6

Iron Age Settlement Patterns and the Origins of Class Distinction in Southern Africa

THOMAS N. HUFFMAN

Settlement pattern studies in southern Africa form a domain of Iron Age research involving the application of sociocultural anthropology to the archaeological record of the past 2000 years. This application is possible for Iron Age Bantu societies because of a 500-year long ethnographic record of Bantu-speaking peoples throughout the subcontinent. I first use this rich ethnography regarding settlement patterns to distinguish between political stratification and sociocultural organization in order to outline the evolution of a bureaucratic class. I next use Iron Age settlement patterns to trace the history of some class-based polities and then conclude with a few implications of settlement analyses.

POLITICAL STRATIFICATION

In the Bantu world every settlement has a court where men meet to discuss political matters and resolve disputes. This court is directly associated with the leader of the settlement, and so its jurisdiction varies with the leader's rank and status. A family head, for example, resolves disputes between members of his family, while disputes between members of separate families must go to the court of the ward headman, and so on to the highest court. Each court level in this hierarchy receives cases from the level below, and the final court of appeal usually reserves for itself the right to administer the death penalty, ordeals of confession that could end in death, and all cases of national importance, such as witchcraft and treason. The status of individual courts may be disputed or the system

ADVANCES IN WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY
Volume 5

challenged in other ways as part of the dynamics of political life. Nevertheless, the general principle remains valid, and it is possible to determine a group's degree of political stratification through its hierarchy of courts.

In the recent past traditional Bantu societies in central and southern Africa have differed substantially in their degree of political stratification, with some reaching as many as five court levels. Every group in the subcontinent has possessed at least two: the courts of the family head and ward headman (I standardize the terminology for each level). The majority of groups also had a petty chief who constituted a third level qualitatively distinct from a ward headman. Such chiefdoms were found in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries among the Ila in Zambia (Smith and Dale 1920/1968); Karanga and Zezeru in Zimbabwe (Bent 1896; Bullock 1927); Bomvana (Cook 1931), Bhaca (Hammond-Tooke 1962), Kgaga (Hammond-Tooke 1981), and Lovedu (Krige 1938; Krige and Krige 1943) in South Africa; and Thonga (Junod 1927/1962) in Moçambique. These three categories were clearly recognized by the people themselves. The Shangaan-Thonga for instance, called their chiefs *hozi*, a ward headman was an *induna*, and the family head a *numzane* (Junod 1927/1962:328), while Shona speakers designated these three categories *ishe*, *sadunhu*, and *samushu* (Holleman 1951).

Senior chiefs, forming a fourth level, existed among the Bemba in northern Zambia (Richards 1935, 1939), the Venda in the northern Transvaal (Stayt 1931; van Warmelo 1940), some Northern Transvaal Ndebele (Jackson [1983]), the Mpondomise of the 1870s in the Transkei (Hammond-Tooke 1969), and the Tswana-speaking Ngwaketse and Kgatla in Botswana (Schapera 1938, 1943). The four levels of the Kgatla, for example, comprised the family head, ward headman, village or sectional leader, and the chief.

Leaders at a fifth level formed the peak of political authority in recent historic times. Such paramount chiefs at one time led the Zulu (Gardiner 1836; Gluckman 1940; Guy 1979), the Zimbabwe Ndebele (Cobbing 1976; Summers and Pagden 1970), the Swazi (Kuper 1947), the Basuto (Ashton 1938, 1952), and the nineteenth-century Ngwato (Schapera 1938). The Ngwato hierarchy, for instance, progressed from family head to ward headman and from there to sectional or village leader and then district representative or senior sectional leader before reaching the chief.

Generally speaking, these five-level nations were divided into provinces controlled by senior chiefs, which in turn were subdivided into the districts of petty chiefs. Some districts, however, were under the direct control of the paramount without an intervening authority while others enjoyed relative independence. Because of this kind of internal variation, the number and extent of these polities is not always clear from documentary evidence. This problem is compounded by the ethnocentric perceptions of European observers on the one hand and their Black informants on the other. Many earlier travellers were not aware of the different chiefly ranks, while in Bantu ideology petty chiefs, senior chiefs, and paramount chiefs are not qualitatively different: Each has the same status in his own area. In consequence many leaders above the level of a ward head were designated by the same term in early records.

Despite these difficulties with identification, the data are sufficient to establish a positive and strong correlation between political stratification and the relative size of settlements. Throughout the subcontinent the residence of the chief that contained the highest court was almost always the largest settlement. This correlation is the result of a systemic relation between political power and wealth. As a rule the senior leader is the most wealthy person, whatever the form of wealth. Within southern Africa, such a leader usually has more cattle than anyone else, accumulating them through death dues, court fines, forfeits, tribute, raids, and the high brideprice of his daughters. The senior Kgatla chief in the 1940s, for example, personally owned 5500 head of cattle, one seventh of the entire national herd (Schapera 1943:101); and the Swazi paramount, to cite another example, owned some 4000, while the next most wealthy men were only able to own a few hundred (Kuper 1947:151).

Senior leaders used their large herds to establish allegiances through loans and political alliances through the exchange of cattle for wives. Besides formal marriage alliances, a leader may receive wives as tribute, and usually he had more wives than any of his subjects. In Swaziland, for example, most ordinary men seldom had more than 2 or 3 wives, some senior chiefs had from 10 to 30 (Myburg 1950) while King Sobuza had over 40 at the beginning of his reign (Kuper 1963:19) and at least 100 at the time of his death 4 decades later.

Partly because of so many wives, the senior leader had more fields around his capital than anyone else. In addition there were also a number of other fields that were cultivated for him as another form of tribute. In fact, a nation normally wanted its leader to be wealthy, so that he could function properly. As "father of the nation," the leader was expected to feed his people in times of famine, to support those such as widows and madmen who could not support themselves, to lend cattle to poor men, and to supply refreshments to visitors in the capital.

To help them function, leaders maintained a body of court officials that included guards, messengers, retainers, and councillors. Usually, the senior leader had more of these officials than his subordinates because the staff in the capital had more to do. The capital was more active than other centers partly because it was both a district headquarters and a national center—unlike disembedded capitals—and partly because more people lived in the leader's district than elsewhere, which in turn was related to the redistributive function of leadership. Thus, the capital needed to be large to accommodate all the district and national activities as well as the relatively high number of family, officials, and adherents who lived there. In well-stratified polities, this overall pattern was often replicated at the next chiefly level because as a rule these leaders were the next most wealthy and powerful.

Because of this intertwined relationship of wealth and political power, the number of court levels in a polity is related to the size of its population. Although there is some variation, small territorities with low populations usually have few levels and large territories with high populations have many. Thus in Basutoland in the 1930s there were 19 senior chiefs under the paramount, 316 petty chiefs, and 1006 ward headmen for about half a million people (Ashton 1952:186), while

at about the same time in Botswana the Ngwaketse with a population of 39,000 had 5 petty chiefs under their senior leader and 133 ward headmen (Schapera 1942), and the 1800-strong Tlokwa tribe were ruled by 1 chief and 4 headmen (Ellenberger 1939).

As a further consequence of this relationship between wealth and power, the absolute size of a capital and its relative difference from subordinate settlements vary with the degree of political stratification. In societies with only two levels, or with ineffective chiefs, all settlements are about the same size and small. In fact every hierarchy has a large base of settlements like these in which a headman's settlement can seldom be differentiated from that of an ordinary family head because the two positions are not qualitatively distinct. Therefore, noticeably large settlements are limited to the upper levels of a hierarchy, and they become increasingly larger—and the size categories more numerous—as the number of court levels and chiefly ranks increases. Thus two size categories (petty chief and all others) characterize three-level hierarchies, three categories (senior chief, petty chief, and all others) characterize four-level hierarchies, and five-level hierarchies yield national, provincial, and district categories separate from the ward and village category at the base.

This settlement outline applies to different groups of Bantu speakers in diverse environments throughout the subcontinent, including people with matrilineal as well as patrilineal descent, with or without cattle, and with grain or root crops. The only apparent exception concerns Sotho-Tswana speakers.

In the nineteenth-century Sotho-Tswana people lived in anomalously large settlements compared to others with equal or even greater political stratification. Furthermore, a larger proportion—sometimes approaching the entire tribe—lived in the capitals, and as a result almost every level of administration could be found in one center. This concentrated pattern has usually been attributed to environmental pressure, traditional preference, or social stratification, but the relevant archaeological evidence contradicts these conventional explanations (Huffman 1984a). According to the archaeological record, Sotho-Tswana settlements did not begin to aggregate until about the latter half of the eighteenth century, and this process continued throughout most of the nineteenth century. I have recently argued that this unique pattern was the result of the unprecedented military stress of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and that the large towns were formed by the aggregation of smaller settlements for mutual protection. This military hypothesis shows that the concentrated pattern does not negate the political and settlement model outlined here but rather is explicable in terms of it.

The application of this model to the Sotho-Tswana exception confirms its applicability to Bantu societies in the past. We are fortunate, moreover, to have further confirmation of the relevance of this model from sixteenth-century Portuguese descriptions of the Zimbabwe culture. The following description, for example, reflects the correspondence between political and settlement hierarchies:

> Although many of these [people] live in the woods, hidden in their huts, with their wives and children[,] . . . most of them dwell in small kraals, and some in very large ones, containing two or three thousand inhabitants. In each kraal there is a chief or governor appointed by the king, who has authority to judge the *empofias* and law-suits of the people of his kraal in trifling matters, but not cases of importance, for all these are referred to and tried before the king. (dos Santos, 1609, in Theal 1898–1903:Vol. 7, 208–209)

As other documents show, the senior leader received tribute—in labor:

> They have a system of service instead of tribute, which is that all the officers and servants of his court, and the captains of the soldiers, each with his men, must serve him in the cultivation of his fields or other work seven days in every thirty. And the lords to whom he gives any land which contains vassals receive the same service from them. (de Barros, ca. 1552, in Theal 1898–1903:Vol. 6, 271)

and in goods:

> Every day [the king] is given many great gifts that the other kings and lords send, which gifts are in good number. (Barbosa, ca. 1518, in NARN 1962–1972:Vol. 5, 361)

Wealth, political position, and the number of wives were related:

> Every [man] who wishes to have two wives may do so if he can afford it, but these are very few, and therefore they only have one, except the nobles and lords of the kingdom, for these have many. (dos Santos, 1609, in Theal 1898–1903:Vol. 7, 213)

These documents show that 500 years ago, as in the recent past, settlement and political hierarchies were the result of the systemic relationship between political power and the unequal distribution of wealth. These documents, therefore, strengthen the probability that this relationship obtained in the rest of the Iron Age.

The correspondence between political and settlement hierarchies is one aspect of Bantu settlement pattern. Another major aspect concerns sociocultural organization.

SOCIOCULTURAL ORGANIZATION

To analyze different levels of sociocultural organization, I turn to the internal arrangement of settlements. It is possible to use settlement organization for this purpose because the use of space is a cultural variable. Every society divides its spatial environment into distinct localities where a limited range of culturally related activities are permitted. The organization of space therefore reflects attitudes and values about such things as politics, economy, status, and religion: in other words, a world view. Two Bantu settlement organizations representing two separate cosmologies have so far been isolated in southern Africa: the Bantu Cattle Pattern and the Zimbabwe Culture Pattern (Huffman 1982; Kuper 1980).

Bantu Cattle Pattern

The first pattern is found among most Bantu speakers in southern Africa. Their attitudes to economy, society, and religion result in a specific arrangement whereby an outer arc of houses, arranged according to some alternating system of status, surround a central zone that contains cattle byres, grain storage facilities, elite burials, and the men's court. I now expand this outline by analyzing the spatial organization of a stone-walled settlement on the edge of Suikerbosrand near Johannesburg.

Suikerbosrand is a mountainous massif in the southern Transvaal highveld that provided a localized area of building stone, cultivatable soil, water, and shelter in an otherwise inhospitable environment. Most of the highveld is climatically unsuitable for Iron Age agriculturalists (Maggs 1980; Mason 1968), and even broken areas such as Suikerbosrand were not occupied by farmers until about the sixteenth century. This late occupation is characterized by settlements with a style of pottery called Moloko ((Evers 1981, 1984), identifying Sotho-Tswana speakers (Laidler 1938; Mason 1965), and by circular stone-wall patterns with various minor differences (Collett 1982; Evers 1975; Jones 1978; Maggs 1976; Mason 1968; Taylor 1979a, 1984). The stone complex at Suikerbosrand belongs to Maggs' (1976) Type Z and Taylor's (1979a) Group II in the nearby Vredefort Dome area. Taylor's Group II has been radiocarbon dated to the latter half of the eighteenth century (Hall and Vogel 1980), and there is little doubt that this phase is relatively recent and the product of Bantu people still living in southern Africa. Thus, nineteenth-century ethnography is directly applicable to the Suikerbosrand complex (see Hammond-Tooke 1974 and Schapera 1937 for detailed summaries of the ethnography).

The complex of interest to us consists of several circular settlement units, or hamlets, compacted around the base of a small hill on the farm Boschoek (Figure 6.1). This settlement complex lies between the hill and a grassy drainage area that provided water and colluvial soils suitable for hoe cultivation. This close proximity to fields is typical of Bantu settlements throughout southern Africa, and it is usually only in extreme cases when nearby soils have been depleted that women are willing to travel long distances to fields.

The field area at Boschoek separates the complex from others like it and allows us to consider it as as single settlement. Since each hamlet in the settlement has the same layout, I discuss in detail only the most easterly one (Figure 6.2).

Two long low walls form a funnel that leads from the open field area through a large midden to the main entrance. Virtually every main entrance in the complex includes such a midden. According to local farmers, the middens were placed here so that fine ash would stick to the legs and body of cattle as they were driven past, reducing the infestation of ticks and other pests. Once cattle crossed the midden and passed through the main entrance, stone lanes steered them to a central open space formed by a circle of enclosures with inward-facing entrances and concave profiles. Maggs (1976:133) has convincingly argued that this profile

Figure 6.1 Map of southern Africa with some of the peoples and sites mentioned in the text.

is due to the removal of dung for fuel in treeless environments, and this feature has been observed at several settlements on the highveld (e.g., Derricourt and Evers 1973; Taylor 1979a, 1979b). Elsewhere in the Boschoek complex the entrances to equivalent byres still retain stone lintels at the appropriate height for cattle. There can be little doubt, then, that these enclosures were for large stock.

