surveys*, <http://acsarchaeology.com/features/phaseI.htm> (Accessed 7 March 2004).

⁴⁰⁷ See Katankwa, N. M., "Development and the Victoria Falls Environment: A Case Study of the Impact of Ill-Planned Development on a Unique Natural Environment", Unpublished paper, Lusaka, NHCC, 1991. Nalomino, N. & Meynell, P-J. *Strategic Environmental Assessment of Development around Victoria Falls, Zambia/Zimbabwe. Parks* 7(2), IUCN & Newbury, U.K. 1997, pp.39-46. See also various unpublished reports at NHCC headquarters — Mwamulowe, K., Chikumbi, D. C., & Lishiko, B. B., "Feasibility Study of the Kafue Gorge Lower-Hydro Electric: An Assessment of Palaeontological and Archaeological Impacts of the proposed Hydro Electric Power Project", Unpublished paper, NHCC, 1996 Chikumbi, D. C. & Lishiko, B. B., "Reconnaissance survey of Archaeological sites in Kalomo District", Unpublished paper, NHCC, 1991, Lishiko, B. B., "Reconnaissance survey of Archaeological sites in Livingstone District", Unpublished paper, NHCC, 1990; Chikumbi, D. C., Sikamba, L.F.J., & Lishiko, B. B., "Phase II Kasama District Re-survey and Research of Rock art and Graffiti Cleaning", Unpublished paper, NHCC, 1994; Chikumbi, D. C. & Lishiko, B. B., *Archaeological sites Rescue Project: Victoria Falls Sun International Hotel Construction site*, Unpublished paper, NHCC, 1996. Lishiko, B. B., "Archaeological sites Rescue Project: Victoria Falls Sun International Hotel Construction site", Unpublished paper, NHCC, 2000; Lishiko, B. B. & Mbewe, R., "Impact Assessment on Archaeological Sites in the proposed Pylons route (Livingstone - Sesheke) Zambia – Namibia - Electricity Export Project", Unpublished paper, NHCC, 2001.

⁴⁰⁸ Since its inception National Heritage Conservation Commission's, work force: the directorate, professional, administrative and technical staffs were based at headquarters in Livingstone. All research and conservation works on the country's cultural and natural heritage were executed by the Livingstone

It should also be pointed out here that, apart from the above type of research, the advent of ‘eco-tourism’ in Zambia in the mid 1990s has promoted yet another kind of research — ‘archaeological site conservation assessments or feasibility studies,’ or what Hall refers to as contract archaeology.⁴⁰⁹

3.2 Archaeological Legislation: Colonial Period

In Zambia, the official protection of archaeological sites or heritage, the Bushmen Relics Proclamation, came very shortly after the creation of Northern Rhodesia in 1911. The main aim of this ‘Proclamation’ was to protect what was referred to as the Bushman or Aboriginal relics — rock art believed to be the works of the so called Bushmen or Aborigines in all the regions under the Company’s jurisdiction.⁴¹⁰

Since 1911 no rock art sites had been discovered in Zambia, Chikumbi⁴¹¹ argues that one of the main reasons for enacting an Act based on the Union of South Africa (countries in the region under B.S.A. Company rule) the merely reflects the desire by the B.S.A. Company to ‘harmonize’ the legislation in all its sphere of influence north of the Limpopo.

The above Ordinance was replaced in the 1930 by the *Preservation of Archaeological Objects Ordinance*.⁴¹² Unlike the previous Ordinance, which only protected so-called

office until 1996, when in line with the Government Public Reform Programme, four regional offices were created – Livingstone (southern and western province) Lusaka (Lusaka, eastern, and Central), Solwezi North Western and Copperbelt), Kasama (northern and Luapula).

⁴⁰⁹ Since it is the responsibility of the ‘eco tourism investor’ to pay the Commission to undertake a feasibility study in the proposed area of development, the Commission has in most cases used these studies to discover or assess the conservation conditions of its archaeological sites in the area under study. For the definition of contract archaeology and how it is practiced in South Africa, see Hall, M., Contract Archaeology in the South African (editorial) *South Africa Archaeological Bulletin (SAAB)* 44, pp.63-4 of December 1989. For general details of contract archaeology, see also *Futures in Archaeology, Is The Past In Your Future? Looking At Careers– Historical* (http://www.sha.org/sha_kbro.htm), 4th July 2003.

⁴¹⁰ *The Bushman Relic Proclamation* 1911, (See Proclamation No.15 of 1912, Northern Rhodesia Gazette, Vol., ii, p.95) signed by the British High Commissioner in Pretoria, later replaced by 1930 *Preservation of Archaeological Objects Ordinance* (See Ordinance No. 5 of 1930, later Chapter 146 of the Laws of Northern Rhodesia) which was also replaced by the *Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics Act*, (or in short the National Monuments Commission) in 1947, (See Ordinance No. 36 of the 1947, later Cap. 90 of the Laws and now 266 of the Laws of Zambia).

⁴¹¹ Chikumbi, D. C., op. cit., 1992, p.5.

⁴¹² *Ordinance No. 5 of 1930*, later Chapter 146 of the Laws of Northern Rhodesia.

Bushman relics (rock art), the 1930 Ordinance provided for the designation of areas of archaeological and palaeontological interest such as caves, buildings, ruins and graves. Some of these areas in Zambia included Mumbwa cave,⁴¹³ which had had been extensively researched in the mid-and late 1930s and 1940s. But, as the case of 1911 Ordinance, no framework or national official body existed to implement the 1930 Ordinance.⁴¹⁴

The establishment of David Livingstone Memorial Museum⁴¹⁵ came about as "...a joint archaeological/anthropological project envisioned by Herbert Young, the then Governor of Northern Rhodesia, in 1934."⁴¹⁶ The museum was to be devoted to archaeology, anthropology, and geology,⁴¹⁷ and was also supposed to "...display archaeological collections and the rapidly vanishing material culture of contemporary Africans."⁴¹⁸ In order to coordinate research and manage the newly acquired collection in the museum, the late J. Desmond Clark,⁴¹⁹ a prehistorian with Stone Age interests, was appointed by the Northern Rhodesia Administration as Secretary of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and curator of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum in 1938. The late 1930s⁴²⁰ saw numerous ethnographical and archaeological studies undertaken. This resulted in the collection of various ethnographical material, stone artifacts and rock art archival materials which were housed at the Museum.⁴²¹

⁴¹³ See Macrae, F. B., "The Stone Age in Northern Rhodesia", *NADA* 1 (4), 1926; Dart, R. A. & Del Grande, N., "The ancient iron smelting cavern at Mumbwa", *Transaction of the Royal Society of South Africa*, 19 (4), 1931, pp.379-427; and Clark, J.D., "Further Excavation (1939) at Mumbwa Caves, Northern Rhodesia", *Transaction of the Royal Society of South Africa*, 29, 1942, pp.133-202.

⁴¹⁴ Derricourt noted that, the 1930 Ordinance "did not give chronological limits or cultural definition' to its application".

⁴¹⁵ This institution was founded in memory of David Livingstone who was the first missionary to see the Victoria Falls in 1851. See Shumaker, L., *Africanizing Anthropology: Fieldwork, Networks, and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2001, p.4.

⁴¹⁶ See Shumaker, op. cit., p, 101.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., p.101.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., p.54.

⁴¹⁹ J. D., Clark a British citizen was born in 1916 in London. He graduated from Christ's College at Cambridge University and died on 14th February 2002 in Oakland, California USA. See Sanders, R. Famed African archaeologist J. Desmond Clark of UC Berkeley has died at the age of 85, Media Relations, 15 February 2002 (http://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/release/20002/02/15_clark.html) Accessed 7th March 2004.

⁴²⁰ Derricourt, R. M., op. cit., 1976, p.34.

⁴²¹ Derricourt, R. M., op. cit., 1976, p.34. See also Shumaker, op. cit., 2001, p.32.

This Museum which later incorporated the Rhodes Livingstone Institute (RLI) was the first social science research institute in Africa in 1938.⁴²² This institute “carried out coordinated research programmes involving several teams of anthropologists and their assistants in Zambia, Nyasaland (now Malawi) and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe”).⁴²³ The institute “...also acted as a locus of fieldwork for an evolving school of anthropology, later known as the Manchester School. The Manchester School became a major force in British social anthropology in the 1950s and 1960s and exerted a strong influence outside the British scene, as well.”⁴²⁴

The institute also “acted as an institutional culture broker in its roles as an interpreter of cultural and social knowledge, situated between Africans and government administrators in the often difficult terrain of colonial policy.”⁴²⁵ For scholars, and researchers, the institute was not only a “...fieldwork out-post for Manchester scholars who wanted to test their theories”⁴²⁶ but also acted as an institution that could be used to test other researchers’ theories.⁴²⁷ Through its association with the Rhodes–Livingstone Museum, the institute also played a role in the collection and display of African material culture to both white and black publics...⁴²⁸



The shifting of the capital from Livingstone to Lusaka in 1935 resulted in the moving of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute but Clark remained in Livingstone at the museum as Director until 1962, when he moved to teach at California University in Berkeley. The RLI, which gave birth to the sociology department at the University of Zambia,⁴²⁹ is now called the Institute of Economic and Social Research.⁴³⁰

⁴²² Shumaker, L., op. cit., 2001, pp.4, 7.

⁴²³ *ibid.*, pp.4, 16.

⁴²⁴ *ibid.*, p.4.

⁴²⁵ *ibid.*, p.14.

⁴²⁶ *ibid.*, p.151.

⁴²⁷ Gluckman (one of the Directors of RLI in the 1940s) wanted to use NR and the RLI to test theories for other Anthropologist or anthropological studies See Shumaker, L., op. cit., 2001, p.79.

⁴²⁸ Note that Colonial Administrators associated to RLI also collected and wrote about every social and natural objects within the range of their district tours including birds, plants, and rare antelope, and as well as marriage customs and ritual objects. See Shumaker, L., op. cit., pp.4, 14, 102.

⁴²⁹ Shumaker, L., op. cit., p.228.

⁴³⁰ *ibid.*, p.231.

The period from 1947 to 1961 saw numerous research works produced especially by Clark in the Victoria Falls area and other parts of Zambia.⁴³¹ But since the museum was established for a specific purpose, which is to store and exhibit movable artifacts, there was a need to establish of an organ that would protect immovable artifacts or sites. A body known as the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics⁴³² or in short the National Monuments Commission, was born in 1948.

This new body, which was literally based on the Southern Rhodesia Act of 1936, replaced the '1930 Archaeological Ordinance.'⁴³³ A Commission empowered to carry out investigations and research into the country's cultural and natural heritage was born from the National Monuments Commission. The Commission also had powers, not only to recommend for the heritage for declaration of discovered heritage as National Monuments⁴³⁴ but also to de-gazette them if need arose. Though the offices of commission were based at the Museum, by 1962 it had become independent of the museum and was under a Secretary/Inspector.⁴³⁵ By the early 1980's the Commission acquired had its own offices in Livingstone, and moved out from the Museum.

The works of the Commission resulted in the documentation of over two thousand prehistoric, historic, traditional and natural sites, the opening of four archaeological field museums and one engineer museum (Railway museum⁴³⁶) and the declaring of over eighty national monuments.⁴³⁷ Numerous ethnographic materials were also donated to Livingstone Memorial Museum, some of which it passed on to five of its provincial museums.

⁴³¹ Derricourt, R. M., op. cit. 1976, p.36

⁴³² *Ordinance No. 36 of the 1947*, Lusaka, Government Printers, 1947.

⁴³³ Derricourt, R. M., op. cit. 1976, p.37.

⁴³⁴ *ibid.*, p.37.

⁴³⁵ For different Secretaries/Inspectors from 1962 to 1979. See Derricourt, R. M., op. cit. p.37.

⁴³⁶ The Railway Museum was declared as a National Monument in 1976 and was officially opened as a museum in 1987. See Phillipson, D.W., op. cit., 1972, p.92.

⁴³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 99-100.

Educational programmes aimed at filtering the archeological historical and anthropological knowledge were put in place. Lectures, broadcasts and films were supplemented by issuing a short guide to Zambia's archaeology, *Digging up History* in six vernacular languages⁴³⁸. A publication titled *Short History of Zambia* written in 1966 by Fagan, B. M⁴³⁹ was yet another conduit that was used to pass Zambia's prehistory to the public.

3.3 Post Colonial: Archaeological Legislation

The *National Monuments Commission* remained the legal basis for the research and protection of Zambia's archaeology until 1989. This Commission ACT received numerous amendments.⁴⁴⁰ In 1964 it became Chapter 266 of the Laws of Zambia, and finally, through the amendment 23 of 1989, became the National Heritage Conservation Commission.⁴⁴¹ Currently, the National Heritage Conservation Commission is the legal body that researches and ensures the preservation of Zambia's cultural and natural heritage. How this 'legal body' endeavours to manage archeological heritage in Zambia is the subject of Chapter five.



As I have constantly argued in the preceding chapters, no matter how professionally archaeology is carried out to produce 'archaeological knowledge', the knowledge produced will always have in it some elements of the politics of academic and heritage institutions, and government. I have also illustrated the fact that, not only were deliberate mechanisms put in place in order to produce this knowledge but also to filter it to the public. In Zambia, the 'official protection proclamations' put in place to protect the so-

⁴³⁸ See Clark, J. D., "Digging up history", Address to Rotary International, Victoria Falls. *Northern Rhodesia Journal* 3, (5), 1958, pp.403-412.

⁴³⁹ Fagan B. M., *Short History of Zambia from the Earliest Times Until A. D. 1900*, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1966.

⁴⁴⁰ Some of the amendments include: 21 of 1953, 21 of 1964, 266 and 497 of 1964, and 70 of 1964 See Derricourt, R. M., op. cit., 1976, p.37.

⁴⁴¹ This Act was assented by Parliament on the 26th December 1989 and is currently the legal national body which undertakes various heritage research Zambia and at the same time preserves the same for posterity. See the National Heritage Conservation Commission Act No. 23 of 1989, Lusaka, Government Printers, Parts II, and I, 1989.

called ‘Bushmen relics’ and the founding of the Rhodes Livingstone Institute and the creation of David Livingstone Memorial Museum in 1937 can suffice as examples here.

Before the involvement of professional archaeologists/prehistorians most of Zambia’s most archaeological research was done by the “colonial administration — engineers, administrators, geologists,⁴⁴² and other interested parties associated with the consolidation of the colonial infrastructure.”⁴⁴³ Similarly, elsewhere in Africa army and medical officer and teachers and priests also participated in archeological research.⁴⁴⁴ The colonial administration during this era established archaeology as an important national science. This was in some ways a political tool which, through various archaeological findings, colonial administrators and settlers effectively used to ignore or denigrate the history of those that it had conquered. For example, the identification of ‘Stone Ages Sequences’ in Africa as a separate entity from the ‘recent prehistory’ of indigenous farmers and pastoralists was used for political domination.⁴⁴⁵



3.4 Zambia’s Rock Art:

As already indicated in chapter two, as in many countries in the southern Africa, the period to which Zambian rock art is attributed is the ‘Later Stone Age.’⁴⁴⁶ This period in Zambia is believed to have begun more than 15000 years ago. Most of the art in this period is believed to be the work of a people that led a nomadic kind of life – hunting and gathering (hunter gatherers) whilst a small percentage especially in the Eastern Zambia is believed to be the works of early farmers. Apart from petroglyphs at Munwa petroglyphic site in Luapula Province all the petroglyphs are considered to be the works of early farmers (Iron Age peoples).⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴² See De Barros, P., “Changing paradigm, goals and methods in archaeology of Franco phone West Africa”, in Robertshaw, P., “A history of African archaeology”, London, James Currey, 1990, pp. 155-72 and Sheppard, P. J., “Soldiers and bureaucrats: the early history of prehistoric archeology in the Maghreb”, in Robertshaw, P., (ed.), *A History of African Archaeology*, London, James Currey, 1990, pp. 178–88

⁴⁴³ See Barham, L. S., op. cit., 2000, p.1.

⁴⁴⁴ Holl, A., “West Africa archaeology: colonialism and nationalism”, in Robertshaw, P., (ed.), *A History of African Archaeology*, London, James Currey, 1990, p.298.

⁴⁴⁵ See Barham, L., op. cit., 2000, p.1.

⁴⁴⁶ See Phillipson, op. cit., 1972, p.8. See also Walker, op. cit., 1996, p.8.

⁴⁴⁷ See Phillipson, D.W., op. cit., 1972, p.39.

3.4.1 Distribution of Zambia's rock art:

Rock art is found throughout Zambia. The distribution of the pictographs and petroglyphs depend on several factors. The main factor controlling the distribution of pictographs is the occurrence of suitable rock especially granite which has proved to produce suitable surfaces (flat and does not flake easily) which allowed people to paint.⁴⁴⁸ Other factors include rock that offers pictographs protection from the sun and rains so that they can survive for any appreciable period of time. Petroglyphs (engravings) are mainly found in the northwestern, Lusaka and Luapula provinces whilst pictographs (paintings) are found in virtually all the provinces apart from the Kalahari sands of the Western province (for distribution see Map 9, Appendix Table 1a and 1b; for percentage of rock art per province see Chart 10, and types 11 and 12).

Though early research work indicates that petroglyphs were mainly found in the western and northwestern parts,⁴⁴⁹ recent research has shown that petroglyphs may occur in any part of Zambia, which lack sheltered surfaces such as flat rocks and boulders.⁴⁵⁰ Research has also shown that the claim by Phillipson that petroglyphs are 'exclusively schematic' is not valid because a petroglyphic site known as Mankombwe located west of Lusaka depicts over eighty percent naturalistic (zoomorphic) figures than schematic. Petroglyphic sites with naturalistic (zoomorphic) have also been equally reported from Gwembe, in southern Zambia and await verification by National Heritage Conservation Commission.⁴⁵¹

3.4.2 Rock art research in Zambia:

Local people in all parts of the country where rock art sites occur could have known of the existence of these sites. For example, the Bemba of northern Zambia referred to the Mwela, Sumina, Mwankole and Namulundu rock art as "God's creation,"⁴⁵² and the

⁴⁴⁸ Cooke, C. K., 1969, p.14. See also Sinkamba, L. F. J. & Lishiko, B. B., 1992, p.15.

⁴⁴⁹ Phillipson, D. W., op. cit., 1977, p.277.

⁴⁵⁰ Two petroglyphic sites were discovered in 1992 in Lusaka – Mankombwe, currently the biggest known petroglyphic site in Zambia (Sinkamba, L.F.J and Lishiko, B. B., op. cit., 1992, p.7).

⁴⁵¹ "South-West Regional Sites Profile", National Heritage Conservation Commission, Sites Reports Unpublished, 2000, p.13.

⁴⁵² See Sinkamba, L.F. J. & Lishiko, B. B., op. cit., 1992, pp.8.

Chewa of the eastern Zambia, who might used the art for their traditional rituals and ceremonies at Thandwe and Mkoma rock shelters.⁴⁵³ It was not until 1912 that two painted caves was recorded in writing in Zamia.⁴⁵⁴

The period from 1912 to 1947 was characterized by research work based on expeditions by researchers outside the country who either examined or reported on paintings.⁴⁵⁵ Lowe⁴⁵⁶ was the first researcher that examined and recorded Nachikufu and Nsalu paintings, whilst Dart, Clark⁴⁵⁷ and Chaplin⁴⁵⁸ examined and reported on the Chifubwa and Munwa engravings. Clark also examined and reported on the paintings at Bimbe, Mbangobe, Nachikufu, Nachitalo, Mwela rocks, and Sakwe, Siakaunda, Simbo and Zawi hill⁴⁵⁹. Chaplin reported on the paintings at Kundabwika falls, Kaboshe, Mwendachabe, Manda hill and Rukuzye, Chitungulu, Ndumbwa, Nyambwezi, Kaleng'guni, Chayingo, Chipangale, Masiya, Mboza, Mkoma and Senzamanja.⁴⁶⁰ The latest research and recording of rock art was done by Phillipson,⁴⁶¹ Smith⁴⁶², Sinkamba, and Lishiko⁴⁶³, and Chikumbi, Sinkamba, & Lishiko, 1994.⁴⁶⁴ For information on the distribution of rock art sites per province see Table I and II in the Appendix.



⁴⁵³ See Smith W., op. cit., 1997, pp.26-27.

⁴⁵⁴ See Cooke, 1969, op. cit., p.14.

⁴⁵⁵ See Katanekwa, N. M., op. cit., 1992a, p.3.

⁴⁵⁶ See Derricourt, R. M., op. cit., 1976, p.33.

⁴⁵⁷ See Clark, J.D., "Nachikufu culture of Northern Rhodesia" *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 5, 1950, pp.86-98; Clark D. J. "The Chifubwa Stream Rock shelter, Solwezi Northern Rhodesia", *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 13 (50), pp.21-24. See also Desmond, J. D., "Schematic art" *South African Archaeological Bulletin* XIII, 1958, pp.72-74; Chaplin, J. H., op. cit., 1962 and Dart, R. A., & Del Grande, N., op. cit., 1931.

⁴⁵⁸ Chaplin, J. H., "The Munwa stream rock-engravings", *South African Archaeological Bulletin* (1959b

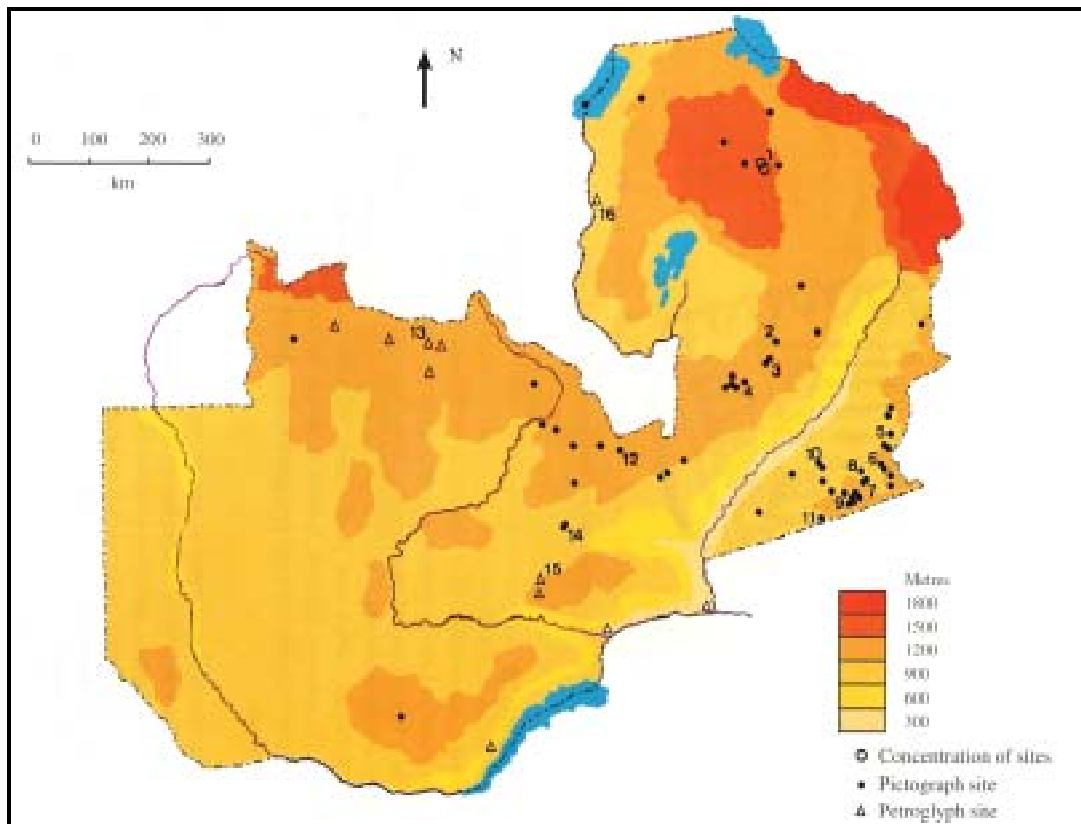
⁴⁵⁹ Clark, J. D., op. cit., 1959b, pp.163-220.

⁴⁶⁰ Chaplin, J. H., "Some unpublished rock paintings of Northern Rhodesia", *South Africa Archaeological Bulletin*, 1960, pp.45-48 and Chaplin, J. H., "Further published example of rock art from Northern Rhodesia", *South Africa, Archaeological Bulletin*, 1962, pp.2-12.

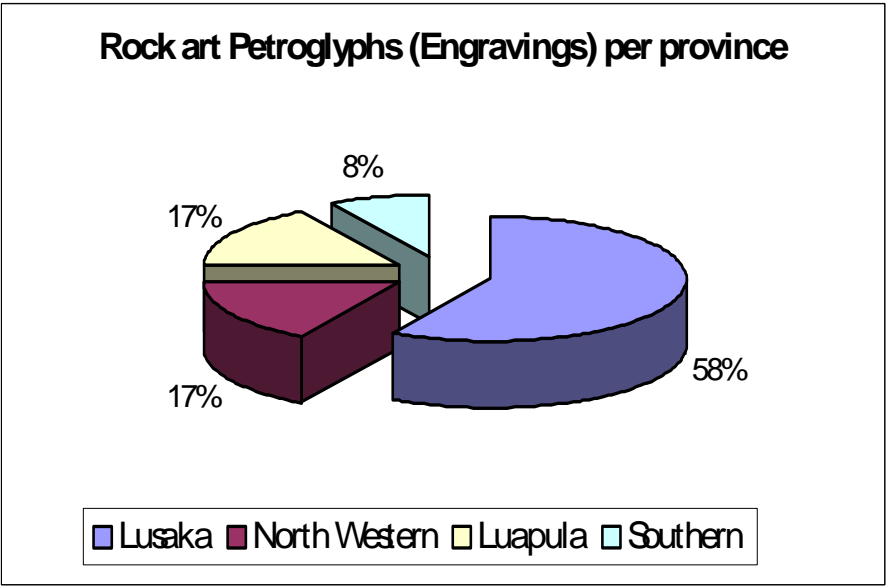
⁴⁶¹ Phillipson, D. W., op. cit., 1972a; Phillipson, D.W., "The prehistory of eastern Zambia", *Memoirs of the British Institute in East Africa* 6, 1976c, pp.1-229; Phillipson, D.W., *The Later Prehistory of Eastern and southern Africa*, London, Heinemann, 1977.

⁴⁶² Smith, B. W., op. cit., 1994.

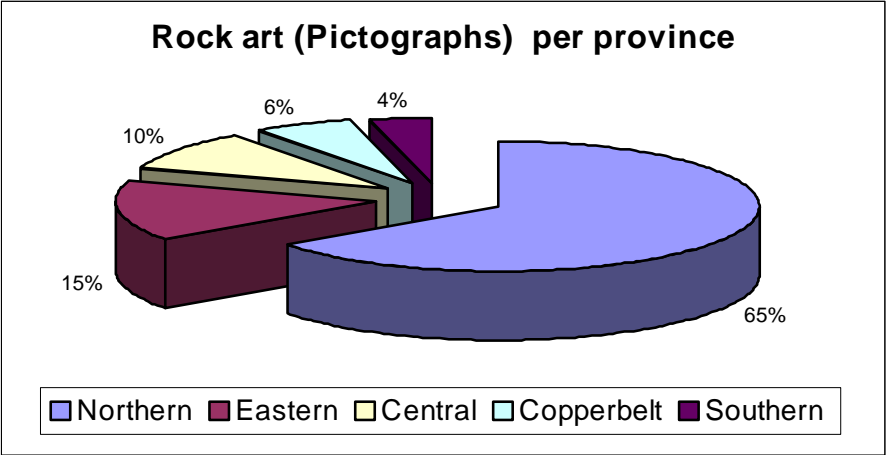
⁴⁶³ Chikumbi, D. C., Sinkamba., L. F. T., & Lishiko, B. B., op. cit., 1994.



III. 9. Map of Zambia showing rock art sites distribution (Courtesy of B. W. Smith)



III. 10. Chart : Graphic representations Pictographs per province



III. 11. Chart: Graphic representations petroglyphs (Engravings) per province

3.4.3 The Executors of Zambian rock art:

Like many countries with rock art, Zambia’s rock art has received various interpretations from a lot of different researchers. Controversies have been over the authors and the meaning of the pictographs or petroglyphs. As already noted that rock art in southern Africa is believed to be the works of the Later Stone Age hunter-gatherers, or the

ancestors of the Bushmen (the San) of South Africa,⁴⁶⁵ it is this art that is used to judge the merit of other rock art in the region. For example Cooke⁴⁶⁶ concluded that Zambia's rock art was 'crude' in comparison to the San paintings and as a result was certainly not the works of the San but Bantu (Early Iron Age peoples). Though Lee⁴⁶⁷ concurs with Cooke that Zambia's pictographs were not definitely the works of the yellow San, he does not believe that they were done by the Bantu but another hunter gatherer group the black San. The black San are what have been labeled as BaTwa by various modern tribes of Zambia, according to Smith.⁴⁶⁸ The identity of the people labeled BaTwa is problematic and will be discussed in depth in chapter four.

Zambia's rock art, according to Smith,⁴⁶⁹ seems to fall into two distinctive major artistic periods, viz, the earlier and later periods. The earlier period is attributed to the Later Stone Age which is believed to have begun more than 15,000 years ago⁴⁷⁰. Whilst Phillipson contends that the paintings of the earlier period could have been done by a hunter-gatherer people of Khoi-San physical characteristics,⁴⁷¹ Smith⁴⁷² believes that the people of Khoi-San physical characteristics were actually a people labeled as BaTwa and he attributes the paintings of this period to this group. The second type of pictographs, referred to as the "Later paintings and occasional engravings, consisting of mainly schematic and geometric designs" by Phillipson, is attributed to early farmers.⁴⁷³ Smith⁴⁷⁴ concurs with Phillipson and indicates that most of the paintings in the eastern province of Zambia are the works of early farmers the ancestors of the present Chewa or Nyanja.

⁴⁶⁵ The above is yet another racial term that was used for describing the so-called San, which I do not agree with. See Smith B. W., op. cit., 1994, p.260.

⁴⁶⁶ Cooke, C. K., op. cit., 1969, p.21.

⁴⁶⁷ Non-South Africa San believed to belong to the Later stone Age hunter gatherers were racially described as Black San' by Lee R. B., *The Dobe! Kung, Case Studies in Anthropology*, New York, CBS College Publishing, 1984, p.10

⁴⁶⁸ Smith, B. W., op. cit., 1997, p.17

⁴⁶⁹ ibid., p.17.

⁴⁷⁰ Phillipson D.W., *Prehistoric Rock Paintings and Engravings of Zambia: Exhibition Catalogue Livingstone National Museum*, Lusaka, Government Printers, 1972a, p.8.

⁴⁷¹ Phillipson, op. cit., 1972a, p.9.

⁴⁷² Smith, B. W., op. cit., 1997, p.17.

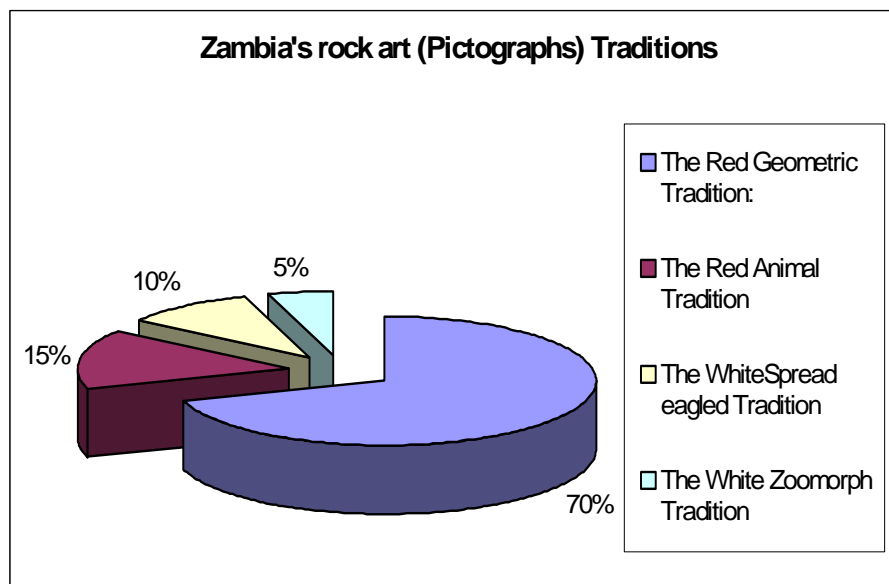
⁴⁷³ See Phillipson, D. W., "Zambian Rock art painting", *World Archaeology* 1972c, **3**: 313-2. See also Phillipson, D. W., *African Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, p.181.

⁴⁷⁴ See Smith, op. cit., 1997, p17.

Similar paintings, Smith observes also exist in central Malawi and adjoining areas of Mozambique.⁴⁷⁵

3.4.4 The Meaning of the Zambian rock art

From the two major categories of referred to as Schematic and Naturalistic⁴⁷⁶ by Chaplin⁴⁷⁷ and Clark,⁴⁷⁸ Smith believes that four traditions are represented: ‘the Red Animal Tradition’, ‘the Red Geometric Tradition’, ‘the White Spread Eagled Tradition’, and ‘the White Zoomorphic Tradition’.⁴⁷⁹ Below is a chart 12 that shows the prevalence of each tradition in Zambia.



Ill. 12. Chart: Graphic representation – Rock art Traditions

Since one of the main issues that chapter four examines is the politics around the production of the above classifications, detailed information on what particular ‘traditions’ mean will be given in this chapter.

⁴⁷⁵ Smith, op. cit., 1997 p.17.

⁴⁷⁶ Schematic are mainly linear motifs, grids, ladders, finger dots, circles or concentric circle. Naturalistic are human or animal representations. See Chaplin, J. H., 1962:45-49 and Clark, J. D., op. cit., 1959a, pp.163-220.

⁴⁷⁷ See Chaplin, J. H., op. cit, 1962, pp.45-49.

⁴⁷⁸ Clark, J. D., op. cit., 1959a, pp.163-220.

⁴⁷⁹ Smith, B.W., op cit., 1997, pp.12-13.

3.4.5 The age of Zambian rock art

Studies of rock art have concentrated largely on iconography and cultural meanings, alongside various attempts to date the art, principally using stylistic methods and distributional approaches.⁴⁸⁰ Whilst more recently ‘archaeometric analysis’, in conjunction with radiocarbon dating using accelerated mass spectrometry (which can be used on small amounts of carbon typically contained in paints),⁴⁸¹ is being used in South Africa, Zambia has not benefited from the above.

But even though Zambian rock art has not been dated, Smith believes that the rock art can be “placed within a calendrical framework.”⁴⁸² This he believes can be done by analysing the extensive overlays of the country’s rock art sites⁴⁸³ and by using archaeological research work findings, linguistic studies and oral traditions.⁴⁸⁴ Based on the above, Smith argues that “5000-7000 years would seem a reasonable estimate for the age of some of the more faint designs in large protected shelters,”⁴⁸⁵ and that these could have been executed by the BaTwa. The later paintings (pictographs only) especially those attributed to the ancestors of the present Chewa or Nyanja of eastern Zambia, Smith argues could be about 1500 years old.⁴⁸⁶ As for engravings (petroglyphs) Smith believes that the “...heavily weathered (petroglyphs), engravings such as those Munwa stream at could be over 10 000 years old” and were probably executed by the BaTwa.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁰ See Yates et al, 1994, pp.29-60.

⁴⁸¹ See Van der Merwe, 1987, pp.56-57, See also Mazel, A. D., & Watchman, A. L., “Accelerator radiocarbon dating of Natal Drakensberg paintings: Results and implications”, *Antiquity* 7, 1997, pp.445-449.

⁴⁸² See Smith, B. W., op. cit., 1997, p.19-20.

⁴⁸³ One such site where the extensive overlays have been used to approximate the age of the pictographs of Zambia is Nsalu Cave in Serenje, Central Zambia. Phillipson D.W., op. cit., 1972, p.4.

⁴⁸⁴ See Smith, B. W., op. cit., 1997, p.19-20.

⁴⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p.21.

⁴⁸⁶ *ibid.*, pp.20-21.

⁴⁸⁷ See Smith, B. W., op. cit., 1997, p.21.

CHAPTER FOUR:

CASE STUDY: THE KASAMA LATER STONE AGE ROCK ART

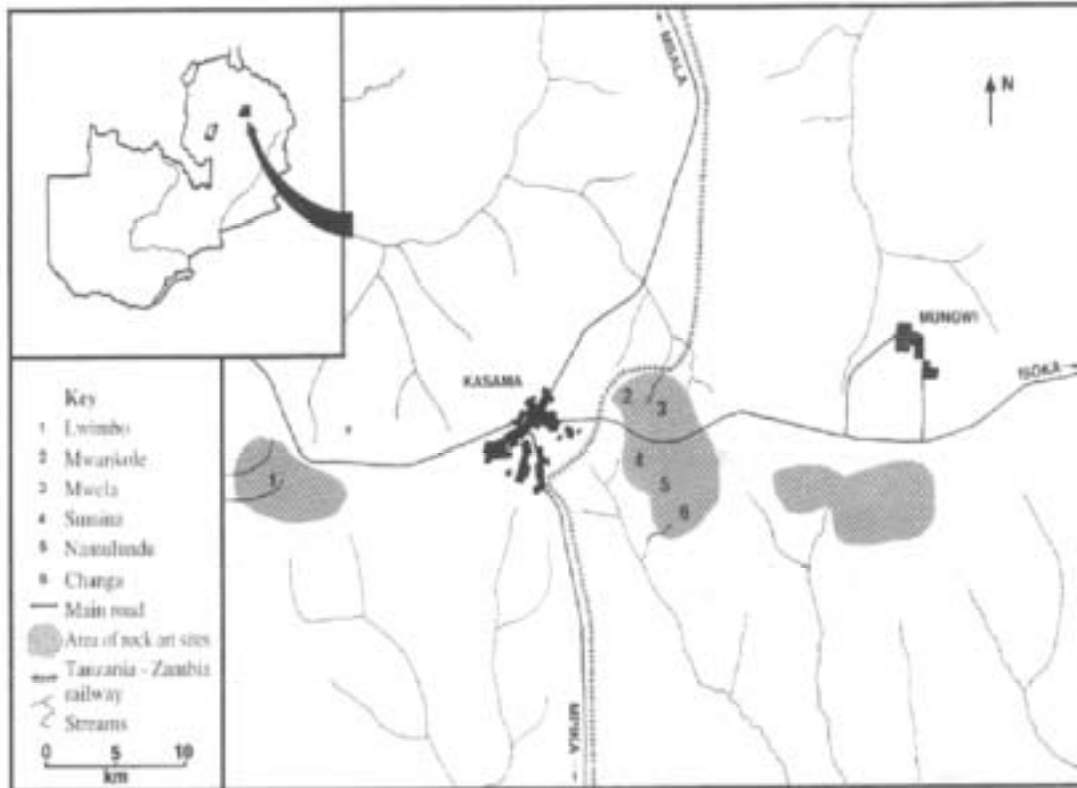
Chapter three gave both the genesis of Zambia's archaeology and the legislation (responsible for research and management of sites) and a brief history of Zambia's rock art research and its management history. Since the current interpretation of Zambia's rock art is based on the rock art research conducted on the Kasama Later Stone Age rock art in 1992, this chapter examines the politics of production of this new rock art knowledge. As demonstrated in chapter two, this chapter also shows the problems with the methods, approaches and hypotheses that were used to produce the current meanings of Zambia's rock pictographs.

4.1 Study Area:

4.1.1 Location:

Kasama town, the administrative capital of Northern Province,⁴⁸⁸ is about 860 km from Lusaka along the line of the Tanzania - Zambia railway. It lies about 1400m above sea level on the latitude 10°13'S and longitude 31° 11' E and can be found on maps 1031 A1 and A2 of the Zambia 1:50,000 topographic map series

⁴⁸⁸ The Northern Province is Zambia's largest province. It covers an area of 147 875sq km respectively about one fifth of the country's total area. See *Zambia Investment Centre: Investment information and opportunities in Zambia*, http://www.zic.org.zm/IPA_Information.asp?hdnGroupID=2&hdnLevelID=9.8 (Assessed on 16 June 2003).



III. 13. Map of Kasama showing the study area (courtesy of Smith, B. W.)



4.1.2 Geology and Topography:

Kasama lies at the top of a narrow granite plateau that runs roughly east west and at an attitude of around 1400m above sea level. To the south the ground drops away sharply by between 100m and 150m; to the north, it slopes away gently. On top of this plateau, to the east and west of the town, are the areas of freestanding quartzite boulders and low hills with rocky outcrops.⁴⁸⁹

4.1.3 Soil:

Kasama District's soils fall roughly in two categories: Leached Sandveldt and Broken hilly country with mainly skeletal soils. The leached Sandveldt class is composed of light sandy loams or loams with an inert clay content that steadily increases with depth.

⁴⁸⁹ Smith, B. W., 1994, op. cit., p.70.

The plateau area falls into a separate soil class division, that of Broken hilly country with mainly skeletal soils which is characterized by much surface rock or laterite crust. Both soils experience saturation due to leaching by excessive rainfall.⁴⁹⁰

4.1.4 Climate:

Kasama has generally a warm and wet climate. It lies within the high rainfall zone of Zambia and has a summer rainfall kind of season, which runs from late October to April. The average annual rainfall is usually between 1200 and 1300mm. Like the rest of Zambia, Kasama has three major seasons — “cool and dry from May to August, hot and dry from September to early November, warm and wet from mid-November to April...”⁴⁹¹ It experiences moderate temperatures, ranging between 15 and 35 degrees centigrade,⁴⁹² and the annual mean temperature is around 20°C. The prevailing winds in this region are from the east and south-east.

Kasama is endowed with numerous rivers (of particular importance is the Chambeshi, which is the biggest) and seasonal streams, which dry up for three to four months at the end of the dry season. “In this period water is available only from the largest rivers and a few perennial springs. The river system has a dendritic pattern, draining southwards and joining the Chambeshi River that flows into the Bangweulu swamps.”⁴⁹³

4.1.5 Indigenous Flora and Fauna:

Before human disturbance Kasama’s natural vegetation would have been *Brachystegia - Isoberlinia* savannah woodland.⁴⁹⁴ It is possible that larger river valleys were made up of open grassland that probably supported a fair diversity of fauna, in particular grazing animals.⁴⁹⁵ Since Kasama has numerous perennial water sources it is possible that in the dry season most of the larger mammals would have moved to these water sources. The

⁴⁹⁰ Smith, B. W., 1994, op. cit., p.72.

⁴⁹¹ *Zambia Geography*, <http://www.lemonline.net/relocct/Zambia.htm> (Accessed on 18th June 2003).

⁴⁹² See *Zambia Investment Centre: Investment information and opportunities in Zambia*, op. cit.

⁴⁹³ Smith B. W., 1994, op. cit., p.72.

⁴⁹⁴ Fanshawe, D. B., *The Vegetation of Zambia*, Lusaka, Government Printers 1969, p.52.

⁴⁹⁵ Smith B. W., 1994, op. cit., p.72.

perennial streams and rivers would have supported a rich diversity of fish, bird and animal life year-round. Since the areas with free-standing quartzite boulders and low rocky hills retain more moisture and so remain damp and green throughout the year, they are especially rich in wild fruits and tubers and would have been a natural focus point for game remaining in the study area during the dry season.

4.1.6 The people of Kasama:

The present population of Kasama District belongs to the Bemba ethnic grouping that forms the second largest grouping in Zambia. The Bemba located in the northeastern part of the country form the largest ethnic group (made up of about eighteen ethnic groups) in the Northern Province of Zambia.⁴⁹⁶

4.1.7 Rock art (pictographs) Location:

The Kasama pictographs area comprises tightly grouped granite outcrops of Fwambo, Mwankole, Mwela East, Mwela West, Namulundu and Sumina. The area of concentration of the rock art is about 10 square kilometres. The pictographs extend from about 4 km outside Kasama town eastwards along the Kasama-Mungwi road on both sides of the road. To the west, the area with pictographs is bounded by the Kasama-Mbala Road.⁴⁹⁷ To the north is the Kabali Stream, to the south is the Zambia-Tanzania Railways (Tazara) line, and to the east is a ridge of the outcrops stretching a distance of about 5 kilometres. Within this area are sacred sites for the local people. Mwela is the local name for wind, which is also the name of the spirit believed to dwell among the rock caves.

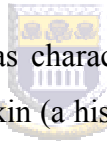
⁴⁹⁶ Maday, E., *Bemba*, <http://emuseum.mnsu.edu/cultural/oldworld/africa/bemba.html> (Accessed on 20th June 2003). For a comprehensive history of the Bemba. See the works of Roberts, A., *A History of the Bemba: Political Growth and Change in north-eastern Zambia before 1900*, London, Longman, 1973

⁴⁹⁷ Sites are found 12 km west along this road. See Kasama Rock art Study Area Map.

The area with pictographs is protected under the National Heritage Conservation Commission (NHCC) Act, Cap 173 of the laws of Zambia⁴⁹⁸ and was declared collectively as a National Monument under Government notice No. 255 of 1964, bearing the name of Mwela.⁴⁹⁹ Part of the area is further protected under the Forestry Act as it falls within the Kasama Forestry Reserve area under the traditional leadership of senior chief Mwamba of the Bemba people.

4.2 Early Rock art Research in Kasama:

The rock art of Kasama was first officially reported by Brelsford⁵⁰⁰ in 1949. He reported concentric circles in red from one boulder in the area now known as Mwankole: “about 4 miles along the Malole road and about a mile in amongst the rocks to the north of the road is an overhanging rock. Under it about shoulder high is a design in red something like this ...”



The period of the 1950s and 1960s was characterised by numerous searches for more rock art sites by a Miss Elizabeth Hodgkin (a history teacher at Kasama Girls' Secondary School), with girls from her history classes. This search, which involved mapping and tracing of sites (only selected sites were traced), brought the number from one site to over two hundred sites by 1960. One site in Mwankole area was excavated by R. M. Smith and L. E. Hodges in 1954 -55. This excavation was one of the 'archaeological pieces of work'⁵⁰¹ that was viewed by delegates of the third Pan African Congress on Prehistory held in Livingstone in 1955. Clark,⁵⁰² the Director of the National Monuments Commission who had equally visited the area a number of times in the 1950s, published the Kasama rock art in 1959. David Phillipson, who took over from Clark after his retirement, also visited some of the sites during the mid-and late 1960s. His exhibition of

⁴⁹⁸ See National Monument under Government notice No. 255 of 1964, Lusaka, Government Printers, 1964.

⁴⁹⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁰⁰ Brelsford reproduced a sketch of a series of concentric circles, which he saw in Mwankole. See Kasama District Book, Northern Rhodesia, 1949, p.15.

⁵⁰¹ *ibid.*

⁵⁰² See Clark, J. D., 1959, *op. cit.*, p.10. See also Clark, J. D., *Northern Rhodesia Excursion Handbook for the Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1955.

Zambian rock art at Livingstone National Museum included some of the sites of Kasama.⁵⁰³

4.2.1 Early Rock art interpretations of the Kasama:

Generally Kasama's rock art was divided into two major categories— Schematic and Naturalistic.⁵⁰⁴ Schematic sites were those motifs executed by either brush or fingers such as parallel lines, circles, concentric circles, ladders, gridirons, ellipses filled with parallel lines, tectiforms, stretched-out hides, and in some cases schematic human figures. Naturalistic paintings were those that had zoomorphic (animal) and anthropomorphic (human) figures.

Apart from describing Kasama rock art in terms of these categories, Hodgkin, Clark and Phillipson used a narrative or descriptive approach to theory to indicate what the motifs meant. For example, Clark described one of the sites in Mwankole area as depicting “finger impressions and lines painted in red by dragging the fingers down the rock face,”⁵⁰⁵ whilst one naturalistic site was described as depicting “a small bird perhaps caught in a trap”⁵⁰⁶ Like Clark, Phillipson described one site in Sumina as a depiction of a “lioness standing over a supine, while a human figure stands nearby apparently levelling a long object, perhaps a spear, at the head of the lioness bovid while approached by a human figure.”⁵⁰⁷ As observed by Smith,⁵⁰⁸ that earlier researchers did not interpret the Kasama rock art but merely stated what they thought the motifs depicted.

As regards authorship of the rock art, Clark⁵⁰⁹ argued that both schematic and naturalistic pictographs were the work of the hunting and gathering BaTwa, but Phillipson⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰³ Phillipson, D.W., 1972a, op. cit., pp.13-15.

⁵⁰⁴ Clark, J. D., 1959, op. cit., p.195.

⁵⁰⁵ Clark, J. D., 1959, op. cit p.197.

⁵⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p.195.

⁵⁰⁷ Phillipson, op. cit., 1972, p.31.

⁵⁰⁸ Smith, B. W., 1994, op. cit., p.186.

⁵⁰⁹ Clark, J. D., op. cit., 1958a, pp.72-74. See also Clark, J. D., 1959, op. cit., pp.163-220 & 231-224.

⁵¹⁰ Phillipson, D.W., “Zambian Rock Paintings”, *World Archaeology*, **8**, 1972b, pp.313-327.

challenged the above assertion and argued that the geometric art belonged to Early Iron Age farmers.

4.3 Recent Kasama Rock art Research:

It was only in 1992 that the first detailed survey and documentation of the Kasama rock art was conducted. This work was done by Benjamin Smith and a team from the National Heritage Conservation Commission (the author was part of this team). The Commission's (NHCC) objective was to locate, record and assess the condition of rock art sites as a basis for future management plans, whilst the objectives of Smith, as a PhD student, were to ascertain the possible identity of the painters and the meaning of the rock art. Smith and NHCC used site recording forms intended to capture what is referred to as Core data standard/essential information (CIDOC) - information relevant to understanding the physical configuration, evolution, and condition of the site, at known points in time, and as bases of decisions made to alter or care for.⁵¹¹ Because of the nature of information Smith wanted for his research his forms had provisions for entering detailed notes describing motif appearance, motif positioning, motif association, motif overlays, site appearance and site positions.

Apart from the use of site forms/record sheets, the other recording method employed was the photographing of sites using Fujichrome 100 professional Daylight Film (colour slide film), and black and white films. Subjects photographed included a general view of the setting of the site and position of the site, general view of painted surfaces, detailed shots covering all paintings, and 'close-ups' of significant features and over-lays of the pictographs. Graphic recording was also used; this involved tracing and making sketches of sites that could not be adequately recorded photographically due to the faintness of the paintings or complex superimpositions.

⁵¹¹ See the Draft international core data for archaeological sites and monuments/Core data standard/essential information (CIDOC) 1995.

The study area included the rock areas both east (Mwela, Sumina, Mwankole, Fwambo, and Mwinemulundu, etc) and west (Lwimbo) of Kasama town, the furthest point from the town being roughly fourteen kilometres (see Kasama map). Follow-up expeditions to Kasama were organized by archaeologists and conservation officers from the National Heritage Conservation Commission in 1994 and 1996. The most recent rock art research in Kasama was conducted by the Conservation and management of rock art of the southern Africa (COMRASA) course participants⁵¹² and National Heritage Conservation Commission in 2003.⁵¹³

Since the landscape was spiritually⁵¹⁴ important according to the locals, apart from physical search and documentation of the rock art sites, oral interviews were done with the paramount chief, senior chiefs, headmen, and the spiritual leader (*Kamina*⁵¹⁵) on the general history and spiritual significances of the Kasama landscape with rock art sites. Since some geometric figures (concentric circles) of some rock art sites resembled those used by the Bemba in girls' rites of passages, the *Banacimbusa*⁵¹⁶ (initiators/principals) were interviewed by the research team in order to ascertain if there was any historical connection between the geometric figures used in their initiations and those in the rock art sites.