The numerous cattle byres in the center represent some sort of division, such as calves and adults, the herds of different houses, or the herds of different men. Whatever the division, the cattle were in the center because they were the principal form of wealth. Indeed, among the Southern Bantu, cattle were the main avenue to wives and children and therefore to power, success, and status. As is well known, men acquired rights over women by exchanging cattle, and cattle belonged

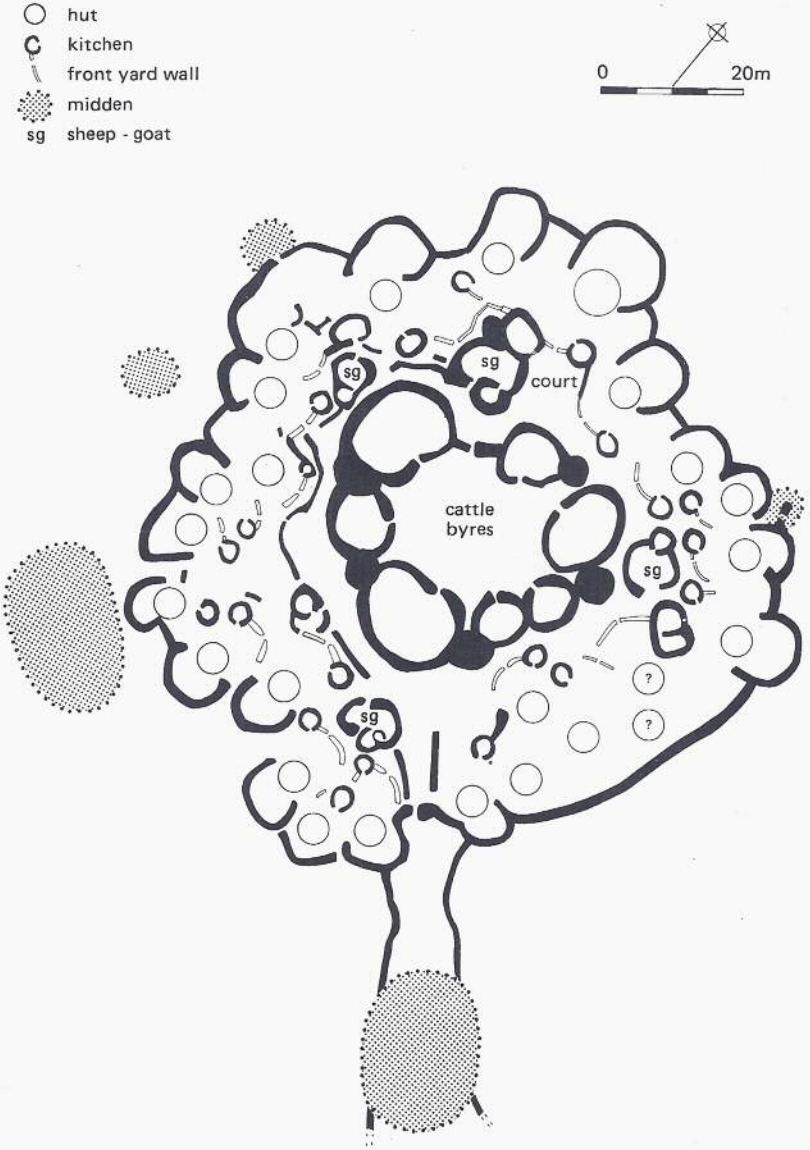

Figure 6.2 Ground plan of the eastern unit at Boschoek in the Suikerbosrand near Johannesburg.

almost exclusively to the domain of men. Because cattle are the best sacrifice to ancestor spirits, as well as male property, it was appropriate to bury important men and sometimes their family in the central cattle area. Many of the men, furthermore, were buried in ox skins. In situations where the dung was removed for fuel, one would expect these elite graves along the edge or under the wall of the byre, and burials in this position have been recorded by Walton (1958) and

Maggs (1976:82). These graves form a link through the ancestors to the traditional past, and religious ceremonies of a public nature occur here, such as those associated with sowing, firstfruits, and harvest. Because of these concepts of continuity and community involvement, produce from tribute or public fields was stored in this area for court use and future crises. Among Nguni speakers (e.g., Tyler 1891:42) and the Pedi (Quin 1959:137), for example, grain pits were dug in the cattle byre for long-term storage purposes. At Boschoek, however, the dung was removed for fuel and bedrock was near the surface, so such grain pits were impractical. Instead of pits, storage containers were probably erected above ground. Tall solid platforms between the cattle byres could have served this purpose. Excavations show that these platforms were not used as burial cairns, and so they probably functioned as the foundations for grain bins of some kind (Taylor 1984). In addition to the community storage facilities and elite burials, the central cattle area was used for certain stages of boys' initiation ceremonies and for secret meetings of the leader. Thus the central cattle area was a focus of male economic, ritual, and political activity.

Because of this male focus, the central cattle area was universally associated with the men's court. The court was below the byres in some Swazi (Ziervogel 1957) and Pedi settlements (Pitje 1950), in the middle in nineteenth-century Zulu capitals (e.g., Gardiner 1836), and above the byre in some Thlaping (Pauw 1960) and Ngwaketse settlements (Schapera 1943). At Boschoek the court was most likely above the central byre, for this is the only open space of sufficient size in the hamlet.

Besides political discussion, men ate in the court and spent most of the day here in manly activities, such as wood working, bone working, and skin working. As Campbell noted in 1813,

> [Dithakong, the capital of the Thlaping] is divided into a number of districts, perhaps fifty, separated from each other, having each a Headman, (or Alderman,) and a place enclosed for public resort, where the men spend the greater part of the day together, dressing skins, and making knives and various articles. (1815:187)

The court at Boschoek is in a middle zone along with five sets of small enclosures irregularly spaced around the central area. One of these smaller features contains a linteled doorway too low for cattle, and so they were most likely enclosures for small stock. As a rule most Bantu agriculturalists pen their sheep and goats together but away from cattle to avoid injury. Kids and lambs are generally separated from their mothers for the same reason and also, as with calves, to provide more milk and to encourage their mothers to stay in the pen at night. Significantly, most of these middle enclosures include small internal alcoves suitable for kids and lambs.

The small stock enclosure next to the court, however, includes two features not found in the others. The first is one of the solid-stone storage platforms. Many leaders tried to save some grain from their public fields to sell to strangers should their own crops fail, and this produce was usually stored near the court, where the transactions took place. The second feature, a small cattle byre, is also associated with the functions of the court. Various leaders kept a special byre

for stray cattle to keep them out of the fields and so forth until they could be claimed or redistributed. This byre, like the storage platform, should also be built near the court. Thus, both anomalous features are explicable by their specific location.

The small stock enclosures and the court are surrounded by an outer zone of about 22 residential compartments. The largest of these is located behind the court, opposite the main entrance to the settlement unit. This location is significant because the front of a settlement was reserved for public, secular, and dangerous activities, while the back was restricted to private, sacred, and life-giving functions. As part of this spatial network, the area immediately behind the chief's residence was reserved for rainmaking rituals. Some Sotho-Tswana (Schapera 1930), for example, kept special pots with rain medicine in this position, and some Northern Transvaal Ndebele (Jackson 1969) built a "rain kraal" here. Other Ndebele (Loubser 1981) planted river reeds in this spot as part of the same spatial expression. This spatial arrangement meant that the most important person lived at the back in the most protected position. Thus the large compartment behind the court at Boschoek was most likely the residence of the hamlet's headman.

The headman's residence, like all others, was ordered according to the public-private principle. Burchell (1824:516–517, 520) described a typical organization:

> The dwelling-house generally stands in the middle of the enclosure, which is divided into a front-court and a back-yard. The floor of these is formed of clay tempered with the manure from the cattle pounds, and beaten or spaced exactly level, and perfectly smooth. . . . In most of the [Thlaping] houses, the back part inwardly and outwardly, is divided from the front, by traverse walls; and in the same manner a cross fence separates the front-court from the back-yard. This after part [of the house] was not enclosed by walls; it might be considered as an open shed, and was generally intended as a granary or storeroom for the principal bulk of their dry provisions.

The front court of the headman's residence at Boschoek is marked by low stones that formed the core of a daga (clay and dung) wall. A circular stone wall to the right of the entrance was also probably plastered with daga, and it probably functioned as a kitchen. Kitchens like this one were often roofless, and the walls merely served as windbreaks. In some related stone-wall settlements, in fact, only hearths have been found in this position, and the courtyard walls apparently provided the only shelter (e.g., Maggs 1976:240).

Backyards of the household at Boschoek are defined by arcs of thick stone walls that form the outer perimeter of the unit. These backyards would have contained privately owned granaries (Casalis 1859; Quin 1959) and the grave sites of women and men of low status (Mönnig 1967:139; Schapera 1953:139). The private nature of this backyard, moreover, is respected even during burial rites. Among the Pedi, for example, only close kin attend the grave while other mourners stay in the more public front yard (Mönnig 1967:140).

This public versus private dichotomy also influences the expressive space of a Southern Bantu house. Ancestor spirits, for instance, are associated with the threshold of the doorway during group rituals, such as the purification of widows

(Willoughby 1928:69), but they are invoked for individual purposes at the back. Furthermore, a corpse should be removed through the back wall (Willoughby 1928:69), ancestral spears are stored at the back (Berglund 1976:102–103), and, as Burchell noted, women may keep their private storage vessels here.

Hut sites at Boschoek are marked by low mounds of burned daga in the middle of the bilobial enclosures. An excavated hut floor in an adjacent settlement complex was about 2.5 m across. A few fragments of grooved stone at the front served as the base of a sliding door, and a low, daga ridge on the opposite side partitioned off a back portion that contained broken pots *in situ* and a few pot sockets made in the floor. Both the sliding door base and daga partition are common features of Moloko settlements with this bilobial pattern (e.g., Maggs 1976; Mason 1974; Taylor 1979a).

Besides the life-forces principle, the spatial organization of a Southern Bantu settlement is also governed by attitudes toward status. As Mackenzie observed in the nineteenth century, a status principle governed the disposition of hamlets in a complex:

> In laying out a Bechuana town, the first thing to do is to ascertain where the chief's courtyard with the public cattle-pen is to be placed. As soon as this is settled the remainder is simple. . . . [A]s soon as the chief's position is ascertained, one says, "My place is always next to the chief on this side," and another adds "And mine is always next on that side" and so on till the whole town is laid out. (1871:367; see also Schapera 1943:72)

Attitudes toward status are often expressed through height. A settlement unit, for example, should face downslope when possible so the residence of the senior man will be upslope behind the court, as at Boschoek, and the ritual rain area will be higher still. Second, status can also be expressed through left- and right-hand positions. A house is often divided into left-hand female and right-hand male sides (Ashton 1952; de Jager 1964), and houses are usually arranged on both sides of the senior residence according to some alternating system of status. Among the Sotho-speaking Pedi, for example, a man's second wife should live to the left of his first wife, and his third should live to the right (Mönnig 1967:212). Unfortunately, the effect of such a pattern on material remains is not clear, and it is not yet possible to recognize what kind of status arrangement existed within stone-walled hamlets such as the one at Boschoek.

The final facet of the Bantu Cattle Pattern that I present is more apparent than that of status. Stone-walled settlements were originally established to accommodate a specific number of families, and any substantial growth must necessarily alter the original layout. The cramped conditions of some of the bilobial compartments and the straight wall on the southeast side of the Boschoek hamlet show that growth occurred here. Taylor's (1984) plan of another unit in the same complex illustrates more extensive alterations. Such dynamism does not necessarily obscure a settlement's original design, but it does make it more difficult to discern. Indeed, without an ethnographic model, it is almost impossible to understand the organization of some settlements.

The application of this Bantu Cattle Pattern to Boschoek is theoretically justified because the settlement complex was roughly contemporary with the beginning of the ethnographic record for this area (see Mason 1968 for a similar interpretation of another settlement). My extension of this model to older sites, however, has been criticized as being "synonymous with general ethnographic analogy" on the grounds that historical lines were short lived, forcing me to broaden their application by adopting Kuper's concept of a Southern Bantu culture area (Hall 1983, 1984). This criticism is wrong for both empirical and theoretical reasons. First, some historical lines do have a substantial time depth. Moloko sites, for instance, have published radiocarbon dates in the fourteenth century (e.g., Hall and Vogel 1980; Hanisch 1979; Moore 1981) and unpublished dates in the twelfth century (T. M. Evers, personal communication, 1984), and a ceramic tradition associated with Nguni speakers can be traced back to the eleventh century in Natal (Robey 1980). More important than these empirical errors, however, is the fact that the Bantu Cattle Pattern reflects a cognitive system, rather than ethnic identity. Indeed, Kuper (1980, 1982) originally derived the model from the ethnography of both Sotho–Tswana and Nguni speakers, language families that encompass several ethnic groups. Although ethnic identity may be expressed through some of the variations, the Bantu Cattle Pattern itself is not restricted by ethnicity.

The distribution of this pattern in recent times helps to delimit its extent. The Bantu Cattle Pattern is not found among the matrilineal Central Bantu who own few if any cattle, such as the Chewa (e.g., Bruwer 1949), or among non–Bantu speakers in East Africa who own many cattle, such as the Masai (Johnston 1902:Chapter 19). This pattern, instead, appears to be limited to Bantu speakers who are predominantly patrilineal and who exchange cattle for wives. Therefore the presence of this pattern in the archaeological record is persuasive evidence for a distinctive culture system wherever it appears.

There seems no reason not to accept the presence of central cattle byres with burials and storage facilities as sufficient evidence for the entire spatial pattern and corresponding culture system. If this cluster of traits is diagnostic, then it is possible to extend the Bantu Cattle Pattern beyond relatively recent stone-walled settlements to many different Iron Age units (Figure 6.3): for example, fourteenth–fifteenth-century Moloko settlements without stone walls, such as Icon (Hanisch 1979), Ficus (Moore 1981), and Nylsvley (B.N.S. Fordyce, personal communication, 1982); twelfth- to fourteenth-century Leopards Kopje B sites in Zimbabwe, such as Woolandale Mound II (Huffman 1984c; Robinson 1966b); tenth- to eleventh-century Leopard's Kopje A sites, such as Leopard's Kopje (Huffman 1974) and Pont Drift (Hanisch 1980); tenth- to twelfth-century Toutswe sites in Botswana, such as Toutswemogala and Kgaswe (Denbow 1983); ninth- to twelfth-century Eiland-related sites, including Moritsane (Denbow 1981, 1983) in Botswana and Bambo (Loubser 1981) in the central Transvaal; seventh- to tenth-century Zhizo sites, including Taukome (Denbow 1979, 1982) in Botswana and Schroda (Hanisch 1980) in the northern Transvaal; and finally a seventh-century Lydenburg site called Langdraai (T. M. Evers, personal communication, 1981) in the eastern Transvaal. This list, however, does not yet extend to the earliest

Figure 6.3 Location of some Iron Age sites with the Bantu Cattle Pattern.

Iron Age settlements in southern Africa, and so it is still a matter of debate whether the Bantu Cattle Pattern evolved within the area or was introduced with the earliest migration of Bantu speakers. This 1200-year long chronology is sufficient, however, to clarify the origin and essential differences of the second spatial

pattern, that associated with the Zimbabwe culture. I turn now to this second organization of space.

Zimbabwe Culture Pattern

The second settlement arrangement differs from the Bantu Cattle Pattern in that the organization of an ordinary village was distinct from that of a royal administrative center. Within these centers the court was not associated with a cattle byre, elite people were buried on hills rather than in byres, and prestige stone walls distinguished a hilltop palace as well as the residence of important men, certain national ritual and educational centers and sometimes the quarters of the leader's wives. In comparison to the Bantu Cattle Pattern, this organization reflects a society with marked social distinctions (Huffman 1981, 1984b).

Although the Zimbabwe pattern did not survive among Shona people in Zimbabwe beyond the beginning of the nineteenth century, Venda society provides a model of the important social distinctions in the Zimbabwe culture. A Venda model is justified for this purpose for several reasons: The Venda language is a unique amalgamation of Western Shona and Sotho (Wentzel 1983); various Venda clans are known to have come from Zimbabwe, including the present ruling royalty (Stayt 1931; van Warmelo 1940) as well as earlier Mbedzi (Ralushai and Grey 1977); Venda court art was derived from that of the Shona (Nettleton 1984); and Venda settlement organization is clearly a variant of the Zimbabwe Culture Pattern, rather than that of the Southern Bantu (see van der Waal 1979). Thus, the Venda form a valid ethnohistoric continuity of the Zimbabwe culture. Due caution, of course, is necessary in selecting customs of present-day Venda to typify the Zimbabwe complex as a whole. Nevertheless, a comparison of sixteenth-century Portuguese eyewitness accounts (e.g., dos Santos, in Theal 1898–1903:Vol. 7), Shona oral tradition (e.g., Bullock 1927; Frobenius 1931; Hodza and Fortune 1979; Posselt 1935), and Venda ethnology (e.g., Stayt 1931; van Warmelo 1932) shows that many features of a formal bureaucracy were widespread.

First, Shona and Venda rulers possessed attributes of "divine kingship," manifested in crocodile symbolism, mountain imagery, the ceremony of the door, seclusion, ritual suicide, and special burial practices. This ritualization of leadership served to solidify the distinction between royalty and commoners. Membership in the upper class, furthermore, was restricted by reciprocal marriage patterns. Brother–sister marriage, for example, was entirely restricted to royalty, and, among the Venda at least, royal lineages were both father-in-law and son-in-law to each other (van Warmelo 1948) so that women moved across rather than down as they often do among the Southern Bantu (e.g., Preston-Whyte 1974). Second, royalty controlled access to wealth and political power. Among the Venda, royalty were said to have owned all cattle (Stayt 1931:37; van Warmelo 1967:1121), so that the bride-price of commoners consisted of small stock, hoes, and so on and no commoner could afford a royal wife. As a result of this control, royalty held the

most senior administrative posts. Third, the courts were primarily places for commoners' disputes, not places to maintain justice between subjects and rulers (van Warmelo 1949:1028). Therefore, such royal problems as chiefly succession and boundary disagreements were held "in camera," and only the results were announced to the nation, for otherwise a chief's court was thought to have submitted itself to a lower authority. I now expand this description by analyzing the organization of space at Great Zimbabwe: I concentrate on the spatial expression of divine kingship and of class distinctions.

Radiocarbon dates place the beginning of Great Zimbabwe at about A.D. 1240 and its abandonment toward the middle of the fifteenth century (Hall and Vogel 1980; Robinson 1961a). House mounds, middens, and soil pits cover 700 ha and show that the town was some 4 km across (Huffman 1981). This makes Great Zimbabwe the largest known prehistoric settlement in southern Africa, and we can be confident that it was the headquarters of a powerful leader. In accordance with Portuguese descriptions of similar leaders, I refer to this person as a "king."

The king's court was probably in the large natural amphitheater in the valley, since this is the only open space in the central area (Figure 6.4). In contrast to courts in the Bantu Cattle Pattern, this court was not associated with a cattle byre. In fact, no evidence has been found to suggest that cattle were kept anywhere in the town center. I take this to mean that cattle were largely royal property, while the courts were a place for commoners' disputes.

According to Shona custom, the court in the center of town was organized by the king's principal councillor. This man also arranged the king's private audiences, and he was probably one of the most powerful persons in the kingdom. Because of this high status and dual role, his residence was probably in the stone enclosure now called the Terrace Enclosure (or Camp Ruins), where, on the one hand, he could literally overlook the court as he did administratively and, on the other, he could escort official visitors up the central hill.

The intermediary role of this councillor is expressed in the proverb "to climb a mountain you must go zig-zag" (Hamutyinei and Plangger 1974:Proverb 1234); that is, an important man should not be approached directly but through another person.

This proverb also utilizes another metaphor. To Shona, the height and grandeur of mountains are comparable to the high status and majesty of kingship, and mountains are symbols of authority (e.g., Posselt 1935:142). As a consequence, the principal stone enclosures in most settlements are on hilltops or rises, for example, Khami (Robinson 1959), Musimbira (Monore and Spies 1975), Chipukuswi (Houser 1975), and Matendere (Caton-Thompson 1931:Chapter 9), or in artificially elevated positions, such as at Dhlo Dhlo and Regina (White 1905). Without doubt, then, the palace complex at Great Zimbabwe can be identified with the stone enclosures on the central hill (see Figure 6.5 for sites).

This mountain imagery was one element in the cluster of traits denoting class distinctions and divine kingship. Another related element was the ritual seclusion of the king in his hilltop palace. Among the Venda this aloofness meant that it

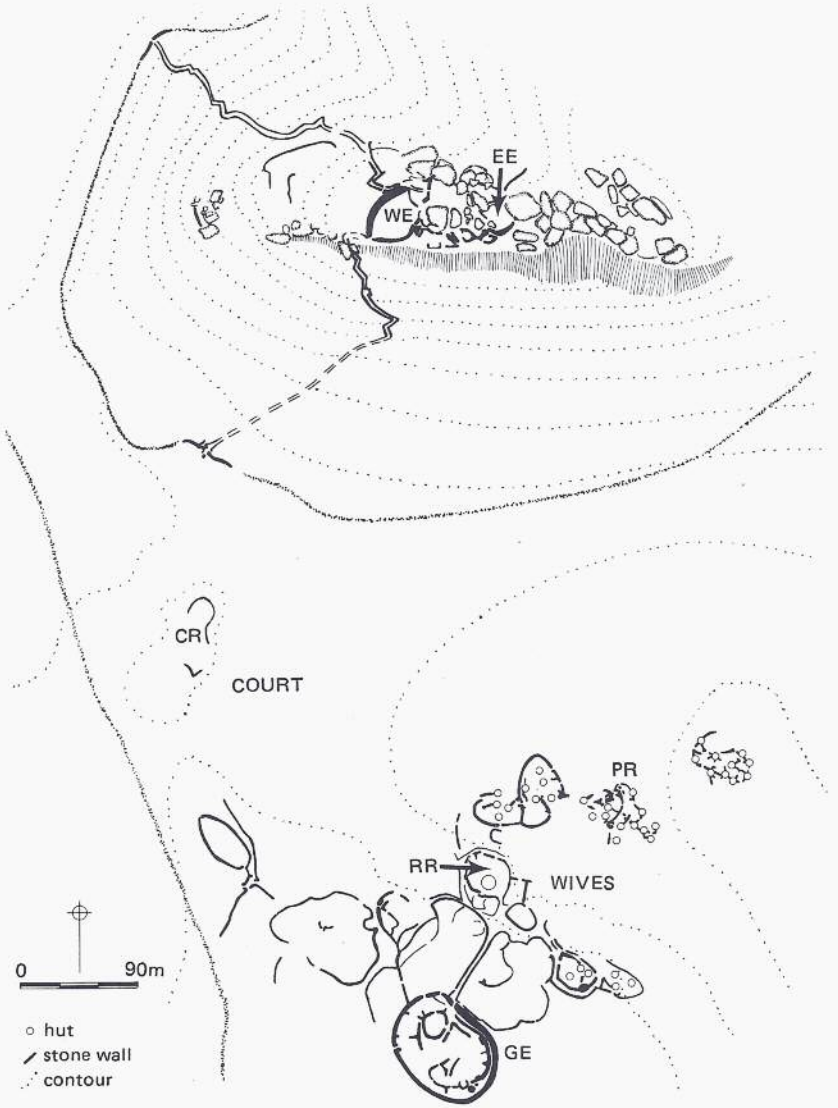

Figure 6.4 Plan of the central area at Great Zimbabwe: CR, Camp Ruins; EE, Eastern Enclosure; GE, Great Enclosure; PR, Philips Ruin; RR, Renders Ruin; WE, Western Enclosure.

was possible for some people to live in the capital and almost never see the chief (V. N. Ralushai, personal communication, 1984).

The Western Enclosure at the front of the palace was probably the secluded residence of the king at Great Zimbabwe because this is the only compartment with a substantial amount of residential debris (Robinson 1961a). This area

Figure 6.5 Location of some Zimbabwe culture sites.

furthermore has yielded some of the earliest gold, the earliest stone walling (Whitty 1961), and the earliest houses built of solid daga—a characteristic of Zimbabwe-period dwellings. In addition, a ritual bronze spearhead was found here. According to Portuguese sources, the royal insignia of one sixteenth-century king included a spear with a gold lancelike point that denoted justice and defense. Since the spearhead from the Western Enclosure is much too elaborate and thin for normal use, it was most likely such an insignia.

This spearhead is part of a nexus of related symbols that includes architectural features in the palace. The massive front wall of this enclosure was elaborately decorated with several stone turrets and monoliths. These monoliths are known today by local Shona as the "horns of the ruler," meaning the king stands in relation to his people as a bull does to its herd: As a bull defends its herd with its horn, so the king defends his people with his spear, that is, his army.

These "horns" stand above the main entrance to the king's chamber, which is linked to the court by a prominent stairway that began near the home of the chief councillor. This prominent stairway up the hill would have been used by

the king, his inner council, members of his personal entourage, and official visitors seeking private audience. In most cases these people would have been men, and so the "horns" designated a male entrance. Similar pathways exist today in traditional Venda settlements. The court and royal residence in Chief Tshivhase's and Chief Khakhu's capitals, for example, are linked by a special stone stairway that is lined with wooden monoliths and used by male visitors (van der Waal 1979); most women living in the royal area use other less conspicuous paths or only the lower portion of the main stairway.

Women approaching the palace at Great Zimbabwe probably used the northern stairway on the far side of the hill from the court. This northern stairway is less elaborate and leads up to an inconspicuous side doorway to the king's residence opposite the prominent men's entrance at the front. This separation into a principal entrance for men and a secondary entrance for women is in keeping with Shona attitudes toward senior and junior status. In a traditional Shona hut men sit on a raised bench on one side, while women sit opposite on the floor. What is more, the secondary side entrance is specially marked by a long vertical groove. Most investigators have considered these grooves to be doorjambs or simply niches for upright pillars, but both these interpretations can be rejected. Some grooves, such as the cluster in the Philips Ruin in the lower valley (Whitty 1957:371), are in impossible positions for doorjambs, and in any case Shona, like Venda, did not have hinged doors. Traditional Shona doors were harr-hung (Bent 1986:259; Stayt 1931:55), that is, an upper projection of the door passed through a hole in a lintel while a lower one rotated in a socket in the doorway. Furthermore, only one groove at Great Zimbabwe was found supporting an upright object, and no object has been found in a groove in any other related settlement although the grooves themselves exist in several, for example Chibvumani (Caton-Thompson 1931:Chapter 10), Majiri (Hall 1905b), Matendere (Caton-Thompson 1931:Chapter 9), Musimbira (Monroe and Spies 1975), Tere (Wieschhoff 1941), and Tsindi (Rudd 1968, 1984). Most of these grooves were made to be seen rather than used as doorjambs or other supports. Similar shaped notches on Shona headrests and Venda divining tablets are female symbols (Nettleton 1984), and the grooves are best interpreted in the same way. The grooved doorway to the king's residence, therefore, probably designated a women's entrance just as the "horns" designated the men's approach.

Even though the women's stairway and side entrance reflect a junior status, whoever used this entrance would still have had to be of great importance to command a special stone stairway and direct access to the king. Shona custom provides the answer. The most important woman in the kingdom was the king's sister, the senior female representative of the ruler's historical line. Shona clan traditions recall the sister of the founding father (and successive founding fathers of subclans) as the "great ancestress"; she was responsible for the charms that allowed the king to govern and prevented his harm while hunting or engaged in war (Hodza and Fortune 1979:15). Earlier records indicate that this ritual position was institutionalized (Bocarro, in Theal 1898–1903:Vol. 3, 357) and that the king's

sister was an advisor to him on national issues. For these reasons the senior sister lived near the king. The king may have also been married to her although the documents are ambiguous on this point. In any case brother–sister marriage was sanctioned among royals, and such a marriage, like the role of the sister, was another element of divine kingship.

The separate stairways and entrances show that the hill complex was organized according to attitudes about male and female status. Another organizational principle was based on attitudes about life-forces. Shona, like the Southern Bantu, consider the front of a house and settlement to be a public area associated with secular activities, while the back is a private area associated with sacred and life-giving forces. In Shona cosmology the west is also associated with danger and death and the east with life, and because of this the front and back of a settlement, respectively, are sometimes oriented toward these cardinal points. Apparently, Great Zimbabwe was also oriented this way because the Outer Perimeter Wall circumscribes only the western half of the hill and court complex, and the massive front wall of the palace faces west. In any case the back of this enclosure must have been a private and sacred area.

Among traditional Shona a man communicates with his ancestor spirit at a platform at the back of a kitchen where pots are stacked (Gelfand 1959:9). It is also here during spirit possession ceremonies that an *mbira* (thumb piano) player sits while he "calls" the ancestor with his music, and, once the medium is possessed, he too sits on this platform (Andrew Tracy, personal communication, 1981). This platform at the back of a hut, therefore, is part of a network of locations reserved for sacred activities.

A comparable but unusual platform dominates the back of the Western Enclosure. This platform area originally included at least three plain monoliths and three highly decorated beams (Bent 1896). The surface of one beam was covered with various bands of excised diamond motifs with small circles in the center, a pattern representing crocodiles in Shona art (Nettleton 1984). Further crocodile imagery appears to have been intended by the large panel of dentelle decoration at the back of the platform. Dentelle decoration is formed by arranging triangular edges of stone on top of each other to form protruding ridges, and these ridges appear to have been derived from the ridges on the backs of crocodiles. Shona chiefs were metaphorically linked to crocodiles through common associations with the ancestor spirit world and rainmaking. According to legend, the founding father of the Shona, the first man and rainmaker, came from the spirit world at the bottom of a sacred pool of water (Frobenius 1931:237–240). The king as "father" of the nation is directly linked to this person; hence the Venda say "the pool has dried up" on the death of a chief (van Warmelo 1940:35). Crocodiles above all other animals are associated with deep pools and the spirit world beneath. Furthermore, they can bring rain (Hemans 1913), like chiefs, and they are even metaphorically referred to as "headman of the water" by Venda (Blacking 1969:94). This link between crocodiles and royal rulers is made explicit during a chief's installation. A new Rozvi chief, for example, was supposed to

eat food cooked with the stones taken from the stomach of a male crocodile that he personally had caught in a deep pool (Bullock 1927:289), symbolically becoming a crocodile, and chiefs in eastern Zimbabwe are reputed to have spent one night in a hut with a crocodile as part of their installation (von Sicard 1954:54–56). Moreover, some Venda chiefs kept a stuffed crocodile in their sleeping hut (Stayt 1931:204), and crocodile symbolism pervades Venda court art (Nettleton 1984:Chapter 4). This crocodile symbolism was a further element of divine kingship, in this case linking the king to the first man, and it is therefore appropriate that a "crocodile" pattern should be part of the sanctuary for the king's ancestor spirits.

The king's sanctuary also contained one of the famous soapstone birds. This bird stone, and six others found on the hill, highlight further the relationship between the king's religious and political positions. In Shona ideology birds are messengers (Kriel 1971:74–75), and large birds, especially the bateleur eagle, can be messengers and hosts of important ancestor spirits. Because eagles travel between heaven and earth, they can also be messengers of God. Since ancestor spirits are unencumbered by human bodies, they are free to soar like birds, and royal ancestor spirits are said to travel between earth and heaven, in a similar way to eagles, interceding with God on behalf of the nation. Significantly, the stone birds themselves exhibit human attributes, such as toes rather than talons (Garlake 1973:Plates 68–79; Huffman 1981), pointing to an intentional blend of allied concepts about eagles and spirits. Thus, the eagle theme was a metaphor for the intercessory role of royal ancestor spirits.

Royal ancestors, as opposed to those of commoners, were concerned with national problems, such as epidemics and drought, along with the personal welfare of the reigning king. The king probably petitioned his ancestors for his own personal welfare at the sanctuary at the back of the Western Enclosure because this structure is only large enough for private worship.