The 1992 survey⁵¹⁷ in Kasama resulted in the documentation of about 500 sites (see appendix for sites per area), and subsequent research has pushed the figure to over 800 sites. Using contextual analysis, a (statistical) method of trying to gain an understanding of rock art through the 'examination of the spatial distribution, frequency and placement

⁵¹² Deacon, J., *The Southern African Rock Art Project AFRICA 2009, Final Report Conservation and Management of rock art in Southern Africa (COMRASA) Kasama, Zambia 1-14 July, 2001*, Capt Town, South Africa, 2001, p.8.

⁵¹³ See Chikumbi D.C. Kasama Rock art Documentation, NHHC Report, Unpublished, July, 2003.

⁵¹⁴ All the areas with paintings are named after spirits that are believed to reside in these areas (Mwela, Sumina, Mwankole, Changa mulibwe, Mwine mulundu, etc).

⁵¹⁵ Interviews were done by the 1992 Research team (Smith, Lishiko Sinkamba). *Kamina* is Local name given to a Spiritual leader by the Bemba, See Sinkamba, L.F.J and Lishiko, B. B., op. cit., 1992, p.12.

⁵¹⁶ *Banacimbusa* is a Bemba term for elderly ladies that initiate girls when they become of age. Source: Interview, informant requested to be anonymous, 1992. See also Richard, A., 1956, op. cit., p.56.

⁵¹⁷ Sites located were photographed, sketched and some were traced. See Sinkamba, L.F.J & Lishiko, B. B., 1992, p.5.

of motifs within a site'⁵¹⁸ and imitation/simulation,⁵¹⁹ (a method that analyses the placement of motifs/images on panel and transformation of three-dimensional objects to two-dimensional image) methods it became apparent to Smith that the Kasama Later Stone Age was composed of 'Red Animal Tradition', and 'The Red Geometric Tradition.'⁵²⁰ 'The Red Animal tradition' was defined as being composed of animals very occasionally accompanied by human figures which are overlain by multiple rows of dots. In a large proportion of the figures, the extent of the body form makes it impossible to identify the species. Where the species can be determined, the range of subjects is extensive and includes elephant, rhino, leopard, buffalo, giraffe, eland, kudu, hyena, warthog, wild pig and ostrich. Antelope is the most commonly depicted subject.

Of the two traditions, the most prevalent pictographs in Kasama fall under the 'The Red Geometric Tradition'. These schematic geometric designs include parallel vertical lines, circles, divided circles, circles with radiating lines, concentric circles and half circles. These were applied on rock surfaces by fingertips, a few by brush and some probably by a blunt implement such as a stick. The second group of motifs is naturalistic — animals and human figures. All the Kasama Naturalistic zoomorphic and anthropomorphic were executed entirely in brush-work, and were always accompanied by dots executed by fingers. Zoomorphic figures (animals) were executed in outline. Others were completely filled whilst others were partially filled. A comparison of the Kasama Zoomorphic figures with other paintings in the southern Africa (South Africa, Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe) showed that the Kasama pictographs took the form of a highly realistic shadow silhouette; in others all bodily features were remarkably distorted in some cases making it practically impossible to decipher what species of animals was painted.

The most common colour used by the Kasama painters was red, except for three pictographs that were executed in white.⁵²¹ Ochre or haemitite or certain type of reeds could have provided red, whilst riverine clay, titanium dioxide or zinc oxides could have

⁵¹⁸ See Smith, B.W., 1994, op. cit., p.17.

⁵¹⁹ See Smith B. W. 1994, op. cit. p.21.

⁵²⁰ Smith B. W., op. cit., 1997, p.31.

⁵²¹ These sites are in Mwankole (area 2). See The rock art Study Map of Kasama.

provided white.⁵²² Grinding the above and mixing them with a resinous medium such as animal fat, blood, egg white, or sap finally produced the required pigment.

The research also showed that whilst “sites are spread throughout all the areas, there are a number of particularly dense concentrations. Examples of these include Mwankole, northern Mwela east and west, southern Mwela east and parts of Namulundu.”⁵²³ Almost all the Kasama sites are mere overhanging rock-surfaces rather than shelters, with little or no ground protection and the painted surfaces orientation was not uniform. Clark’s assertion that most rock art sites in Zambia faced eastwards as they provided warmth to the inhabitants is dubious. It can also be argued that, due to lack of ground protection the Kasama sites could not have served as habitation or sleeping sites.

The choice of the Kasama rock painters’ was not influenced by environmental conditions such as water sources nor the protective nature of the rock surfaces from vagaries of wind, sun or rain but rock surfaces that offered suitable smooth (flat) surfaces. Painters made use of boulders with both small and larger suitable surfaces (friezes are all under two square meters in size). Since all the pictographs are found in the peripheries of almost all the rock art areas surveyed except the Sumina Lion Cave,⁵²⁴ Smith believes that the pictographs may have been done for viewing purposes.

Kasama’s paintings constitute more than fifty percent of Zambia’s cultural heritage sites. Regionally (in the whole of the southern African sub-continent), Kasama has the greatest concentration of rock art sites within a radius of hundred square kilometres. The uniqueness of Kasama rock art sites is enhanced by the fact that they are situated in a cultural landscape where there are some rock shelters and caves still being used for ritual practices by the Bemba. A number of powerful spirits are said to inhabit the Kasama rock areas. These spirits have names and particular caves are pinpointed as their dwelling

⁵²² Smith B.W., 1997, op. cit., p.15. Similar material are believed to have been used the painters of the rock art in Zimbabwe. See also Walker, N. I., *The Painted Hills: Rock Art of the Matopos*, Gweru Mambo Press, 1996, pp.23-24.

⁵²³ Smith, B. W., 1994, op. cit., pp.147-148.

⁵²⁴ This site is on a top of a hill in between boulders, which create a cave like structure.

places. They are considered important enough that each rock area is known by the name of the spirit that dwells there.⁵²⁵

4.4 The Politics of Authorship of Zambian rock art:

As pointed out in chapter three, the Later Stone Age rock art in Zambia is believed by Smith⁵²⁶ and Clark⁵²⁷ to be the work of people who have been labelled as Twa, whilst the ‘later pictographs,’ mainly found in eastern Zambia, are believed to be the works of agriculturalists, the ancestors of the present Chewa or Nyanja of eastern province. In reference to the Later Stone Age rock art, the major sources of the assumption are archaeological research and ethnographical material from the living ancestors of the present societies.⁵²⁸ But I strongly believe that like many ethnic identities, the BaTwa or Twa is a construct. In order to understand how this identity was created, there is need to address questions such as: What does the term BaTwa or Twa mean? Who are the BaTwa or Twa? Where are they found? What criterion is used to identify them? What language do the Twa speak? Do they have a distinct culture?



The term BaTwa or Twa can be said to be an equivalent of the term Bushmen, and like ‘Bushmen’ it is pejorative. For example the Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda use the term in derogatory terms — ‘*Nta bwenge bw'umutwa*’ which means a Twa is devoid of intelligence or ‘*Uri umutwa*’ – ‘you are Twa’, is an insult, which actually means “a person of no reason.”⁵²⁹

According to Hall, “the name Twa seems to have been applied throughout southern Africa by the modern tribes to the more primitive Stone-Age men...”⁵³⁰ In Malawi the

⁵²⁵ See Sinkamba, L.F.J and Lishiko, B. B. 1992, p.12.

⁵²⁶ Smith B.W., 1997, op. cit., p.17.

⁵²⁷ Clark, J. D., op. cit., 1959a, pp.163-220.

⁵²⁸ Smith B.W., 1997, op. cit., p.21.

⁵²⁹ Mugarura, B. & Ndemeye, A., *The Experience of The Twa Pygmies of The Great Lakes Region The International Council On Human Rights Policy Geneva*, January 24-25, 2001.

<http://www.ichrp.org/ac/excerpts/53.pdf> (Accessed 1st July 2003). Note that the Bushmen of South Africa were also viewed as devoid of intelligence. See the racial description in chapter two.

⁵³⁰ Hall, R, *Zambia*, London, Pall Mall Press, 1965, p.7.

Twa are called Akafula,⁵³¹ and in the Lukanga and Kafue Flats, Lake Mweru and Bangweulu swamps, of Zambia they were called ‘BaTwa’, whilst those in the western province of Zambia are known as Makwengo. The term ‘Basarwa’ is used in Botswana for the BaTwa. Angola is yet another country where the term Twa is used.⁵³² Similarly, in sub-Saharan Africa, people viewed as primitive Stone-Age men or hunter gatherers are referred to by various names. In Rwanda and Burundi they are called BaTwa, in Congo they are called BaTwa or Mbuti and in south-west Uganda they are referred to as ‘Buyanda’.⁵³³

The wide and ambiguous application of the terms Batwa or BaTwa is problematic and has been questioned by various researchers. For example in the Great Lakes regions, efforts have been made by Mugarura and Ndemeye to distinguish the ‘Batwa’ from and the ‘BaTwas’. They refer to the fishermen as Batwa and refer to those that lived by hunting, by gathering, by fishing and doing pottery are referred as the BaTwa. The above difference or classification is artificial because in a broader sense the “term hunter-gatherer is applied to groups who primarily gain their subsistence from hunting wild animals (marine and terrestrial), fishing and gathering of wild plants and shellfish.”⁵³⁴

In Zambia, Derricourt⁵³⁵ has not only questioned the broad application of the term ‘BaTwa’, which seems to include hunter-gatherers and Iron Age fishermen. Apart from the above he has also questioned the reliability of what is referred to as ‘historical memories of the hunter-gatherer people’ collected by Clark in the 1950s from the Lala of Mkushi, central Zambia on which the identity of the so-called BaTwa is based. He argues that the reliability of the memories is questionable because they were “interpreted at a time when it was assumed that Iron Age was relatively recent, and involve some misunderstanding of the term BaTwa, frequently applied to any outsider group, including Iron Age fishermen today.”⁵³⁶

⁵³¹ Rangeley, W. H., ‘The earliest inhabitants of Nyasaland’, *Nyasaland Journal*, 162, pp35-42

⁵³² *ibid.*

⁵³³ Mugarura, B. & Ndemeye, A., *op. cit.*, 2001

⁵³⁴ Waehle, E., *Indigenous Affairs*, No. 2/2000 (Editorial from the theme issue on Hunter/Gatherers) <http://www.iwgia.org/sw238.asp> (Accessed 28th June 2003).

⁵³⁵ Derricourt, R., 1980, *op. cit.*, p.103.

⁵³⁶ *ibid.*

From the above it is difficult to tell who in fact is BaTwa. Whilst that the term BaTwa seems to be an equivalent of the term Bushmen, a ‘Later Stone Age hunter-gatherer group’, the term BaTwa seems to be applied even to ‘Early Iron Age’ groups. This is clear in Zambia where the ‘Iron Age’ fishermen are called BaTwa as claimed by Jefferey: “Subsistence fishing is also very important on the Kafue Flats, and is undertaken primarily by BaTwa communities...”⁵³⁷ Similarly, Kamweneshe and Beilfuss also refer to those that practice fishing in the Kafue Flats as BaTwa argue that though other groups (Ilas or Tongas) in Kafue Flats are involved in the fishing enterprise it is largely in the hands of the BaTwa.⁵³⁸

The above use of the terms BaTwa implies that, any group of people that decides to live in swampy or marshy areas and predominantly practices fishing automatically become a ‘BaTwa’. But I should also point out here that though rock art in Zambia has been attributed to BaTwa, no research was conducted by Clark or Phillipson, let alone by Smith (1992) to prove or ascertain whether these people practised any form of rock art, let alone recent research by Smith and National Heritage Conservation commission.⁵³⁹



A further confusion also arises on the question of what the BaTwa painted. Whilst Clark attributed both naturalistic and schematic paintings to BaTwa, Phillipson contested this and argued that the schematic paintings (geometric art) were the works of Early Iron Age farmers. Smith believes that Clark’s and Phillipson’s assertions were both correct because most of the geometric art was made by the BaTwa, during the Early Iron Age, the period in which hunter-gatherers and farmers interacted most closely.⁵⁴⁰ If the geometric paintings were as a result of the interactions between the BaTwa and Early

⁵³⁷ See Jeffery, R. C. V., *Wise use of floodplain wetlands in the Kafue Flats of Zambia* in T. J. Davis (ed.) *Towards the Wise Use of Wetlands*, (file 20: case study, Zambia), Ramsar, 1993 (<http://www.ramsar.org> (Accessed 30th June, 2003).

⁵³⁸ See Bernard Kamweneshe & Richard Beilfuss (eds.) *Population and distribution of Wattled Cranes and other large waterbirds on the Kafue Flats, Zambia: Zambia Crane And Wetland Conservation, Project Working Paper No. 1., February,* http://www.savingcranes.org/abouticf/Africa_Program/African_PDFs/WaterWattledCranes/KafueFlats (Accessed 30th June, 2003).

⁵³⁹ Smith did not undertake any research on the BaTwa during his PhD Research (1992) but instead only used Clark and Colson’s ‘oral historical memories of hunter-gatherers’.

⁵⁴⁰ Smith B. W., op. cit., 1994, p.59.

Iron Age groups, Smith does not explain why the interaction should have resulted in the numerous geometric paintings. If the interaction resulted in both (BaTwa, and Early and the Iron Age) groups painting geometric motifs according to Smith, it is almost impossible to tell the identity of the painters when one looks at the geometric pictographs. If the rock art was done by both groups, as claimed by Kashinge who was a chief of the Lunda of Kilwa in 1890, in Luapula province of Zambia, that rock art was not only made by the so-called BaTwa but also by his people⁵⁴¹ also does not tell us what kind of images his people made.

One also wonders why for instance if the early farmers in Kafue dislodged BaTwa from their land, no rock art sites exist on the Kafue flats despite a presence of hills in the vicinity. Similarly, the Makwengo, in western province, never practiced any form of rock art. I strongly believe that if the so-called BaTwa (the Makwengo) in this area were painters and since the area did not have good painting surfaces, they probably would have engraved on flat rock surfaces in the vicinity instead of painting. I argue here that probably the main basis for the above assumption is that these groups were fishermen or hunter-gatherers, but does being a fisherman or hunter-gatherer automatically turn you into a rock artist, or “People of San physical type...”,⁵⁴² or “little people” according to the oral traditions collected by Cunison⁵⁴³ from the local people of the Lower Luapula?

The people who are labelled as BaTwa today are no different from other ethnic groups in the various countries they live in. For example, the BaTwa of Rwanda speak ‘Kinyarwanda’, a language spoken by all the Rwandans; in Burundi, they speak ‘Kirundi’ a language spoken by the local Burundian population. In the Democratic Republic of Congo and in Uganda, they speak the language of other groups of people that live with them.

⁵⁴¹ Derricourt, R., 1980, op. cit., p.12.

⁵⁴² Phillipson D.W., 1972, op. cit., p.9. Note also that, the racial descriptions of these (Zambian) groups are similar to those of the counter parts in South Africa, Namibia and Botswana. The Twa were described as ‘short of stature, black skinned and were remembered as fine hunters with the bow and arrow, a people with wrinkled skin of their stomachs...’

⁵⁴³ Cunison, I. G., “History on the Luapula”, *Rhodes Livingstone Papers* 21, 1951, p.31.

In Zambia the people labelled as BaTwa speak languages that other ethnic groups speak in these areas. For example the BaTwa of Lukanga swamps speak 'Lenje', those in the Kafue flats speak 'Ila', 'Tonga' and 'Sala' and those in Bangweulu and Mweru swamps speak 'Bemba'. In Malawi the BaTwa also speak the languages that are commonly spoken by the ethnic groups in these area.

4.4.1 The Painters of Kasama rock art:

Despite the numerous problems I have mentioned above about the identity of the BaTwa, Smith still attributed the Kasama rock art to the BaTwa. Due to contradictory archaeological evidence over whether some rock art was done by some Early Iron Age peoples, Smith argues that the Kasama rock art shows that the BaTwa practiced two traditions of art, schematic and naturalistic. The main basis for his assertion is the oral traditions collected by 'Clark and Colson from Zambia, and Rangely'⁵⁴⁴ from Malawi. He also argues that the pictographs are works of BaTwa because "modern day informants are adamant and emphatic that both Animal and Geometric arts belonged to the hunter-gatherers they call BaTwa". And the fact that this "art is found in greatest abundance in those districts where oral traditions and colonial records concur that the BaTwa survived most recently" is also used as a proof that the painters were BaTwa.

Smith also argues that the fact that "both arts are found in abundance in remote parts of central Africa that were poorly suited to agriculture and which were thus not settled until the latter half of the Late Iron Age (such as Mwanza District in Malawi and parts of Chadiza and Serenje [Kasama] Districts in Zambia)"⁵⁴⁵ implies that the pictographs were the works of the BaTwa. He further argues that the BaTwa are definitely the painters of rock art in Zambia because historical reports indicate that, like the South African Bushmen, the BaTwa also displayed a thieving behaviour.⁵⁴⁶ I do not agree that the so-called thieving behaviour can be used as a basis for the painters being BaTwa because

⁵⁴⁴ Colson collected 'oral traditions' from the plateau Tonga in Southern Province in Zambia who actually differentiated the BaTwa from the Bushmen Makwengo. See Smith, B. W., 1997, op. cit., p.59. See also Smith B. W., 1994, op. cit., p.255.

⁵⁴⁵ Smith B. W., 1994, op. cit, p256.

⁵⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.59.

what is referred to as a ‘thieving behaviour’ was not inherent in the San or those referred to as Later Stone Age peoples. The other reason for assuming that Kasama rock art is the work of the BaTwa is that the geometric designs in Kasama are similar to those painted on barks by the modern Pygmy of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.⁵⁴⁷

The last strand of evidence that Smith uses to assert that the Kasama Later Stone Age pictographs are the work of the BaTwa is that “Both Bushmen and Pygmies share the BaTwa feature of short stature.”⁵⁴⁸ This, he claims, is clearly illustrated by the small size of ‘handprints’ of Muso Hills in Mpika District in Northern Province.⁵⁴⁹ I argue that the handprints could have been made by anyone not necessarily a MaTwa; it could have been made by a child or anyone from pastoralist or farming communities. No skeletal remains of a MuTwa have been found in this area, let alone in Kasama.

During our research in 1992 the interviews with the Bemba headmen and chiefs (all of them in their late nineties) on the question of authorship clearly showed that they had no idea of who the Kasama Later Stone Age rock art painters were, nor did their forefathers have any interaction with them.⁵⁵⁰



4.5 From Pictographs to performances: The Meaning of Kasama rock art

According to Cole “...symbols such as rock art images are most likely to be meaningful when examined within the contexts of time, place, culture and society and with the knowledge that symbolism is part of information exchange or communication systems and acts to express and reinforce social identities.⁵⁵¹” In other words: “when we cannot observe x but we can y, which is sufficiently like it, we can hope to infer things about x

⁵⁴⁷ See Smith, B.W. 1997, op. cit., p.47.

⁵⁴⁸ Smith B. W., 1994, op. cit., p.258.

⁵⁴⁹ During our 1992 Kasama rock art Documentation Smith and I traced the Hand Prints images of Muso Hill.

⁵⁵⁰ Source: Method Kaonga and Headman Nsata on 5th December, 2002 (Field Notes and audio tapes with Researcher). See also Sinkamba, L.F.J & Lishiko, B. B., op. cit., 1992, p.6

⁵⁵¹ Cole, S. J. Legacy on Stone: Rock Art of the Colorado Plateau and Four Corners Region, Boulder, Johnson Books, 1990, p.37.

based on observations of y.⁵⁵² Unfortunately the Kasama Later Stone Age rock art research by Smith lacked the above requisite. It lacked any surviving traditions that relate specifically to the pictographs and there are also no modern Bemba rituals that use or evoke the rock art or its symbolism.⁵⁵³

Whilst the cultural context situation makes it difficult to interpret rock art, Smith⁵⁵⁴ nevertheless based his interpretation of the Kasama Later Stone Age rock art on what he referred to as the two major ethnographical sources: “artistic traditions among surviving forager cultural groups from the neighbouring countries” and “traditions and customs held by modern agro-pastoralist cultural groups.”⁵⁵⁵ By studying ‘artistic traditions’ and analyzing the traditions and customs, Smith argues that the ‘red geometric tradition’ pictographs could be interpreted under two broad themes: ‘weather divination and fertility.’⁵⁵⁶ The ‘red animal tradition’ is believed to depict a trance scene.

4.5.1 *The Weather Divination Interpretation:*



Whilst Smith’s weather hypothesis tries to offer possible meanings of some geometric paintings of Kasama it also raises interesting interpretive concepts that prove impossible to test. The main basis for interpreting the geometric pictographs of Kasama as weather divination symbols, according to Smith, is that the pictographs appear to resemble meteorological phenomena (See Fig 1).⁵⁵⁷ The other reason for the above interpretation is that some of the rock art sites in central-southern Africa (eastern Zambia at Katolola B, Dedza in Malawi and Gwanda in Zimbabwe) have been used as rain shrines by the ancestors of agro-pastoralist cultural groups. But I should point out here that whilst ethnographic parallels can help to interpret rock art, I concur with Ucko and Rosenfeld

⁵⁵² Taçon, P. C. S., & Chippindale, C., ‘The Archaeology of rock art through informed methods and formal methods’, in Chippindale, C. & Taçon, P.C. S., (eds.) *The Archaeology of Rock Art*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.8.

⁵⁵³ The 1992 interviews ‘we’ conducted with the locals of Kasama during the Kasama rock art research revealed the above. See Smith, *Ancient Rock art*, p.30.

⁵⁵⁴ Smith B. W., 1994, op. cit., p.286.

⁵⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁵⁶ Smith B. W., 1994, op. cit., p.286.

⁵⁵⁷ Smith, B. W., 1997, op. cit., p.43.

who observe that “...similar artistic outputs [expressions] from two cultures [different cultural groups] do not imply identical significance and causes.”⁵⁵⁸ This observation applies to the Kasama Later Stone Age.

Since the Bemba also used the landscapes with the BaTwa pictographs and since Smith has claimed that some of the rain ritual practices may have been copied from the BaTwa, I decided to conduct some interviews the descendants of the Bemba on the above subject. My research, conducted in 2002 and 2003 showed that, whilst the people of Kasama used the landscape with pictographs for ‘rain rituals’ or rain divination in the early 1960s and late 1970s, they did not recognize the importance of the pictographs in anyway in their rituals. Secondly, they indicated that they did not go to this landscape because of its numerous pictographs but because they believe that the spirits of their ancestors dwell in some ‘sacred places’ within the landscape.⁵⁵⁹

My research in the ‘rain ritual ceremonies’ of the Bemba showed that the Bemba ‘invoked ancestral’ help and guidance in order to perform rituals for good rains and harvest. The same was done when the Bemba were befallen with calamities such as famine. The research conducted by Richards on land, labour and diet among the Bemba also shows that the Bemba asked for help through their ancestors.⁵⁶⁰ It also became apparent from the interviews that at no time did the Bemba worship for rain using what Smith calls ‘weather divinations symbols’ — geometric motifs. Rain rituals were actually ‘sacrificial.’ A man (the spiritual media locally called *Kamima*)⁵⁶¹ who had spiritual powers to invoke rains would conduct the rain ritual. He would sacrifice maize, millet, sorghum, cassava, and groundnuts⁵⁶² and a white chicken, all from the chief’s palace. The agricultural produce and the chicken would be left at the sacred site for the ancestral spirits whilst the red and white stripes of cloth would be tied on any branches of a tree

⁵⁵⁸ Ucko & Ronsfeld, op. cit., 1967, op. cit., p.153.

⁵⁵⁹ Source Interview with Headman Nsata and Danistan Cubwa, of Kasama, 10th December, 2002.

⁵⁶⁰ See Richards A. I. *Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, London, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp.363, 367, 370.

⁵⁶¹ A *Kamima* (a male) comes from clans within the Bemba ethnic groups that were gifted with the power to communicate with the dead (ancestral spirits) residing in these landscapes.

⁵⁶² See Sinkamba, L.F.J and Lishiko, B. B., 1992, op. cit., p.15.

around the site. During the ritual, *Kamima* would call upon the ancestors (ancestral invoked include chiefs and any great spiritual persons)⁵⁶³ of the Bemba:

Our great chiefs (mwambas), mothers, fathers, sisters and brothers who went before us, help us with rains. During your time your bin stocks were full of food, you had enough to eat because you had good rains. We do not have rains. You, the spirits of our land, send us rains this rain season so that we may not perish. In case we have annoyed you, our ancestors, please forgive us and accept our sacrifice. We believe that you, our great ancestors, have heard us and you will help us.⁵⁶⁴

My work indicated that all Zambia's ethnic groups had/have rainmaking rituals. I conducted interviews on the same subject with different language groups: the Tonga of southern province, Lozi of western province, Ngoni of eastern province and Luvale of north western province. In these ethnic groups, there were people or clans that had special powers to invoke rains. All the rain rituals involved some kind of sacrifice of crops, chicken (white in colour), cattle and goats (black in colour). All rain rituals did not involve drawing or painting of any symbols either on the ground or on rock panels.⁵⁶⁵ These rain rituals also had a dress code. For example, the Bemba used white and red materials whilst the Lozi and Tonga used black. Lastly, the success of any rain ritual was followed by ceremonies (not at rain ritual shrine) at the king, chief or headmen's palace.