The other six soapstone birds on the hill were found together in the Eastern Enclosure at the very back of the palace. Not only is this rear position behind the king's residence sacred, the spiritual significance of this area is enhanced by immense boulders and a rockshelter. Hills and rocks like these are associated with important ancestor spirits in the same way as they are with important men, and caves are important entrances to the spirit world, just like deep pools. Since this Eastern Enclosure was also devoid of normal residential debris, yielding only unusual items such as soapstone bowls and numerous monoliths, this area was sacred even without the birds.

Unfortunately, the six birds were removed from here at the end of the nineteenth century (Bent 1896; Posselt 1924), and it is no longer possible to establish their original positions. The best guess is that they were mounted on low terraces toward the back of the enclosure, rather than in the front. This front portion contains a long bench and space for a sizable congregation. So in contrast to the king's private sanctuary at the back of his official residence, this ritual area has a national character.

The close proximity of this ritual center to the audience chamber reflects the link between the political and spiritual roles of the king and his senior sister. Since the king and this sister were the senior members of the royal line, they were principally responsible for invoking the royal ancestors on behalf on the nation. Indeed, the relationship of the king and his sister to the national ancestors was a particularly important element of divine kingship and shows that the palace was a symbol of sacred as well as secular authority.

Divine kingship was associated with considerable pomp and ceremony. From oral traditions and sixteenth-century descriptions we know that royal palaces were surrounded by soldiers, praisers, musicians, and dancers:

> Quiteve has a guard of two or three hundred men.
>
> The king has another class of [people], who are called [praisers], . . . These also go round and round the royal dwelling, shouting in very harsh voices many songs and discourses in praise of the king, in the course of which they will call him lord of the sun and moon, king of the land and the rivers, conqueror of his enemies, great in all things, . . . When the king goes out he is surrounded and encircled by these [praisers], who recite these praises to him with loud cries, to the sound of small drums, iron and bells.
>
> Quiteve also makes use of another class of [people], great musicians and dancers, who have no other office than to sit at the first room of the king's palace, at the outer door, and round his dwelling, playing many different musical instruments, and singing to them a great variety of songs and discourses in praise of the king. (dos Santos, in Theal 1898–1903:Vol. 7, 201–208)

Such an entourage of official servants probably stayed on the western slopes of Zimbabwe Hill where they could surround the front of the king's residence.

According to further documentary and oral evidence, royal wives lived in their own area with their own servants under the general authority of the king's first wife, rather than in the palace with the king.

> The dwelling in which the monomotapa resides is very large, and is composed of many houses surrounded by a great wooden fence, within which there are three dwellings, one for his own person, one for the queen, and another for his servants who wait upon him within doors. There are three doors opening upon a great court-yard, one for the service of the queen, beyond which no man may pass, but only women. (Bocarro, in Theal 1898–1903:Vol. 3, 356)

The residence of the king's first wife was probably in the Renders Ruin because of an unusual hoard of items that was found there. This hoard included ritual bronze spearheads like the one from the Western Enclosure as well as double iron gongs, elephant tusks, gold beads, Near Eastern glass, and Chinese celadon plates (Hall 1905a:132–134, 387–388). Some of the exotic imports may have been gifts from East Coast traders, but the spearheads and gongs were associated with the king's office. According to Shona custom, the only person with the right and duty to take care of a leader's possessions is his first wife, and so it follows that the king's first wife must have lived in this enclosure.

Various stone passages and walkways radiate out from the first wife's residence to other enclosures in the valley. These valley enclosures, including the Renders Ruin, contain over 80% of all the symbolic grooves. Significantly, these grooves

are not paired with monoliths as in the palace where both the king and his sister were present, but occur instead on their own throughout each building (e.g., Caton-Thompson 1931:Plate LVII). Consequently, these valley enclosures were probably an exclusively female area.

One passage leads from the Renders Ruin to the Great Enclosure on the western side of the wives' area. This Great Enclosure is the largest building in the town, and if nothing else, its enormous size testifies to the tremendous labor force under the king's control. The impressive size of this building has led to the belief that it was the residence of the king or his first wife or that it was the national ritual center. But as I have shown, the sites for these activities were probably located elsewhere.

A different function of the Great Enclosure is indicated by a strange assortment of human, animal and abstract figurines that were found inside (Hall 1905a:103–106, 110). Throughout central and southern Africa, figurines such as these were used in initiation schools where youths were prepared for adulthood (e.g., Richards 1945). Since a cluster of these figurines has no other primary purpose in this part of Bantu Africa, the concentration of them in the Great Enclosure indicates that this building was an initiation center. The close analogy with the Domba school of the Venda (Blacking 1969) suggests the center included premarital initiations (see Huffman 1984b for details and Blacking 1985 and Huffman 1985 for a debate on this hypothesis).

This new hypothesis explains the location, organization, and internal features of the Great Enclosure. The building was located in the wives' area because the school belonged to the domain of women. At the same time the building was on the edge of the wives' area because both boys and girls participated. Separate entrances and other features represented various status distinctions, which was a theme of the school, and a high back wall shielded the area where secret lessons were taught. The lessons concerned proper behavior and were taught through proverbs, riddles, songs, and dramas that used the figurines and other symbols inside the building as teaching aids. This initiation hypothesis is applicable to buildings in several other Zimbabwe settlements; in some places, in fact, the initiation center was the only other stone-walled area besides the palace. This center, therefore, was clearly an important feature of the Zimbabwe Culture Pattern. I argue that the initiation center was important because it was an integral part of political power. Besides providing a large labor force, the institution was an important means of enculcating national values that supported divine kingship and class distinctions.

Class distinction itself was manifested in the elite residences that formed the outer ring of the town, such as the Mtuzu, Mtero, Nemanwa, South East Enclosure, and Chenga ruins (Figure 6.6). At one time most of these outer buildings were thought to date to the eighteenth century, but they are all associated with Zimbabwe phase pottery, rather than a more recent style, and one of them, the Nemanwa Ruins, has been radiocarbon dated to the early fifteenth century (Pta-2429, in Hall and Vogel 1980). Consequently, these ruins

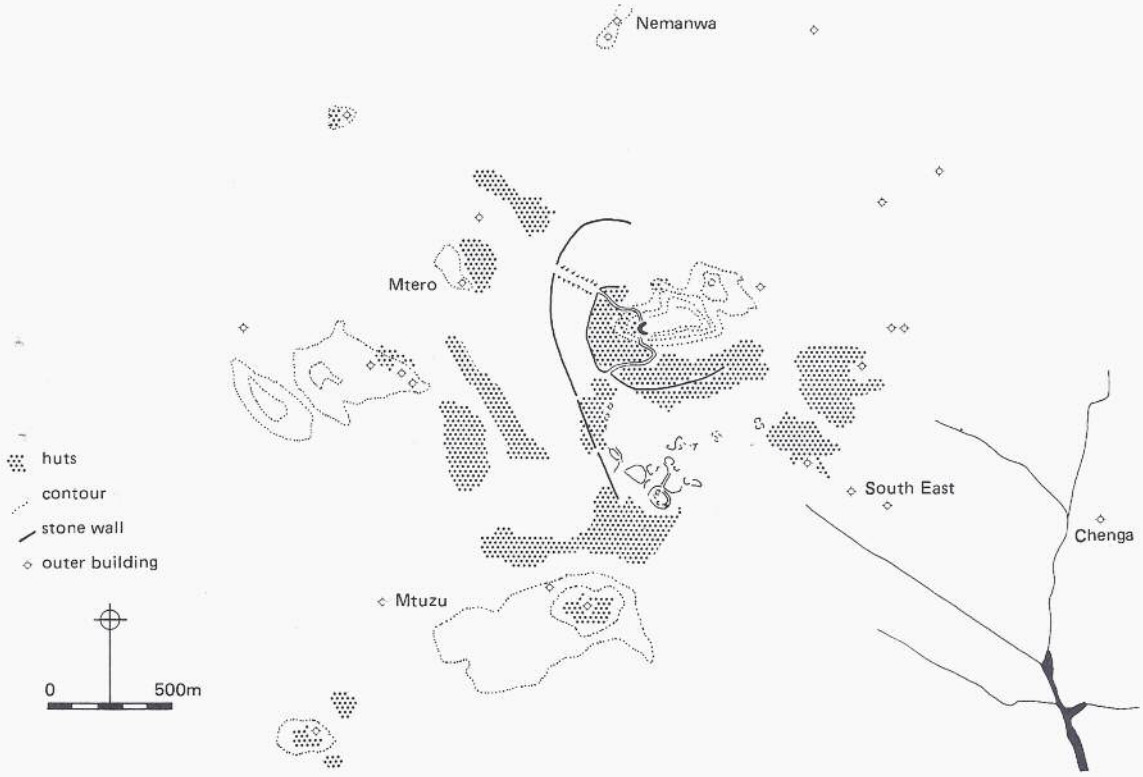

Figure 6.6 Schematic plan of Great Zimbabwe emphasizing commoner residences and outer buildings.

were part of Greater Zimbabwe and show that some important people lived on the outskirts of the urban center. In traditional Tswana settlements today, important kinsmen of a chief live in similar situations because they are competitors for leadership (Schapera 1970). Since the same kind of competition would have existed at Great Zimbabwe, it is likely that these prestigious residences were inhabited by such members of the royal family.

Other people, however, lived in densely clustered huts outside the stone enclosures. Excavations in three of these areas uncovered only ordinary utensils such as domestic pottery, grindstones, and iron hoes and common ornaments such as glass beads and metal bangles. The distribution of these residential areas shows that far more people lived like this than in the stone enclosures, and this large population obviously formed the commoner substratum of the town.

Thus the spatial organization of Great Zimbabwe reflects various aspects of divine kingship and its relationship to class distinctions and political power. This relationship characterizes the organization of Zimbabwe culture settlements with stone-walled areas throughout Zimbabwe, Botswana, Moçambique, and the northern Transvaal.

The spatial organization of commoner settlements, on the other hand, is significantly different. Commoner settlements are identified by assemblages of Zimbabwe tradition pottery in small open sites without stone walls. Relatively few of these settlements have been located, but this is because attention has been focused on elite buildings and not, as Garlake (1978) asserts, because these sites are ephemeral pastoral camps. Commoner settlements are recorded in Zimbabwe (Huffman 1978a; Robinson 1958; Sinclair 1984) the northern Transvaal (E.O.M. Hanisch, personal communication, 1981), and eastern Botswana (C. van Waarden, personal communication, 1984), and those that have been investigated are characterized by the Bantu Cattle Pattern: Grain bin supports encompass pole-and-daga houses that in turn surround central dung deposits. Since very few cattle were actually penned inside large settlements such as Great Zimbabwe, even though many were consumed there (Brain 1974; Thorp 1984), it is likely that the herds of the political elite were kept in small open settlements like these. The dichotomy between commoner and elite settlements is further evidence of a culture system based on class distinctions. The organization of these commoner settlements, furthermore, provides a clue to the origins of the bureaucratic class.

The origin of the Zimbabwe culture has long been the focus of considerable debate, ranging from ill-informed opinions about exotic colonies to serious hypotheses emphasizing religion, pastoralism, and trade. At one time Great Zimbabwe itself was thought to have been the place of origin, but now we know that this complex evolved out of the Bantu Cattle culture in the Shashi–Limpopo Basin, where present-day Botswana, Zimbabwe, and South Africa meet (Huffman 1982). This evolution was the single most significant cultural change in the Iron Age of southern Africa and is of interest to sociocultural anthropologists as well as archaeologists. I now outline the basic sequence, emphasizing those transformations that concern class distinctions and divine kingship.

Transformations

In the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. the Shashi–Limpopo Basin was inhabited by a group of Bantu agriculturalists known as Zhizo. The largest and politically most important Zhizo settlement was Schroda (Hanisch 1980), since it was some 50,000 m^2 in extent, whereas other Zhizo sites in the area varied from 2000 to 6000 m^2 (e.g., Garlake 1967).

The spatial organization of Schroda is typical of the Bantu Cattle Pattern, and so the wealth of this chiefdom would have been largely based on cattle. Another source of wealth, however, was also present. The mopane woodland of the Shashi–Limpopo Basin is prime elephant country, and ivory would have been easily available. In addition, the rivers that drain the western gold reefs of Zimbabwe flow into the Shashi and Limpopo near their confluence, and it would have been possible to pan for alluvial gold anywhere in this region (Trevor and Mellor 1908). Significantly, Schroda is the earliest known Bantu settlement in the

interior of southern Africa to yield a substantial number of locally made ivory objects and imported glass beads.

Archaeologists in Moçambique, moreover, have recently discovered contemporaneous coastal trading stations that probably supplied the glass beads to Schroda (Sinclair 1982). Reconnaissance of the coastal plain around Vilanculous Bay and the Bazaruto Archipelago (Figure 6.1) yielded sites with Persian pottery and Islamic glass (Sinclair 1981). Preliminary excavations at one of these sites, Chibuene (Sinclair 1982), uncovered an eighth- to ninth-century deposit that contained glazed and unglazed wares like those from the early periods of Kilwa and Manda further up the East Coast (Chittik 1974). The Chibuene deposit also yielded several hundred yellow, green, and blue glass beads like those from Schroda, and some tubular blue beads in the collection are the same type as the earliest glass beads found anywhere in Zimbabwe. The Vilanculous area thus appears to have had the earliest coastal trading stations in southeast Africa, and the Shashi–Limpopo area appears to have been among the first in the interior of southern Africa to be integrated directly with the Indian Ocean commercial network. The international extent of this coastal trade is outlined in Arab and Portuguese documents (e.g., Barbosa, in Theal 1898–1903:Vol. 1, 97). Ivory, gold, and sometimes iron were taken to stations on the coast, such as Chibuene, where they were loaded on *dhows* or other ships and transported up the coast to whichever Arab ports in East Africa controlled the trade at the time. After the raw materials were taxed, traders used the southwest monsoon winds to reach southern Arabia, India, and even China, where they exchanged the gold and ivory for such items as glass beads, glazed ceramics, and cotton and silk cloths. The traders returned to the East Coast ports on the northeast monsoon a few months later and then made their way down the coast to begin the process all over again.

According to the archaeological record, the Zhizo people at Schroda did not maintain local control of this trade for long. In about A.D. 980 Leopard's Kopje pottery suddenly appears throughout the Shashi–Limpopo region. This massive ceramic introduction coincided with the abandonment of Schroda and the disappearance of Zhizo ceramics throughout the northern Transvaal and southwest Zimbabwe. I (1978b) have argued elsewhere that Leopard's Kopje belongs to a larger stylistic cluster that was brought into Zimbabwe by a large-scale movement of people. This hypothesis best explains the relationships between Leopard's Kopje and other members of the cluster, the disjunction between this cluster and the previous entities, the similarities between this cluster and Early Iron Age ceramics in South Africa, and the south to north trend in radiocarbon dates of the cluster. Since no disjunctions of a similar kind or magnitude exist in the archaeological record of Zimbabwe after this time, Leopard's Kopje and the other members of the cluster can be identified as the ancestors of present-day Shona speakers.

The largest and most important Leopard's Kopje settlement in the Shashi–Limpopo region was K2, a site with the Bantu Cattle Pattern about 6 km southwest

of Schroda. At one time K2 was thought to be a Hottentot rather than a Bantu settlement (Gardner 1963). This interpretation was greatly influenced by skeletal analyses that identified human burials from K2 as Boskop–Bush with no Negro traits (Galloway, in Fouche 1937; Galloway 1959). More recent analyses, however, show that the K2 people came from an essentially Negro breeding population (Rightmire 1970), as did other Leopard's Kopje and Zhizo communities, including Schroda (de Villiers, in Hanisch 1980 and in Huffman 1974). This radically different interpretation of Iron Age communities is the result of better comparative collections and better methods of analyses. Earlier analyses concentrated on a few individual traits thought to be significant, whereas studies since the mid-1960s attempt to characterize the total morphological pattern of an individual through multivariate procedures. The skeletal evidence now complements ceramic style and settlement organization and shows that K2 and Schroda people were Negroes, like the majority of other prehistoric Southern Bantu.

When the Leopard's Kopje people took over the Shashi–Limpopo area they must have also taken over the coastal trade, for K2 has produced considerably more ivory objects and glass beads than any other contemporaneous settlement (Voigt 1983). Most of these objects were found in an enormous midden next to the central cattle byre and court (Eloff and Meyer 1981; Gardner 1963; Meyer 1980). The court midden in the Bantu Cattle culture may comprise broken beer pots, the ash from the council fire, the remains of cattle slaughtered as fines or tribute, and the remains of wild animals shared among men or given as tribute to the chief. Alternatively, the central midden may be formed by the refuse from all the families that use the court. Whatever the case, the magnitude of a court midden is directly due to the political following of the leader.

By A.D. 1020 this court midden had become so large that it engulfed the central byre, and cattle were no longer kept in the center. This shift was probably due to a change in the function of the court and a restricted ownership of cattle, and it signals an early step in the evolution of a bureaucratic class.

By A.D. 1075 this midden had grown to a height of nearly 6 m above the old byre, and the raised valley in which K2 was situated was completely occupied. Recent excavations and radiocarbon dates (Eloff and Meyer 1981; Hall and Vogel 1980; Meyer 1980) show that an abrupt abandonment of K2 at this time coincided with an instantaneous increase of K2 people around Mapungubwe Hill, less than a kilometer away. Since considerably more living space was available at Mapungubwe, it is reasonable to infer that the capital was shifted there in order to accommodate a growing population. A natural amphitheater at the bottom of Mapungubwe Hill probably sheltered the new court because this is the only sizable area inside the town center free of residential debris (Figure 6.7). The absence of cattle dung anywhere in the vicinity indicates that a byre was not erected with the court; and so, the previous shift of cattle away from the court at K2 was a real spatial transformation and not the result of some temporary expediency.

When the capital was relocated at Mapungubwe, most people lived in front of the court, but a few moved onto the hill above. Since only the leader and his family live upslope behind the court in the Bantu Cattle Pattern, it is reasonable

Figure 6.7 Spatial changes in the evolution of the Zimbabwe culture at K2 and Mapungubwe: C, court; G, graves; RM, rainmaking area; W, wives' area.

to presume that the leader upslope at K2 moved uphill at Mapungubwe. This move uphill is the first time in the prehistory of southern Africa that leaders were so physically separated from their followers, and it is another indication of a developing bureaucratic class.

Shortly after the move from K2 to Mapungubwe, the K2 ceramic style began to change. Some argue that this change signaled the appearance of a new people, but the ceramic differences are not stylistically or numerically abrupt. Instead, the surface finish was merely enhanced, the earlier K2 designs became more complex, and the new types only gradually replaced the others. Rather than an ethnic replacement, these changes were more likely due to the emergence of full-time specialists who were a consequence of the growing population and developing class structure.

Other artifacts indicate continued contact with coastal traders. Spindle-whorls appear at about A.D. 1100 (Meyer 1980). These flat circular disks with central perforations were used as weights for spinning cotton thread. Since cotton weaving was a well-established craft in Swahili towns by this time (see Davison and Harries 1980 for references), the spindle-whorls at Mapungubwe, the earliest known in the interior, mark the introduction of weaving by coastal traders and perhaps the start of another craft specialty.

At the beginning of the trade, gold was probably more of a means to wealth than wealth itself, but by about A.D. 1150 gold objects had been locally manufactured. Unique items such as a rhinoceros and a "scepter" were made from thin sheets tacked onto wooden cores (Fouche 1937:Plates A–C). These gold items distinguished the graves of elite people who were buried on top of the hill, rather than in a cattle byre. This new elite burial location, along with the hilltop residence, reflects a new symbolic association between leadership and mountains—one of the elements of divine kingship.

By this time the spatial organization of Mapungubwe had been transformed into a new pattern in which stone walls demarcated important areas (Figure 6.7). One stone-walled residence was sited next to the court at the base of the hill. This residence was most likely occupied by the principal councillor, the man who organized court cases and appointments with the king. The main staircase led from this area through a narrow cleft to the hilltop, as at Great Zimbabwe. A large arc of stone walling enclosed a special hut complex on the hilltop above the graveyard. Rare Chinese celadon from this complex, together with the stone wall, indicate that the king lived here. Several huts stood in front of this wall, and stone boards for a men's game found among them suggest that the king's retinue of soldiers, praisers, and musicians lived in this area. The opposite side of the graveyard is reached by an inconspicuous passageway on the northwest end of the hill. The huts on this other side have yielded the only grindstones from the hilltop, and so they were probably occupied by royal wives. The new patterns, therefore, included a formal distinction between the wives' residence and that of the king and his retainers, which was reinforced by the separate ascents.

Other features were continuities from the older Bantu Cattle Pattern. For example, since the ritual rain area behind the homestead of the chief in the older pattern was inextricably linked to the chief's homestead, it was probably moved to the top of the hill when the royal family moved from K2. The corresponding area on Mapungubwe Hill lacks normal residential debris, yet it is reached by

a special stone-walled pathway at the eastern end of the hill. It is likely, then, that this was a national rainmaking center behind the king's apartment, as the Eastern Enclosure was at Great Zimbabwe. If this was so, then the eastern pathway up the hill demarcated the back of the town, and the long wall on the opposite side marked the front, as at Great Zimbabwe. One other area with prestige stone walling lies at the southwest end of the hill below an ascent that is independent of the life-forces or status organization. This area has produced some unusual figurines, including a clay giraffe (Fouche 1937:Plate XV), and it appears to have been the site of initiation schools, like the Great Enclosure. By the middle of the twelfth century, then, the elite Zimbabwe Culture Pattern had evolved at Mapungubwe.

Small settlements with Mapungubwe pottery in the near vicinity occupied open situations rather than hills, and they lacked prestige walling (E.O.M. Hanisch, personal communication, 1981). These small settlements were most likely inhabited by commoners, and those that have been investigated, such as Metetengwe (Robinson 1958) and Skutwater (J. van Ewyk, personal communication, 1983) were organized according to the principles of the earlier Bantu Cattle Pattern. These commoner sites show that major spatial alterations were limited to the upper echelons of the political hierarchy.

The sequence of transformations in the Shashi–Limpopo Basin shows that Mapungubwe was the first Zimbabwe culture center, and that the Zimbabwe culture originated here, rather than at Great Zimbabwe. The transformations also show that the Zimbabwe culture evolved from the Bantu Cattle culture through the economic stimulus of the East Coast trade. The wealth from this trade, according to later documents, was used for bridewealth and other traditional transactions, and so the early trade goods augmented the traditional wealth in cattle. This trade wealth, furthermore, was introduced in far greater quantities than could be generated locally with cattle, and, given the relationship between political power and the unequal distribution of wealth, the control of this trade resulted in an unprecedented inequality that in turn led to the development of a bureaucratic class.

To document the origins of this bureaucracy I made use of spatial organization. I now combine expressive space with settlement size to trace the history of some Iron Age hierarchies in order to demonstrate the effect of coastal trade on political expansion.

IRON AGE HIERARCHIES

To establish political hierarchies based on settlement size, it is important to examine a large number of contemporaneous settlements in a limited area. Fortunately, one area in southern Africa has been surveyed this way (Denbow 1979, 1982, 1983). Denbow was able to locate hundreds of Zhizo and Zhizo-derived sites around Serowe in Botswana because the settlements were covered by a

specific grass (*Cenchrus ciliaris*) that could be easily recognized on aerial photographs. Denbow's Serowe survey helps clarify other less-complete hierarchies, and it is of special interest because most of the settlements were contemporary with K2 and Mapungubwe. In a 100-km triangle around Serowe, Denbow found 4 large Zhizo-derived Toutswe phase settlements varying between 48,000 and 72,000 m^2. Two of the settlements are only 5 km apart, and their proximity may be the result of a shift in capital location. Otherwise, these large settlements are spaced some 80–100 km apart and form the nucleus of three separate territories: Each is surrounded by a few settlements of about 20,000 m^2 and many more of about 10,000 m^2. In a 60-km radius around Toutswemogala, the most intensively surveyed portion, Denbow found 18 of the middle category and 145 of the small settlements. A similar settlement pyramid was found around the Shoshong Hills to the south (Figure 6.8). Since the two smaller categories merge into each other, the middle category probably encompasses the settlements of ward headmen and wealthy family heads, while the large settlements were probably the capitals of relatively powerful petty chiefs. Toutswemogala was almost twice the size of the other centers, and it may have been the headquarters of a chief senior to the other two. Whatever the final level, the broad base of this hierarchy is typical of the pattern encountered in the ethnographic literature. The historic growth of this hierarchy along with specific details, however, were due at least in part to the rise of the Zimbabwe culture.

When Leopard's Kopje people moved into the Shashi–Limpopo Basin, it will be remembered, they probably took the area away from Zhizo people centered at Schroda. Some Zhizo people already lived in the Serowe area at this time, at Taukome (Denbow 1982, 1983) for example, but many more must have moved there when Leopard's Kopje first appeared, for Denbow found a threefold increase in Toutswe sites dating to this time. Furthermore, the large Toutswe centers, all of the middle category and some of the smaller settlements were sited on hilltops with sheer cliffs or steep sides. In this case these hilltop locations show a concern for defense, rather than a class distinction, for in contrast to Mapungubwe, entire communities, not an elite class, occupied the hilltops. At Toutswemogala, for instance, only one cattle byre has been found at the base of the hill although many were on top, and so almost everyone as well as most of their cattle lived on the hill. This hilltop location, Denbow argues, was the result of the need to protect the cattle from raids by Leopard's Kopje people in the Shashi–Limpopo Basin.

Although an intensive survey such as that in the Serowe area has not been completed around Mapungubwe, many Mapungubwe phase sites are known in the northern Transvaal through the research of Hanisch, and it is possible to recognize five administrative levels within 100 km of Mapungubwe (Figures 6.8 and 6.9): The first two are represented by the small commoner settlements of Mtetengwe (Robinson 1958) and Skutwater (J. van Ewyk, personal communication, 1983), the third level is formed by small elite hilltop settlements such as Little Muck and Mmamgwa (Tamplin 1977), and the large elite settlement on Mapela Hill (Garlake 1968a) forms a fourth level under Mapungubwe. A more

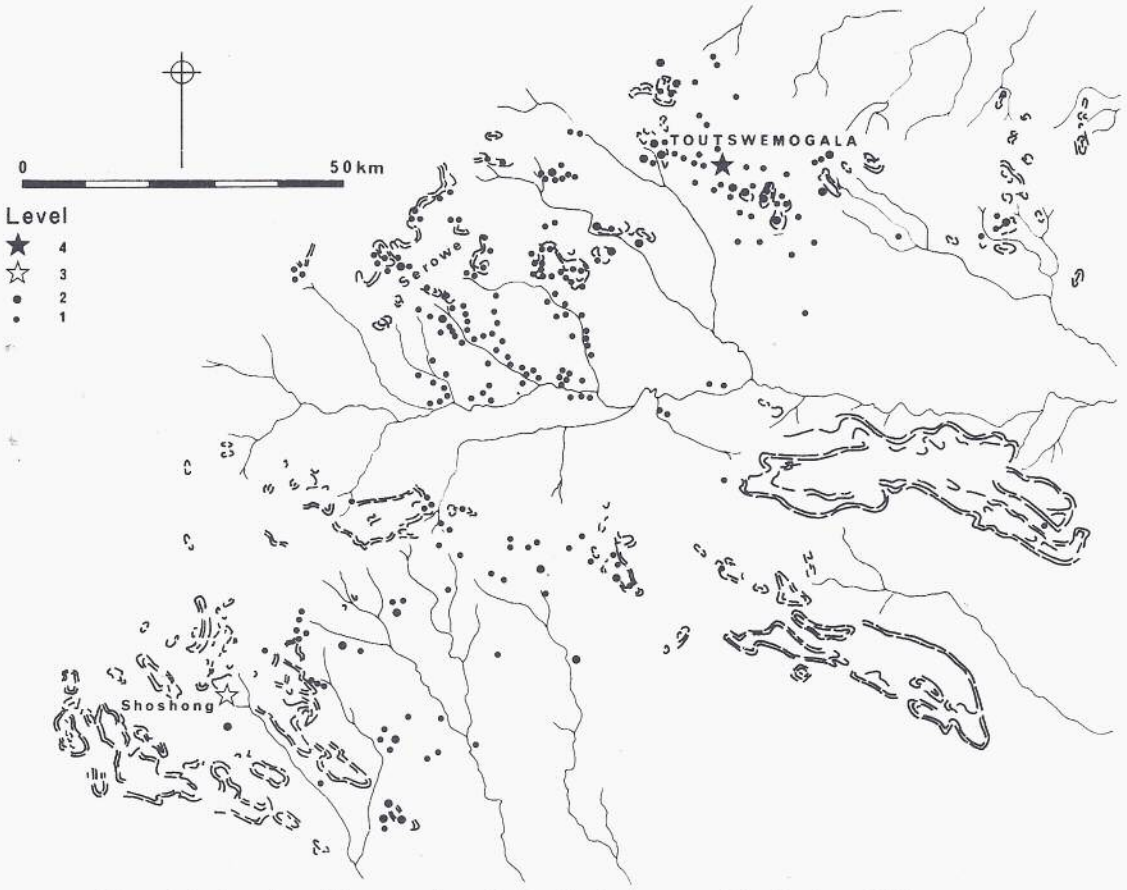

Figure 6.8 Location of Toutswe phase sites in the Serowe area (after Denbow 1983).

thorough record of sites is needed to confirm this hierarchy, but since Mapungubwe was several times larger than Mapela Hill, which was no further away than the distance between the Toutswe centers, it is reasonable to infer that all of this area was under Mapungubwe's sovereignty.

Mapungubwe, furthermore, was three times the size of Toutswemogala. Given the positive correlation between a capital's size and the extent of its territory, Mapungubwe's territory should therefore have been larger than that of Toutswemogala.

If the distribution of Mapungubwe pottery (which evolved at Mapungubwe itself) is further evidence of the kingdom's extent, then Mapungubwe's hegemony extended over an area three times that of the Toutswe settlements, making it about the size of the former Zulu kingdom and comparable to other five-level polities in the nineteenth century.