Kasama Later Stone Age pictographs do not support the claim made by Smith⁵⁶⁶ that some agriculturists (including the Bemba) who once interacted with the BaTwa used their services in rain ritual divinations which were performed in larger rock shelters, because none of the Kasama geometric pictographs are in larger rock shelters. Some of them are in places which are impassable due to a chain of boulders. The traditional ritual sites (or shrines) that were used by the Bemba are not rock shelters nor caves (see illustration 14).

⁵⁶³ Interview with Mr. Geoffrey Kasonde of Namulundu Village, Kasama, 6th December, 2003).

⁵⁶⁴ Interview with a Mr. John Chanda who was over 70 years old, 10th December 2002).

⁵⁶⁵ Interviews with the following: Mr. Chepaua Kashinka, (a Lenje) —the Vice President of Zambia Traditional Healers Association, 1st August, 2003; a Luavle traditional healer, Mr. John Kandengu, 2nd August, 2003; a Lozi traditional healer Mr. Sianga Simbotwe, 3rd August, 2003 a Nguni traditional healer, Lazarus Phiri, of Libuyu Township, 4th August, 2003 and Mr. Fanwell Mweembe, (a Tonga), in Monze, Bwengwa Village, July, 14 July, 2003.

⁵⁶⁶ Smith, B. W., 1994, op. cit., p.288.

Does it mean that before the agriculturists came into contact with the BaTwa they did not have anyone amongst them who had the powers to evoke rains? I argue that, whilst the Kasama Later Stone Age geometric pictographs show what have been interpreted by Smith as meteorological symbols such as moons, suns, and rain drops, and that they imply ‘weather symbols’ according to Smith, the ethnography gathered by me through interviews with the ancestors of pastoralists nor the present generations of the Bemba does not support the weather divination interpretation. These groups indicated that whenever they wanted rains they conduct special rituals that involved sacrifices and not painting the so-called weather symbols on rocks. One also wonders why the Bemba who Smith claims copied the rain ritual practices from the BaTwa did not paint geometric motifs in their rain rituals shrines.



III. 14. One of the Bemba Shrines in Mwankole
(Shrine not in a cave) Courtesy B. W. Smith

The foregoing clearly shows that the hypothesis that Smith uses to interpret the Kasama Later Stone Age rock art does not only fail to explain the geometric pictographs but also lacks explanatory antecedents. For instance, what did the BaTwa paint before they painted metrological symbols for weather divination? Or “did this symbolic system arise

spontaneously, or did it evolve from some other artistic complex?”⁵⁶⁷ Does it mean that weather divination was only a domain of BaTwa and not agriculturists (the Bemba in this case)?

4.5.2 The Fertility Interpretation:

The ‘fertility interpretation’, as already mentioned in Chapter Two, falls in the sympathetic magic interpretation framework. The fertility interpretation proponents believed that some animals were painted for procreation purposes in the landscape. For instance, animals of opposite sex that were ‘following each other closely’ were interpreted as symbolizing copulation,⁵⁶⁸ or were viewed as performing reproductive rites.⁵⁶⁹ Viewed also as symbolizing fertility were animals with swollen stomachs.⁵⁷⁰ The result of the rites was that there would be an increase in the number of animals in the artist’s landscape. A similar view was held for some anthropomorphic figures.⁵⁷¹

The fertility hypothesis above has been criticized to the extent that researchers such as Ucko and Rosenfeld have discarded it on the grounds that there are very few animal pictographs that depict scenes of copulation, animals showing carrying young ones in their wombs and sexual organs. Secondly, Ucko and Rosenfeld also contend that the fact that anthropological research in southern Africa has shown that in some communities such as the San infanticide was practised⁵⁷² contradicts the claim that pictographs were executed for procreation or fertility purposes.⁵⁷³

Despite the fact that the fertility hypothesis, based on the appearance of zoomorphic, anthropomorphic and geometric designs has been discredited and alternative

⁵⁶⁷ Souders, P., op. cit.

⁵⁶⁸ See Ucko & Rosenfeld, 1967, op. cit., pp.130, 184.

⁵⁶⁹ Graziosi, P., *Palaeolithic Art*, New York, McGraw Hill, 1960, p.131.

⁵⁷⁰ See Ucko, & Rosenfeld, 1967, op. cit., p.184.

⁵⁷¹ Graziosi, P., 1960, op. cit., p.184.

⁵⁷² Ucko & Rosenfeld, 1967, op. cit., pp. 224-239.

⁵⁷³ *ibid.*, p.230.

interpretations have been coined,⁵⁷⁴ Smith still decided to interpret the Kasama Later Stone Age geometric motifs such as concentric circles as symbols of fertility⁵⁷⁵ (See illustration 15).



III. 15. Concentric circles interpreted as symbols of fertility by B. W. Smith (photograph taken by writer, December 2002)

The basis for this interpretation is that “the Bemba of northern Zambia draw geometric circles on the walls of the girls’ initiation hut during the *chisungu* ceremony.”⁵⁷⁶ Secondly, Smith cites the works of Redinha whose work claims that concentric circle designs were used as fertility tattoos by one ethnic group in northeast Angola,⁵⁷⁷ and the works of Prins and Hall, which claim that the Venda of Northern Province used similar designs to symbolize fertility.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁴ For Lewis-Williams, J. David, and Thomas Dowson, Geometric designs are associated with shamanism and not fertility. See Lewis-Williams, J. D., and Dowson, T. A., “The Signs of All Times: Entoptic Phenomena in Upper Paleolithic Art”, *Current Anthropology* **29**, 1988, pp.201-245. See also Clottes, J, & Lewis-Williams, D., *The Shamans of Prehistory: Trance and Magic in Painted Caves*, Harry N. Abrams Inc., New York, 1998, pp.120.

⁵⁷⁵ Smith, B.W., 1997, op. cit., pp.45-46. Note also that the geometric motifs have also been used as weather symbols by Smith.

⁵⁷⁶ Smith used the works of Audrey I. Richards on the Bemba *Chisungu* initiation ceremony and our 1992 research on the same *chisungu* ceremony.

⁵⁷⁷ Smith, B.W., 1997, op. cit., p.45.

⁵⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.45.

Before I look at Richards' work as an ethnographic source used by Smith as evidence for interpreting geometric motifs as fertility symbols, let me look at our 1992 research. Our work (Smith, Sepeti and I) showed that the woman (*Nachibusa*) in charge of the initiation not only knew a thing about the existence of concentric circles in the rock art study area, but also their meaning. Ten years later I got similar responses from totally different three *Nachibusa* I interviewed.⁵⁷⁹ The absence of concentric circles (in the photograph taken by Smith of the motifs⁵⁸⁰ on the wall of her hut clearly supports the above (see illustration 16).



III. 16. Chisungu initiation paintings on the wall of an initiation shelter photographed by Smith in 1992 in Luyeye Township of Kasama (Courtesy of B.W. Smith).

⁵⁷⁹ Interview with *Nachibusa* (1) of Kasama Village, Informant requested to remain anonymous, 4th January 2003; *Nachibusa* (2) of Luyeye Village, Informant requested to remain anonymous, 5th January 2003 and *Nachibusa* (3) of Munthali Kasama) informant requested to be anonymous, 6th January, 2003.

⁵⁸⁰ I have used the word motif because the designs on the wall did not only depict geometric symbols but included recognizable images of hoes, axes, plants, human figures, snakes, birds and animals.

A comparison of motifs between Richards'⁵⁸¹ work and our work showed that, apart from the picture of guinea fowls which Richards says was painted on the wall of the initiation huts, the other motifs were totally different from the motif in the Kasama 1992 initiation hut. The painted motifs in Richards' work, besides the guinea fowl, included butterflies, eyes, owl; beans and some whitewash,⁵⁸² and 'fish and a *musuku* tree,'⁵⁸³ whilst those in the Kasama 1992 initiation hut included hoes, axes, plants, human figures, snakes, birds/guinea fowl, animals, sun, moon, straight lines and letter V shapes, crocodile? and a plus sign with a cross on it. Apart from these differences, the other major difference between Richards' work and the Kasama 1992 work is that, whilst the Kasama context did not have any figurines or models, Richards' work shows that clay figurines/ models were made.⁵⁸⁴

The differences in motifs/models not only show a 'rite of passage' of the same ethnic group performed in a totally different context but also that the meaning could be different. The fact that different motifs carried diverse meanings became apparent in my research in 2002. Using the photographs with motifs from the 1992 research, I showed the photograph of *chisungu* to three⁵⁸⁵ 'rites of passages mistresses' in Kasama. The three women indicated to me that the 'rite of passage' (*chisungu*) turned a girl into a woman by teaching her all the ingredients⁵⁸⁶ she needed in order to be a woman and look after her husband, children and other members in the society, or, put in another way, it "reflected tribal attitudes to sex, fertility, marriage, and the rearing of children, and celebrated the

⁵⁸¹ Richards conducted research on the *chisungu* among the Bemba in 1956. See Richards, A. I., *Chisungu, A Girl's Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia*, London, Faber and Faber Ltd, 1956.

⁵⁸² Richards, A. I., 1956, op. cit., p.80.

⁵⁸³ *ibid.*, pp.24, 25.

⁵⁸⁴ Richards' work shows that the following were molded: Snake, guinea fowl, bed, shelter and screen, a squat, round female form. For specific meanings of the models also see: Richards, A. I., <http://www.uwc.ca/pearson/SOCANT/year25/chisungu.htm> (Accessed 25th September, 2003).

⁵⁸⁵ *Banaacibusu* are usually old women of over 50 - 70 years and in a radius of about 10 km in Kasama I identified only three.

⁵⁸⁶ These ingredients were illustrated through songs, demonstrations, paintings on the wall of the initiation hut and clay models. Source: Interview with *Nachibusu* (1) of Kasama Village, Informant requested to remain anonymous, 4th January 2003; *Nachibusu* (2) of Luyeye Village, Informant requested to remain anonymous, 5th January 2003 and *Nacibusu* (3) of Munthali Kasama) informant requested to be anonymous, 6th January, 2003.

attainment of sexual and social maturity.”⁵⁸⁷ It should also be noted here that this rite of passage is undertaken for different purposes besides the above. Some of these purposes include “to make the rains fall”, “bring peace to the village,” and “take anger from men’s hearts.”⁵⁸⁸

As regards the purpose⁵⁸⁹ and ‘meaning’⁵⁹⁰ of individual motifs, they were interpreted as follows: The hoe and axes symbolized essential tools for agricultural purposes which every homestead in the village was supposed to have, including that of the initiate. I should point out here that a hoe in Richards’ work was interpreted not only as a tool that the girl needed to know how to use, but as a husband who was ready to cultivate the prepared garden — the girl.⁵⁹¹ The snake motif was said to warn the initiate that she needed to be faithful in her marriage because other men are like poisonous snakes and would break her marriage.⁵⁹² Human figures were meant to show the initiate that a marriage was a ‘bond’ not only between her and the husband but included other people.⁵⁹³ The moon was a warning to the initiate that when she was having her menstrual period she should not put salt in her husband’s food, as it would make him sick.⁵⁹⁴ Since a crocodile symbolizes an emblem or a totem of the Bemba (the Bemba

⁵⁸⁷ “Chisungu: A Girl’s Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Zambia”, *Editorial Review/Book Description*, <http://www.amazon.com/Richardsbooks&vi=reviews> (Accessed 25th September 2003).

⁵⁸⁸ Richards, A. I., op. cit., 1956, p.112.

⁵⁸⁹ They were used for instructing the initiates in their new status. See Maybury-Lewis, D., *Tribal wisdom Is it too late for us to reclaim the benefits of tribal living?* http://www.geocities.com/pippin_ph/culture.htm (Accessed on 25th September 2003).

⁵⁹⁰ Meanings were said to be diverse depending on the *nacibusu*. See Richards, A. I., 1956, op. cit., pp.52-112.

⁵⁹¹ Richards, A. I., op. cit., p.102.

⁵⁹² Besides the above meaning I got (Interview with *Nachibusu* (1) of Kasama Village, Informant requested to remain anonymous 4th January 2003; *Nachibusu* (2) of Luyeye Village, Informant requested to remain anonymous 5th January 2003 and *Nacimbusu* (3), of Munthali Kasama) informant requested to be anonymous, 6th January, 2003), Richards’ work shows that “it was a symbol of manhood”. See Richards’ work on other meanings of a snake. Richards, A. I., op. cit., 1956, p.87. Note that all three the *Nacibusu* I interviewed though in different places did not probably find it necessary to tell me (a male) that the hole was a symbol of manhood probably considered it sacred or inappropriate.

⁵⁹³ The initiate in marriage was supposed to take care of the husband’s relatives, hers and non-relatives as they were considered as part of her family in the Bemba cultural tradition. Interview *Nacimbusu* (3), (of Munthali Kasama) informant requested to be anonymous, 6th January, 2003.

⁵⁹⁴ Note that the belief that a if woman who is having a menstrual period puts salt in relish of not only the husband but other members of her family would make the members sick is held by almost all the seventy three ethnic in Zambia. Interview with *Nachibusu* (2) of Luyeye Village, Informant requested to remain anonymous 5th January 2003.

refer to themselves as “People of the Royal Crocodile”, or *Beni Ngandu*),⁵⁹⁵ in this ritual it symbolized a man who would provide everything, just as the chief did for his people.⁵⁹⁶ The V and straight lines were said to be mere decorations, whilst the sun was meant to teach the initiate the importance of time management. The initiate was expected to sweep her yard early in the morning (0600hours) and prepare a bath for the husband and meals on time.⁵⁹⁷

The different motifs of an initiation ceremony of the same ‘ethnic’ group, the Bemba, not only carried ‘different meanings’⁵⁹⁸ but represented different cultural contexts.⁵⁹⁹ For example, whilst the hut in Richards’ 1956 work had a ‘round white-wash mark’ on the wall where the bridegroom aimed with an arrow and if he hit the target he would claim the girl as a wife,⁶⁰⁰ the hut in 1992 did not have a round white wash. My inquiry into the absence of the round mark on the wall from my interviewees was that it was an indication that the girl who was passing through *chisungu* was not engaged or betrothed.⁶⁰¹ They are also indicated that since it had become common to initiate the girls even if they were not betrothed or engaged, there was no need to paint the round mark.⁶⁰²



It is evident from the above findings that the ‘inclusion or exclusion’ of certain designs during *chisungu* imply that meanings of designs changed, depending on the surrounding social and pictorial context. A look at Smith’s interpretation of the Kasama Later Stone

⁵⁹⁵ For more details on how a Crocodile was adopted as a Totem or as an emblem of the Bemba see: *Zambia: Watch Out For The Ngandu*, <http://sunsite.icm.edu.pl/untpdc/incubator/africahp/zmb/ngandu.htm> (Accessed on 27th September 2003).

⁵⁹⁶ See Richards, A.I., op. cit., 1956, p.103.

⁵⁹⁷ Interview with *Nachibusa* (1) of Kasama Village, Informant requested to remain anonymous 4th January 2003

⁵⁹⁸ Richards indicated that the meaning of the motifs depended on the *nacibusa* or rite of passage mistress. See (1956) *CHISUNGU A girl's initiation ceremony among the Bemba of Zambia*. *Datra (Bahamas)*, *Sara (Manitoba)*, *Sereana (Fiji)*, *Sethunya (Botswana) Year* <http://www.uwc.ca/pearson/SOCANT/year25/chisungu.htm> (25 March 12, 199).

⁵⁹⁹ See Cole, S. J. *Legacy on Stone: Rock Art of the Colorado Plateau and Four Corners Region* Johnson Books, Boulder 1990, p.37.

⁶⁰⁰ Richards, A. I., op. cit., p.107.

⁶⁰¹ Interview with *Nachibusa* (1) of Kasama Village, Informant requested to remain anonymous, 4th January 2003; *Nachibusa* (2) of Luyeye Village, Informant requested to remain anonymous, 5th January 2003 and *Nacimbusa* (3) of Munthali Kasama) informant requested to be anonymous, 6th January, 2003.

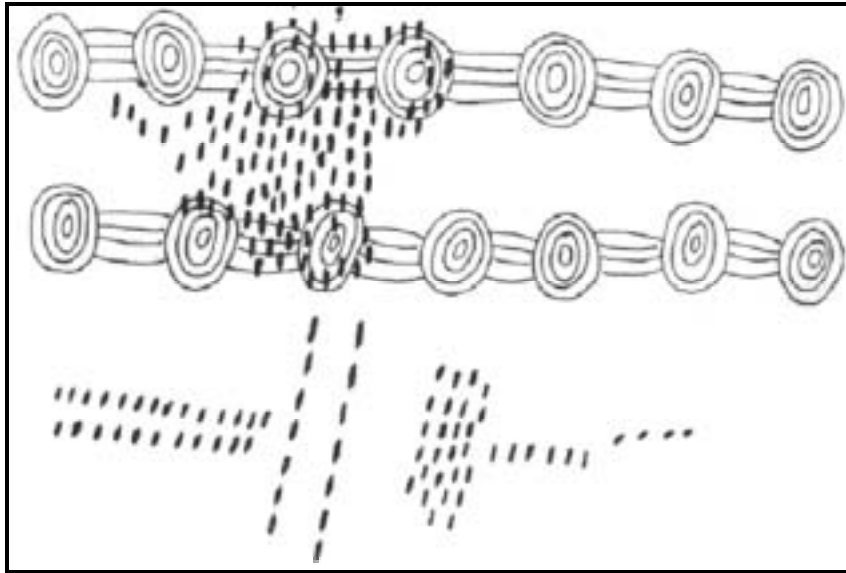
⁶⁰² Interview with *Nachibusa* (1) of Kasama Village, Informant requested to remain anonymous, 4th January 2003; *Nachibusa* (2) of Luyeye Village, Informant requested to remain anonymous, 5th January 2003 and *Nacimbusa* (3) of Munthali Kasama) informant requested to be anonymous, 6th January, 2003.

Age pictographs not only shows that he reduced or collapsed the entire ritual into a ‘fertility rite’ but that he also selected and placed emphasis on fertility as a subject matter to the obvious compromise of other subject matter, resulting, in a total failure to interpret the pictographs. The *chisungu* rite is not merely a fertility ritual as purported by Smith but as clearly pointed out by Gouldsbury and Sheane⁶⁰³ in 1911, “...the older women instruct the young girl as to the elementary facts of life, the duties of marriage, and the minute rules of conduct, decorum, and hospitality to be observed by a married woman.” Smith does not refer to the research on the *chisungu* conducted by Gouldsbury and Sheane in 1910, almost twenty years before Richards’ work presumably because it does not support his hypotheses.

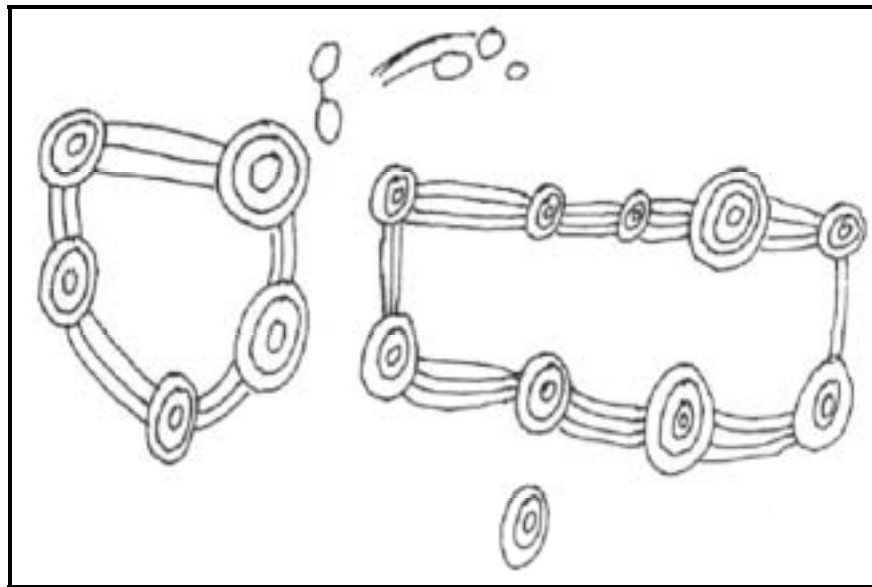
Smith’s selectivity is not only apparent in the *chisungu* motifs but also in the actual pictographs. For example, whilst Kasama Later Stone Age pictographs include concentric circles (three or more in each group and those in pictographs with zoomorphic motifs) joined with two or more lines to each other (see Illustrations 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21), Smith does not use concentric circles that are joined but instead only uses concentric circles that are not joined to interpret the pictographs. Besides this Smith does not take into consideration ‘the beans, *musuku* tree and fish’⁶⁰⁴ that Richards’ work identified as symbols of fertility.

⁶⁰³ See Gouldsbury, C. & Sheane, H., “Initiation, marriage and divorce”, in Gouldsbury, C. & Sheane, H., (eds.), *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, New York, Negro University Press, 1969, p.159. A similar response was obtained from the three *Nachibusa* I interviewed mentioned above.

⁶⁰⁴ Gouldsbury, C. & Sheane, H., op. cit., 1969, p.124.



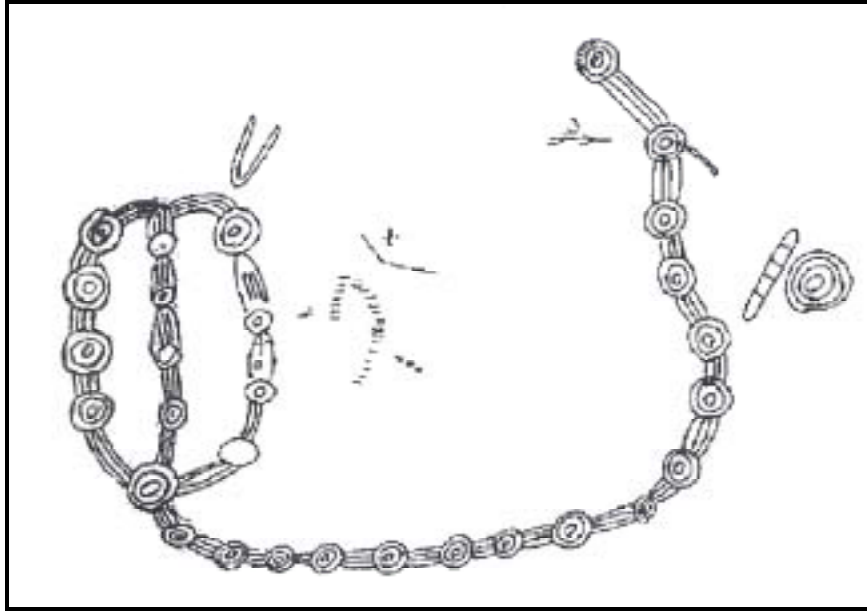
III. 17 Fwambo East Hills Site 3. Pictographs not interpreted by B. W. Smith
Sketch of pictographs done by writer during the 1992 Kasama rock art survey.⁶⁰⁵



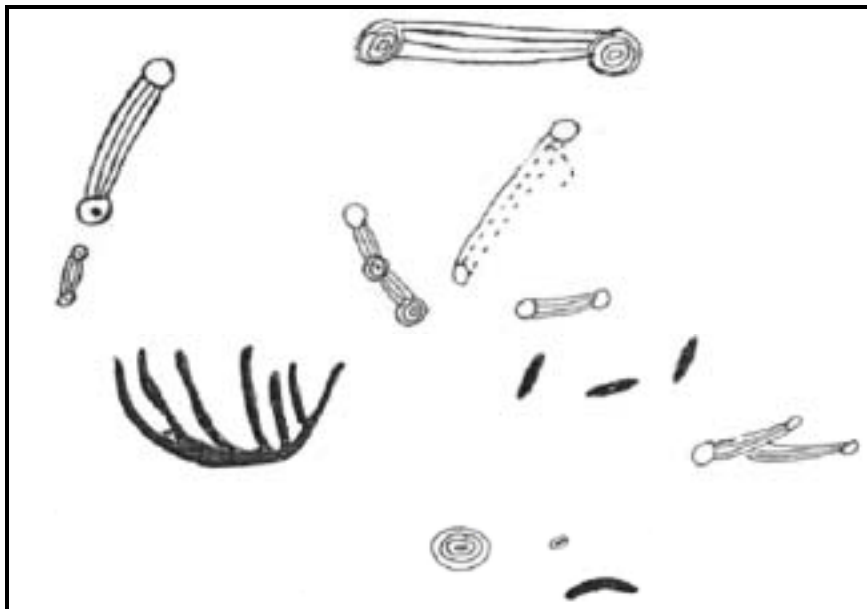
III. 18 Mulundu Hill Z, Site 7. Pictographs not interpreted by B. W. Smith
Sketch of pictographs done by writer during the 1992 Kasama rock art survey.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁵ See Sinkamba, L.F.J. & Lishiko, B. B. *op. cit.*, 1992, p.152.

⁶⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p.137.