Mapungubwe's influence, if not control, extended further. Period III ceramics

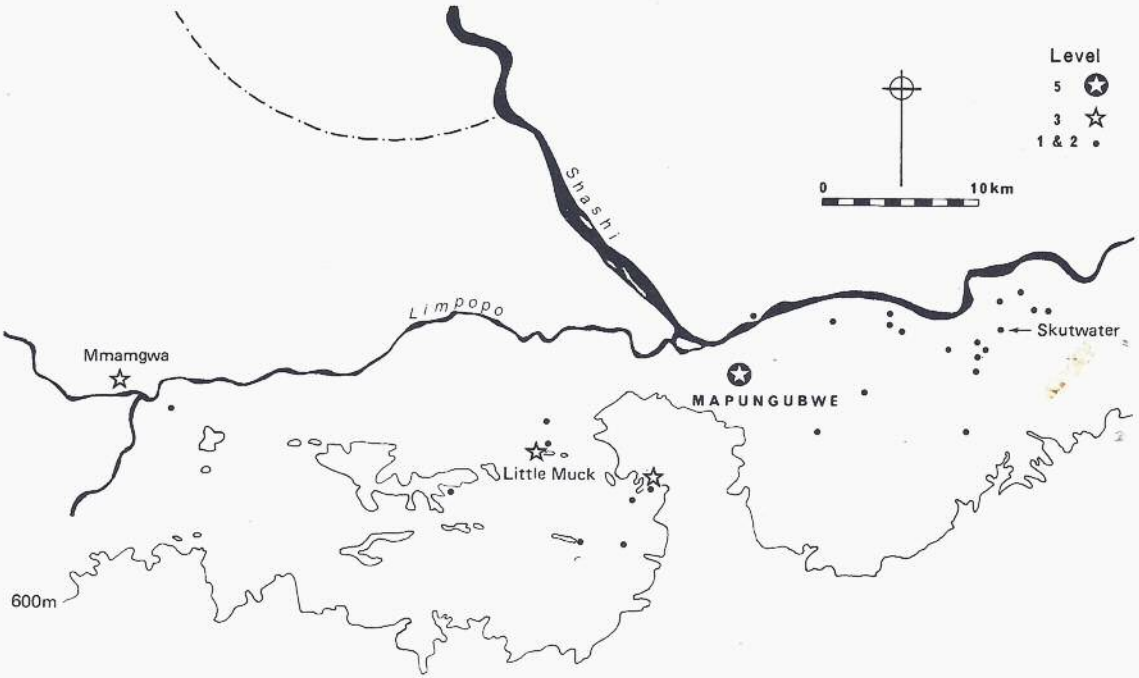

Figure 6.9 Location of known Mapungubwe phase sites near Mapungubwe.

at Great Zimbabwe (Robinson 1961b), 270 km northeast, include characteristic Mapungubwe elements, and the Woolandale facies of Leopard's Kopje (Huffman 1974; Robinson 1966b), which borders the Mapungubwe area on the north, also adopted several ceramic elements that we now know were invented at Mapungubwe. Some of these Woolandale settlements, furthermore, incorporated artificially terraced hills (Robinson 1966b; C. van Waarden, personal communication, 1984), but it is not yet clear whether this stone work is due to the need for defense or to the spread of the elite Zimbabwe Culture Pattern.

The influence of Mapungubwe in the Shashi–Limpopo region faded in the mid-thirteenth century when the capital was abandoned. It is still unknown whether this abandonment was caused by natural disasters and the area's inability to support large populations, as Mapungubwe was located in a drought-sensitive region; or second, by East Coast traders, as trading stations were moved from Vilanculous north to near modern-day Beira (P. J. J. Sinclair, personal communication, 1981); or third, by competition with Great Zimbabwe, as it was closer to the coast and gold sources and in a more favorable agricultural zone. Whatever the cause of its abandonment, Mapungubwe was succeeded by Great Zimbabwe, for Great Zimbabwe's growth as an elite center began immediately after Mapungubwe's abandonment.

Great Zimbabwe is the most intensively surveyed of all Zimbabwe culture centers, and we know that it was nearly eight times as large as Mapungubwe. I previously calculated a minimum of 11,000 people for Great Zimbabwe at its peak. This minimum count was derived first by extrapolating the densities of huts found in excavations, both inside and outside stone enclosures, to comparable areas throughout the township, second by calculating the adult population with the ratio of one adult to each kitchen or sleeping hut, and then finally by computing the total estimate from a relatively recent population pyramid for the country (Kay 1970). A less conservative total of 18,000 is reached by applying nineteenth- and early twentieth-century population statistics from the eastern side of Zimbabwe (Taylor 1924) to the last two steps. This higher figure appears more realistic, but whatever the number, Great Zimbabwe must have been the capital of a large kingdom.

The full extent of the Zimbabwe kingdom is currently debated. Zimbabwe phase ruins are known to occur in an almost continuous zone that stretches west into present-day Botswana, south beyond the Limpopo River, east to the mountainous border with Moçambique, and north to the Zambesi (Figure 6.5). Some Africanists believe that these *dzimbahwe* (the Shona word for "home, court, or grave of a chief") were divided into several autonomous kingdoms, while others believe that, at least initially, they were all integrated under Great Zimbabwe. Support for this latter viewpoint comes from the fact that the distant *dzimbahwe* represent site intrusions from the Great Zimbabwe district: Some *dzimbahwe*, for instance, were built using relatively complex techniques invented at Great Zimbabwe, and each contains several Zimbabwe ceramic types even though many of the elite settlements were located inside other ceramic style areas.

This debate over the extent of the Zimbabwe kingdom partly exists because of past fluctuations in state control. According to documentary reports of later kingdoms, provincial allegiance varied from full submission through periodic tribute to open rebellion (see Beach 1980 for details). Without documentary evidence, though, the specific dynamics of political life cannot be reconstructed. In any case such detail tends to obscure rather than clarify social and political organization, whereas settlement data will at least provide a model of how the kingdom was supposed to function.

The relevant settlement data, however, suffer from three serious shortcomings. The first concerns chronology. Only some 20 ruins of all phases are radiocarbon dated, and the remainder can be only roughly dated by their building technique, wall decoration, imports, and ceramic assemblage. There is relatively good evidence that Khami phase (ca. 1450–1800) ruins incorporate terrace walls, check wall patterns, and polychrome band-and-panel ceramic types (Garlake 1970; Robinson 1959, 1966a), but some of these features are limited to the southwest half of the Zimbabwe culture area and cannot be used to date ruins in the northeast. Furthermore, many ruins lack decoration altogether, some of the categories of building techniques are not exclusive to a single time period, and the polychrome ceramic types are not always present—these types in any case

are only additions to a ceramic tradition that is found in all the ruins. This difficulty in dating by style emphasizes the common cultural identity of the ruins, and it seems unlikely that specific events such as dynastic changes or shifts in capitals will necessarily be reflected in the material remains of each settlement.

The second shortcoming concerns settlement size. Until recently, *dzimbahwe* were interpreted as the isolated residences of small families, rather than the politically elite centers of larger settlements. As a result the overall sizes of most royal settlements are unknown, and only elite areas can be compared.

The third shortcoming of the settlement data concerns sampling. To infer national, provincial, and district boundaries, it is necessary to know the locations and spacing of different-sized settlements throughout the culture area. Important political boundaries therefore will not be evident without a comprehensive record of contemporaneous settlements.

Despite these three limitations, sufficient data is available to determine the general extent of the Zimbabwe kingdom. The first step is to rank Zimbabwe phase settlements within 100 km of Great Zimbabwe in a hierarchy based on the area enclosed by prestige stone walls (Figure 6.10). On this basis the first two political levels are represented by commoner sites that lack any stone walling; Montevideo (Robinson 1958; Sinclair 1984) is one example. Within the second level royal headmen appear to be distinguished from commoners by a short length of prestige stone wall. One example near present-day Gokomere Mission encloses less than 30 m^2. A third level is formed by royal settlements with 200–700 m^2 of enclosed space, such as Palm River (Horne 1977), Nenga, and Pamuuyu (Huffman 1978a). A fourth level encompasses stone-walled areas of 1200–2000 m^2, such as Chipukuswi (Houser 1975) and Musumbira (Monroe and Spies 1975). A fifth level is formed by Majiri (Hall 1905b; Huffman 1984b), which has 6800 m^2, while the central area of Great Zimbabwe represents a sixth level with some 25,000 m^2 of prestige walling. Thus, the settlements around the Great Zimbabwe were more politically stratified than the much heralded Zulu and Ndebele polities of the nineteenth century, and we would therefore expect the Zimbabwe kingdom to have been larger than any of these recent five-level polities.

Indeed, the same well-defined hierarchy extends in an almost continuous zone for 320 km west to Lepokole in the Bobonong Hills of Botswana, east for 150 km to the Sabi River, and north to at least Mtoko and the Tere Ruin, 420 km away. In any one area the *dzimbahwe* on each level are about three times the size of those on the level below, and no settlement rivals Great Zimbabwe. In fact, the palace at Great Zimbabwe on its own is equal to the entire stone-walled areas of the next largest settlements.

What is more, the next largest *dzimbahwe* anywhere at this time is Majiri, and it is only 22 km away from Great Zimbabwe. From documentary reports of Zimbabwe culture armies (e.g., Monclaro, in Theal 1898–1903:Vol. 3, 228; Carneiro, in NARN 1962–1972:Vol. 8, 358), it is inconceivable that any settlement so near could be independent. Since the other five-level settlements are no larger than Majiri, it is reasonable to believe that, in theory, Great Zimbabwe was in

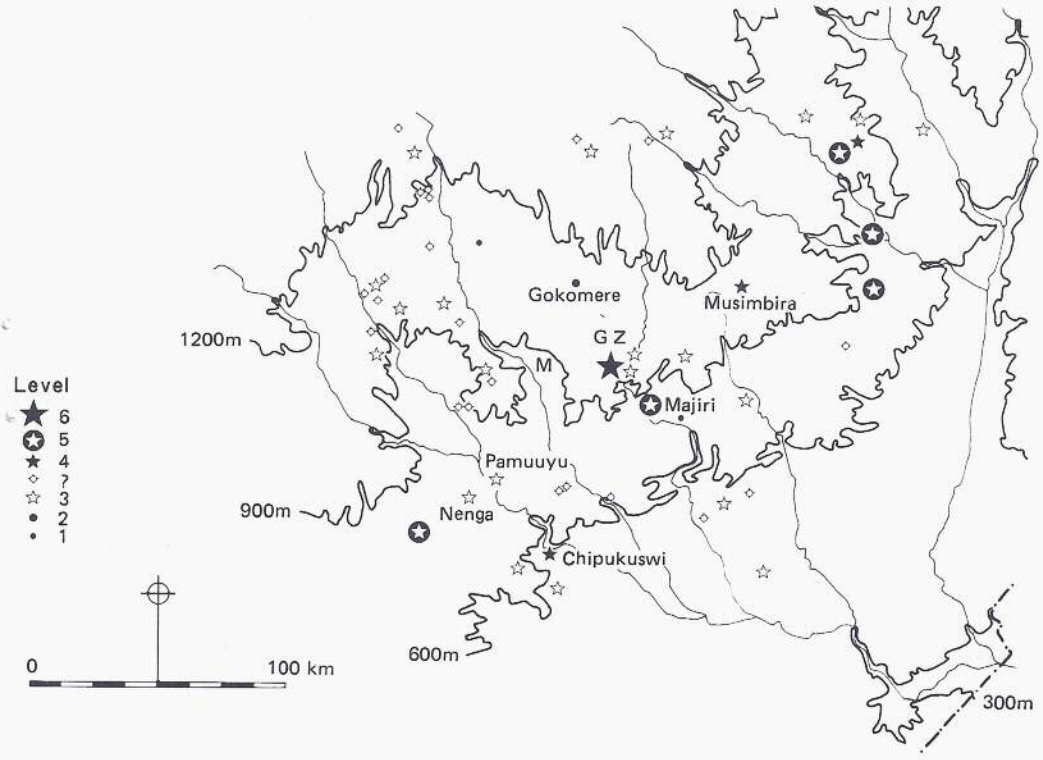

Figure 6.10 Location of known Zimbabwe phase sites near Great Zimbabwe (GZ): M, Montevideo.

at least nominal control of them all. Thus Great Zimbabwe probably controlled an area five to six times the size of the Zulu kingdom. Even if Great Zimbabwe only controlled the southern plateau, its territory was still three times greater than any Southern Bantu polity in the nineteenth century.

Great Zimbabwe achieved this position, it will be remembered, through local control of the East Coast trade. Archaeological evidence of this trade is abundant. Indeed, several hundred ancient gold workings are known in the green stone belts of Botswana and Zimbabwe (Summers 1969). Most gold objects are associated with elite *dzimbahwe* rather than with commoner settlements, and most of these were found at Great Zimbabwe itself. The distribution of glass beads is different in that they are numerous and common in both elite and commoner housing units, but imported celadons and other glazed wares, like gold ornaments, were restricted to the ruling elite. As Garlake (1968b) notes, these glazed imports were probably not intended as trade goods, but as gifts to secure and maintain trading concessions. Significantly, over 90% of all glazed imports dating to the Zimbabwe phase have been found at Great Zimbabwe.

Portuguese records of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century kings (e.g., de Alcacova, in NARN 1962–1972:Vol. 1, 391–393; Veloso, in NARN 1962–1972:Vol.

3, 183; dos Santos, in Theal 1898–1903:Vol. 7, 280–281) suggest that the earlier kings of Great Zimbabwe dominated the interior portion of this trade by severely punishing anyone who mined or bartered without their authority and by receiving tribute in raw materials and imported goods.

By the time the Portuguese were established on the coast in the early sixteenth century, Great Zimbabwe had been abandoned for some 50 years, and there were at least two rival kingdoms: one in the southwest ruled by the Torwa dynasty and the other in the northeast ruled by the Mutapa dynasty (also known as Mwene Mutapa and Monomatapa). Significantly, this political fragmentation is reflected in the settlement patterns of each kingdom.

The capital of the Torwa dynasty can with some certainty be identified with Khami (Beach 1980:Chapter 6), the large *dzimbahwe* about 22 km northwest of present-day Bulawayo (Robinson 1959). This settlement, the namesake of the Khami phase, is the next most intensively examined site after Great Zimbabwe. In overall extent it was approximately two-thirds the size of the earlier capital, including the outer buildings, and therefore supported between 7000 and 12,000 people. Although smaller than Great Zimbabwe, Khami was the largest *dzimbahwe* of its time. Unfortunately, the area around Khami is not as well known as the Great Zimbabwe area, but sufficient settlements have been examined in eastern Botswana, Zimbabwe, and the northern Transvaal to indicate that Khami probably controlled a six-tiered hierarchy (Figures 6.5 and 6.11): Level 3 settlements include Breslau (Huffman 1984b), Chamabvefva (Huffman 1979), Kwe Kwe (Ellert 1983), Nali (Robinson 1967), Verdun (Fouche 1937), and Vukwe (Wieschhoff 1941); and Level 4 settlements include Makahane (Eloff and de Vaal 1965) and Maswingo at the base of Mount Buhwa (Huffman 1978a). The Khami settlements in the Buhwa area illustrate the geographic pattern of the first four levels in this hierarchy. Commoner settlements are scattered throughout the area, while Level 3 *dzimbahwe* are spaced 8–20 km away from Maswingo, the Level 4 center, and are separated from each other by relatively large rivers (Figure 6.12). Natural boundaries such as rivers, and even small streams, were commonly used as political boundaries in the recent past (see Beach 1978), and the rivers around Mount Buhwa may well have formed territorial divisions during the Khami phase. The headquarters of the paramount for this area and time is not yet known, but other Level 5 Khami settlements further away include Bumbosie (Kearney 1907), Machemma (de Vaal 1943), and Old Tati. The distribution of these large and small *dzimbahwe* suggests the territory of Khami extended further northwest, west, and south than the Zimbabwe kingdom, but it is possible that these areas had been incorporated previously. Whatever the case, the Khami kingdom probably covered an area at least four times the size of nineteenth-century Zululand.

In contrast, the Mutapa kingdom in the northeast covered only 31,000 km^2 according to Portuguese descriptions (Beach 1980:Chapter 4), which is no larger than the territory of Mapungubwe or the Zulu kingdom.

The core of the Mutapa area was around Mount Darwin, and the largest *dzimbahwe* in this area is Fura (Figure 6.5). This complex, like Great Zimbabwe

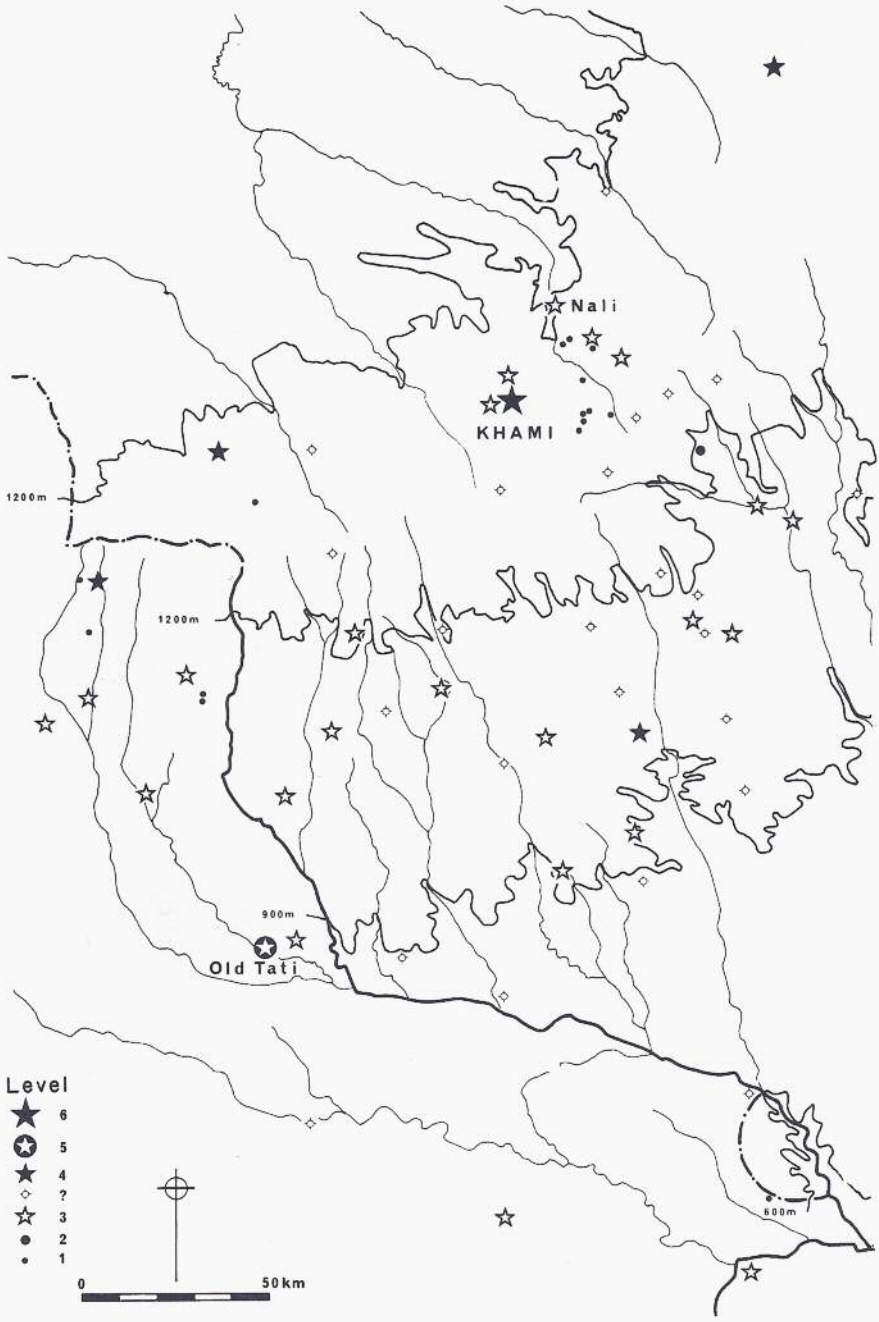

Figure 6.11 Location of known Khami phase sites near Khami.

Figure 6.12 Location of known Khami phase sites around Mount Buhwa.

and Khami, has a full capital pattern: Elite enclosures on the outer edge encircle a large palace, court, and premarital initiation building. Surprisingly, however, this complex is situated on top of Mount Darwin, 375 m above the surrounding plain, with limited and difficult access. This location shows a greater concern with defense than at any other known *dzimbahwe* of any period. Although this settlement has not been radiocarbon dated, Portuguese accounts of ruins on the hill show that the walls must date before A.D. 1570 (dos Santos, in Theal 1898–1903:Vol. 7, 275). These accounts together with the defensive siting, capital pattern, and size make it likely that Fura was the Mutapa capital in the latter half of the fifteenth century when the Mutapa fought against Changamire I and his Torwa allies—a war recounted to the Portuguese in 1506 (de Alcacova, in NARN 1962–1972: Vol. 1, 389–401). Even though Fura is the largest *dzimbahwe* in the Darwin district, its stone-walled area only enclosed about 6500 m^2—which is about the same as the larger five-level settlements under Great Zimbabwe—and its overall extent is only a third that of Khami. No matter how compressed the settlement, then, there could not have been more than 4000 people here.

Thus, the size of this capital corresponds to the limited extent of the Mutapa kingdom and, when compared to Khami and its likely territory, highlights the fragmentation that occurred within the old Zimbabwe empire.

This fragmentation process continued well after the fifteenth century. In the northeast the only other *dzimbahwe* that can be identified with certainty as a Mutapa capital is the Kasekete–Chiwawa complex at the base of the Zambezi escarpment (Figure 6.5). This complex has a full capital pattern (Huffman 1984b), like Fura and Khami, and a European fort attached to the palace shows that this was most likely the seventeenth-century headquarters of Mavura II (Abraham 1959). The stone-walled areas here enclosed 7615 m^2, only slightly more than Fura, but of greater significance is the possibility that Kasekete was the last large *dzimbahwe* to be constructed in the Mutapa kingdom. Certainly, the central power of the Mutapa was broken by the middle of the seventeenth century. As the King of Portugal lamented in 1719: "That vast empire [of the Mutapa] is in such decay that no one had dominion over it, because everyone has power there" (Davidson 1964:313).

Ironically, this fragmentation was directly due to the Portuguese themselves. The Portuguese grossly disrupted the international trade when they sacked Kilwa and most of the other Arab ports as they seized control of the Indian Ocean. They altered the balance of traditional power and further undermined the economy by introducing guns and fostering rebellion. Indeed, the fort at Kasekete was built to protect Mavura, whom the Portuguese had put into power in the first place. While the country was in turmoil, it was impossible to trade on a large scale. Yet, according to Portuguese records, Zimbabwe armies were paid in trade goods, particularly cloth, and so elite wealth was greatly diminished. There were times when several provinces were united, as in the campaigns of the Rozvi king, Changamire Dambo, at the end of the seventeenth century (Beach 1980:Chapter 7), but overall the trend was to devolve. Even in the southwest the economic base of political power had been so badly affected that Dhlo Dhlo (Caton-Thompson 1931:Chapter 12; MacIver 1906:Chapter 5), the eighteenth-century capital of the powerful Changamire dynasty (Beach 1980:Chapter 7), was only one-third the overall size of the earlier Torwa capital at Khami. Severely weakened, this last major Zimbabwe polity succumbed during the *difaqane* at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

This sequence of settlement hierarchies outlines the initial rise of Zimbabwe states at Mapungubwe, the expansion from Great Zimbabwe, and subsequent fragmentation and decline through Khami, Fura, Kasekete, and Dhlo Dhlo. The growth and decline of these polities in turn illustrate the relationship between excess wealth and political expansion: Unequal wealth leads to political power, which increases control over the sources of wealth, which, when abundant, leads to class distinction and greater political power; when access to this wealth is obstructed or removed, political power devolves.

This systemic relationship and sequence of hierarchies was documented through the combined use of settlement size and expressive space. I now conclude with a few implications of this type of settlement analysis for African archaeology.

IMPLICATIONS

Until recently, many archaeologists have considered cognitive factors as epiphenomena of no value to understanding culture change. The outline presented here, however, would not have been possible without recourse to Bantu cosmology. The cultural values underlying settlement size and organization provided the basis for recognizing culture patterns in the archaeological record that in turn were the key to understanding the evolution of class distinction and political expansion. Rather than mere epiphenomena, then, cognitive evidence was essential for an adequate explanation of these events.

This cognitive evidence is also relevant to discussions about the nature of adequate explanations. In recent years there has been a trend among social scientists to reject monocausal explanations in favor of systemic, multivariant ones because of a concern with emphasizing the complexity of human behavior. Human behavior is complex, of course, and a systemic model is appropriate for representing the relationship between various aspects of a functioning system, such as wealth and political power. But it does not follow that multivariant explanations are always appropriate for detailing the origins of a system. The debate over the Zimbabwe culture is a case in point. Some Africanists believe that such factors as divine kingship, cattle ownership, military force, and long-distance trade all contributed to the origins of the Zimbabwe culture and that an emphasis on any one is simplistic. This multivariant perspective on Zimbabwe, however, conflates function with origin and obscures the distinction between necessary and sufficient causes. In this case a common Iron Age culture existed throughout most of southern Africa before A.D. 1000, and the only factor unique to where the Zimbabwe culture evolved was long-distance trade. Indeed, the settlement evidence indicates that there was a limit to how socially stratified a society could become from traditional wealth alone and that long-distance trade was necessary and sufficient for the evolution of the bureaucratic class at Mapungubwe. In this case then a "prime mover" explanation is of value.

Finally, this cognitive evidence is also relevant to general schemes of cultural evolution embracing Africa. In classifications that range from band to civilization, states are usually defined as polities with distinct socioeconomic classes and centralized governments that exercise a monopoly of force. In these classifications the Zulu and Ndebele polities of the nineteenth century are almost always ranked as conquest states because of their size and use of force. According to the settlement data, however, the Zulu and Ndebele were not qualitatively different

from smaller polities with the same culture, and they appear to be ranked as states because of a bias toward military prowess. If, on the other hand, socioeconomic divisions are considered equally important, only Zimbabwe culture societies qualify as states within southern Africa. It is not my intention, however, to support either position but only to draw attention to the value of settlement data in discriminating between quantitative elaboration and qualitative change. Whatever the definition, cognitive aspects of settlement patterns are relevant to a study of African states.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank E.O.M. Hanisch, J. Denbow, M.O.V. Taylor, and C. van Waarden for discussions of their research and J. Denbow, T. M. Evers, and J. D. Lewis-Williams for comments on earlier drafts of this manuscript. I am grateful for financial support from the University of the Witwatersrand and the Human Sciences Research Council.

REFERENCES

Abraham, D. P.
1959 The Monomotapa Dynasty. *NADA* **36**:59–84.

Ashton, E. H.
1938 Political organization of the Southern Sotho. *Bantu Studies* **12**:287–320.
1952 *The Basuto: A study of traditional and modern Lesotho*. London: Oxford University Press.

Beach, D. N.
1978 Shona settlement around the Buhwa Range. *Occasional Papers of the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia, Series* A, *Human Sciences* **4**:106–111.
1980 *The Shona and Zimbabwe 900–1850*. Gwelo, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

Bent, J. T.
1896 *The ruined cities of Mashonaland*. London: Longmans, Green.

Berglund, A.-I.
1976 *Zulu thought-patterns and symbolism*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Blacking, J.
1969 Songs, dances, mimes and symbolism of Venda girls' initiation schools: Part 1, Vhuhsa; Part 2, Milayo; Part 3, Domba; Part 4, The great Domba song. *African Studies* **28**:28–35, 69–118, 149–199, 215–266.
1985 Correspondence. *Man* **20**:542–543.

Brain, C. K.
1974 Human food remains from the Iron Age at Zimbabwe. *South African Journal of Science* **70**:303–309.

Bullock, C.
1927 *The Mashona*. Cape Town: Juta.

Burchell, W. J.
1824 *Travels in the interior of southern Africa* (Vol. II). London: Longmans, Green.

Bruwer, J.
1949 The composition of a Cewa village (Mudzi). *African Studies* **8**:191–198.

Campbell, J.
1815 *Travels in South Africa, 1813* (third ed.). London: Black, Parry.

Casalis, E.
1859 *Les Bassoutos*. Paris: C. Meyueis.
Caton-Thompson, G.
1931 *The Zimbabwe culture: ruins and reactions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Chittik, H. N.
1974 *Kilwa: an Islamic trading city on the East African Coast* (2 vols.). Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa.
Cobbing, J. R. D.
1976 *The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820–1896*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Lancaster.
Collett, D. P.
1982 Excavations of stone-walled ruin types in the Badfontein Valley, eastern Transvaal, South Africa. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* **37**:34–43.
Cook, P. A. W.
1931 *The social organization and ceremonial institutions of the Bomvana*. Cape Town: Juta.
Davidson, B.
1964 *The African past*. London: Longmans, Green.
Davison, P., and P. Harries
1980 Cotton weaving in south-east Africa: its history and technology. *Textile History* **11**:176–192.
de Jager, E. J.
1964 Settlement types of the Nguni and Sotho tribes. *Fort Hare Papers* **3**:19–32.
Denbow, J. R.
1979 *Cenchrus ciliaris*: an ecological indicator of Iron Age middens using aerial photography in eastern Botswana. *South African Journal of Science* **75**:405–408.
1981 Broadhurst—a 14th century A.D. expression of the Early Iron Age in south-eastern Botswana. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* **36**:66–74.
1982 The Toutswe tradition: a study in socio-economic change. In *Settlement in Botswana*, edited by R. R. Hitchcock and M. R. Smith. Johannesburg: Heinemann and the Botswana Society. Pp. 73–86.
1983 *Iron Age economics: herding, wealth, and politics along the fringes of the Kalahari Desert during the Early Iron Age*. Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University.
Derricourt, R. M., and T. M. Evers
1973 Robertsdrift, an Iron Age site and settlement on the banks of the Vaal and Klip rivers near Standerton, south eastern Transvaal. *African Studies* **32**:183–196.
de Vaal, J. B.
1943 'n Soutpansbergse Zimbabwe. *South African Journal of Science* **40**:303–327.
Ellenberger, V.
1939 History of the BaTlokwa of Gaberones (Bechuanaland Protectorate). *Bantu Studies* **13**:165–198.
Ellert, H.
1983 Kwe Kwe ruin. *Zimbabwe Prehistory* **19**:58–60.
Eloff, J. F., and J. B. de Vaal
1965 Makahane. *Koedoe* **8**:68–74.
Eloff, J. F., and A. Meyer
1981 The Greefswald sites. In *Guide to archaeological sites in the northern and eastern Transvaal*, edited by E. A. Voigt. Pretoria: Transvaal Museum. Pp. 7–22.
Evers, T. M.
1975 Recent Iron Age research in the eastern Transvaal, South Africa. *South African Archaeological Society* **30**:71–83.
1981 The Iron Age in the eastern Transvaal. In *Guide to archaeological sites in the northern and eastern Transvaal*, edited by E. A. Voigt. Pretoria: Transvaal Museum. Pp. 65–109.
1984 Sotho–Tswana and Moloko settlement patterns and the Bantu Cattle Pattern. In Frontiers: southern African archaeology today, edited by M. Hall, G. Avery, D. M. Avery, M. L. Wilson, and A. J. B. Humphreys. *BAR International Series* **207**:236–247.
Fouche, L. (editor)
1937 *Mapungubwe: Ancient Bantu civilization on the Limpopo*. Cambridge: University Press.