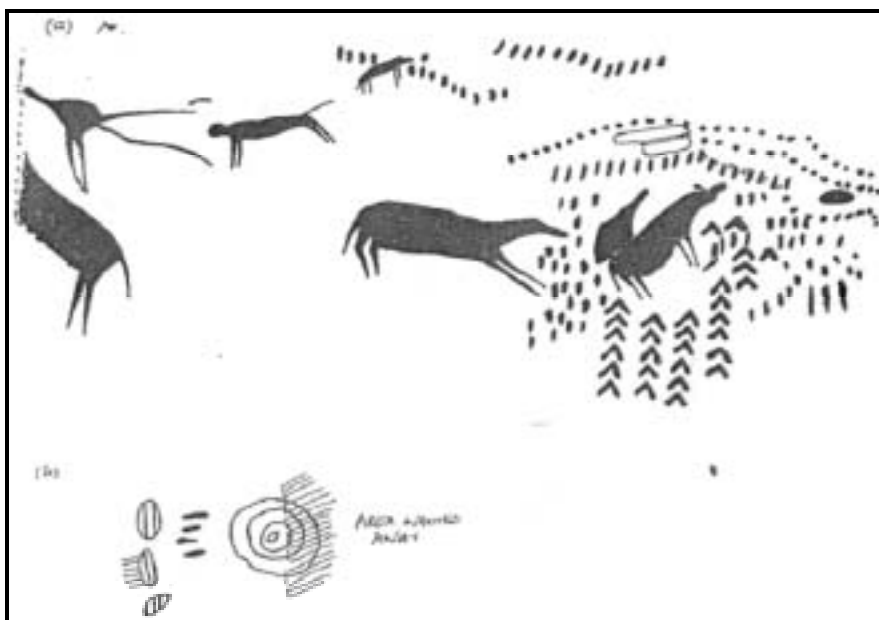
III. 19 Mulundu Hill Z, Site 8. Pictographs not interpreted by B. W. Smith
 Sketch of pictographs done by writer during the 1992 Kasama rock art survey.⁶⁰⁷



III. 20. Mwankole West Site 3. Pictographs not interpreted by B. W. Smith
 Sketch of pictographs were done by writer during the 1992 Kasama rock art survey.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁷ Sinkamba, L.F.J & Lishiko, B. B. *op. cit.*, p.138.

⁶⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p.90.



III. 21 Mulundu Hill Z, Site 6. Pictographs not interpreted by B. W. Smith may probably because the animals do not fit is hypothesis.⁶⁰⁹ (Sketch of pictographs were done by writer during the 1992 Kasama rock art survey)

From the foregoing it is clear that the ‘selective approach’ used by Smith raises more questions than answers in assuming that geometric motifs, especially concentric circles, could have symbolized fertility. Some of the questions raised by his approach include the absence of important pictographs painted on the wall of huts during *chisungu* such as beans, fish, *musuku* tree, snakes and guinea fowls⁶¹⁰ in the Later Stone Age pictographs. Since concentric circles in the Later Stone Age were painted on rock surfaces, one wonders whether the act of claiming a girl as bridegroom’s wife during the *chisungu* was done in the bush and not in huts. If the claiming of a girl as bridegroom’s wife was done in the bush and not in the huts, Smith does not indicate at what point of time during the interaction between the BaTwa and Bemba the above act transferred from the landscape (rock boulders, over-hangs, rock shelters) to huts?

Another question that Smith’s ‘fertility interpretation hypotheses does not address is the difference in the use of colours by the people called BaTwa and those labeled as Bemba ethnic groups. For instance, the commonest colour used for painting motifs in the huts

⁶⁰⁹ Sinkamba, L.F.J & Lishiko, B. B. *op. cit.*, p.136.

⁶¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 84.

included white, black and red, which only red was used in the Kasama Later Stone Age pictographs.⁶¹¹ The question the above raises is that if geometric motifs were copied from the people called BaTwa, Smith's hypothesis does not explain how for instance the Bemba decided to add black and white, let alone the meaning of the added colours. No wonder Hampson has cautioned rock art researchers that:

When dealing with concepts of "style", we need to bear in mind that stylistic interpretations, on their own, do not necessarily tell us about the *meaning* of the art.

As observed by Ascher,⁶¹² the use of 'ethnographic analogy' (one of the methods that Smith used to interpret the Kasama Later Stone Age pictographs⁶¹³) might only be meaningful, accurate and appropriate if drawn from ethnographically known cultures with subsistence technologies and ecological settings similar to those of the archaeological culture of interest. Most importantly he argues, "analogies should be drawn only from ethnographic cases that could be directly linked to the archaeological cultures [rock art] being interpreted." Ascher believed that, in instances where cultural continuity could be demonstrated, features of 'prehistoric lifestyles' could be expected to be retained,⁶¹⁴ and hence, analogy would be more appropriate than in cases where cultural continuity could not be demonstrated.

If the above are prerequisites for using ethnographic analogy in efforts to interpret rock art then Smith's work falls short of the basic ingredient of the approach he has used. Whilst Kasama offers both the cultural group (the Bemba) and the pictographs (Kasama Later Stone Age), these two are not connected in any way. For example, the local Bemba interviewed claim that they never had any contact with the BaTwa, and secondly they did not even know if BaTwa painted the pictographs.⁶¹⁵ As I demonstrated above, the geometric motifs which were employed by the Bemba in *chisungu* are completely

⁶¹¹ Only one site over out of over a thousand recorded has some pictographs in white. See L.F.J & Lishiko, B. B., 1992, op. cit., p.45.

⁶¹² Ascher, R., "Analogy in archaeological interpretation", Southwest. *J. Anthropology* **17**, 1961, pp.317-24.

⁶¹³ See Smith B. W., 1994, op. cit., p.12.

⁶¹⁴ Ascher, R., op., cit, 1961, pp.317-24.

⁶¹⁵ See Deacon, J. op. cit., 2001, Appendix 9 (response from Headman Chipowe, born in 1913 of Kasama) 4th July 2001.

different from the geometric motifs Smith compares them with. Smith's method does not demonstrate any cultural continuity. The Bemba do not use geometric motifs in rain rituals nor wonder the pictographs on the walls comprise of millet, sorghum, fish and snakes.

Boas⁶¹⁶ pointed out that the use of ethnographical parallels or comparative methods cannot account for all types of cultures. Similar rock art motifs observed in different geographical locations in the world may not imply that the designs had the same historical development (origins) and meaning, nor were they developed from the same psychic law. It is imperative that, if ethnographical parallels are used, the process and the history of the development of the customs and beliefs that are depicted by rock art motifs must be taken into consideration.⁶¹⁷

4.5.3 The Shamanism Interpretation: The Red Animal Tradition:

Chapter two dealt with the shamanism hypothesis. It questioned not only its supposed applicability in southern Africa rock. I further want to demonstrate its weaknesses in Kasama. First and foremost the interpretations of Kasama rock art by Smith⁶¹⁸ shows that 'geometric symbols' were not generated from a 'neuropsychological process', contrary to Lewis-Williams⁶¹⁹ interpretation of geometric symbols. He argues that the artists in fact did geometric symbols whilst they were in their normal mental states for 'weather and fertility rituals'.⁶²⁰

But a look at the interpretation of human and animals' pictographs of Kasama shows that Smith concurs with Lewis-Williams's shamanism hypothesis (based on the neuropsychological model whose problems I have dealt with in chapter two). According to Lewis-Williams, human and animal figures (in some cases accompanied by dots)

⁶¹⁶ Boas, F., "The Limitation of the Comparative Method of Anthropology", *Science*, Illinois, Springfield, Charles C. Thomas Publishers, 1896, p.95.

⁶¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.87.

⁶¹⁸ See Smith observes that this model is full of flaws and could not be applied to Kasama pictographs. See Smith B. W., 1994, *op. cit.*, pp.262, 264.

⁶¹⁹ See chapter two for various references on Lewis-Williams' Shamanism hypothesis

⁶²⁰ Smith B.W., 1997, *op. cit.*, p.49.

depict “trance dance, a symbol of potency metaphor of trance experience and hallucinations of people in trance.”⁶²¹ According to this interpretive model, when in a trance, dancers are believed to acquire powers which they use for healing in their members of their groups, rain divination and hunting.

4.5.3.1 *Lwimbo West 1:*

Whilst Smith is aware of the weakness of Lewis-Williams’ model, he still employs it in the interpretation of the human and animal pictographs in Kasama. One of the bases for using this model is that the human and animal pictographs in Kasama have similar ‘postures or depict scenes’ that have been interpreted as acts of shamanism by Lewis-Williams. One of the four sites in Kasama that fits the shamanism interpretation according to Smith is Lwimbo West 1, which according to Smith depicts a ‘trance dance’ based on the body postures of both the human figures and animal: “a line of five men holding hands, with knees slightly bent and bodies held erect or leaning forward bent at hips facing a rather arched figure (therianthrope figure) and further to the left is a large stylized representation of an animal probably an antelope in a stooping position whose front legs are bent.”⁶²² The above scene, according to Smith, relying on Lewis-Williams’s interpretations of similar postures in South Africa, depicts ‘trance dance’.⁶²³

But my second examination of the pictographs shows that as in the interpretation of geometric symbols (fertility symbols), Smith selected pictographs that fitted the Shamanism model. For example, whilst there are two buffaloes and another animal whose species are difficult to identify (see plates 8 and 9) on the same rock face Smith does not only say anything about them but has literally removed them from the ‘trance dance’. And if the reason for excluding the other animals by Smith is that they do not fit the shamanistic postures, then in the absence of dates⁶²⁴ to show whether the paintings

⁶²¹ Lewis-Williams, J. D., “Beyond style and portrait: A comparison of Tanzania and southern African rock art”, in Vossen, R. & Keuthmann, K., (ed.), *Contemporary Studies on Khoisan*, Hamburg, Helmut Buske 1987c, pp.93-139.

⁶²² Holding hands in a line is viewed as ‘dancing postures’ whilst the arched figure shows that one of the dancers has taken the identity of an animal and is leaving out -of-body -journey. The stooping position with bent front legs implies an animal dying. See Smith B.W., 1997, op. cit., p.33.

⁶²³ *ibid.*, p.33.

⁶²⁴ Like all the rock art sites in Kasama, Lwimbo Site 1 is not dated.

were not part of the trance, I argue that the ‘trance dance’ interpretation is not only tantamount to guesswork but also inappropriate. And if the three animals were part of the ‘trance dance,’ Smith’s ‘trance dance interpretation’ is still incomplete because it does not offer the roles the other animals might have played in the ‘trance dance’. But if the animals were not part of the ‘trance dance’, Smith’s methodological approach is flawed as it fails to interpret a site in totality. Smith’s application of ethnographic analogy to the Kasama pictographs interpretation is imperfect.



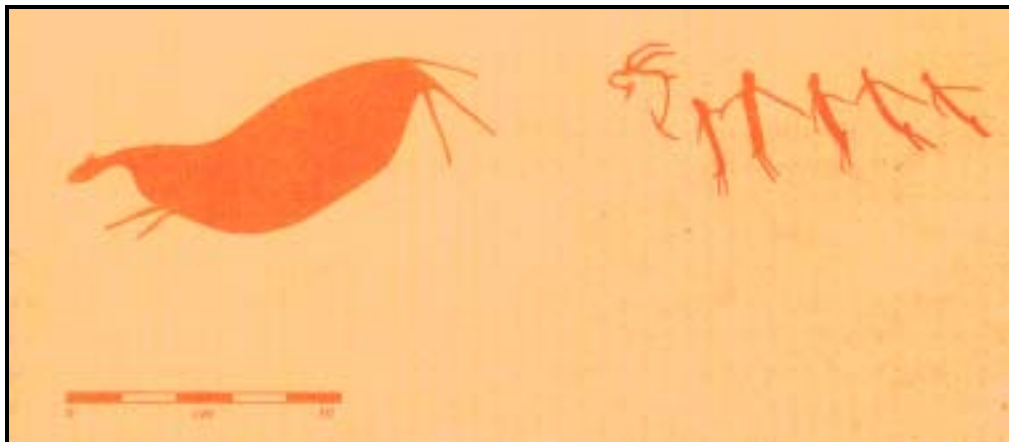
III. 22. Lwimbo West 1. Area where pictographs are located (Photograph taken by NHCC staff Kasama Regional Office, December 2002).



III. 23. Buffalos which are part of the Painting which Smith does not include in the Interpretation of Lwimbo Site (2002)



III. 4. Lwimbo West 1. Pictographs which Smith interpreted as 'Trance Scene' (Photograph taken by writer, December 2002) Photograph taken by writer, December



III. 25. Tracing of Lwimbo West 1 (courtesy of B.W. Smith)

4.5.3.2 Mwela (Chama North):

The second site, which Smith has also interpreted as shamanistic, is Chama North 2 (see illustration 26 and 27) because it has four male figures in a line walking towards an antelope in a stooping position. This is despite the fact that he acknowledges the 'absence of the 'therianthropic' figure,'⁶²⁵ a very important ingredient in the shamanistic interpretation. He also contends that the pictographs could not be a 'mere hunting scene'

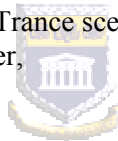
⁶²⁵ Smith, B.W., op. cit., 1997, p.36.

because of “the number and posture of the male figures.”⁶²⁶ Apart from stating that the site depicts a trance dance, he does not state what the men are trying to achieve from their dance.



III 26. Chama North 2 Site interpreted as ‘Trance scene’
By B. W. Smith (Photograph taken by writer,

III 27. Tracing of Chama North 2 Site
(Courtesy of B.W. Smith)



4.5.3.3 Sumina Lion Cave:

The other site that is assumed to depict shamanistic activity is Sumina Lion Cave. This site depicts a lioness standing over a buffalo (in an upside position, most likely dead) and a human figure probably trying to shoo off or spear the lioness on the head. Around the lower portion of the dead buffalo and the top of human figure is a mass of finger dots.

According to Smith,⁶²⁷ the above scene should not be viewed as a mere depiction “a man trying to shoo a lion away from the site of kill”⁶²⁸ but as a depiction of a ‘deeper trance dance’ because “similar rows of dots are used in southern African pictographs to accompany trance imagery”, and are believed to present ‘potency’ (!Kung-n/um) which is only visible during trance states.⁶²⁹ The second reason for the site being a depiction of a

⁶²⁶ Smith, B.W., op. cit., 1997, p.36.

⁶²⁷ ibid.

⁶²⁸ ibid.

⁶²⁹ ibid.

trance dance is that the penis attachment on the human figure is associated with trance dance, as shown by the works of Lewis-Williams and Dowson.⁶³⁰

And lastly, drawing on Lewis-Williams⁶³¹ work on the San belief which asserts that when engaged in ‘out-of-body travel’ medicine men take a feline form (only hostile medicine men take the feline form), Smith argues that Sumina Lion Cave depicts a man in trance, fighting off a hostile medicine man from another group, who has taken the form of a lion utilizing the potency represented by the dead buffalo.”⁶³²



III. 28. Sumina Lion Cave interpreted as a ‘Trance Scene’ B. W. Smith (Photograph taken by writer, December 2002)



III. 29 Tracing of the Sumina Lion Cave (courtesy of B. W. Smith)

Whilst the above interpretation may seem plausible the interviews I conducted at the site with a group of ten⁶³³ local men and women ranging from the ages of thirty to seventy years suggested otherwise: Fifty percent of my sample believed that the pictographs

⁶³⁰ See Lewis-Williams, J. D., *op. cit.*, 1989, p.52.

⁶³¹ Lewis-Williams, J.D., “Testing the trance explanation of southern African rock art studies: depictions of felines” *Bollettino del Centro Camuno di Studi Preistorici (BCSP)* **22**, 1985, pp.47-62.

⁶³² *ibid.*

⁶³³ The sample was meant to get views from both the young and older generation and both the literate and illiterate.

depicted a man, who had killed a buffalo and was forced to leave it by a lioness was trying to shoo it away from his kill. The other thirty percent thought that during his hunt the man came across a lioness which had killed a buffalo and was trying to chase it away so that he could get the carcass. Twenty percent said that the pictographs possibly were a warning to fellow hunters of the presence of lions in the area that deprived hunters of their kills. Note that the above belief is inline with Rohn who equally believes that some of the images in rock art “served a more practical purpose, such as warning signs...”⁶³⁴

Asked whether the man was not actually fighting a sorcerer who had taken the form of a lioness using the power of a dead buffalo they responded that whilst it is possible for a sorcerer to take the form of either a lion/ess or a hyena and kill people’s livestock (such as cattle or goats), the person that takes the form of a lioness or hyena uses the powers of that particular animal and not any other animal.

The above findings from the interviews show that it is possible that the Sumina Lion Cave merely depicts a possible ‘hunting scene’ and the shamanistic interpretation may not actually apply. I strongly feel that Smith’s importing and application of Lewis-Williams’ neuropsychological shamanistic hypothesis is not only inappropriate for interpreting the Kasama rock art sites but also that it does not provide a rigorous methodology for discriminating shamanistic from non-shamanistic arts.

4.6 Towards an understanding of the Kasama Later Stone Age rock art:

I strongly believe that one of the best way of trying to understand and interpret the Kasama rock art is to do a detailed study of the Bemba’s cultural traditions such as fertility, rain rituals and hunting. This kind of research will not only show whether there are any connections between the two traditions but also whether the symbols and pictographs of the Bemba and the BaTwa have the same meaning. Though my research in the above activities was not detailed, due to time constraints, it seems to be the one of the

⁶³⁴ Interview with group of villagers from Munthali, 14th December 2002. See Rohn, A., *Cultural Change and Continuity on Chapin Mesa*, Kansas, The Regents Press of, Lawrence, 1977, p.123.

best way of trying to decipher the meaning of the pictographs in Kasama. And as regards either importing and imposing the Lewis-Williams' 'shamanistic trance dance interpretation' and at the same time making sweeping conclusions as done by Smith, I feel there is need to conduct research on witchcraft or sorcery in Zambia not only among the Bemba.

Whilst Smith's 'contextual analysis method' has identified two major possible classes in which Kasama rock art can be viewed, the ethnological method he used has presented more questions than answers. In order to get a glimpse into who the actual authors of the Kasama rock art there is a need to undertake excavations in some rock shelters. As pointed out by Rohn,⁶³⁵ "radiocarbon dating of organic binders used in the pigments of [the Kasama rock] art, direct dating of the surrounding soil or architecture, and the mineral deposits that cover the rock art and any found skeletal remains in Kasama would not only help in illuminating the identity of the painters but also the age of the pictographs."



⁶³⁵ Rohn, A., 1977, op. cit., p.123.

CHAPTER FIVE:

CONFLICT AND MANAGEMENT IN ROCK ART

In the preceding chapters (particularly chapter 1, 2 and 4), I have not only attempted to show how knowledge is produced in archaeological research but have equally questioned the ‘interpretative authority’ of archaeologists and art historians. In this chapter I demonstrate how various interpretations (or knowledge produced by researchers) of rock art have become yardsticks for ‘ascribing values’ to rock art sites by examining the concepts of ‘significance or value’ as applied to archaeological sites (rock art), with particular reference to public perceptions.

Using Kasama Later Stone Age rock art sites, as a ‘case study’ again, I demonstrate how some values/significances ascribed to rock art sites by researchers have resulted in management conflicts over rock art heritage (or the landscape with rock art heritage) between national conservation bodies and other state and private organs, but also between the above organs and the communities.



This chapter is divided into three sections. Section one examines the concept of heritage significance or values. The section that follows shows management conflicts that arose due to different values attached to rock art heritage or landscape with rock art. And since the management of rock art heritage is important for various reasons that will be outlined in this chapter, the last section gives possible recommendations on how rock art management conflicts may be resolved.

5.1 The Concept of Value in Archaeological Heritage:

Before looking at the concept of value in archaeological heritage, it is imperative to look at the concept of heritage first. The term heritage is very elastic as it defies a single definition.⁶³⁶ The term heritage can be defined in general terms on two different levels.

⁶³⁶ Lowenthal, D., *The Heritage Crusade and Spoils of History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.95.

According to Layton and Ucko⁶³⁷ the term heritage is merely a description of physical entity (artifact or site), broadly shaped by human action. On the other hand, Hodder⁶³⁸ believes that the term 'heritage' "is an expression of the meanings, values and claims placed on that material, particularly as an inheritance." Whilst Shore⁶³⁹ concurs with this second definition, he actually believes that heritage is "a dynamic process, involving the declaration of faith in pasts that have been uncritically refashioned for the present-day purposes: such as husbanding of feelings of ancestry, continuity, identity and community; and the legitimization of systems of power and authority." For Tunbridge and Ashworth,⁶⁴⁰ there is no single heritage but "an infinite variety of heritages," each not uncritically fashioned as claimed by Shore or inherited as defined by Hodder but consciously "produced or shaped as 'commodities'⁶⁴¹ for the requirements of specific consumer groups."⁶⁴² Heritage production is a deliberate goal-directed choice about what uses are made of the past for what contemporary purposes. In other words, heritage is whatever the present generations individually or collectively wish to preserve and pass on to the imagined next generation.⁶⁴³ Put in another way "what is preserved is a function of what society thinks is important to it now and future generations."⁶⁴⁴



Taking the views of Shore, Hodder, and Tunbridge and Ashworth, Skeates defines 'archaeological heritage' in two ways: "First, as the material culture of past societies that survive in the present; and second, as the process through which the material culture of

⁶³⁷ Layton, R. & Ucko, P. J., (eds.), *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape: Shaping Your Landscape*, London, Routledge, 1999, p.1.

⁶³⁸ Hodder, I., "Changing Configurations: the relationships between theory and practice", in Hunter, J. & Ralston, I., (eds.), *Archaeological Resource Management in the UK: an Introduction*, Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1993, p.17.

⁶³⁹ Shore, C., "Imaging the new Europe: identity and heritage in European Community discourse", In Graves, P., Jones, S. & Gamble, C., (eds.), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: the Construction of European Communities*, London, Routledge, 1996, p.111.

⁶⁴⁰ Tunbridge, J. E. & Ashworth G, J., *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, West Sussex, John Wiley & Sons, 1996, p.8.

⁶⁴¹ The Quarry for this heritage include: Intangible (sites, objects, structures, landscapes) and non-tangible (memories individual and collective, traditions/cultures. See Tunbridge, J. E., & Ashworth G, J., op. cit., 1996, pp.1-3.

⁶⁴² Tunbridge, J. E., & Ashworth, G, J., op. cit., 1996, p.9.

⁶⁴³ Leblanc, F., Is everything Heritage, 1993, p.1 (http://www.icomos.org/~fleblanc/publication/pub_is_everything_heritage.html), Accessed on 20, October 2003.

⁶⁴⁴ See Lee, A., J., "Discovery Old Cultures in the New World: The Role of ethnicity", in Stipe, E. R. & Lee, A. J., *The American Mosaic: Preserving A Nation's Heritage*, Wayne State University Press for US/ICOMOS 1997, p.180.

the past is re-evaluated and re-used in the present.”⁶⁴⁵ However, Skeates still notes that the validity of the above definitions depends on who decides to use them. For example he observes that “critical historians are promoting the conceptual definition of archaeological heritage whilst governments, cultural agencies, and professional bodies cling to the first descriptive, definition of archaeological heritage.”⁶⁴⁶

The term ‘heritage’ has alternative definitions given to it by the world international bodies such as United Nations Educational for Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). In its 1979 convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, UNESCO defines heritage from a global perspective as “an inheritance, our legacy from the past, what we live with today and what we pass on to future generations.”⁶⁴⁷ The ICOMOS ‘Charter on the Archaeological Management’ defines archaeological heritage as “that of the material heritage of which archaeological methods provide primary information.”⁶⁴⁸ But the ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (the Burra Charter⁶⁴⁹) divides heritage into major categories, viz natural and cultural heritage and defines it from the point of view of its significance or values. For example, natural heritage is defined from values in it such as ecosystem, biological diversity and geo-diversity, and cultural heritage for values such as aesthetic, historic, scientific or social or spiritual value for past, present or future generation.⁶⁵⁰

Heritage, whether archaeological or otherwise is not only defined differently by various charters or international bodies (depending on what aspects the charters are concerned with), but also by various cultural or natural heritage government legal bodies in different

⁶⁴⁵ Skeates, R., *Debating the Archaeological Heritage*, London, Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 2000, pp.9-10.

⁶⁴⁶ Skeates, R., op. cit., 2000, p.10.

⁶⁴⁷ See “Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage”, *Convention, UNESCO*, (UNESCO 1997).

⁶⁴⁸ *ICOMOS Charter on the Archaeological Heritage Management, Stockholm, International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management*, 1989. See also the History of conventions

⁶⁴⁹ The Burra Charter provides guidance for the conservation and management of places of cultural significance (cultural heritage places), and is based on the knowledge and experience of Australia ICOMOS members. *The Burra Charter, The Australia ICOMOS charter for the conservation of places of cultural significance*, ‘Version adopted in 1999’, (<http://www.icomos.org/australia/burra.html>) Accessed on 28th November 2003.

⁶⁵⁰ *ibid.*, Article 1 Definitions, 1.2 (Accessed on 28th November 2003).

countries.⁶⁵¹ These “groups actively maintain a variety of concepts, ideals interests, and priorities and strategies in relation to the definition of archaeological heritage.”⁶⁵² For example, the Zambian National Heritage Conservation Commission does not have a single definition for ‘archaeological heritage’, because archaeological heritage may take various forms such as Ancient, Cultural, Natural and Relics.⁶⁵³

5.1.1 Archaeological Heritage Value/Significance:

The above is merely the tip of the iceberg of the concept of what is referred to as heritage and archaeological heritage. This section will therefore aim to throw more light on what makes archaeological heritage ‘valuable or significant’ to the present society and the imagined future societies.

Generally, ‘value’ may be defined as “the relative social attributions of qualities of things”⁶⁵⁴. In an archaeological context, McGimsey and Davis⁶⁵⁵ define it in terms of its “potential for using cultural resources to establish reliable generalizations about human behaviour, particularly explanations of variability and change in societies and cultures”. But a look at who ascribes values to archaeological heritage, whether sites or artifacts, shows that, “values are not received but result from a persistent and never-ending

⁶⁵¹ See *ICOMOS Charter for the Preservation of Quebec’s Heritage: Deschambault Declaration*, Adopted April 1982, p.3 (http://www.icomos.org/docs/desch_anglais.html), Accessed 6th October, 2003. See also *ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value* (http://www.icomos.org/nz_92charter.html), *US/ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites), Newsletter No.1, Special Issue: The US/ICOMOS Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management, Washington DC, 20001, 1997*, <http://www.icomos.org/usicomos/news.usicomos0197.html> (9th February, 2004) and Feilden, B. M., and Jokilehto, J., op. cit., 1998, pp.1-10. See also Elia, R. J., *Archaeological Ethics and Law: International Approaches to Archaeological Heritage Management II: Plunder and Preservation*, (http://www.indiana.edu/~arch/saa/matrix/ae_10.htm/) Accessed 9th February, 2004.

⁶⁵² Skeates, R., op. cit., 2000, p.16.

⁶⁵³ For specific definitions of categories of heritage above, see National Heritage Conservation Commission Act No. 23 of 1989, Lusaka, Government Printers, Parts I, 1989, pp.179-183.

⁶⁵⁴ Feilden, B. M. & Jokilehto, J., op cit., 1998, p.14. Note no single definition for heritage value existed, for instance ICOMOS New Zealand defines value as: “those beliefs, which have significance for a cultural group or an individual, often including, but not being limited to spiritual, political, religious and moral beliefs”. See *ICOMOS New Zealand News Online*, <http://www.icomos.org.nz/Icomos> (Accessed 10th February 2004).

⁶⁵⁵ McGimsey, C. R. & Davis, H. A., (eds.), *The Management of Archaeological Resources: the Airlie House report*, Washington D.C., *Society for American Archaeology*, 1977.

competition for what is relevant and what is acceptable.”⁶⁵⁶ Lipe⁶⁵⁷ concurs with Galbraith and observes that actually, the ascription of value “depends on the particular cultural, intellectual, historical, and psychological frames of reference held by the particular individuals or groups.” And whilst Skeates concurs with Galbraith and Lipe, he observes that, “...competing interest groups may maintain a variety of concepts, ideals, interests, priorities and strategies in relation to the definition of archaeological heritage.”⁶⁵⁸ Despite contestations as again noted by Skeates:

Archaeologists [art historians, anthropologists, heritage practitioners] have traditionally taken upon themselves the social responsibility not only to [ascribe values], manage, but also interpret, the archaeological heritage. In doing so, they have portrayed themselves as scientific experts in the art of understanding the material ‘facts’ of past societies, in the belief that their work is objective and impartial.⁶⁵⁹

Kristiansen⁶⁶⁰ observes that, because archaeologists consider themselves as experts they have not only become the “generator of values but that it is their values that are widely accepted [often trusted and relied upon by the public].” Giddens⁶⁶¹ observes that “values and empirical knowledge are connected in a network of mutual influence”. The implication is that it is this ‘expert knowledge’ that consequently determines what becomes valuable and vice versa. And it is these ‘raw values’, based on ‘expert’ knowledge, which in most cases are subsequently legitimized by individual governments through various legislations enforced by national organizations in different countries and also by international bodies.⁶⁶² What is equally defined or declared culturally valuable or

⁶⁵⁶ Galbraith, J. K., *The Affluent Society*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958, p.4.

⁶⁵⁷ Lipe, W. D., “A Conservation Model for American Archaeology”, in Schiffer, M.B., & Gummerman, G. J., (eds.), *Conservation Archaeology*, New York, Academic Press, 1977, p.1.

⁶⁵⁸ Skeates, R., op. cit., 2000, p.16.

⁶⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.89.

⁶⁶⁰ Kristiansen, K., “The strength of the past and its great might: an essay on the use of the past”, *Journal of European Archaeology* 1, 1993, p.29.

⁶⁶¹ Giddens, A. *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990, p.54.

⁶⁶² Carman, J., “The Importance of Things: Archaeology and Law”, in Cooper, M.A., Firth, A., Carman, J. & Wheatley, D. (eds.), *Managing Archaeology*, London, Routledge, 1995, p.22. Note also that every country in the world has legislation that protects archaeological heritage depending on the values recognized in this heritage.

significant, what artifacts or sites are to be studied and preserved and what is to be left to deteriorate or destroyed is also determined by these organizations.⁶⁶³

From the foregoing, it is clear that “value does not reside immanently inside archaeological material but is ascribed by a social process.”⁶⁶⁴ Because values are a product of social processes, they are not permanent, and in most cases where need has arose, the same laws that legitimized them have been used to delegitimize them.⁶⁶⁵

Archaeological value, according to Lipe⁶⁶⁶ may fall into four major categories viz. Associative/Symbolic, Informational, Aesthetic and Economic values. According to this classification, Associative/Symbolic values refer to archaeological heritage that is regarded as tangible links to the past. This kind of archaeological heritage is often valued as symbols or even mnemonics of past experience or heritage. In short, associative value comprises sites and artifacts that are perceived as important for group, national, or personal identity. Informational value is one of the most important values of archaeological heritage. This value inherent in archaeological heritage is believed to be a resource for archaeological research and provides information, knowledge, or data, about the past.

Aesthetic value derives primarily from an appreciation of style, and beauty. But as noted by Throsby,⁶⁶⁷ the notion of aesthetic is very elusive as beauty, harmony, form or style may not have the same meaning to everyone. The last category of value, Economic Value, comprises a monetary benefit. Archaeological heritage, whether in the form of sites or artifacts, is used as commodities for economic purposes.

⁶⁶³ Ucko, P.J., “Foreword”, in Gathercole, P. & Lowenthal, D. (eds.) *The Politics of the Past*, London, Routledge, 1990, xv.

⁶⁶⁴ Cooper, M.A., Firth, A., Carman, J. & Wheatley, D “Introduction: Archaeological Management” In Cooper, M.A., Firth, A., Carman, J. & Wheatley, D. (eds.) *Managing Archaeology*, London, Routledge, 1995, p.7.

⁶⁶⁵ Carman, J., “Commodities, rubbish and treasure: valuing archaeological objects”, *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 9, 2, 1990, pp.195-207.

⁶⁶⁶ Lipe, W. D., “Value and meaning in Cultural resources”, in Cleere, H. F., (ed.), *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp.1-10.

⁶⁶⁷ Throsby, D., *Economics and Culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p.28.

5.1.2 Values and Significance of Rock art:

Like other types of archaeological heritage, rock art is one of the types of heritage that is considered to possess special values. These values are usually ascribed by researchers from learning, research, and heritage institutions and international bodies, and as already pointed out they are legitimized by governments. According to the Charter for the protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage (ICMAH), archaeological material is believed to comprise all the “vestiges of human existence and consists of places relating to all vestiges of human activities, together with all the portable cultural material associated with them.”⁶⁶⁸

Rock art may be accorded different values (by different researchers or heritage organizations) or may be significant in various ways in different countries or regions. In Africa where writing is a recent phenomenon according to Katanekwa,⁶⁶⁹ he strongly believes that rock art is one of the most important sources that can give information on how hunter gatherers lived. Phillipson observes that rock art may provide information concerning domestic animals that early farmers in Africa kept.⁶⁷⁰ Fried⁶⁷¹ observes that rock art serves many purposes; primary among them is the delineation of a people's cultural identity. He strongly believes that since both individual and cultural identity include a spatial element based on spatial memories, imagery, and activities, it is possible that many non-literate societies used rock art to define their territory and their spatial identity.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, rock art is believed by various researchers to possess the following values: spiritual/religious/historic value. These illustrate and provide evidence of development of people's cultures, or an important phase or period within that culture's history, and they help today's people to learn about how their ancestors lived. Concerning

⁶⁶⁸ See *Charter for the protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage*, (ICMAH), 1989, p.12.

⁶⁶⁹ See Katanekwa N. M. “Preface” in Smith, B.W. & the National Heritage Conservation Commission, of Zambia, *Zambia's Ancient Rock Art: The Paintings of Kasama*, Livingstone, National Heritage Conservation Commission, 1997, p.7.

⁶⁷⁰ See Phillipson, D. W., *African Archaeology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp.140-141. The rock art painting of a group of cattle at Safar in Sahara, Sudan is yet another example. See Oliver, R., & Fagan, B. M., *Africa in the Iron Age*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp.13-14.

⁶⁷¹ Fried M., “Grieving for a lost home”, in Duhl, L.J., (ed.), *The Urban Condition: People and Policy in the Metropolis*, Simon and Schuster, 1963, p.156.

aesthetic value, some rock sites provide a clear, direct and breathtaking experience of great art and the mature and masterly expression of a complex and confident culture. The other values include research or scientific value to archaeological research, historic, or other scientific investigation and economic values.⁶⁷²

In Zambia, rock art falls under what is referred to as ‘ancient heritage’ (“any stone or solid rock with inscriptions or pictures such as carvings, rock paintings, cup marks, ground grooves or any other rock art”⁶⁷³) by the National Heritage Conservation Commission (NHCC) Act.⁶⁷⁴ As mentioned in chapter three, one of the main values of the above heritage is that it can yield information on the Later Stone Age or Iron Age peoples of Zambia.⁶⁷⁵ The values ascribed to rock art heritage by either external or internal researchers are legitimized by NHCC through a statutory notice in Parliament:

If the Commission considers an object to be of historical, scientific, anthropological, aesthetic or cultural value, the Minister, on the recommendation of the Commission may, by statutory notice, declare the object to be a relic...⁶⁷⁶



Using the above framework as the basis for determining the significance of the rock art heritage of Kasama, the area with rock art paintings was proclaimed in 1959⁶⁷⁷ and finally declared as a national monument in 1964.⁶⁷⁸ Aesthetic and rarity (representativeness or uniqueness in comparison to other paintings in the southern African region) are believed to be some of the special values of the Kasama rock art heritage.⁶⁷⁹ Other values include spiritual/religious (for the painters), and economic

⁶⁷² “Conservation and Management of Rock art in Southern Africa (COMRASA)”, op. cit., 1999, p.9.

⁶⁷³ The National Heritage Conservation Commission Act, No 23 of 1989, Part 1 Ancient Heritage’, Lusaka, Government Printers, p.181.

⁶⁷⁴ For the history and some of the duties of NHCC refer to chapter 3.

⁶⁷⁵ The ability to yield information either on the Later Stone Age industries and Iron Age was the main basis for proclamations of all the rock art heritage. See Commission of the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics (NMC) Annual Report (For the Year 1961), Lusaka, Government Printer, 1961, pp.20-24.

⁶⁷⁶ NHCC Act, op. cit., 1989, p.195.

⁶⁷⁷ The area with rock art was proclaimed on the basis that it had prehistoric paintings. See Government Notice No. 333 of 1957, Lusaka, Government Printers, 1959.

⁶⁷⁸ Government Notice No. 255 of 1964, Government Printers, Lusaka 1965.

⁶⁷⁹ Smith, op. cit., 1997, p.32.

values through tourism ventures⁶⁸⁰ and educational value (potential for cultural tourism, and awareness of culture and history that it promotes as a means of integrating historic resource in present-day life).

The landscape with rock art also has traditional/religious sacred sites and was and is still used as a burial ground for the paramount chiefs by the local community. These sites were or are believed to reflect traditions, customs, beliefs and folk life and as such were valuable not only to the local community's social and cultural identity but also a very important aspect of Zambia's intangible heritage.⁶⁸¹

5.2 Heritage Management and Conservation:

Before I narrow down to the problems that have arisen due to conflicting values in the management of rock art in Kasama, Zambia I think it is imperative that I briefly look at the concept of 'heritage conservation or management'. Efforts to protect heritage can be traced as far as 252 BC in India where a law was passed by Emperor Asoka to protect animals, fish and forestry,⁶⁸² whilst that forbidding the defacing of any cultural property was enacted and enforced by Britain in 1560AD.⁶⁸³ And the 1666 AD Swedish Royal Proclamation may be considered as the beginning of what today is referred to as archaeological heritage management.⁶⁸⁴ Though the 1905 Bushmen Relics Act was the first legislated attempt, as noted in chapter three to protect the Zambia's archaeological heritage, it is possible that the local people practiced some form of heritage management in pre-colonial times. For example, in Zambia, sites that were viewed as sacred by the

⁶⁸⁰ Heritage other than rock art is also believed to have economic values world over. See Leithe, J., & Tigue, P., *Profiting from the Past: The Economist Impact of Historic Preservation in Georgia*, Georgia Power printing Services, 1999, p.1. See also Morton III, B. W., "What Do We Preserve and Why", In Stipe, E. R. & Lee, A. J., (eds.), *The American Mosaic: Preserving A Nation's Heritage*, Wayne, Wayne State University Press for US/ICOMOS, 1997, pp.174-175.

⁶⁸¹ Deacon, J., op. cit., 2001, p.3-4.

⁶⁸² MacKinnon, J, MacKinnon, C. Child, G & Thorsell, J., (eds.), *Managing Protected Areas in the Tropics*, Gland, Switzerland, International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1986, p.1.

⁶⁸³ This law protected any monuments of antiquity set up in churches and other public places for memory. See Boulting, N., "The Law's delays: Conservationist Legislations in British Isles", In Fawcett, J. (ed.), *The Future of the Past*, Thames Hudson, London, 1976, p.11.

⁶⁸⁴ By the proclamation all objects or antiquities became the property of the Crown. See Introduction: the rationale of archaeological heritage management", in Cleere, H., (ed.), *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1989, p.1.

local people such as graves for Kings or chiefs were protected. The surroundings of the graves were cleaned annually.⁶⁸⁵

Heritage conservation as a concept and process has as its fundamental objective the protection of cultural property from loss and depletion. Implicit in this is the notion of maintaining living contacts with the past through the identification, transmission, and protection of that which is considered culturally valuable.⁶⁸⁶ Heritage management therefore emerges as a broadly based method for planning, direction, and care of all heritages – both natural and man-made – with the ideological objective of maintaining and establishing cultural continuity and identity.

The implication of this as observed by Wenban-Smith,⁶⁸⁷ is that heritage, in particular archaeological, is managed in what is regarded as the present and the future public interest. According to Wenban-Smith,⁶⁸⁸ “preserving a representative sample of the material archaeological heritage of all recognized periods serves two purposes: first, it hedges against shifts of ideological paradigm by preserving for future society a diverse archaeological resource from which significant heritage can be selected; second, it ensures archaeological knowledge against the development of techniques of research able to make use of data of no apparent value in the present day.” In other words Wenban-Smith’s perspective, heritage preservation and conservation may therefore be taken “as an approach to archaeology based on a philosophy stressing the protection, preservation and/or use of the cultural resources base for [present and] future generations.”⁶⁸⁹ In other words heritage preservation may be considered as “that combination of study, expertise and physical intervention which aims at conserving every element of heritage in the best possible condition.”⁶⁹⁰ As observed by Cleere, “archaeological heritage management has

⁶⁸⁵ Interview with Headman Andrew Chooshi, Lukolongo Village, 14 July, 2003.

⁶⁸⁶ Matero, F., “Beyond Compliance: Planning Heritage Preservation for Native America Ancestral States”, *Cultural Resource Management*, USA Department of Interior National Parks Service, Vol., 23 No.9, 2000, p.4.

⁶⁸⁷ Wenban-Smith, F., “Square Pegs in Round Holes”, in Cooper, M. C. Firth, A. Carman, J. & Wheatley, D., *Managing Archaeology*, London, Routledge, 1995, p.147.

⁶⁸⁸ Wenban-Smith, F., op. cit., p.148.

⁶⁸⁹ See McGimsey, C. R. & Davis, H.A., (eds.) op. cit., 1977, p.27.

⁶⁹⁰ “Charter for the Preservation of Quebec’s Heritage Deschambault Declaration”, *The Deschambault Charter*, April, 1982, p.4.

an ideological basis in establishing cultural identity, linked with its educational function, it has an economic basis in tourism, and it has an academic function in safeguarding the database.”⁶⁹¹

In order to protect values believed to be possessed by archaeological heritage and indeed any other heritage, for the present and future generations, legislation in various countries and international conventions has been used.⁶⁹² The preservation bodies have been concerned with issues of ‘illicit trade’ of heritage,⁶⁹³ guidelines on ‘physical preservation of tangible heritage’ including the preservation of information of heritage,⁶⁹⁴ and safeguarding or preservation of cultural intangible heritage,⁶⁹⁵ and establishing a code of conduct for researchers and managers of this heritage.⁶⁹⁶

5.3 The NHCC Act: Management of Archaeological Heritage

National heritage legislation plays a vital role in the management of heritage. It is imperative that I give a brief review of legislation for NHCC. As already pointed out in chapter three, the National Heritage Conservation Commission is responsible for the management of Zambia’s cultural and natural heritage. But as noted by Chikumbi, whilst this Act endeavours to protect heritage by “research, preservation, restoration, rehabilitation, reconstruction, adaptive use, good management or other means,”⁶⁹⁷ its terms are inadequately defined. For example, values possessed by archaeological heritage are not specified in the ‘Act’. The Act refers to archaeological heritage as “any place of

⁶⁹¹ See Cleere, H., 1989, op. cit., p.10.

⁶⁹² See Skeates, R., op. cit., 2000, pp.42-53

⁶⁹³ Clement, E., “The aims of the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property and action being taken by UNESCO to assist in its implementation”, in Tubb, W, K., (ed.) *Antiquities, Trade or Betrayed: Legal, Ethic and Conservation Issue*, London, Archetype publication, 1995, pp.39.

⁶⁹⁴ Feilden, B. M. & Jokilehto, J., op. cit., 1998, pp.23-33. See also the Charter that gives international guidelines on the management of archaeological heritage. Charter for the Protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage (ICAHM), 1990.

⁶⁹⁵ See *UNESCO General Conference 32nd Session Report (UNESCO adopts International Convention to Safeguard Intangible Cultural heritage)* Paris, 2003, pp.15-23.

⁶⁹⁶ The International Core Data Standard for Archaeological Sites and Monuments whose major objective was the production of ‘data standards’ was launched in Norway in 1995, See *International Committee for Documentation (CIDOC) Newsletter* Volume 7, August 1996.

(<http://www.willpowerinfo.myby.co.uk/cidoc/arte12.htm>) Accessed 30 December 2003

⁶⁹⁷ Chikumbi, D. C., op. cit., 1991, p.36.

archaeological interest or value.”⁶⁹⁸ Whilst legislation that protects heritage in most cases have clauses on ‘public involvement or participation’ in protection of heritage,⁶⁹⁹ the Zambian NHCC Act, does not have any clause in its Act on the participation of the public in the management of the country’s heritage.⁷⁰⁰

Thirdly, whilst it is a prerequisite that legislation for protecting archaeological heritage should constitute policies relating to land use, development and planning as well as environmental and educational policies,⁷⁰¹ the NHCC Act lacks clear definitions of how public or private organizations may help it in the management of archaeological heritage.⁷⁰² And lastly, whilst the Act debar any person or persons from “altering, disfiguring, removing, destroying, excavating or exporting any ancient heritage or artifact”, no clear guidelines exist for the law enforcement agency.⁷⁰³ The lack of guidelines has resulted in most cases in the failure of the law-enforcing agency to prosecute those that have transgressed the law.



5.4 The Management of Kasama Rock art Heritage:

5.4.1 Natural Threats to Rock art Heritage:

Whilst the NHCC Act protects any site known or not known, rock art sites that have been declared as monuments are managed by either site managers or caretakers. These are usually local people who live in the area where the sites are located.⁷⁰⁴ Since the landscape with rock art heritage in Kasama is big a Conservation Assistant from the NHCC Kasama regional office in conjunction with caretakers who reside in the areas with rock art sites manage the sites.

⁶⁹⁸ NHCC ACT, op. cit., 1989, p.183.

⁶⁹⁹ Cleere, H., op. cit., 1989, p.10.

⁷⁰⁰ NHCC op. cit., 1989.

⁷⁰¹ Skeates, R., op. cit., 2000, p.65.

⁷⁰² All the Act states is that: “Where any heritage is located on land held by any person, the Commission may negotiate with the holder of the land to — arrange for the preservation, restoration, rehabilitation and reconstruction of the heritage...” See “Negotiation for heritage sites”, *NHCC Act*, 1989, p.177.

⁷⁰³ NHCC Act, op. cit., p.195.

⁷⁰⁴ Rock art monuments under caretakers include: Nsulu, Nachikufu, Thandwe, Katolola, Mkoma, Kalemba paintings and Chifubwa rock engravings. For geographical location and other details on the above monuments. See Phillipson D.W., op. cit., 1972, pp. 34, 44, 54 - 61, 75.

The Kasama rock art sites present a number of conservation problems. Like all rock art sites in the world, the rock art sites of Kasama are vulnerable to natural and human induced problems. The 1992, 1997, 2001 and 2002 site documentation rock art research showed that natural deterioration problems included weathering of the surface of rocks with pictographs and natural block collapse resulting in the loss of pictographs, direct water wash on pictographs resulting in fading and loss of pictograph pigment. Other problems included fading and loss of pigment from the pictographs due to dust and silica on the pictographs.⁷⁰⁵ Biological conservation problems which have led to the loss of pictographs included bird droppings and nests; insects termites trails, wasps nests and spiders cocoons. Biological (vegetation) included vascular plants roots, branches and stems of plants. Micro vegetation included, lichens, and mosses, algae⁷⁰⁶ (see illustrations 30, 31 and 32). Other natural environmental problems included various colour and texture changes such as fading, darkening, flaking off of pigment probably due to direct light, to low bonding properties of the pigment (related to mineralogical and chemical composition⁷⁰⁷) to the rock surface, salt, silica, cyclic and relative humidity and temperatures fluctuation.



⁷⁰⁵ For more details on effects of dust/silica on rock art sites refer to Watchman A., “What are silica skins and how are they important in rock art conservation?”, *Australia Aboriginal Studies* 90, 1990, pp.21-29.

⁷⁰⁶ For more for details of effects of lichens and algae on rock art. See Rosenfeld, op. cit., 1988, p.43.

⁷⁰⁷ The 1992 study was conducted by Smith, Sinkamba and me (Lishiko). See Lishiko and Sinkamba, 1992 unpublished. The 1997 was conducted by commission staff (I was part of the team) See Kasama Rock art Survey Phase II, 1997, p.12. The 2001 study was conducted during a Rock art Documentation Conservation Course: See Deacon, J., op. cit., p.67. The 2002 study was conducted by the writer as research for this work, December, 2002.



III. 30. Natural Hazard: Rock surface with flaked pictographs off due to effects of running rain water on pictographs in Mwela Rocks (Photograph taken by writer, 2002 December)



III. 31. Natural Hazard: Insect tunnels mastic on pictograph (Photograph taken by writer, 2002 December)



III. 32. Natural Hazards: Fading pictographs due to direct sunlight and rain water. Some pictographs are disappearing due to lichen growth (Photograph taken by writer, 2002 December)



5.4.2 Human Threats to Rock art Heritage

The other threat that causes irreparable damage to rock art other than natural factors is human beings.⁷⁰⁸ “More than ever, rock-art around the world is being destroyed. What survived sometimes thousands of years is now under threat. Highways, big dams and senseless development are destroying or threatening imminent destruction of unique memories of our common past.”⁷⁰⁹ Examples to substantiate the above claim from nearly every corner of the world are numerous, but the recent outcry by the international community over a proposal by Murujua industrial plan (petrochemical) to extended its plant into the Dampiers Archipelago (Pilbara region, North-western Australia) an area with the largest concentration of petroglyphs and a major corpus of standing stone) can

⁷⁰⁸ *International Council on Monuments and Sites ‘H@R!’ : Heritage at Risk, ROCK ARK, ICOMOS, International Secretariat, Paris, http://www.international.icomos.org/risk/isc-rockart_2000.htm (Accessed 01 December, 2004).*

⁷⁰⁹ See Teague, B., *Rock Art SOS (email written to) INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF ROCK ART ORGANISATIONS (IFRAO), Australia, <http://mc2.vicnet.net.au/users/dampier/index.html> (Accessed 01 December, 2004).*

suffice as an example.⁷¹⁰ According to Skeates,⁷¹¹ threats by human beings take two forms, viz, legal and illegal. ‘Legal’ threats are mainly due to diverse conflicting interests from various groups such as heritage, governmental and non-government institutions. As already pointed out in the preceding section, there are some politics involved at various levels in the ascribing of values to heritage and determining what type of heritage should be preserved. The destruction (through a rescue operation by the NHCC) of over twenty Stone Age sites in 1999 in the Victoria Falls vicinity in Livingstone, Zambia, to pave the way for the construction of a hotel by Sun International an international hotelier company can suffice as an example of a legal threat and their political nature. For example, when NHCC argued that the construction of the hotel would destroy over twenty Stone age sites in the Victoria Falls it was told by the government that the ‘Hotel was more important’ than the sites and was ordered to remove the archaeological material from the vicinity.⁷¹²

‘Illegal’ threats according to Skeates are activities that are forbidden by heritage laws and may include civil engineering, raw material extraction, agriculture, forestry, vandalism, to mention but a few.⁷¹³ According to the NHCC Act (in reference to archaeological heritage) the following activities are illegal: any form of graffiti and other types of vandalism, excavation or export, alteration, and removing of any archaeological material.⁷¹⁴

The landscape with rock art in Kasama is faced with both legal and illegal threats from human beings. Legal threats include ignorance of legislation of different institutions that have ownership rights to the landscape with rock art heritage.⁷¹⁵ Lack of coordination and misunderstandings among these institutions, and national politics interference has

⁷¹⁰ See Teague, B., *Rock Art SOS (email written to) INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF ROCK ART ORGANISATIONS (IFRAO), Australia*, <http://mc2.vicnet.net.au/users/dampier/index.html> (Accessed 01 December, 2004).

⁷¹¹ Skeates, R., op. cit., 2000, p.57.

⁷¹² See the NHCC report. “Rescue of the Victoria Falls archaeological Sites: The construction of the Sun International Hotel,” Livingstone, unpublished, 1999, p.13

⁷¹³ Skeates, R., pp.57-58.

⁷¹⁴ *NHCC ACT*, op. cit., 1989, p.195.

⁷¹⁵ NHCC, the Forestry and Mines department do not seem to know how their Legislations affect each other

resulted in activities harmful to the landscape.⁷¹⁶ These include quarrying of rocks or boulder with and without pictographs, mining of sand for construction and topsoil for lawns.

Other activities include, deforestation, hunting for small game and collection of other forest produce, human encroachment and settlement into the landscape by the local community, and use of the landscape by the Kasama local church communities for overnight prayers.⁷¹⁷ Illegal threats in Kasama take the form of graffiti and vandalism.

5.5 Heritage Management Conflicts:

The third kind of threat to rock art heritage, and indeed other types of heritage, arises from ‘conflicts’ among local communities, heritage and other institutions. As pointed out by Skeates,⁷¹⁸ some of the conflicts arise when communities question not only the interpretive authority of the researchers and their heritage practitioners, but also claim ownership of the heritage. Conflicts also arise when communities start questioning who has management responsibility, especially where the interests, values and desires of local people are not taken into consideration in the management of the heritage, and access especially to sites considered sacred by those that are not part of the community.⁷¹⁹ Displacement and resettlement of host communities to pave way for tourism investment by preservation agencies/governmental and non-governmental tourism organs) is yet another world wide problem.⁷²⁰ A related problem is discords that arise between the host

⁷¹⁶ Note that in 1994 an inspection of the landscape showed that almost two acres of the rock outcrops in the landscape were quarried every year. This prompted a meeting to try and arrest the situation between NHCC and the Mines department and local authority. See Chikumbi, D. C., “The Heritage Partnership Initiative: A Report on the Public Relations Trip over Mwela Rock Heritage”, April 25th — 4th May 1994, Archaeology Division, Cultural Heritage Department, National Heritage Conservation Commission, Livingstone, Unpublished, 1994, p.2.

⁷¹⁷ My condition of the sites in 2002 showed that fires put up by worshippers in the night have adversely affected pictographs in the landscape.

⁷¹⁸ Skeates, R., op. cit., pp.19-37, 71, 89, 96-97.

⁷¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp.77-79, 84-85.

⁷²⁰ Examples of displacement and resettlements in order to create National Parks or develop heritage site for tourism purposes are numerous. See Mowforth, M. & Munt, I., *Tourism and Sustainability: New Tourism in the Third World*, London, Routledge, 1998, p.262-269.

communities and the tourism industry on the question of who should benefit economically from the heritage resource.⁷²¹

5.5.1 Heritage Management Conflicts in Kasama: NHCC versus Other Institutions

In Kasama, conflicts due to different values exist between the NHCC and the Mines and Forest departments. The major problem between NHCC and the Kasama Forestry Department is over the question of ownership and control of the landscape with the rock art heritage. The Forestry Department is supposed to manage the entire landscape, streams, fauna and flora, soils, rocks, and local community encroachment into the designated forest area. The NHCC is supposed to manage only the rock art in the landscape.

This landscape with rock art heritage is under the jurisdiction of the Forestry Department by virtue of its being a designated national forest area.⁷²² This is clearly illustrated by the Act's powers:



...all land comprised in a National Forest shall be for security of forest resources of the national importance; the conservation of ecosystems and biological diversity; improved forest resource and management and sustainable utilization of forest resources; and the management of major water catchments and head waters, subject to any written law.⁷²³

As regards control and management of the National, Local Forests or Customary areas, the Act states that: "...the control and management of these Forests shall be the responsibility of the Chief Conservator and shall be subject to the general and special directions of the Minister, be exercised by and in the name of the Chief Conservator."⁷²⁴

⁷²¹ Heritage especially when turned into a tourist product has great economic benefits. See Tunbridge, J. E. & Ashworth, G. J., op. cit., 1996, pp.59, 62. See also Hall, M. C., on how different elements that are referred to as heritage are commodified (or exploited for tourism ends) as tourist products. Hall, M. C., *Tourism and politics: Policy, Power and Place*, 1994, John Wiley and Sons, Ltd, West Sussex, 1994, p.176.

⁷²² The area was designated as a protected Forest in 1967, See *The Forests Act No.199 of the Laws of Zambia*, Government Printers Lusaka, 1968.

⁷²³ See "The purpose of Local Forests", *The Forest Act, No. 7 of 1999*, PART III, Sub-section 21, Lusaka, Government Printers, 1999, p.165.

⁷²⁴ See "Control and Management of Local Forests", *The Forest Act, No. 7 of 1999*, PART IV, Sub-section 22, 1999, Government Printers, Lusaka, 1999, p.168.

The Forest Act further prohibits any person without due authority from engaging in the following activities:

Felling, cutting, fashioning, burning, or collecting or removing forest produce, manufacturing wood into charcoal, collecting bees, comb honey or beeswax, building or excavating, squatting, camping, residing, clearing, cultivating or breaking up land for cultivation or other purposes, firing any area....⁷²⁵

The Act does not only prohibit anyone from undertaking the above activities without due authority but can be used to prosecute anyone who contravenes any provisions of the Act.⁷²⁶ But going by the NHCC Act, the ‘Kasama National Forest Area’, is equally protected by this Act⁷²⁷ because of the rock art in it and as such the NHCC is the only legal body in the country that has the right to manage the rock art heritage resource.⁷²⁸

Major efforts and initiatives to find lasting solutions to the problems of managing the rock art heritage of Kasama began with two meetings in 1994 and 2001. The meeting held in 1994 between the NHCC, the Mines and Agriculture departments, and the Kasama local authority was aimed at stopping the quarrying activities in the landscape with rock art that was destroying rock art at an alarming rate.⁷²⁹ A similar meeting whose aims were to solicit for support in the management of rock art heritage was held between various stakeholders and the NHCC Northern Regional office.⁷³⁰

Though the 1994 meeting resulted in the revocation of some mining licences held by the local community, it had the effect of promoting of illegal quarrying activities. And whilst the 2001 meeting showed that numerous organizations, including the Forestry Department, expressed ignorance of the existence of the rock art in the landscape, they

⁷²⁵ “Restrictions in the National Forest”, *The Forest Act, No. 7 of 1999*, PART IV, Sub-section 24, Government Printers, Lusaka, 1999, pp.168-9.

⁷²⁶ See “Offences and Penalties”, *Forest Act, No. 7 of 1999*, PART XIV 82, 1999, Government Printers, Lusaka, 1999, pp.188-9.

⁷²⁷ The landscape with rock art heritage was proclaimed a protected area in 1959. See the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments Relics, op. cit., 1961, p.25.

⁷²⁸ “The Functions of the Commission”, *NHCC Act*, PART III, Sub-section 8 (1), Lusaka, Government Printers, 1989, p.186.

⁷²⁹ See Chikumbi, D.C., op. cit 1994, pp.3-4.

⁷³⁰ Stakeholders included over fifty stakeholders representing the local and provincial government departments and business interests in Kasama. See Deacon, J., op. cit., 2001, Appendix 6.

expressed an interest in assisting the NHCC in its preservation endeavours.⁷³¹ My subsequent research in 2002 showed that none of the institutions that had promised to help during the meeting were assisting NHCC in preservation the Kasama rock art.⁷³²

Some of the reasons advanced for lack of participation in the management of rock art by the Forestry Department were that the NHCC did not seem willing to work with other institutions. The second and major reason why the NHCC was failing to effectively manage its rock art heritage according to the Forestry Department was that it had taken over the duties that were supposed to be undertaken by the Forestry Department.⁷³³ The issuing of permits by the NHCC to churches to conduct overnight prayers in the forest, allowing constructors to collect topsoil for lawns, mine sand and quarry stone for construction purposes when it did not have the right legislation to regulate the above activities were cited as examples.⁷³⁴

The other major problem according to the Forestry department was that whilst the Forests Act recognizes that within Forests there may be resources other than Forestry such as national monuments.⁷³⁵ No joint management programmes existed between the two institutions as required by the Forest Act because NHCC did not seem ready to accept 'joint management.'⁷³⁶ A joint management team which existed between the Forestry and the Mines Department was cited as an example. This joint management team ensured that before the Mines Department issued any licence for quarrying, the Forestry Department was consulted. A permit would only be issued to the applicant after an inspection⁷³⁷ had been conducted by the Forestry Department on the proposed area and a go ahead was granted by the department.

⁷³¹ *ibid.*, p.9.

⁷³² One of the Aims of my research in 2002 was to find out whether the NHCC had come up with a management plan for the rock art heritage and other traditional sites.

⁷³³ Interview with Senior Forestry Extension Assistant Mr. Musonda, L. J., (6th December 2002)

⁷³⁴ Interview with Senior Forestry Extension Assistant Mr. Musonda, L. J., (6th December 2002)

⁷³⁵ See "Interpretation", *Forest Act, PART I* 82, 1999, Lusaka, Government Printers, 1999, pp.160.

⁷³⁶ The Act provides for the creation of a joint management with other stakeholder when need arise. Other than representatives from the Forestry Department, the Joint management Committee may comprise: representatives from the local community, and other Department such as of Agriculture; Mines, Zambia Wildlife Authority Water, Lands and Fisheries and so forth. See "Joint Forest management", *Forest Act, PART V* Subsection No.25-28, 1999, Lusaka, Government Printers, 1999, pp.169-171.

⁷³⁷ In inspection to determine whether quarrying activities would not be detrimental to the forest would be undertaken. Interview with Senior Forestry Extension Assistant Mr. Musonda, L. J., (6th December 2002)

According to the Forestry Department, the fact that NHCC had put both the forest and the rock art heritage under its jurisdiction, and had taken over the duties of the Mines department,⁷³⁸ had resulted in the failure of the Forestry Department to implement its legislation to stop the activities mentioned above by the local community which had severely damaged the forest (see illustrations 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, and 38). For example, persons found in the forest area getting top soil or quarrying or having an over night prayer meeting can not be prosecuted because these persons would be in possession of letters authorizing from NHCC. Secondly, the local community believes that the Forest is now owned by NHCC and not the Forest Department.⁷³⁹ But in interviews the NHCC refuted this. NHCC staff argued that the presence of the institution has actually reduced extensive quarrying, deforestation and encroachment (that the landscape suffered in early 1990s) activities.⁷⁴⁰ On the claims that NHCC was not willing to form a joint management team and that it was carrying out the functions of the Forestry Department, such as issuing permits, the NHCC claimed that some of the requests were from high provincial political figures and there was no way it could refuse them or refer them to the Forestry Department.⁷⁴¹



⁷³⁸ Note that, the Kasama Mines Office was shifted to Lusaka which is still supposed to be the right office to issue quarrying licences.

⁷³⁹ Interview with Senior Forestry Extension Assistant Mr. Musonda, L. J., (6th December 2002).

⁷⁴⁰ Interview with Natural Conservation Officer of NHCC, Kasama Office, Carlos Sosala, 3rd December, 2002.

⁷⁴¹ Interview with the Natural Conservation Officer of NHCC, Kasama Office, Carlos Sosala, 3rd December, 2002.



III. 33. Cutting of trees in the Forest accelerated due to NHCC interference (photograph taken by writer, 2002 December).



III. 34. Human Hazard: Permission to collect top soil was issued by NHCC instead of Forest Department (Photograph taken by NHCC Kasama Regional office staff, 2002 December).



III. 35. Human Hazard: Mining of building sand from the Landscape (Photograph taken by writer, 2002 December)



III. 36. Human Hazard: Quarrying Activities. Permission was granted by the NHCC instead of Mines Department (Photograph taken by writer, 2002 December).



III. 37. Human Hazard: Graffiti in Mwela Rocks (Photograph taken by writer, 2002 December)



III. 38. Human hazards: small game trap (Photograph taken by writer, 2002 December)

5.5.2 Management Conflicts in Kasama: NHCC versus the Local Community

The landscape with rock art heritage is not only under the jurisdiction of the Forestry Department and the NHCC, but also under the local Senior Chief of the Bemba. For the Bemba, the landscape was their traditional land⁷⁴² and part of this landscape is important to them because it not only has traditional, spiritual and religious sites, but is also historically important as it is the burial ground of their paramount chiefs.⁷⁴³ As far as the Bemba administration was concerned, the landscape was therefore important because of its traditional, historical and spiritual values and not because of the rock art pictographs as contended by NHCC.⁷⁴⁴

The Bemba local administration also contended that activities in which local people were engaged, such as quarrying, mining of sand for constructions purposes, collection of top soil for lawns and landscaping purposes, producing of charcoal from the forestry resources, and hunting of small game were not detrimental to the landscape. For example, they argued that the claim by NHCC that quarrying activities undertaken by the locals were detrimental to the rock art heritage were not correct because not every boulder, overhang or rock shelter had pictographs.⁷⁴⁵

They further argued that actually NHCC was now damaging its sacred sites because of its so-called tourism activities⁷⁴⁶ that allowed an inflow of people to some of the sacred sites of the locals. Whilst special rituals would be performed before a visit was undertaken to spiritual sites, the tourists just trod on the sacred grounds. And since, according to the local community, quarrying was one of the major sources for income not only for their food but also for paying school fees for their children, they accused NHCC of trying to preserve rock art (a heritage with which they had no historical connection, and valued nor

⁷⁴² The settlements around the areas with pictographs (Nsata, Supala, and Chikaka) were given to the people by Senior Chief Mwamba in 1959 for farming purposes. Interview with Headman Nsata, 10th December, 2002 (Note that Headman Nsata has lived around the rock art area since 1959 to date).

⁷⁴³ For example all the areas with pictographs are named after spirits that are believed to reside in these areas — Mwela, Sumina, Mwankole, Changamulibwe, Mwine mulundu, etc.

⁷⁴⁴ Interview with local Headman, Nsata, 10th December, 2002.

⁷⁴⁵ Source: Interview with local community representatives during the COMRASA 2001 Stakeholder Meeting, 4th July, 2001.

⁷⁴⁶ The NHCC Kasama office has a caretaker (Conservation Assistant) who takes tourists in the landscape with rock art.

was it significant to them) at the expense of their lives. In order to demonstrate the effects of the ban on quarrying, local community brought their children to the meeting who they said had grown thin and most of them had been chased from schools.⁷⁴⁷

5.5.3 Management Conflicts: Institutional versus National Party Politics

The Kasama Forestry Department, which is responsible for the management of major water catchments and headwaters in the Kasama national forest, claimed that it had literally failed to protect the streams in the forest from drying up due to massive cutting of trees for fire wood and charcoal by the locals. The department argued that efforts to curb encroachment and effect the relocation and eviction of the local community currently living in the forest had failed because of local and national political pressures from provincial Members of Parliament in the area.⁷⁴⁸ For example during presidential and parliamentary political campaigns, provincial parliamentary candidates in the province assured the communities living around or in the forestry area which had received numerous threats of eviction from the forestry department that they would protect them as long as they voted for the candidate.⁷⁴⁹ The result was that whenever the Forestry Department tried to relocate or evict the local community from the forestry designated area, the community claimed that their settlements were legal and referred the department to the Member of Parliament.⁷⁵⁰

Apart from national politics interferences, the Bemba local or traditional politics have made it impossible for the Forestry Department to evict the local people who have settled in the Kasama national forest. The department has also failed to stop encroachment into of landscape by the local people. The local community contended that claims by the Forestry Department that the locals were encroaching into the designated forestry area were incorrect because the land was traditionally theirs and wondered how one could encroach in his or her own land. Though the evidence is that the local people settled

⁷⁴⁷ See Deacon, J., op. cit., (Appendix I), 2001, p.9.

⁷⁴⁸ Interview with Senior Forestry Extension Assistant Mr. Musonda, L. J., (6th December 2002).

⁷⁴⁹ Interview with local community during the COMRASA 2001 Stakeholder Meeting, 4th July, 2001

⁷⁵⁰ Note that the Member of Parliament does not live in the province but in Lusaka which is over 900 kilometers from Kasama. Source: Interviews with Danistan Cubwa, Mwela Rocks, 10th December, 2002

illegally in the forest area during the construction of the Zambia –Tanzania railway line,⁷⁵¹ they still claimed that they settled in the area before the land was declared as a national forestry area.

The Council claimed that despite having designated an area for mining activities, outside the landscape with heritage resources, it was difficult to stop the quarrying in the landscape with heritage resources due to political interference. The issuing of mining permits by the Ministry of Mines without consulting the Municipal Council was one of the reasons cited for the failure to stop quarrying in the landscape with rock art heritage.⁷⁵²

5.5.4 Interpretation and enforcement of NHCC Act:

In terms of enforcing the law on those found contravening the NHCC Act, the Zambia Police Services showed ignorance of Act. As a result, it was very difficult to prosecute people involved in various the mining activities mentioned above.⁷⁵³ The police could not prosecute the so-called illegal as when confronted with the police they produced mining permits/licences from a legal government body, the Mines department.⁷⁵⁴

5.6 Management of Kasama rock art: The Way Forward

From the foregoing it is clear that Kasama rock art heritage is faced with a host of management problems. If this heritage, which is non-replaceable and renewable, is to be preserved for posterity there is need for some kind of appropriate intervention. I should point out here that, “there is no universal method for managing or protecting rock art sites...” and indeed any other types of archaeological heritage due to the fact that, “...each site has its unique human, geological and environmental problems that change over time.”⁷⁵⁵ But given the fact that the management of archaeological heritage relies

⁷⁵¹ Interview with Kasama Police in Command during the COMRASA 2001 Stakeholder Meeting, 4th July, 2001

⁷⁵² Interview with Kasama Municipal Council during the COMRASA 2001 Stakeholder Meeting, 4th July, ⁷⁵³ *ibid.*, 2001, p.6.

⁷⁵⁴ The Mines Department is the legal body that issues permits for any mining rights in Zambia

⁷⁵⁵ Swadley, B., “Preface”, *Rock art in Arkansas: Actively Managing Rock art*, Arkansas, Arkansas Department of Parks & Tourism, 2002.

heavily on the principles of historic or heritage preservation guidelines,⁷⁵⁶ my recommendations on the management of the Kasama heritage resources will be based on historic preservation principles (for the logic diagram of steps to be followed when producing the HMP see appendix⁷⁵⁷).

One of the key components that has made this approach successful in preserving heritage in various places in the world is what Matero has referred to as “the collaborative programme approach.”⁷⁵⁸ Rather than heritage preservation organizations managing and preserving various types of heritage alone, this approach advocates an integrated kind of system which emphasizes input from diverse professionals from the research fraternity and government departments as well as the local community:

Local governments and private nonprofit organizations each have strengths and weaknesses. Working together makes it possible for each to do what it does best while making up for other’s disadvantages.⁷⁵⁹

The general public should be involved at all stages in the formulation and implementing of HM Plans:



By spreading responsibility and providing appropriate outlets for different talents, an organized group is able to take greatest advantage of individual talents creating better ideas and results than an individual could.⁷⁶⁰

Apart from the above, the more the community feels that they own the heritage the better chances the HMP will have of succeeding:

⁷⁵⁶ Archaeology has adopted a preservationist or conservationist approach for Historic Preservation which have proved to be reliable for most kinds of heritage) which was used for preserving historic sites — monuments, architectural structures, etc. See King, T. F., “Prehistory and beyond: The Place of Archaeology”, in Stipe, E. R. & Lee A. J., (eds.), *The American Mosaic: Preserving A Nation’s Heritage*, Wayne State University Press for US/ICOMOS, 1997, p.236.

⁷⁵⁷ Heritage Management Planning Process” is based on the Australian Heritage Commission model. See *Protecting Local heritage Places: A Guide for Communities*, op. cit., 1999, p.5. See also the ten essential elements in formulating a HMP in White, R. J. & Roddewig, R.J., op. cit. pp.2-20.

⁷⁵⁸ Matero, F., op. cit., p.6. See also Renaud S. L. H., “Preservation Planning: Ensuring a Future for Our Past”, U.S. *Cultural Resource Management (CRM) Bulletin*, Washington D.C., Department of the Interior, National Park Services, Cultural Resources, Vol. 23, No. 7, 2000, pp.4 -22), which illustrates the benefits from the above approach.

⁷⁵⁹ Stokes, S. N., Watson, E. A. & Mastran, S. S., (eds.), *Saving America’s Countryside: A guide to Rural Conservation*, Maryland, The John Hopkins University Press, 1997, p.4.

⁷⁶⁰ Stokes, R., *et al*, op. cit., 1997, p.58. See also *Protecting Local Heritage*, op. cit., 1999, p.15.

The more you engage people in your local community in planning, the more ownership they will have in it and the better your chances of success. You can not alienate or exclude any group... public official, or the press and expect to succeed.⁷⁶¹

The ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage not only encourages participation of local communities but also advocates the entrusting of management responsibilities to the local community wherever possible:

Local commitment and participation should be actively sought and encouraged as a means of promoting the maintenance of the archaeological heritage. This principle is especially important when dealing with the heritage of indigenous peoples or local cultural groups. In some cases it may be appropriate to entrust responsibility for the protection and management of sites and monuments to indigenous peoples.⁷⁶²

Since the local community asserted a traditional and historical relationship with the landscape with rock art sites whilst governmental and non-governmental organs expressed other interests such as conservation, tourism interests and economic,⁷⁶³ it is imperative that these parties be fully involved in the formulation and implementation of an instrument, a historic preservation plan (HPP), cultural resource management plan (CRMP), or a heritage management plan (HMP).⁷⁶⁴

Since the primary purpose of formulating and implementing a heritage management plan (HMP)⁷⁶⁵ is to ensure the protection and preservation of valued historic and cultural resources for future generations,⁷⁶⁶ it will be important that a preservation committee consisting of various stakeholders be formed to formulate this plan. This will be a plan that should, “represent views of those who will implement it and those who will be

⁷⁶¹ Stokes, *et al*, op. cit., 1997, p.4.

⁷⁶² *Archaeological Heritage Management ICOMOS: Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990)*, Article 6, http://www.international.icomos.org/e_archae.htm (Accessed on the 6th February 2004).

⁷⁶³ Other organs that expressed interest in the landscape included — NHCC, Forestry and Mines departments, the Kasama municipal council, churches, etc.

⁷⁶⁴ Renaud, H. L. S., op. cit., 2000, p.1.

⁷⁶⁵ Since the term ‘Heritage Management Plan is holistic in the sense that it includes other types of heritage such as natural sites, artifacts, it will be used in this work.

⁷⁶⁶ Stokes *et al*, op. cit., 1997, pp.1-4, 39.

affected by its implementation [and]...consolidate the myriad of issues confronting preservation and anticipate how those issues will evolve in future.”⁷⁶⁷

Since the process of formulation the HMP will engage NHCC, the Forestry, Mining, Tourism, and the local government administration, it is possible that uncertainty or confusion about the purpose, meaning, and content of different legislations of the above departments will be eliminated. This process will equally eliminate inconsistency and misunderstandings between various stakeholders mentioned above. Since the NHCC Act does not include ‘other stakeholders’ in the management of heritage, the interaction and involvement of other agencies and the local communities in this HMP process could be used as a forum for proposing amendments to the Act.⁷⁶⁸ The issue of interpreting the NHCC Act so that the Zambia Police Services can effectively effect it should also be addressed during this process. Thirdly, and most importantly it will also be the duty of this process and HMP to strengthen the political understanding of and support for heritage preservation policies and endeavours. Since in most cases ‘joint programmes’ are usually more sustainable than programmes undertaken by one organization⁷⁶⁹ and offer opportunities for stakeholders with a broad ranges of concerns and techniques to work together, the plan should integrate natural resource, rock art and traditional sites conservation in the landscape.

Since a HMP without incentives, as observed by White and Roddewig,⁷⁷⁰ to help in the preservation of heritage is incomplete, the plan should therefore be linked to the social and economic needs of the community. This plan should address the economic hardship that would result from stopping the local community from their quarrying activities.

⁷⁶⁷ In other words, whilst this plan should try effectively to address the threats faced by the Kasama cultural heritage, it should at the same time present visions and goals that reach beyond present practices and ways of thinking. See Anderson-Cordova, K., “The planning Process”, in Anderson-Cordova, K., (ed.), *From the Ground up: a Preservation Plan for Georgia 2001- 2006*, Georgia, Historic Preservation Division Georgia Department of Natural resources, 2001, p.1.

⁷⁶⁸ Note that legal frameworks that protect heritage in various countries have often been reviewed various heritage institutions to keep up with social changes whenever they are outdated. See Stule, J., “Czech Republic”, in Pickard, R., (ed.), *Policy and Law in Heritage Conservation*, (Conservation of the European Built Environment Series), London, Spoon Press, 2001, p.58.

⁷⁶⁹ See Stokes, S. N., *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 1997, p.4.

⁷⁷⁰ White, B. J. & Roddewig, R. J., “Preparing a Historic Preservation Plan, Chicago, *American Planning Association (APA)*, No. 450., 1994, p.15.

Whilst the local community should be allocated an alternative area for quarrying, other long-lasting income generating ventures should be envisaged by the committee. A market survey would need to be conducted in Kasama before projects are proposed. These may include chicken rearing, honey growing, vegetable growing and any project that would be viable in the area.

Given the fact that throughout the world, heritage and tourism have become inextricably linked "...tourism is usually used as an economic justification for the preservation of heritage"⁷⁷¹ through the concept of 'sustainable tourism,'⁷⁷² the community should be involved in the planning process of visitors and sites management.⁷⁷³

It is imperative, as advocated by Smith,⁷⁷⁴ that the management plan should possess the four prerequisites for public participation in place: the legal opportunity to participate, access to information, provision of enough resources for people or groups to get involved, and genuinely public, which is broad rather than select involvement, from these communities. Apart from the above the management plan states explicitly how the community would benefit from the cultural tourism venture and how it will contribute to economic development of Kasama.⁷⁷⁵ The possible benefits of the above approach would be that there may be an equitable distribution of power and resources which as most studies have shown lack in most community based tourism ventures:

⁷⁷¹ Hall, M. C., "The Politics of Heritage Tourism: place, Power and representation of Values in the urban Contest", in Murphy, P. E., *Quality Management in Urban Tourism*, West Sussex, John Wiley and Sons Ltd, 1997, p.94.

⁷⁷² Sustainable tourism is defined by Bramwell & Lane as a "positive approach intended to reduce tensions and frictions created by the complex interactions between the tourism industry, visitors, the environment and the communities...." See Bramwell, W. & Lane, B., "Sustainable tourism: An evolving Global Approach", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1 (1), 1-5, 1993, p.3. See also Throsby, D., op. cit., 2001, Chapters 2, 4, 5 & 8.

⁷⁷³ This approach is being advocated for in Tourism. See McIntosh, R. W. & Goelder, C. R., *Tourist Principles, Practices, Philosophies*, 5th edn., New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1986, pp.308, 310.

⁷⁷⁴ Smith, L. G., "Participation in Policy Making: The State-of-the Art in Canada", *Georforum*, 1984, 15., pp.253-259.

⁷⁷⁵ See Getz, D., *Tourism Planning and Research: Traditions, Models and Futures. Proceedings of the Tourism Australian Travel Research Workshop*, Banbury, W Australia, Nov. 5-7, 1987. See also Gill, A. M., "Competition and the resort Community: Towards an Understanding of Residents Needs", in Murphy, P. E., *Quality Management in Urban Tourism*, West Sussex, John Wiley and Sons Ltd, 1997, p.56.

“Tourism provides stimulus to the local and national economy, but it also results in an increasingly uneven distribution of wealth... It is not, therefore, the development panacea that a few hastily planners proclaimed...”⁷⁷⁶

The other vital component that should be included in the HMP is community education. According to Stokes *et al* “education is vital to every successful conservation organization’s program.”⁷⁷⁷ White and Roddewig⁷⁷⁸ concur with Stokes and observe that it is the duty of this education programme to outline preservation issues and policies to the community and public learning institutions. This programme should therefore not only educate the community about the importance of heritage to the nation or merely make it appreciate its significance but should equally persuade it to participate fully in its management. The importance of this programme lies in the ability to build a foundation of civic collaboration and generate responses from other public agencies involved in conservation, environmental protection and even community development.⁷⁷⁹

Since the “presentation of the heritage to the general public is an essential method of promoting an understanding... of the need for its protection,” the plan should have an educational component. The parties involved in the formulation of the HMP should select appropriate modes either formal or informal that would achieve their objectives. Though the list is not exhaustive, the following may result in a viable education or outreach programme media, production and use of publications (newsletter, brochures magazines both in English and local language), lectures, workshops, education facilities such as museums/display centers, site/field tours/interpretations, learning institutions visits, leadership training/local staff, fundraising ventures, cultural festival and fairs.⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁶ Greenwood, D. J., “The Culture by the pound: an anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commodification”, in Smith (ed.), *Hosts and guests: the anthropology of tourism*, 2nd edn., Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press 1989, pp.171,172.

⁷⁷⁷ Stokes, et al, op. cit., 1997, p.349.

⁷⁷⁸ White, B. J. & Roddewig, R. J., 1994, op. cit., p.19.

⁷⁷⁹ Stokes et al, op. cit., p.349.

⁷⁸⁰ See Stokes et al., op. cit., pp.352-378. See also *Guiding Community Character: A workshop on Planning Design Review System and Developing Guidelines*, Boulder, Colorado Winter and Company, 1996, p.9.

Lastly, the HMP should have a monitoring programme or maintenance guide.⁷⁸¹ This programme will act as the basis and a guide for condition assessment, conservation and maintenance of Kasama cultural and natural resources. This plan will assist those responsible to plan, organize and direct both the monitoring and maintenance activities.⁷⁸² This programme should therefore outline the following: “[elements of heritage to be monitored, type of inputs required for monitoring activities, personnel or organ responsible], schedules for monitoring and routine maintenance, appropriate preservation procedures, as well as ongoing record keeping of work performed.”⁷⁸³

Since the new HMP will be a joint venture between the local community and other organs there will be need for NHCC and the Forestry Department to come up with appropriate training in preservation, maintenance and monitoring skills for the local community. Since considerations of economic issues in a maintenance plan are very cardinal to the success of a ‘maintenance programme’ the plan should state clearly the sources of income and how it intends to sustain the maintenance programme.⁷⁸⁴

Researchers and preservation bodies should therefore become accountable to the society both in their heritage research and management of archaeological heritage. This means that whilst the larger legislative framework and overall rule coordination needs to take place at the national level, the nuts and bolts application of those rules still needs to be coordinated at the local expertise level, logically with the involvement of the local community and other stakeholder.⁷⁸⁵ The production of archaeological knowledge should

⁷⁸¹ “The maintenance programme is aimed at keeping the cultural resource in the manner that will prevent the loss of any part of them. It concerns all practical and technical measures that can be taken to maintain the site [artifact] in proper order. It is a continuous process, not a product”. See Feilden, B. & Jokilehto, J., *op. cit.*, 1998, p.41.

⁷⁸² Birnbaum, C. A., (ed.), “Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes”, *Preservation Briefs*, U.S. Department of the interior National Parks Services, Cultural resources preservation and Assistance, No. 36, September , 1994, p.18.

⁷⁸³ *ibid.*, p.16.

⁷⁸⁴ See the Section ‘Conservation in economic life’ by Lichfield. Lichfield, N., “The Community Impact Analysis for Cultural built Heritage”, in Coccossis, H. & Nijkamp, P., *Planning for Our Cultural Heritage*, Hants, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1995, pp. 42-53.

⁷⁸⁵ Branstner, M. C., *Archaeol Survey Guidelines*, Great Lakes Research Associates, Inc. <http://zibal.hubris.net/pipermail/acra-l/1996-April/000560.html> (Accessed 12th February 2004).

be done with the involvement of the community, so should the management of heritage. Cultural resource management (CRM) should be firmly grounded in public service⁷⁸⁶:

“Archaeologists or professionals caught up in a world view that places archaeology on the highest plane of human achievement need to come down from Mount Olympus and realize that archaeology is tangential to the necessities of everyday life....”⁷⁸⁷



⁷⁸⁶ Tippet, L., *Draft Paper on Public Archaeology*, <http://zibal.hubris.net/pipermail/acra-l/1996-April/000560.html> (Accessed 10th February 2004).

⁷⁸⁷ *ibid.*

CONCLUSION

The principal aim of this study was twofold: to demonstrate the politics involved in the production of knowledge in the discipline of archaeology, especially in the field of rock art and to show how this knowledge affects the management of rock art heritage.

Chapter one sought to provide a theoretical and contextual introduction to the discipline of archaeology and to show that the production of archaeology knowledge is laden with politics at various levels. A number of points were stressed in this chapter. First it was argued that, the development of archaeology as a scientific discipline in the 19th century should be viewed as influenced by the development of nationalism, and that the history of archaeology is closely interwoven with social and political history in different countries. Secondly, it sought to reveal how archaeology has been institutionalized and has been or is used (and abused) as a tool for a variety of political goals

This chapter illustrated that archaeological knowledge is not given; it is a product of social context. As a result of the power gained from the cultivation and ownership of knowledge, and the value placed on culture and inheritance, the past is often used as a political tool. This chapter gave numerous examples of how so-called archaeological knowledge has been used by different countries the world over, and it also showed that though some of the theories and approaches have been discarded, archaeology is still used as a nationalistic tool.

The chapter that followed illustrated the politics involved in the production of rock art through the application of some of the theoretical, paradigmatic, methodological and archaeological considerations discussed in chapter one. It specifically showed the politics involved in the production of rock art knowledge in southern Africa. The first section of this chapter gave a brief of and how the rock art of southern Africa was considered not to be the work of indigenous people.

The second section outlined approaches and methods that have been used in the production of rock art knowledge used from the 1970s to date. Three major approaches

viz: ‘scientific’, ‘ethnographical analogy’ and neuropsychological have been examined and their merits and demerits outlined. The last section showed how the Rock art Research Institute as an academic institution has been involved in the production of rock art knowledge and how its shamanistic interpretive framework has become a yardstick for interpreting other rock art sites in the region.

What this chapter argues is the fact that all the methods used for the production of archaeological knowledge have got their own merits and demerits and that no single method is perfect. Direct or parallel ethnographic sources (for example the Bleek and Lloyd record and the subsequent research conducted on the Kalahari San) need to be used with extreme caution, otherwise the interpretations that are produced are the voices of the researchers and not the informants. Because culture is fluid, I have argued that the concept of ‘pan-San cognitive (consciousness)’ is problematic and a mere academic assumption because even within a single culture group, rock art may be created for a variety of reasons. The implication of the above is that rock art should not be viewed entirely as shamanistic.



A critical analysis of the shamanistic–neuropsychological model only questioned the theoretical basis of Lewis-William’s approach and argued that the model has numerous flaws. Various modifications of what shamanism and neuropsychological model have come to stand for by Lewis-Williams and his followers are given. Illustrated also is the weakness of the explanatory mechanism of the neuropsychological model and its applicability inadequacy to rock art in Zambia

Whilst the Rock Art Research Institute has tried to give the San a human face, my reading of its research indicates that the institution indirectly still considers the San as special ‘specie’ that represents the Later Stone Age hunter gatherers medicine ‘men’ who work a ‘spirit world’ in harmony with nature. I have shown that ‘Later Stone Age’ or/and ‘hunter-gatherers’ are social constructs, yet RARI uses them as though they are natural categories.

Chapter three was a prelude to chapter four and five⁷⁸⁸ Given in this chapter is an outline of the development of archaeological studies in Zambia, an overview of the history of research work in both colonial and post-colonial periods and the archaeological legislative frameworks used in both eras. This chapter also illustrated how archaeological knowledge was produce filtered to the public. This I have argued was done through the ‘official protection proclamations’ to protect the so-called ‘Bushman relics’ and the founding of the Rhodes Livingstone Institute and the creation of David Livingstone Memorial Museum and various literature materials in various languages. The last section of this chapter gave an outline of rock art research in Zambia, types of rock art, the distribution, those believed to be the painters, ‘current’ interpretation or meaning⁷⁸⁹ and possible age of the paintings.

Whereas in chapter two the problems of using certain methods for the production of archaeological knowledge was described in abstract terms, chapter four, which is a case study of the Kasama rock art, attempted to illustrate the weaknesses and inappropriateness of some of the methods. Further illustrated in this chapter is how the Rock Art Research Institute influenced or affected the studies and interpretation of rock art research of Kasama. The chapter further gave a brief history of research conducted in Kasama, examined the question of authorship of the Kasama rock art, and the meaning of the pictographs. Methods used to interpret the geometric motifs as symbols of ‘fertility’, ‘weather divination’ and zoomorphic and anthropomorphic as ‘shamanistic or trance dance’ images were also examined.

What became apparent is that, the identity of the authors, the so called BaTwa, a group of people believed to be the authors of the rock art of not only Kasama but the other parts of Zambia is very questionable. The method (ethnographic analogy) used to interpret the pictographs of Kasama as symbols of fertility do not only seem to be inappropriate but also that it is drawn from totally two cultural groups with different cultures. Equally

⁷⁸⁸ Chapter five also illustrated problems that arise from the produced knowledge in the management of rock art and other heritage resources.

⁷⁸⁹ I should point out here that, despite the fact that, I cannot offer any alternative interpretation of the rock art, I do not agree with some of the interpretations that have given above. My Chapter four gives some of the reasons for my argument.

inappropriate is the use of the ‘shamanistic hypothesis’ for interpreting zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures, which fails to accept the fact that some sites could be depiction of mere ‘hunting scenes’. Secondly, Smith’s interpretation of the pictographs also showed that he never used the local existing knowledge of the Bemba on witchcraft or sorcery, which could have informed him that his ‘trance dance interpretation’ of Sumina Lion Cave could be wrong but instead imposed the San beliefs on pictographs.

Since Smith used a comparative method to interpret the Kasama rock art, I have argued that similar rock art motifs observed in different geographical locations in the world may not imply that the designs had the same historical development (origins) and meaning, nor were they developed from the same psychic law. I have argued that as a way to understanding and interpreting the of Kasama rock art, further research in the Bemba’s fertility, rain rituals and hunting activities cultural traditions should be conducted. This kind of research, I have argued, will not only show if there are any connections between the two traditions but also whether the symbols and pictographs of the Bemba and the BaTwa have the same meaning. As regards Smith’s importation or imposing of the Lewis-Williams’ ‘shamanistic trance dance interpretation,’ and his sweeping conclusions, I have clearly shown that the Kasama pictographs may not be shamanistic representation and have suggested that research on witchcraft or sorcery in Zambia not only among the Bemba be conducted.

Since no excavation has revealed any skeletal remains of the supposed painters of the Kasama rock art, I have suggested that some excavations in some rock shelters or other archaeological burial sites that may be identified be excavated. This, I have argued, may assist in not only illuminating the identity of the painters but also the age of the pictographs.

Chapter five is divided into three sections. It examined the concept of heritage significance and values, management conflicts that arise due to different values ascribed or attached either to rock art heritage or the landscape with rock art based on the knowledge produced by the discipline of archaeology or anthropology. Since the management of rock art heritage is viewed as important for reasons that were outlined in

this chapter, recommendations based on principles used in cultural resource management plans (CRMP) or heritage management plans (HMP), have been given. Though the guidelines are not specifically on the management of rock art, it is my hope that they will assist in resolving the management conflicts faced by the Kasama rock art heritage.

Lastly, this study has shown that some kind of politics exist almost at every stage in the production of rock art knowledge. The above is also true in the management of archaeological heritage. Since this study has raised a number of questions regarding the methods and theories used to produce archaeological knowledge, and has challenged not only the identity of the authors but also the current interpretation of the Kasama rock art, it is should not be taken as conclusive. This study is therefore an invitation for further study by other scholars attempting to interpret rock art. For organizations faced with rock art management conflicts similar to Kasama, this study may be used to resolve their problems



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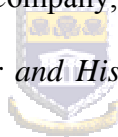
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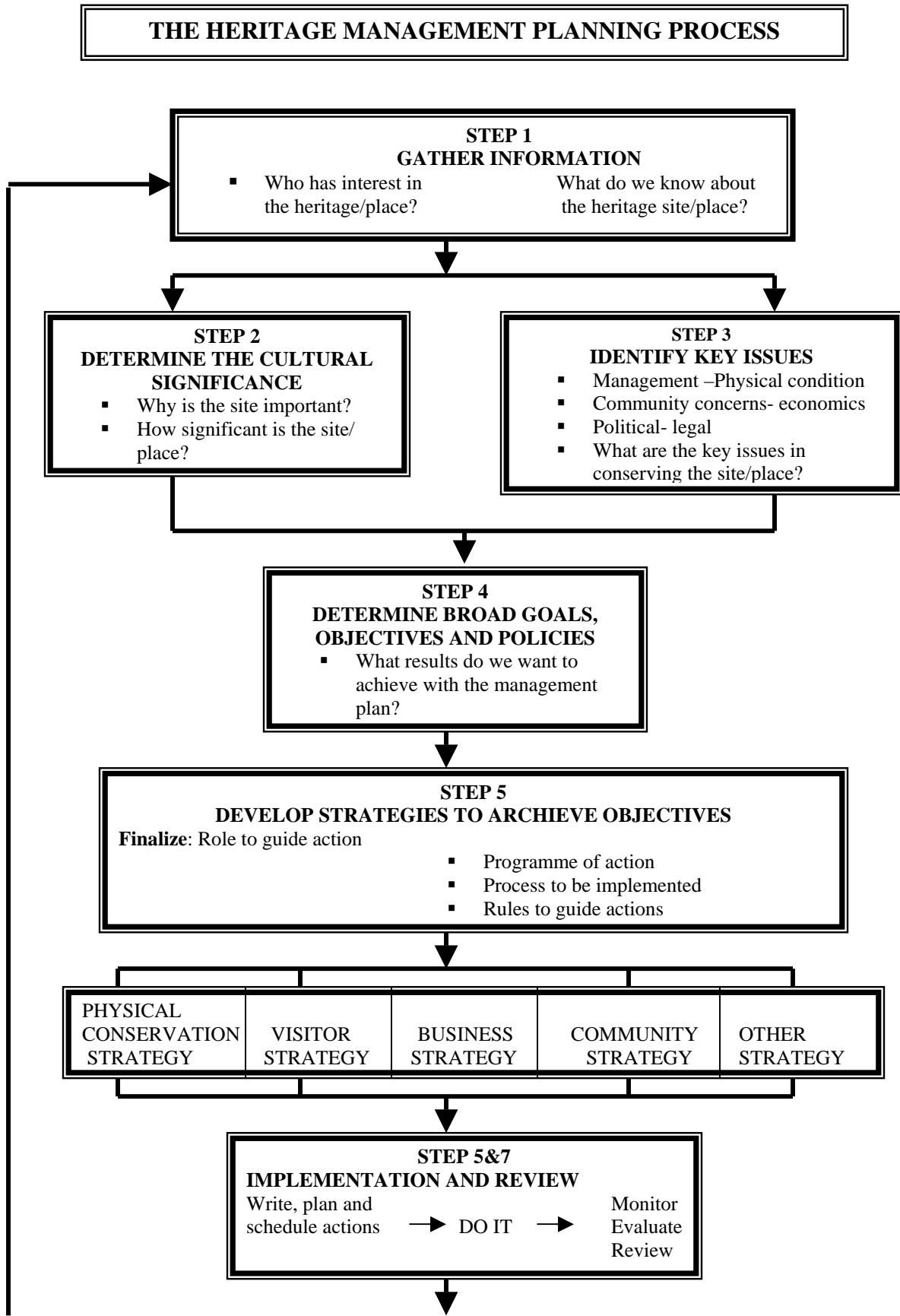


Appendix 1A — TABLE I: Distribution Table of sites per Province (a)

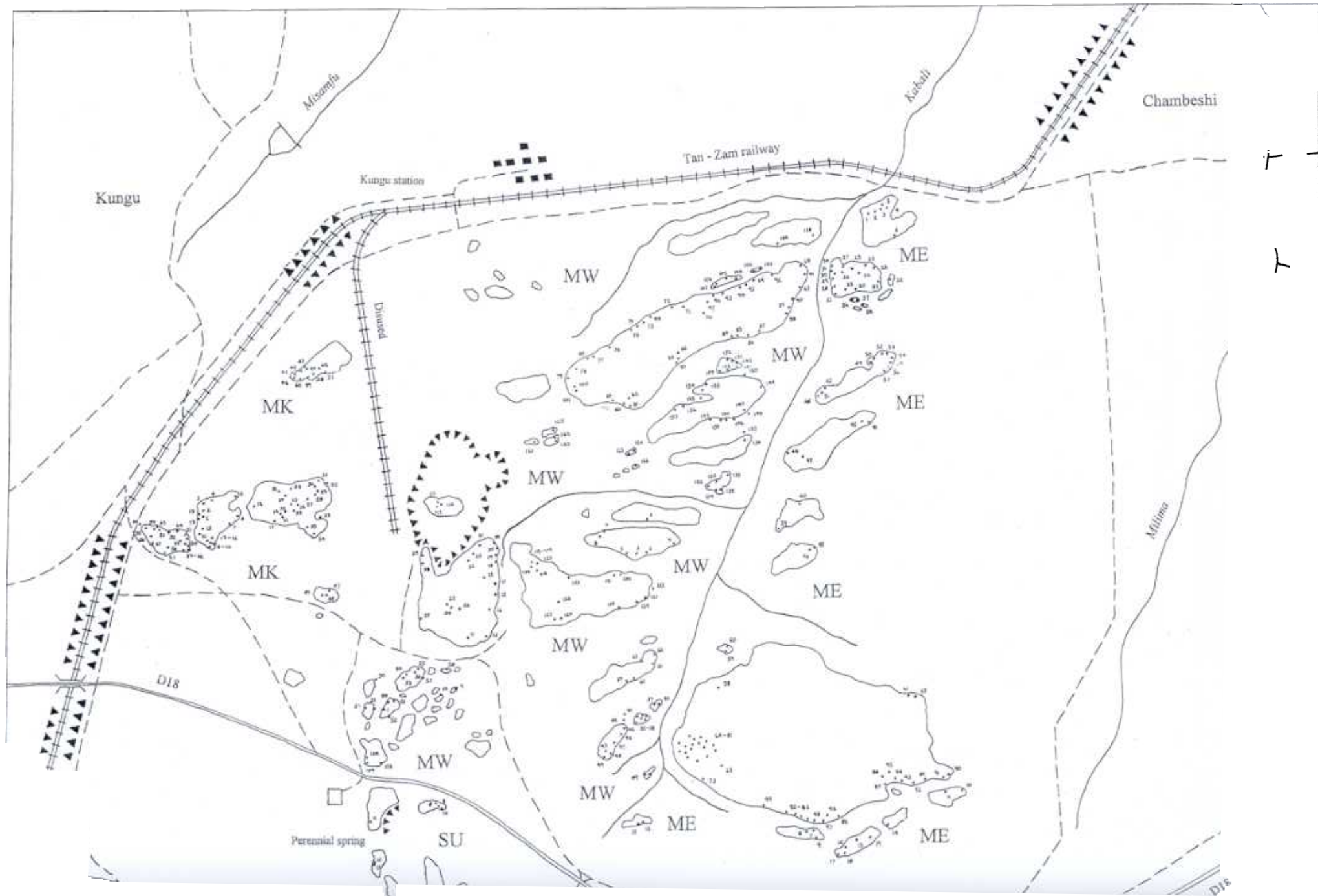
PROVINCE	DISTRICT	NAME OF SITE/AREA	TYPE OF ROCK ART
Southern	Kalomo	Sikaunda	Pictographs/Red geometric
Lusaka	Lusaka	Ayshire (Bamora)	Petroglyphs/Red animal
		Mankombwe	Petroglyphs
		Nabulimbwa	Petroglyphs
Kabwe	Mutuwila		Pictographs
Central	Kapiri Mposhi	Fiwila	Pictographs
		Walamba	Pictographs
	Mkushi	Nachitalo	Pictographs
	Serenje	Nsalu	Pictographs
		Nakapapula	Pictographs
		Miyenje	Pictographs
Western	*	*	Non reported
Copperbelt	Kalulushi	Chati	Pictographs
North Western	Solwezi	Chifubwa	Petroglyphs
	Mwinilunga	Nyambwezi	Petroglyphs
Luapula	Kawambwa	Munwa	Petroglyphs

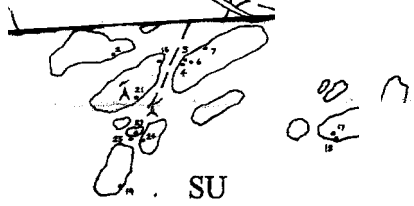
Appendix 1B — TABLE II: Distribution Table of sites per Province (b)

PROVINCE	DISTRICT	NAME OF SITE/AREA	TYPE OF ROCK ART
Northern	Mpika	Nachikfu	pictographs
		Muso	pictographs
	Kasama	Sumina	pictographs
		Mwela	pictographs
		Mwankole	pictographs
		Lwimbo	pictographs
		Fwambo	pictographs
		Changamulibwe	pictographs
		Kaponyansoli	pictographs
		Ndasa	pictographs
Eastern	Petauke	Simbo	pictographs
	Katete	Makwe	pictographs
		Chaingo	pictographs
		Mkoma	pictographs
	Chadiza	Kalembe	pictographs
		Kavumo	pictographs
		Sakwe	pictographs
	Chipata	Rukezye	Pictographs
		Thandwe	Pictographs
		Katolola	Pictographs

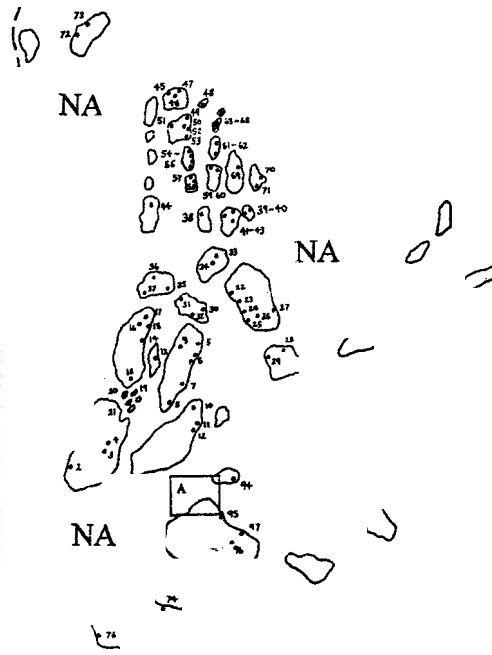
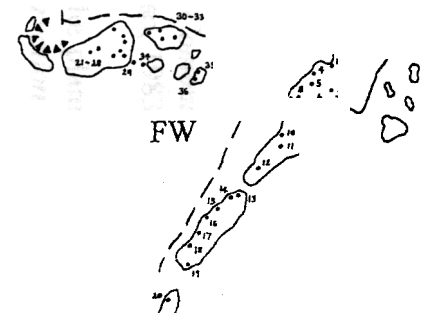


Kasama Eastern Hills Zambia

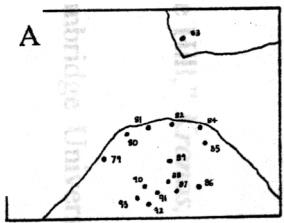




Lukashya



Changa



- Main road
- - - - - Track
- ||||| Railway
- ~~~~~ Stream
- ☁ Rock area
- Pictograph site
- ⬮ Quarry
- ⊥ Radio mast

- FW Fwambo
- NA Namulundu
- SU Sumina
- MK Mwankole
- ME Mwela East
- MW Mwela West