Frobenius, L.
1931 *Erythräa: Lander und Zeiten des heiligen Königsmordes*. Berlin: Atlantis-Verlag.
Galloway, A.
1959 *The skeletal remains of Bambandyanalo*, edited by P. V. Tobias. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press.
Gardiner, A. F.
1836 *Narrative of a journey to the Zoolu country, in South Africa*. London: William Crofts.
Gardner, G. A.
1963 *Mapungubwe* (Vol. II). Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik.
Garlake, P. S.
1967 Iron Age archaeology. In *17th expedition: Maramani*. Bulawayo: Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society. Pp. 22–25.
1968a Test excavations at Mapela Hill, near the Shashi River, Rhodesia. *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* **3(34)**:1–29.
1968b The value of imported ceramics in the dating and interpretation of the Rhodesian Iron Age. *Journal of African History* **9**:13–33.
1970 Rhodesian ruins—a preliminary assessment of their styles and chronology. *Journal of African History* **11**:495–513.
1973 *Great Zimbabwe*. London: Thames and Hudson.
1978 Pastoralism and *zimbabwe*. *Journal of African History* **19**:479–494.
Gelfand, M.
1959 *Shona ritual*. Cape Town: Juta.
Gluckman, M.
1940 The kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa. In *African political systems*, edited by M. Fortes and E. Evans-Pritchard. London: Oxford University Press.
Guy, J.
1979 *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*. London: Longmans.
Hall, M.
1983 Tribes, traditions and numbers: the American model in southern African Iron Age ceramic studies. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* **38**:51–57.
1984 The burden of tribalism: the social context of southern African Iron Age studies. *American Antiquity* **49**:455–467.
Hall, M., and J. C. Vogel
1980 Some recent radiocarbon dates from southern Africa. *Journal of African History* **21**:431–455.
Hall, R. N.
1905a *Great Zimbabwe*. London: Metheun.
1905b Majiri Ruins, Motirikoi (M'telekwe) Valley. *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* **4**:83–86.
Hammond-Tooke, W. D.
1962 *Bhaca society: a people of the Transkeian Uplands, South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
1969 The 'other side' of frontier history: a model of Cape Nguni political progress. In *African societies in southern Africa*, edited by L. Thompson. New York: Praeger for University of California African Studies Centre. Pp. 230–258.
1981 *Boundaries and belief: the structure of a Sotho worldview*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (editor)
1974 *The Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Hamutyinei, M. A., and A. B. Plangger
1974 *Tsumo-Shumo: Shona proverbial lore and wisdom*. Gwelo, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.
Hanisch, E. O. M.
1979 Excavations at Icon, northern Transvaal. In Iron Age studies in southern Africa, edited by N. J. van der Merwe and T. N. Huffman. *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* **3**:72–79.
1980 *An archaeological interpretation of certain Iron Age sites in the Limpopo/Shashi Valley*. M.A. dissertation, University of Pretoria.

Hemans, H. N.
1913 The history, the sociology, and the folklore and religion of the Abenanzwa tribe. *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* **12(Part 2)**:85–112.

Hodza, A., and G. Fortune
1979 *Shona praise poetry*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Holleman, J. F.
1951 Some Shona tribes of southern Rhodesia. In *Seven tribes of British Central Africa*, edited by E. Colson and M. Gluckman. Oxford: University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. Pp. 354–394.

Horne, J.
1977 A Zimbabwe ruin on Palm River Ranch. *Rhodesian Prehistory* **7(15)**:15–16.

Houser, T.
1975 A survey of Chipukuswi Ruin, Matibi No. 1, Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Prehistory* **7(14)**:25–26.

Huffman, T. N.
1974 The Leopard's Kopje tradition. *Museum Memoir* 6. Salisbury: National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia.
1978a The Iron Age of the Buhwa district, Rhodesia. *Occasional Papers of the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia, Series* A, *Human Sciences* **4**:81–100.
1978b The origins of Leopard's Kopje: an 11th century Difaquane. *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* **8(23)**:1–23.
1979 Test excavations at Chamabvefva, southern Mashonaland. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* **34**:57–70.
1981 Snakes and birds: expressive space at Great Zimbabwe. *African Studies* **40**:131–150.
1982 Archaeology and ethnohistory of the African Iron Age. *Annual Review of Anthropology* **11**:133–150.
1984a *Archaeological evidence and conventional explanations of Southern Bantu settlement patterns*. Paper presented at the South African Association of Anthropologists, RAU Island.
1984b Expressive space in the Zimbabwe culture. *Man* **19**:593–612.
1984c Leopard's Kopje and the nature of the Iron Age in Bantu Africa. *Zimbabwea* **1**:28–35.
1985 The Great Enclosure and Domba. *Man* **20**:543–545.

Jackson, A. O.
1969 The Langa Ndebele calendar and annual agricultural ceremonies. In *Ethnological and linguistic studies in honour of N. J. van Warmelo*, edited by E. J. Krige. Pretoria: Government Printer. Pp. 233–242.
[1983] The Ndebele of Langa. *Ethnological Publication* 54. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Johnston, H.
1902 *The Uganda Protectorate* (Vol. II). London: Hutchinson.

Jones, P.
1978 An approach to stone settlement typology of the Late Iron Age: stone walling on the Klip River 27°10'S 29°10'E. *African Studies* **37**:83–97.

Junod, H. A.
1962 *The life of a South African tribe* (2 vols.). New York: University Books. (Original work published 1927)

Kay, G.
1970 *Rhodesia: a human geography*. London: University of London Press.

Kearney, J. M.
1907 The ruins at Bumbusi. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 7:59–61.

Kriel, A.
1971 *An African horizon*. Cape Town: School of African Studies, University of Cape Town.

Krige, E. J.
1938 The place of the north-eastern Transvaal Sotho in the South Bantu complex. *Africa* **11**:265–293.

Krige, E. J., and J. D. Krige
1943 *The realm of a rain queen*. London: International African Institute.

Kuper, H.
1947 *An African aristocracy: rank among the Swazi*. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.
1963 *The Swazi: a South African kingdom*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kuper, A.
1980 Symbolic dimensions of the Southern Bantu homestead. *Africa* **50**:8–23.
1982 *Wives for cattle: bridewealth and marriage in southern Africa*. London: Routledge and Keagan Paul.

Laidler, P. W.
1938 South African native ceramics: their characteristic and classification. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* **26(Part 2)**:93–172.

Loubser, J. H. N.
1981 *Ndebele archaeology of the Pietersburg area*. M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand.

MacIver, D. R.
1906 *Mediaeval Rhodesia*. London: MacMillan.

Mackenzie, J.
1871 *Ten years north of the Orange River*. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

Maggs, T. M.
1976 Iron Age communities of the southern highveld. *Occasional Publication* 2. Pietermaritzburg: Natal Museum.
1980 The Iron Age sequence south of the Vaal and Pongola rivers: some historical implications. *Journal of African History* **21**:1–15.

Mason, R. J.
1965 The origin of South African society. *South African Journal of Science* **61**:255–266.
1968 Transvaal and Natal Iron Age settlements revealed by aerial photography and excavation. *African Studies* **27(4)**:167–180.
1974 Background to the Transvaal Iron Age—new discoveries at Olifantspoort and Broederstroom. *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* **74**:211–216.

Meyer, A.
1980 *'n Interpretasie van die Greefswald Potwerk*. M.A. dissertation, University of Pretoria.

Mönnig, H. O.
1967 *The Pedi*. Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik.

Monroe, D. F., and C. W. Spies
1975 Excavations at Musimbira, Bikita District, Rhodesia. *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* **7(22)**:1–11.

Moore, M. P. J.
1981 *The Iron Age of the Makapan Valley area, Central Transvaal*. M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand.

Myburg, A. C.
1950 The tribes of the Barberton District. *Ethnological Publication* 25. Pretoria: Government Printer.

National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarionos (NARN)
1969–1972 *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa. 1497–1840* (8 vols.). Lisbon.

Nettleton, A. C. E.
1984 *The traditional woodcarving of the Venda and Shona*. Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand.

Pauw, B. A.
1960 Some changes in the social structure of the Thlaping of the Taung reserve. *African Studies* **19**:1–76.

Pitje, G. M.
1950 Traditional system of male education among Pedi and cognate tribes (Part 1). *African Studies* **9**:53–76.

Posselt, F. W. T.
1935 *Fact and fiction*. Bulawayo: Rhodesian Printing and Publishing.
Posselt, W.
1924 The early days of Mashonaland and a visit to the Zimbabwe Ruins. *NADA* **2**:70–76.
Preston-Whyte, E.
1974 Kinship and marriage. In *The Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa*, edited by W. D. Hammond-Tooke. London: Routledge and Keagan Paul.
Quin, P. J.
1959 *Foods and feeding habits of the Pedi, with special reference to identification, classification, preparation and nutritive value of the respective foods*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
Ralushai, N. M. N., and J. R. Gray
1977 Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and the Mbedzi among the Venda of the northern Transvaal. *Rhodesian History* **8**:1–11.
Richards, A. I.
1935 Preliminary notes on the Babemba of north-east Rhodesia. *Bantu Studies* **9**:225–253.
1939 *Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia*. London: Oxford University Press.
1945 Pottery images or Mbusa used at the Chisungu ceremony of the Bemba people of Northern Rhodesia. *South African Journal of Science* **41**:444–458.
Rightmire, G. P.
1970 Iron Age skulls from southern Africa re-assessed by multiple discriminant analysis. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* **33**:147–168.
Robey, T.
1980 Mpambanyoni: a Late Iron Age site on the Natal south coast. *Annals of the Natal Museum* **24**:147–164.
Robinson, K. R.
1958 Four Rhodesian Iron Age sites: a brief account of stratigraphy and finds. *Occasional Papers of the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia, Series* A, *Human Sciences* **3**:77–119.
1959 *Khami Ruins*. Cambridge: University Press.
1961a Excavations on the Acropolis Hill. *Occasional Papers of the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia, Series* A, *Human Sciences* **3**:159–192.
1961b Zimbabwe pottery. *Occasional Papers of the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia, Series* A, *Human Sciences* **3**:193–226.
1966a The archaeology of the Rozwi. In *The Zambesian past: studies in Central African history*, edited by E. Stokes and R. Brown. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Pp. 3–27.
1966b The Leopard's Kopje culture, its position in the Iron Age of Southern Rhodesia. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* **21**:5–51.
1967 Iron Age occupation sites immediately north of Bulawayo, Rhodesia: distribution and significance. *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* **3(2)**:1–12.
Rudd, S.
1968 Preliminary report of excavations, 1963–66 at Lekkerwater Ruins, Tsindi Hill, Theydon, Rhodesia. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* **52(2)**:38–50.
1984 Excavations at Lekkerwater Ruins, Tsindi, Hill, Theydon, Zimbabwe. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* **39**:83–105.
Schapera, I.
1930 The 'little rain' (*pulanyana*) ceremony of the Bechuanaland BaKxatla. *Bantu Studies* **4**:211–216.
1938 *A handbook of Tswana law and custom*. London: Oxford University Press.
1942 A short history of the BaNgwaketse. *African Studies* **1**:1–26.
1943 *Native land tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*. Alice: Lovedale Press.
1953 The Tswana. In *Ethnographic survey of Africa: southern Africa (Part III)*, edited by D. Forde. London: International African Institute.
1970 Tribal innovators: Tswana chiefs and social change 1795–1940. *London School of Economics Monograph on Social Anthropology* 43. London: Athlone Press.

Schapera, I. (editor)
1937 *The Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller.

Sinclair, P. J. J.
1981 An archaeological outline of two social formations of the later Iron Age in Zimbabwe and Moçambique. *Xth Congress Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques Mexico D. F. Resumenes de Comunicaciones Seccion VII–IX*. Pp. 64–65.
1982 Chibuene—an early trading site in southern Mozambique. *Paideuma* **28**:150–164.
1984 Some aspects of the economic level of the Zimbabwe state. *Zimbabwea* **1**:48–53.

Smith, E. W., and A. M. Dale
1968 *The Ila-speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (2 vols.). New York: University Books. (Original work published 1920).

Stayt, H. A.
1931 *The Bavenda*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.

Summers, R.
1969 Ancient mining in Rhodesia and adjacent areas. *Museum Memoir* 3. Salisbury: National Museums of Rhodesia.

Summers, R., and C. W. Pagden
1970 *The warriors*. Cape Town: Books of Africa.

Tamplin, M. J.
1977 Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in the Republic of Botswana. Ms. on file, Anthropology Department, Trent University.

Taylor, G. A.
1924 The genealogical method of anthropological enquiry. *NADA* **2**:33–48.

Taylor, M. O. V.
1979a *Late Iron Age settlements on the northern edge of the Vredefort Dome*. M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand.
1979b Wildebeestfontein: a Late Iron Age site in the southeast Transvaal. In Iron Age studies in southern Africa, edited by N. J. van der Merwe and T. N. Huffman. *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* **3**:120–129.
1984 Southern Transvaal stone walled sites—a spatial consideration. In Frontiers: southern African archaeology today, edited by M. Hall, G. Avery, D. M. Avery, M. L. Wilson, and A. J. B. Humphries. *BAR International Series* **207**:248–251.

Theal, G. M.
1898–1903 *Records of south-eastern Africa* (9 vols.). London: Government of the Cape Colony.

Thorp, C. R.
1984 *Faunal remains as evidence of social stratification at Great Zimbabwe*. M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand.

Trevor, T. G., and E. T. Mellor
1908 Report on a reconnaissance of the north-western Zoutpansberg District. *Special Publication of the Transvaal Mines Department*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Tyler, J.
1891 *Forty years among the Zulus*. Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society.

van der Waal, C. S.
1979 Woonwyse van die Venda. *South African Journal of Ethnology* **2**:11–27.

van Warmelo, N. J. (editor)
1932 Contributions towards Venda history, religion and tribal ritual. *Ethnological Publication* 3. Pretoria: Government Printer.
1940 The copper miners of Musina and the early history of the Zoutpansberg. *Ethnological Publication* 8. Pretoria: Government Printer.
1948 Venda law: Part 1, betrothal. *Ethnological Publication* 23. Pretoria: Government Printer.
1949 Venda law: Part 4, inheritance. *Ethnological Publication* 23. Pretoria: Government Printer.
1967 Venda law: Part 5, property. *Ethnological Publication* 50. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Voigt, E. A.
1983 Mapungubwe: an archaeozoological interpretation of an Iron Age community. *Museum Monograph* 1. Pretoria: Transvaal Museum.

von Sicard, H.
1954 The ancient Barwe accession to chieftaincy. *NADA* 31:54–56.

Walton, J.
1958 Sotho cattle-kraals. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 13:133–143.

Wentzel, P. J.
1983 *The relationship between Venda and western Shona* (Vol. 3). Pretoria: University of South Africa.

White, F.
1905 Observations on recent discoveries at ancient ruins. *Proceedings Rhodesia Scientific Association* 4:14–20.

Whitty, A.
1957 The origins of the stone architecture of Zimbabwe. In *Third Pan-African congress on prehistory: Livingstone 1955*, edited by J. D. Clark. London: Chatto and Windus. Pp. 366–377.
1961 Architectural style at Zimbabwe. *Occasional Papers of the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia, Series* A, *Human Sciences* 3:289–305.

Wieschhoff, H. A.
1941 The Zimbabwe-Monomotapa culture in southeast Africa. *General Series in Anthropology* 8. Menasha, Wis.: George Banta.

Willoughby, W. C.
1928 *The soul of the Bantu: a sympathetic study of the magico-religious practices and beliefs of the Bantu tribes of Africa*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran.

Ziervogel, D.
1957 *Swazi texts*. Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik.