# MAPUNGUBWE

## VOLUME II

Report on Excavations at Mapungubwe and Bambandyanalo in Northern Transvaal from 1935 to 1940.

*Written and arranged for the Archaeological Committee of the University of Pretoria by*

CAPTAIN GUY A. GARDNER

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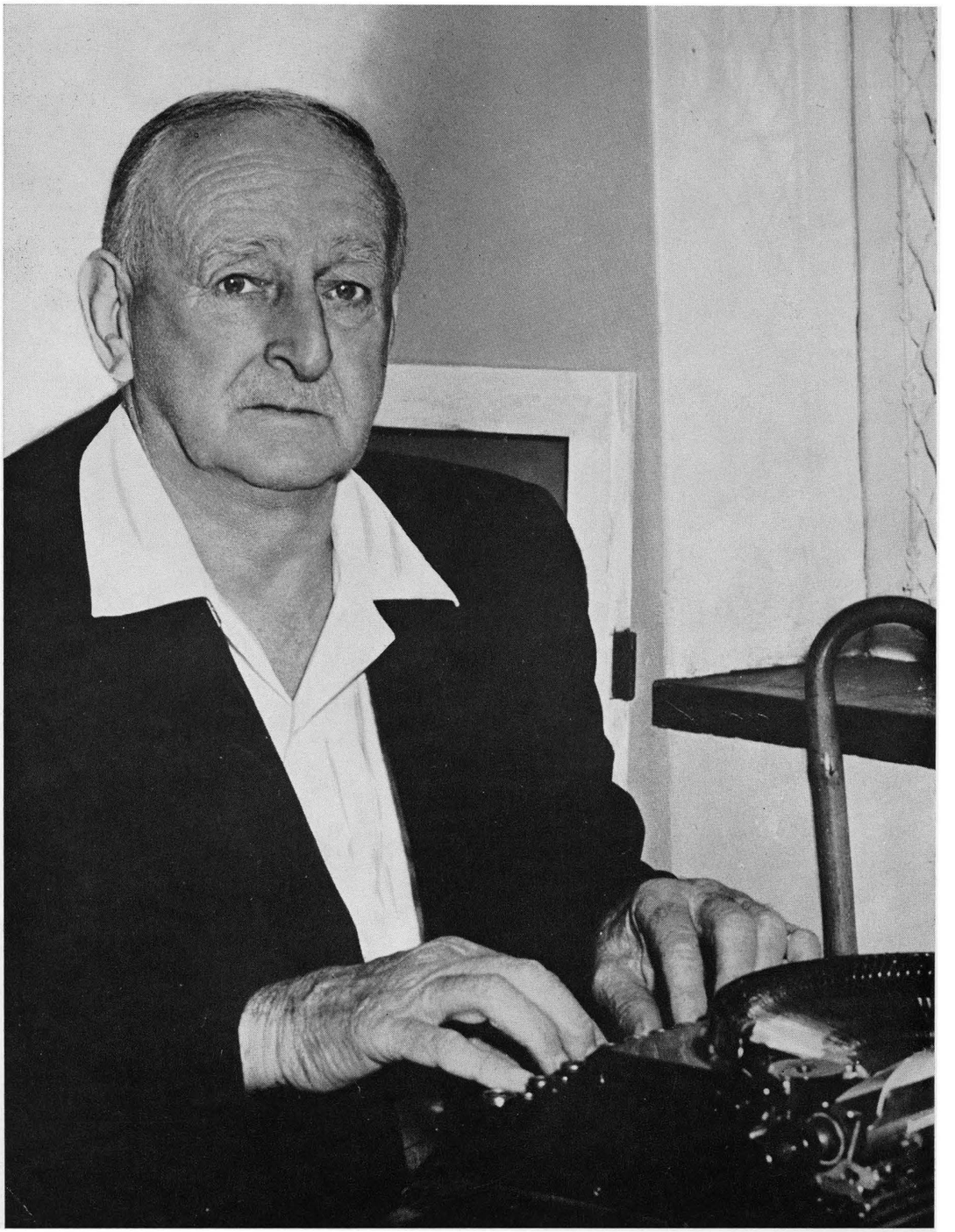

Captain Guy A. Gardner

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Written and arranged for the Archaeological Committee
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by

CAPTAIN GUY A. GARDNER
*Natal, South Africa*

Edited by

PROF. P. J. COERTZE
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# Preface

The first volume on Mapungubwe and associated sites, edited on behalf of the University of Pretoria by the late Prof. Leo Fouché, was published in 1937. It comprised the reports on the excavations carried out during the years 1933 – 1935.

This volume, now being presented as Volume II, deals with the results of the excavations carried out by Captain G. Gardner during the years 1935 – 1940. During these years the University was also fortunate in having the expert guidance and advice of the late Prof. C. van Riet Lowe, who had been a member of the Archaeological Committee of the University of Pretoria over a long period.

Capt. Gardner, after his appointment in 1935, started "digging", as he preferred to call it, with great enthusiasm and, as everyone after reading this work will testify, did excellent work. During these six years of excavating activities, in which he used the "grid" method, he kept clear and excellent records of the various phases of the whole process and of all the finds.

Unfortunately the war intervened. He was called upon for military service, and it was only towards the turn of the half-century that he could begin to write up his reports in manuscript form, in this way giving us a full history of his investigations.

His manuscript, complete with plates, sketches, diagrams and inventories of all finds, was handed over to the University in 1957. Shortly after this, however, new evidence in the form of results of C14 tests, which naturally had to be incorporated, was received from America. On a suggestion by the University that redrafting of certain parts of the manuscript would be an improvement and should be undertaken, he immediately offered to do so, although he was "far from well", as he then stated in his letter. We were not aware of the seriousness of his illness, and his death therefore came to us as a very great shock. The University wishes to pay tribute to the memory of a gallant scholar, who played the game of life with enthusiasm and according to the rules until the end. We are extremely grateful for the valuable services he has rendered to this University. The fact that the South African Archaeological Society elected him as their president for the year 1958 is also an indication that the archaeologists of South Africa wished to honour him and to show their appreciation for the services he had rendered to South African archaeology in general.

We are aware of the fact that many readers will not be in full agreement with all the theories the late author has put forward in explaining the puzzling facts he had to unravel, but we are sure that all will be impressed by the systematic and painstaking way in which he described the whole process of excavation as it progressed from stage to stage and the way in which he registered the material excavated, according to their length-breadth-depth co-ordinates. The facts that he presents us in this publication and the way in which they are presented command our admiration and respect, especially if we bear in mind that he had to complete this work under adverse circumstances, the force of which only he and those near him knew and which we can now but surmise.

It was the author's wish that the work should be published in two separate volumes: one containing the texts and inventories and the other the plates and diagrams. This procedure, for various reasons, proved to be impracticable. Some of his photographs and sketches also proved to be unsuitable for purposes of reproduction and had to be dispensed with. This led to a rearrangement of the plates. These changes, however, have had no disadvantageous effect on the work, and the reasoning of the author has not been changed at all, but is presented as he wished it to be presented: for criticism and evaluation, not according to personal inclination or on grounds of preconceived and subjective conjecture, but in the light of new research and further discoveries. He was willing to leave the final judgement as to the validity of his conclusions to the tribunal of history. This attitude of the author has been respected.

The University has great pleasure in thanking various State Departments and more particularly the Department of the Interior, which, at that time, partly financed the project. We also wish to express our appreciation for the services rendered by the late Prof. C. van Riet Lowe, under whose personal supervision the excavations were executed and who also gave valuable advice concerning the completion of the manuscript. Our gratitude is also expressed to Mr. B. D. Malan, the Director of the former Bureau for Archaeological Survey of the Department

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of Education, Arts and Science, for his valuable services and advice. The University also records its appreciation for the contributions made to the completing of the work by the following persons:

Mr. S. Richards, who was responsible for the redrawing of the sketches and diagrams; Professor N. Sabbagha, who assisted in the correction of the text and the proofs; Mr. R. D. Coertze for his valuable assistance, more particularly in regard to the photostatic reproduction of the original manuscript and the rearrangement of the photos on the various plates; and Prof. P. J. Coertze for attempting the difficult task of editing the work without the assistance and guidance of the author.

The publication of this work was made possible by financial assistance from the Department of Education, Arts and Science (National Council for Social Research) —assistance that is gladly acknowledged and for which the University expresses its gratitude and appreciation. Needless to say, the Department of Education, Arts and Science (National Council for Social Research) may in no way be held responsible for the ideas expressed or for the conclusions drawn by the author.

We are glad to present this publication to the public. It is our hope that it will help to clarify many of the problems connected with the two sites, Mapungubwe and Bambandyanalo, and also that it will help to pave the way for a final solution. The University has again started excavations on the southern terrace of Mapungubwe Hill, and a further report will be presented in due course.

PROF. DR. C. H. RAUTENBACH
Rector and Vice-Chancellor,
University of Pretoria.

Pretoria.
July, 1962.

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# Introduction

The purpose of this introduction is threefold: firstly, it is considered desirable and essential to recapitulate the work done on the Limpopo site during the years 1933 and 1934, and to discuss briefly the difficulties and the problems that arose; secondly, by means of explaining some of the hurdles encountered, to mitigate in some measure the hammerblows of the critics; and thirdly, to take the opportunity here of thanking those good friends without whose help and co-operation our task would have been rendered much more difficult, if not impossible.

Mapungubwe Hill lies a mile or so from the right bank of the Limpopo, about 55 miles due west of Messina. Its mystical character was well known to the natives of the district, who gave it a wide berth. The hill was eventually scaled, and gold was discovered on its summit in conjunction with human skeletons. An expedition was arranged in 1933, and some preliminary work done on the hill.

In 1934 Messrs. Neville Jones of Southern Rhodesia and J. F. Schofield of Natal were asked to continue the investigation. Volume I of this publication, referred to above, is based on their reports and conclusions. Their stay in the neighbourhood was necessarily only a short one, but during the six weeks on the two sites a considerable amount of trenching was done and a number of interesting discoveries were made. The season of 1934 would probably have ended in the cessation of the operations had it not been for the surprising hiatus between the report of the cultural investigators and that of the physical anthropologist. Their views, which will be examined later, were so diametrically opposed to those of Jones and Schofield that the Archaeological Committee of the University of Pretoria felt that further exploration was indicated. As the gentlemen mentioned above were unable to continue their explorations, the writer, who had had considerable archaeological experience, was called in to take over in 1935.

Almost the very first question fired at me was why, if those sites were deemed so important, a fully qualified archaeologist had not been imported from Europe or America? There are several replies to this. In the first place a well-known archaeologist had actually been approached, and his considered opinion was that the dig, being South African, should be undertaken by a South African national, who would naturally know more about the cultural habits of the Bantu than a person imported from overseas. Then, again, the actual expedition itself came in for considerable criticism. I doubt whether any South African university, in the early 1930's, could afford to finance a full-scale expedition, let alone staff it. Archaeologists are few and far between in South Africa, and those who have the necessary experience are very seldom available. If the University of Pretoria had been confronted with the necessity for such a staff, as prescribed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler,[1] they would have been appalled, and the investigations would have fallen through. The lack of a professional photographer was furthermore a severe handicap throughout the six seasons, because the opportunities for suitable pictures were legion; my assistant and I had only old cameras, and at times films were difficult to obtain. We were only amateurs in this important branch of archaeology and had had no experience whatever in the art of arranging subject matter in the best and most professional style. I have therefore included in the plates all photographs—good, bad, and indifferent—in the hope that something may be gained even from the very worst of them.

What we lacked in staff we also lacked in equipment. The Archaeological Committee did its best, and could and did supply us with barrows, shovels, sieves and the like, but it could at that stage offer us very little in the line of scientific equipment.[2] Fortunately I possessed my own surveying and drawing apparatus, so this difficulty was surmounted. Then there was the distance from the railhead, 55 miles over almost trackless wilderness, and supplies, etc., had to be brought by motor to our camp. This meant that my assistant, Van Tonder, had to go to Messina, the nearest town, twice a month for food, post, and other articles. That left me alone on one or the other of the two sites; but I made it an inflexible rule that, unless my assistant or I was present, no excavation was to be attempted or permitted.

Excuses are usually futile and denote incompetency or worse, but I trust that this brief account of some of our difficulties will render our critics more lenient towards

1. *Archaeology from the Earth*, 1954.
2. Fortunately circumstances have changed during the past 30 years. (Ed.)

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us. They may rest assured that no important fact was overlooked and that no negligent or scrappy excavation was undertaken.

That this book is full of deficiencies nobody knows better than the author; but the war put a sudden stop to our activities and the long lapse of time before publication has resulted in the loss or destruction of many important articles, which naturally has made the compilation of the many reports and documents no easy matter. I have given the facts as they appeared each season; and the conclusions are my own, interpreted from the facts. Everybody's interpretation may not agree with mine; but one has to offer a hypothesis that will embrace and include all the known phenomena, both cultural and anthropological, for the one cannot be divorced from the other.

Now that the cause of some of our delinquencies has been examined, it is a more pleasing task to thank those kind people who were so active on our behalf and who asserted themselves so vigorously for our comfort. I regard the Archaeological Committee of the University of Pretoria as very good friends with whom I worked in complete amity for six seasons. They were always ready to fall in with my archaeological suggestions and tried in every way to make the expedition a success and to ensure the happiness and comfort of its members.

To Professor Fouché, Professor van Riet Lowe, Professor Dart, Dr. Galloway, Dr. Wells, and Mr. B. D. Malan, I am indebted for good advice and much assistance; and also to other specialists who kindly gave their knowledge for our benefit. For sheer unfailing hospitality and kindness I must mention Mr. and Mrs. Huyser of La Rêve, who, together with Mr. and Mrs. Burnett of Schroda, did all they could for the comfort of the expedition and welcomed us at all times.

My thanks go out to another good friend, the late Dr. Thompson of Messina, who, with his wife, gave unstinted hospitality, and in whose company I spent many happy hours. Visitors such as the Rissiks, and several Rhodesian friends, were always welcome, not only for the interest they displayed in our discoveries but also for the creature comforts they invariably brought with them. And lastly I should like to add a few words about my late assistant, Peter van Tonder, who was drowned in the Limpopo several years ago. Although quite untrained as an archaeologist and having had a very superficial education, he was one of the most enthusiastic and most versatile men I have ever met. A first-rate motor mechanic and a crack shot, he could be relied upon in almost all circumstances. He was a wizard at the reconstruction of broken pots, and so excellent was his technique that I left the lifting of the skeletons almost entirely to him. I should like to express my sincere gratitude for his willing and able assistance.

CAPTAIN GUY A. GARDNER

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# Chapter I

## 1. GENERAL

To the traveller motoring north along the Great North Road from Pretoria to Louis Trichardt the country presents great contrasts. Hills and bush are succeeded by a savannah-like plain studded with grotesque stumps of granite koppies. The bush and mountain country presents nothing strange to the eye accustomed to the normal South African scenery, but beyond the Zoutpansberg a completely new and alien landscape unfolds itself. It is the land of the thorn or umbrella tree, the mopani, and the weird twisted baobab. This belt extends for roughly 150 miles until one approaches the Lundi River in Southern Rhodesia, where park-like country appears again. It is in this type of semi-desert that the farm Greefswald, where our two ancient sites are situated, lies. A glance at the map on Plate I will show the exact position of Mapungubwe and its relation to other territories and the river system of that part of the country. During the winter months these rivers are almost dry; one can walk across the Limpopo almost anywhere, and occasional deep pools along the banks harbour crocodiles and such fish as can survive their depredations. During the summer months torrential downpours bring the rivers down in spate, rendering all drifts impassable. Plate II, No. 2, shows the Limpopo as a dry stretch of sand, while the same plate, No. 1, shows the same river in flood. We are concerned here only with the banks of the Limpopo for some miles both up and down the river from Greefswald; but even on such a comparatively short stretch there is considerable contrast. Taken on the whole, the left, or the Bechuanaland and Rhodesian side, is less eroded and not so heavily wooded. The right bank appears to have been subject to much erosion in the past, and the land has been cut down into a series of long wide terraces. These in turn are intersected by the dry beds of old rivers, which flow again to some extent during the rainy season. The whole topography of the right bank is interesting, for it was up these narrow valleys that the ancient settlers and invaders must have penetrated, crossing from the flatter lands beyond the left bank of the river. For one who knows the district and its environs it is easy to visualise migrating hordes, with their cattle and sheep, following the Shashi River to its confluence with the Limpopo, where they entered one of the then fertile valleys below the more desiccated escarpment and settled for an unknown period, until they were overwhelmed by some catastrophe such as repeated tribal inundations.

The rock of the district is a type of sandstone belonging to the Karoo system and, as far as has been ascertained, unfossiliferous. This cave-sandstone, as it has been called, is very friable and liable to erosion, and it is due to the action of wind and rain that the predominating feature of the country on the right bank is the mesa-like koppies, capped with sandstone, that even now are in the process of disintegration. Such an isolated hill is Mapungubwe, which, in the course of time, will be reduced like others to a mere shapeless heap of rock and sand. The hill, however, was, and is, a natural fortress, impregnable to anything except modern weapons, and it is small wonder that it has been occupied as a refuge since stone-age times. In the past there were two ways of ascent: the western chimney of Fouché's book, and another some distance to the rear of the present cleft. Both were formed in the same manner: a great slab of rock, becoming detached from the parent mass and slipping down, produced a narrow chimney up which it was possible to climb. To make climbing easier, the ancients drilled holes in both sides of the rock and probably inserted sticks which could be withdrawn in cases of emergency. The western ascent is still negotiable, but the other has collapsed in a heap of rubble at the bottom of the cliff. The under-cutting process is still in progress at the hill; a deep shelter called Lotrie's Cave (Plate II, No. 3) shows how the elements are eating into the hillside; eventually the rock above this shelter will cave in and fall as detritus down the slopes of the hill.

Mapungubwe was the first site to be discovered, and it was here that Schofield concentrated and did most of his work. His conclusions will be discussed in their proper place.

The other site presents a totally different aspect. Here there was no fortified and inaccessible sanctuary, but a raised valley lying between two hills, wide open to any attack from all points of the compass. To the east, a steep declivity of some 30 to 50 ft. sloped down to the flood plain below, while to the west the ground rose slowly until it reached the level of one of the wide river terraces. That

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there had been great climatic changes, perhaps comparatively recently, is evident from the conditions that now prevail. The country has been described as semi-desert, and so great is the desiccation now evident that no large flocks or herds can possibly live on the scanty vegetation that springs up after the infrequent rains or exists along the river banks. That two streams once formed the opposing boundaries of our raised valley is clearly shown by their water-worn boulders and whirlpool pits, and it must be apparent to the most superficial observer that formerly the settlement must have had everything that primitive folk could desire: abundant water and, hence, good grazing, sheltered from the north and south winds. All amenities were provided for except defence, and lack of that must have been the contributory cause of its downfall. This settlement we called K.2, for the name Bambandyanalo[1] is that of the hill to the north-east, which appears never to have been occupied as a habitation site, though later on it was evidently used as a cattle kraal, walls having been built to keep the beasts in and intruders out.

The whole aspect of the countryside is both repellent and fascinating. This may appear to be a contradiction, but is not really so, for at first glance this drought-stricken land with its burnt-up appearance, its withered vegetation, and the glaring whiteness of the sun-scorched rocks, may have a depressing effect on a newcomer used to the lush growth of more fortunate regions; but after a time most people admit that the country grows on one, until one actually experiences a wrench on leaving it. And I, personally, was always glad to return.

To the prehistorian, the archaeologist, the ornithologist and, in fact, to anyone interested in scientific investigation, the valley of the Limpopo has a wealth of material to offer, and its advantages far outweigh any of the minor inconveniences associated with exploration in a wild country. Much remains to be done from an archaeological point of view on both banks of the Limpopo, especially on the Rhodesian side, which is practically virgin territory.

## 2. START OF SEASON 1935

Through the kind assistance of Mr. Rissik of Johannesburg I arrived at Mapungubwe on June 26th, 1935. We travelled via Messina, over the sandy track that ran roughly parallel to the Limpopo, at varying distances from it. Passing by the Seta Diamond Mine, the path became more rugged, and I was given to understand that the road had originally been constructed by the first explorers and had to be renewed or repaired at the beginning of each season. On arriving at La Rêve at the top of the escarpment, I met Mr. and Mrs. Huyser, who were to be so kind to us in the following years. I also met my assistant, Van Tonder, with whom I was to be so closely associated during our six seasons at Greefswald. It is unnecessary to describe in detail the pitching of our camp; suffice it to say that I was housed in an Indian army tent which proved to be abominably hot during the day and bitterly cold at night. I was constantly tormented by scorpions and large spiders attracted by the glare of my petrol lamp, so I decided there and then to have a hut built should the authorities decide to continue the work for another season.

I visited and inspected the summit of Mapungubwe at the earliest opportunity. My first impression was one of disappointment. The ground, particularly to the west, had been so thoroughly trenched and dug over that little remained to be explored, or so I thought. That I was mistaken will be explained later. As my assistant had already started work at K.1 (Diagram 1), I considered it advisable to complete the investigations there and to learn what I could from the general aspect of the finds, particularly the pottery sherds. Van Tonder's trench was 79 feet long, but nowhere more than 3 feet deep, and it had already yielded quantities of potsherds, portions of spouted bowls, fragments of ivory, a Bushman-type bone arrow, teeth of ruminants, a human lower jaw, and a portion of a large, glass, barrel-shaped bead of a type later on to be called the "garden roller".[1] All these objects presumably belonged to a homogeneous culture, and my assistant assured me that he could find no trace of stratification or signs of actual habitation. To satisfy myself and to check Van Tonder's work, I drove a second trial trench through K.1 and discovered precisely the same sort of material as my assistant had previously found. Sherds of Schofield's M.2 ware[2] and a number of objects were dispersed in apparent confusion throughout the mound. The total absence of post-holes or any signs of dwellings and the dismembered portions of human anatomy deposited without any stratigraphical sequence, in conjunction with other aspects of the place, told their own tale: K.1 was merely a sandy mound of unconsolidated midden debris, washed down from the parent site of K.2 and deposited by the heavy but infrequent rains on the flood plain below the declivity leading up to the raised valley above. As we were searching for an occupied area where cultural remains might be discovered *in situ*, and in conjunction with the hoped-for skeletons, we abandoned K.1 during the month of July and decided to put down a series of trial holes at the plateau of K.2, for it was perfectly apparent that the raised valley site con-

1. FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe*, Vol I, 1937, p. 19.

1. Illustrated in colour in FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe*, Vol. I, 1937, p. 104.
2. Cf. *Op. cit.*, p. 36 *et seq.*

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tained, hidden in its depths, artefacts similar to those recovered from K.2, and it was there—if anywhere—that my hope of finding skeletons was founded.

I therefore did a rough preliminary survey of the site (cf. Diagram 1), which shows the approximate boundaries of the cultural areas. These trial holes were dug, as far as could be judged, on the outer perimeter of the site, and all of them gave evidence that we were working on an inhabited region. The artefacts from the pits denoted a presumably homogeneous culture, Pit No. 12 excepted. Fragmentary human skeletal remains were unearthed in some of these holes, and all seemed to promise important discoveries. In all, eleven trial pits were sunk around the supposed perimeter and one on the talus slope of Bambandyanalo to the east. These proved instructive and valuable. All the objects obtained from the eleven pits were identical with those recovered later from the mound itself and postulated a similar culture. One skeleton, in the last stages of decay, was unearthed and also one human skull; but no beads were found with the interments. Pit No. 6 yielded an interesting little dish with two compartments, and the discovery of a hearth made of rough stones with the remains of a cooking pot *in situ* seemed to indicate that the original inhabitants had once dwelt round the central mound. The trial holes on the eastern side conclusively confirmed this opinion. Small consolidated areas of rough, red gravel seemed to point to a species of floor, but the most meticulous examination failed to show any trace of burnt walls or post-holes. Pit No. 12, however, told a very different story. Here there were sherds entirely different from those of K.2, bearing a general resemblance to those found on Mapungubwe. Here there was also a hard cement floor with the remains of burnt and fallen wattle and daub walls, indicating the typical native Bantu dwelling. Further exploration along the slopes of Bambandyanalo brought to light traces of a settlement undoubtedly Bantu, and an extensive one at that. Unfortunately no beads were recovered, but a normal figurine without steatopygy was obtained from the ruins of a hut in Pit No. 12. All the important finds from the pits are listed in Inventory No. 1.

Having roughly defined the habitation area, I decided to cut through the central mound which rose a few feet above the surrounding sands in approximately the centre of our surveyed region, and started to set out Trench 1 (Plate III, No. 1) at K.2 in the following manner: It was decided to cut this trench through what appeared to be the highest point of the mound, not only to discover its contents but, should further excavation be sanctioned for 1936, to use it as a base for the setting out of a large grid, or series of grids, from which it was hoped that valuable information might accrue. Parallel lines were therefore drawn 5 feet apart and 340 feet long, the resultant parallelogram being divided off into 34 sections of 10 feet each, pegged and numbered from 1 to 34 consecutively from south to north (Diagram 2).

## 3. METHOD OF RECORDING

In order to plot accurately each object found and to obtain a lasting record of the excavation, a simple formula was employed which was used with success for all subsequent work, whether at K.2 or on the Hill. The letters ARD represent the co-ordinates or identifying formulae, and are entered not only on the grid plans but on each artefact as discovered. The letter "A" represents the distance along each section from left to right; "R" represents the distance from the left edge of the trench towards the right; and "D" of course represents the depth from the surface. An example will clarify this. Take the first object listed in Inventory No. 1 of Trench 1 (Diagram 2): a beaker bowl. This was found in Section 3, 36 inches from the extreme left of the section, 30 inches across the section from left to right, and 20 inches from the surface, the whole being expressed as A36″.R30″.D20″. By this simple method the exact position of any object relative to its position in the section can easily be ascertained.

Moreover, it was found that the native workers could, with reasonable accuracy, lower the ground horizontally 12 inches at a time, and so each section or grid was dug in this fashion, the 12 inches being termed a "strip". If the deposit at any given point was 5 feet in depth, then of course there would be 5 strips on which to record the finds. It will be appreciated therefore that by the superimposing of all strips in descending order a perfectly accurate and permanent record of everything within the excavation was obtained.

The decision to cut through K.2 was a wise one and produced valuable information. The mound at its greatest depth proved to be nearly 20 feet of accumulated rubbish: ash, charcoal, broken animal bones, and sherds predominating. On or near bedrock were traces of decayed matter which on analysis proved to be kraal droppings and suggested that the centre of the area had originally started as a cattle enclosure, the inhabitants living in close proximity to their herds. An analysis of samples taken by Dr. V. L. Bosazza, M.Sc., of the Minerals Research Laboratory of the University of the Witwatersrand, from several points in the trench gave the surprising figures of 2% sherds and 1% bones, so that when the ash and charcoal are considered the absence of large trees on such a sterile dump can hardly be wondered at. The pottery, most of which was broken, proved surprisingly varied in form and decorative motif, and ranged from bell beakers, beaker bowls, lugged vessels, and spouted bowls, to the

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ubiquitous cooking pot, little changed through the ages.

Four human skeletons were unearthed from this trench, two at great depths, the others being very near the surface and appearing to be later interments. A word of caution is necessary here. The mound and its near-boundaries had, as has been mentioned, been subjected to the action of torrential downpours which stripped and almost laid bare some portions of the area while overwhelming others with a deluge of sand mixed with all kinds of debris. It was not until we had dug below the level of flood action that any reliable stratigraphy could be considered. The skeletons mentioned above disclosed several peculiarities: many bones were missing, and yet the sherds and small stones associated with them were apparently not displaced. Another puzzling feature was the presence of bovine bones with some of the human burials. This curious state of affairs will be discussed later when we come to the analysis of the skeletal material.

The first of the so-called beast burials was discovered in Trench 1 at a depth of 10 feet 6 inches from the surface. Its significance was not at first realised, and it was thought to have been a child's effort of some kind. The sieves yielded various beads from Skeleton No. 1, some resembling those found on the Hill, but no ornaments of any kind were associated with the remaining skeletons. A number of garden-roller beads of both light and dark types were exposed, but curiously enough no iron tools or weapons of any kind were found in the long trench. Inventory No. 1 gives the more important finds from Trench 1 together with their co-ordinates, and Plates XXXIV–XLII show the pottery-rim sections and samples of their varied decoration.

The discovery of Bantu culture on the eastern border of K.2 led me to cut a second trench some 100 feet north of Trench 1 and on the extreme edge of what appeared to be the detritus from the central mound itself. The result was very gratifying, for there I unearthed all aspects of a Bantu culture: coarse cooking pots, inferior pottery, traces of huts with wattle and daub walls, moulded cement hearths, quantities of burnt millet, ivory chips, and many iron and copper objects. Beads were very scarce, but several fragments of the typical K.2 garden-roller seemed to indicate a contact with the K.2 people, or, alternatively, they may have been washed down from the central mound, as the absence of any broken moulds postulates. Curiously enough, examples of the typical K.2 ceramics were wanting in that area.

## 4. INSPECTION AND TRIAL EXCAVATIONS ON HILL

At the end of August, 1935, we received instructions to cease work at K.2 and betake ourselves to the summit of Mapungubwe, where, it was hoped, more "gold skeletons" would come to light. We started work on what is described in Volume I as the "Grave Area" (Diagram 5), the spot where Van Tonder had made his exciting discoveries in 1934.[1] The ground there had been dug over in a haphazard fashion and had not been taken to bedrock. I set out a grid plan (Diagram 5), the blocks being those numbered 3 and 4, and the same formula being employed as at K.2, but beyond a few gold beads nothing was found in the way of skeletal material. An interesting stone dish with handle, something like a stone frying-pan, was, however, unearthed in this area (Plate LX, No. 3.) On September 17th we did find another skeleton on the Hill, M.S. No. 24 (Fig. 16), and although it was a true pot burial, there was no gold with it, but vast quantities of black, long to standard, beads and the usual twisted copper anklets on the legs proclaimed it a typical Hill interment, the physical aspect of which we of course had no means of determining.

Actually the month spent on the Hill was disappointing, for we found nothing that in any way helped towards the solution of our problems. Instructions came from Pretoria that we were to close down at the end of September, but the committee very kindly enabled Van Tonder and me to spend a week at Zimbabwe, which I was naturally anxious to inspect, as it had been connected culturally with Mapungubwe by my predecessors. What we saw and learned in Southern Rhodesia is not really germane to this volume, but any comparisons that may present themselves will be touched on later.

It was apparent to me that we should learn more from K.2 than from Mapungubwe, and although I by no means approved of rapid and therefore perhaps superficial excavation, I was determined to do a "Silchester" at K.2 because I wanted as much material evidence as I could produce to lay before the Archaeological Committee, hoping thereby that the excavations might be carried on the following season. Therefore, before stating what conclusions impressed themselves upon me during our nine weeks' labour at K.2 and the month on the Hill, I may say at once that the committee considered my report to be so favourable that further exploration was warranted, and I was requested to hold myself in readiness to begin operations again early the next year.

## 5. K.2 CONCLUSIONS

Let me state frankly that at the end of September I had come to no definite conclusions with regard to the above site. I was unquestionably disturbed by what I had found at K.2, for superficially it did not seem to support any of the preconceived notions I had held. K.2 puzzled me.

1. FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe*, Vol. I, 1937, Map 1.

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Schofield had already stated that he considered all cultures Bantu, that at K.2 being Shona and that at the Hill Sotho, and that they were contemporary. This latter, on the face of it, appeared improbable, for in all my long experience of Bantu tribes I had never heard of two totally distinct stocks living in close amity with one another—just the reverse in fact. This, however, was not my chief objection. The more I saw of the pottery the less I liked the Bantu hypothesis: such a wealth of form and decoration did not seem to me to warrant a native or Negro origin. Nowhere in Southern Africa had I come across such a diversity of shape or forms postulating a different tradition from anything our native races could produce. That there were, or had been, two cultures at K.2 was quite evident from our discoveries but in what relationship they stood to each other had still to be worked out, and that could be done only by the uncovering of a large area by accurate and scientific excavation.

Had there been close or only superficial contact with the Hill culture, or had they not coalesced? That also had to be investigated. Who were the original people at K.2? Of what stock? Who were the native races who occupied the two sites, perhaps at different periods? All these and other questions exercised our minds. But the investigations of 1935, while giving us much to ponder over, only intensified our difficulties and offered little solution to our problems, which could only be solved by lengthy and elaborate excavation. The labours of our first season told us in no uncertain way that at K.2 a people had lived that was far advanced in the ceramic art and that, from our necessarily rather superficial investigations, they had been ignorant of any kind of agriculture. Apparently they had no knowledge of metal work, let alone the process of smelting, and the numerous beads were probably acquired by barter. From the evidence obtained from Trench 1 it was clear that they had possessed cattle and sheep; so, too, was the fact that they had built no huts, having presumably lived in rough shelters of which no trace has been left.

## 6. MAPUNGUBWE CONCLUSIONS, 1935

Our four weeks' work on the summit merely confirmed my opinion that nothing much was to be learned by further digging on the Hill. Our rather desultory attempts resulted in nothing of interest, and I was inclined to agree fully with Schofield that the whole deposit was Bantu in origin.It may be remarked here that the evidence of erosion and redeposition of midden material was as clear at the Hill as it was at K.2. Fouché's excavation at Mahobe's[1] below the cliff face gave evidence of this, for the ground comprising the summit sloped slightly from north-east to south-west, giving a much greater accumulation of rubbish at the more southern base of the cliffs. The ground on which our camp was situated showed signs of having once been occupied, and traces of a wall or revetment on the eastern side offered protection from the river that once ran in close proximity to our camp. This area was not excavated during my stay in the Northern Transvaal, and much might be learned from its careful investigation. So great was the uncertainty existing in my mind regarding K.2 that late in the year 1935 I determined to go to Durban and discuss the matter with Schofield. At that time I had neither the large number of drawings of the pottery that I possessed later nor the photographs of the contracted burials that I afterwards acquired. Therefore all I could do was to discuss my doubts regarding the Bantu origin of K.2, though being unable to offer any alternative suggestions. Schofield admitted that he had had very little to do with K.2, or Bamdandyanalo as he called it, for he had concentrated on Mapungubwe summit and had left the trial dig at the other site to Van Tonder. Schofield, however, was not convinced by any arguments that I could bring forward—admittedly very feeble at the time—and he was still of the opinion that all the cultures at both sites were Bantu. After we had argued the point for some time I told him that I hoped the next season's work would make things considerably clearer, as I was not at all satisfied in my own mind that things at Greefswald were as simple as he would have liked to prove.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

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# Chapter II

## 1. START OF SEASON 1936; SETTING OUT OF BLOCKS; APPEARANCE OF HUMAN REMAINS AT K.2

Instructions were received that work at K.2 was to be recommenced as early in June as was possible, and on this occasion I had to go to Messina by train, a wearisome and frustrating journey, but Van Tonder joined me at Mapungubwe on the 3rd of the month.

About this time Professor van Riet Lowe was appointed director-general of all field operations in the Northern Transvaal, which helped very considerably to expedite matters, because we now had one person to deal with instead of several.

Our first few days in camp were occupied in repairing our road and carting many tons of coarse sand from the river, which we then laid in and around our tents to obviate the discomfort that might arise from the clouds of fine midden dust that filled the air and covered everything whenever the wind rose above a light breeze.

On June 8th I went out to K.2 and found that a large number of my survey pegs had been extracted by the inquisitive baboons. We managed to put a stop to this by coating the tops of the pegs with pitch, which remained soft in the warm climate, the touch of which the baboons disliked intensely. They left the pegs severely alone.

Work was commenced at K.2 on June 10th, after I had sent Van Tonder up the Hill to clear a large water-worn pot-hole, discovered the previous season.

Having my quota of labourers, I proceeded to set out a large grid plan on the site, using last season's Trench 1 as a base. Five blocks of equal size were drawn out (Diagram 4) and divided up as follows:

Each block was 225 feet in length and 30 feet wide, and was further divided into 15 sections to obviate the use of large figures and to facilitate recording. Each section was divided into squares of 5 feet, so that 18 squares went into one section. There was nothing arbitrary in this arrangement, as it was determined by the labour position, our 19 workers being found capable of lowering the ground horizontally a foot at a time along the surface of any section and removing the refuse, which was dumped over the adjoining declivity. The blocks and sections were marked out by numbered pegs well driven into the ground to thwart the aforesaid baboons, and grass and shrubs were removed from the site.

The use of a grid plan for each strip necessitated a large number of such sheets, and to facilitate the work Professor van Riet Lowe had a number of these plans, with their 5-foot squares, printed by his department. This saved a tremendous amount of time and work. Any object discovered was marked at once with its appropriate numbers and figures, and was also entered and described in the field book, from which it was transferred to the typed inventories and, of course, marked on the printed grid sheets, providing a perfect record and a reliable check on every find. It was found impossible to sieve every square foot of the ground over such a large area, for we had neither the time nor the staff to undertake such a laborious task. Actually, sifting was found unnecessary except in close proximity to skeletal and cultural objects. All the sand at or near the skeletons, hearths, visible floors, and beast burials was carefully sieved, as were also the contents of all the many pits discovered in the area. It may be stated that the intervening ground was sterile. The formula for identification purposes has already been explained in Chapter I, but it must not be thought that the co-ordinates D.1, D.2, and so on, are arbitrary ones. On so large a dig it was manifestly impossible to register the exact situation of every single article in inches; therefore, when the formula states that a pot was found at D.1 depth, it does not mean at 1 foot exactly, but that the article was discovered in the 1-foot layer being stripped. Similarly, when small objects turned out by the pick tumbled over the spade's edge these were recovered and marked as coming from the 12-inch strip.

Instructions were received from the director-general of operations for the complete clearance of the large pot-hole on the summit of Mapungubwe, and so, while Van Tonder was occupied with this task, I carefully examined the talus slope of Bambandyanalo where it impinges on the eastern boundary of K.2. A report of what I found may be of interest. The chaotic condition of things on that slope appeared at first to be something of a puzzle, but a small amount of digging and a comprehensive study of the remains offered a feasible solution. It was quite evident that the ancient inhabitants had built on the slope and had terraced the ground, as had been

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done on Mapungubwe, before the present rapid disintegration of the rocks above had set in. When this occurred, the falling boulders would have crashed on the huts below, causing the collapse of the terraces as well, and the stones used for the revetment and the hard cement floors would be shot down the incline and jumbled up in detached masses just as they are found today. There are definitely no traces of sherds on the top of the koppie above the ruins. This means that the multitude of pottery fragments mixed in the debris could not have been washed down from the hilltop, but must have constituted the household furniture of the huts themselves. A number of hut floors still remained *in situ*, but their walls were destroyed; in many cases they lie far below the original floors. That many burials took place on the slopes is clear from the quantity of human bones strewed on the ground, and Van Tonder had found some pot burials on the site in 1934. The place would, in my opinion, warrant further exploration.

The excavation of Block 1 (Plate III, No. 2, and Diagram 4) was actually begun on June 15th, the result being interesting and instructive. Traces of hut floors were found, but all near the surface. The lower levels revealed a series of semi-consolidated gravels which might or might not have been floors. These gravel patches, which were roughly circular, showed no signs of any walls or traces of post-holes.

It may be remembered that one of the main objectives of 1936 was the recovery of skeletal material. As work progressed it was at once evident that our hopes were to be realised, because from the very first skeletons were found. These burials are fully described in the chapter dealing with the skeletal material (VIII) and also in Dr. Galloway's report on their physical aspects.[1] It will be apparent to everybody that the preservation of this material was of the utmost importance, for without its complete analysis no definite interpretation of the racial characteristics of the K.2 people could be accomplished. After all, it was the culture in conjunction with the inhabitants that we were after; the mere acquisition of numerous artefacts, no matter how interesting, is not the be-all and end-all of archaeology, but rather the reconstruction of the civilisation in question. To quote Sir Mortimer Wheeler: "We dig up mere things, forgetful that our proper aim is to dig up people."[2]

It must be remembered that our sites on the Limpopo lay 55 miles from the railhead, over roads which were mere sandy tracks and which were eliminated after any heavy rain. The problem was therefore how to get the skeletons to Johannesburg in good preservation so that they could be examined by the physical anthropologist. There was no field laboratory in camp, and all conditions might be described as primitive, but nevertheless a large number of skeletons were sent to the Medical School, Johannesburg, and because certain methods, which will be described in their proper place, were used, only one skeleton disintegrated, the remainder arriving in a perfectly sound condition.

These burials began to prove so numerous that it was considered advisable to send for Dr. A. Galloway, who was to do the osteological examination. He duly arrived in camp on July 13th and, having inspected the methods employed for the preservation of the material, he expressed himself as being fully satisfied. It was of course impossible for him to come to any definite conclusions from what he then saw, but he did express the opinion that the skeletons appeared to resemble those found on Mapungubwe and already described in Volume I.[1]

## 2. DISCOVERY OF GARDEN-ROLLER BEAD MOULDS

As in 1935, copper was found sparingly, and iron was very scarce. Weapons of offence were almost entirely wanting; only one, a much-corroded iron arrow point, was found in Block 1 at a depth of 2 feet from the surface. Figurines were not recovered from the lower levels, but a number were found in Block 1, the majority being steatopygous. One in particular is worthy of special notice, for the figure represented is that of a Bush or Hottentot female showing the peculiar elongation of the *labia minora*, the whole being carefully modelled. Another interesting find was a pottery hippopotamus of well-baked clay with green beads for eyes—a most unusual specimen. Nothing approaching it was discovered during the subsequent years. Beads were numerous and were found in large quantities on the skeletons, and less frequently in the pits. Garden-roller beads of both types were recovered from all depths and were often associated with the burials, both human and beast. One pottery tuyère was found near the surface and probably represented the later Bantu contact. Bone arrow points were rare, as were other bone tools, but the ubiquitous pounding stones for breaking animal bones to extract the marrow were common at all depths.

One of the most outstanding features of the season's work was the discovery at all levels of numerous broken moulds of the garden-roller bead. One fragment found in Pit 4 (Inventory No. 3) had globules of glass adhering to it, while from Block 2, Section 9, a complete mould was recovered, beautifully fashioned, of hard-baked pottery

1. This material has been dealt with in a separate publication. Cf. GALLOWAY: *The Skeletal Remains of Bambandyanalo*, 1959.
2. SIR M. WHEELER: *What matters in Archaeology*. Antiquity, Vol. 24, 1950, p. 128.

1. Cf. GALLOWAY: *Skeletal Remains of Mapungubwe* (in FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe*, Vol. I, 1937, p. 127).



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(Plate IV, No. 1). This was the only complete and undamaged mould found during the whole of the investigations, the reason being of course that for the extraction of the bead the mould had to be broken, its diameter being greater at the centre than at the ends. Fifteen cooking and firing pits were discovered during the season, and their interesting contents may be seen in Inventory No. 3 (cf. Plate III, No. 3).

## 3. DISCOVERY OF OTHER BEAST BURIALS AND HEITZI-EIBIB CAIRNS

The complete clearance of Block 1 and the partial clearance of Block 2 during 1936 (Plate III, No. 4) corroborated in no uncertain manner the tentative deductions made from the trenches and trial holes of 1935. In the two blocks under investigation there was much less evidence of Bantu contact than was discovered in Trench 2 or on the slopes of Bambandyanalo. It will be noticed that only one floor resembling that made by the present-day natives was found in Block 1, Section 10, at a depth of 1 foot from the surface. This hut had been destroyed by fire, and some charred wattle sticks with their clay plaster were found. No other typical native hut or traces of such a hut were discovered in Block 1 or in Block 2 as far as it was dug in 1936.

The rather puzzling consolidated gravel patches were found at all depths. Block 1 produced another beast burial and Block 2 two more, making four to date. This proved quite conclusively that the first of such burials, found in Trench 1 in 1935, was not the effort of some child, but probably represented some kind of cult. These beast burials are fully described in Chapter IX. If these interments were actually evidence of some cult, then we must give the K.2 people credit for some religious conviction, perhaps of the same kind as the veneration of the bovine by the ancient Egyptians. The discovery of two large heaps of loose stones in the vicinity of K.2 and Mapungubwe was probably of the same significance as the Heitzi-Eibib cairns of the historical Hottentots and shows evidence of an ancestor worship (?) or the veneration of a semi-mystical being which, as such, may be described as a primitive type of religion. I shall return to this subject at a later stage.[1]

## 4. HUMAN BURIALS

The 31 human burials discovered during 1936 were naturally all of the utmost importance and showed several peculiarities and differences. Because the grave furniture is fully listed in the chapter on the skeletal material in which each burial is described, the different types of interments need only be touched upon briefly here. From evidence obtained during 1936 it was possible to distinguish four types of graves:

No. 1: True pot burials.
No. 2: Semi-pot burials with surrounding stones and sherds.
No. 3: Burials with no pots and only associated stones.
No. 4: Plain burials, i.e. without sherds or stones.

These four types were easily distinguishable during the excavations, but as no racial evidence had so far been advanced it was considered useless to speculate on any peculiarities of structure until such time as the report had been received from the physical anthropologist. It may be noted here that, as far as I could judge, the skeletons showed no divergence from type, and all must have belonged to the same stock. It should be noted that several skeletons had been interred under the rough gravel patches, which had not been cut into to dig the grave. This postulates a gradual rising of the occupational area, a supposition that is borne out by the superimposed hearths. One body, the only example discovered, had actually been buried in a floor, probably late, as the associated pottery told us, and it might have been a more recent interment from Mapungubwe, a question which will be discussed later. The fact that some skeletons were complete, or nearly so, while others bore every aspect of reinterment or later disturbance, should again be noted.

With regard to classes 1 and 2, the suggestion may be put forward that the more wealthy or affluent inhabitants honoured their dead by placing whole vessels around the body, whereas those not so well endowed with worldly goods deliberately broke their pots and made the resultant sherds do duty for the complete articles. There can be no doubt whatever that the pottery was deliberately broken, as it was often quite an easy matter to reconstruct the funerary vessels from the surrounding sherds. The custom of placing funerary furniture with the dead is of course very widespread, dating back to the mists of human history and observed by widely divergent people.

The season closed down on November 5th, and we left for home after a very satisfactory five months' work.

## K.2 CONCLUSIONS, 1936

The mass of information obtained from K.2. during 1936 was of vital importance, and as month succeeded month I was more convinced in my own mind that the lower levels of the site were definitely not Bantu. What then might they be? There were certain aspects of the material culture that seemed to point in a particular direction. Consider the following:

1. Absence of traces of grain in the blocks excavated.

1. Cf. Chapter XI, Sect. 2.

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2. Presence of the small, jointed bone arrow, not used by the Bantu.
3. Absence of the typical Bantu weapon, the assegai, and also of iron tools.
4. Absence of cement floors and moulded hearths below approximately 2 feet.
5. Complex range of pottery, entirely different from known Bantu wares.
6. The presence of pottery figurines with pronounced steatopygy, and the portrayal of typical Bush or Hottentot female organs.
7. The manufacture of large glass beads, unknown to the Southern Bantu.
8. The definitely prehistoric method of burial, not practised by the Southern Bantu.
9. Evidence of a primitive type of religion or worship.

The question of the aboriginal Bushman can be ruled out at once.

There is no evidence to show that they were ever more advanced in early historical times than they are now. There is another stock, however, which the above evidence could easily fit, namely the so-called Hottentot, who himself is a hybrid and whose language and culture show a mixture of Hamite, Bush, and probably other traits, not excluding an extinct and indigenous one.

Little osteological knowledge was required to see the divergence of the skulls of K.2 from those of the Caucasian and Negro. The massive lower jaws, large teeth, and quadrilateral orbits of the K.2 specimens all pointed to some stock other than Negro, while the pot burials themselves were identical in appearance with those found in pre-dynastic Egypt and in the Sudan.[1]

It may be remarked that all this does not help to elucidate the problems of Mapungubwe, and it certainly does not, for at the termination of the 1936 season I had nothing to add to the conclusions drawn in 1935. Anyhow, it was thought that the excavation of the 5 blocks at K.2 might help to explain the condition of things on the Hill, which in fact it did, as will be seen when the history of the two sites is discussed and their interrelationship disclosed.

When this tentative solution of the problems at K.2 was put before the Archaeological Committee and others the idea met with great incredulity, for at that time the report on the skeletal material had not been published, although Dr. Galloway and Dr. Wells had already started their examination of the skeletons from K.2. In a conversation with Dr. Galloway at the conclusion of the season I was greatly encouraged, my tentative opinions were confirmed, and it was recommended that I should go ahead on the same lines, for the more evidence obtained the safer the first conclusions would be. I therefore urged the committee to do everything possible to continue the work on both sites during 1937, for, before publishing our interpretations, we had to have irrefutable proof of their correctness.

1. ADDISON: *Jebel Moya; The Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan*, 1949, Plate XXVII; CATON-THOMPSON and GARDNER: *The Desert Fayum*, 1934. Plate LXXXV.

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# Chapter III

## 1. START OF SEASON 1937

Season 1937 began rather inauspiciously. I arrived at Messina on April 29th and found my assistant, Van Tonder, prostrate with malaria. This was most unfortunate, because roads had not been repaired and no attempt had been made to get the camp in order. It was found necessary to take Van Tonder to the Messina Hospital, after which the work of collecting the previous year's gang, putting them to road-making, erecting their shelters, and all the preliminary labour connected with the setting up of a camp had to be undertaken. It was therefore nearly three weeks before any actual excavation was begun on the two sites which were the objectives of Season 1937. I had received very definite instructions from the Archaeological Committee that both K.2 and Mapungubwe were to be worked simultaneously, and so, while naturally anxious to undertake the systematic investigation of the summit of the Hill, I did not altogether approve of what I considered would involve rather more work than could be easily supervised. However, the fact that Van Tonder had now acquired sufficient experience to be entrusted with accurate recording and also that two young medical students were promised for part of the season enabled the future to be viewed with equanimity.

## 2. EXCAVATIONS AT MAPUNGUBWE SUMMIT, 1937

In May I took over the investigations on the Hill with eight workers and proceeded to set out the necessary grids. Using Van Riet Lowe's Peg A (Diagram 5) as a mark, I set out a line as a base 36° east and at right angles to Schofield's Trench 5 of 1934 (Plate IV, No. 4). This gave me two blocks to the east of Peg A and six blocks to the west (see plan of summit and new Blocks 1 to 8, Diagram 5). It may be explained that Blocks 1 to 4 were laid out first and in such a fashion that further blocks could be added at any time, which was actually done in 1939. Each block (90′×75′) was divided into six sections (15′×75′). Each section was further divided into squares of 5 feet. The same formula ARD was used to distinguish the co-ordinates.

In the first volume on Mapungubwe, Schofield[1] describes and illustrates a particular type of ceramic which he calls M.1 and which may be explained as a highly polished, decorated shallow dish, reminiscent of a modern flower bowl. No traces of these vessels were recovered from K.2, and it was essential to find out what its place in the Mapungubwe complex was. Sherds of this type were found during the excavation of the revetted walls in 1935, but the chaotic condition of fallen stonework and burnt huts rendered any attempt at stratigraphy indistinguishable. I was therefore most anxious to discover whether this particular ceramic persisted to the lowest depths of the deposit, for to grasp a primitive culture which has no written or comparable records the chief means of elucidation are pottery and beads. The lowering of Sections 1 and 2 to bedrock appeared to warrant the assumption that this shallow dishware did not persist to great depths; in fact, it was not found below the 4th strip, and so ranged from just below the surface to approximately 3 feet 6 inches below it. Where the accumulation of midden on the surface of the rock was shallow, this pottery was naturally found on bedrock, and it was this, I think, that misled my predecessors, who appeared to have labelled all black burnished pottery, for M.1. Stratigraphical evidence from the horizontal lowering of each block as we progressed seemed to contradict this assumption. It should be noted that no K.2 pottery or garden-roller beads were found in association with the shallow dishware in the two blocks investigated.

The first three strips were therefore uninteresting and produced little in the way of finds except the so-called M.1 pottery and beads of typical Mapungubwe type. While on the subject of beads, one cannot help remarking on the vast quantity of such ornaments which came to light on the summit: one day's sieving alone produced 1,125 black oblates, mostly small, while one skeleton had over 1,000 similar beads on or near the waist. These deserve and will receive special attention when the question of origin and distribution is discussed.

Skeleton M.24, Block 2, Section 1, must be mentioned, for although the greater part had disappeared, the associated furniture was so important and had such a bearing on subsequent conclusions that it is necessary to

1. FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe*, Vol. I, 1937. Plate XVII, p. 64.

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discuss it in some detail. That it was a pot burial was evident enough, but a pot burial differing from the accepted type at K.2. It seems curious that on the summit the original ideas or significance (if there was any) of the old pot burial at the adjacent site had sometimes been forgotten, and instead of the careful placing of the pots and sherds in certain definite positions around the body, the people of Mapungubwe, while often retaining, as it seems, a recollection of these burials, sometimes disposed the vessels in a heap and not over or around the corpse at all. M.24 had a quantity of excellent funerary furniture placed together in a heap 12 inches from the feet of the body, each bowl being broken and inverted, thereby following the old tradition. The pots themselves are detailed in the list of skeletal material.[1] These vessels tell a tale of the greatest significance and should be carefully studied. In the first place I consider that they should not be called M.1, because they have no relation to the shallow dishware, and they are not entirely like K.2, although of that facies, but again with a difference. Some of the pottery found in the lower levels on the Hill is unquestionably identical with K.2, but often has another type associated with it, which may be termed a development of the older K.2 types and may be regarded as having been moulded by a cognate people. Note once more that the shallow dishware is never found in association with the K.2 ceramics or their derivatives, but represents a later intrusive element into the history of the site. Skeleton M.24 lay at a depth of 5 feet 6 inches from the present surface, and on that horizon fragments of garden-roller beads were recovered, but not a trace of any pottery mould was found either during 1937 or subsequently. The presence of the common grinding holes in bedrock, the foundations of typical native granaries which consisted of a circle of stones on which the storage cylinder of wattle and daub was erected, and lumps of burnt millet, all pointed to a people who had reached the stage of hoe-culture, in contradistinction to the K.2 folk, who were purely pastoralists. Iron appeared in large quantities, and there was a certain amount of evidence from slag and ore that metal had been smelted somewhere in the vicinity, although no recognisable furnace floors were discovered. The site G.1 described in this chapter was probably such a one.

It was in the upper levels of Block 1 that pottery spindle-whorls were first discovered and also tanged and barbed iron arrow-heads. A few bone arrows and their linkshafts were found below the third level. In Section 3 of Block 1 another skeleton, M.25, was discovered. Like most of the skeletal material on the Hill, it was badly preserved and crumbled to pieces on exposure. It had, however, been buried in a hole dug in the floor of a hut and was slightly more than 3 feet from the present surface. A pot of the K.2 derivative type, and probably deliberately broken, was found near the feet, and many beads of the M.1 and a few K.2 type were unearthed. The proportions of these beads may be instructive. Hundreds of small black oblates represented M.1. K.2 types were 48 transparent sea-greens and blues, 5 Indian reds, and 3 very discoloured yellows.

Skeleton M.26, Block 2, Section 3, was very similar in all respects, showing the later type of K.2 pottery with the usual assemblage of Mapungubwe, or M.1, beads, but only eight of K.2 (cf. Figs. 16, 17 and 18, and Plate IV, No. 3). It may be assumed therefore that the three interments were more or less contemporary and presented an identical culture.

No steatopygous figurines were found in Blocks 1 and 2. The huts on the summit were of the usual native type, having round, hard, cement floors and walls of poles covered with clay (Plate VI, No. 2). The small diameter of these structures at K.2 has already been commented on, and on the Hill the same peculiarity occurred, for although larger in diameter than those at K.2, the biggest was no more than 7 feet 6 inches across, which is small for the ordinary native hut. Across the centre of one dwelling ran a curious partition which divided it into two sectors (Plate VI, No. 3). It is difficult to imagine what purpose it served. It should be noted that new floors were often laid over a bed of soft ash, the debris of the former hut, and this lack of solid foundation resulted in the curious tilting of the floors so often seen on the summit (Plate VI, No. 4). This lack of elementary building technique is typically Bantu. It can therefore be realised how the deposits on the summit increased in depth until finally the whole central ridge was covered and the grinding holes and metal-sharpening grooves lost to view until uncovered by the spade during the excavations. Pottery types from the Hill may be seen on Plate IV, No. 3, and Plate V.

## 3. EXCAVATIONS AT K.2, 1937

Van Tonder continued the excavation at K.2 on the same lines as in 1936, when Blocks 1 and 2 were stripped horizontally to bedrock (Plate IV, No. 2). In 1937 work was commenced on Blocks 3 and 4, but owing to the amount of ground that had to be covered it was found impossible to complete these blocks in the allotted time. Sections 1 to 5 were taken to bedrock; Sections 6 to 9 were dug only to the hill-wash; and the remainder (10 to 15) were of course untouched. The season proved to be an unhealthy one. Our workers, one after another, went down with malaria and the resultant shortage of labour seriously interfered with the efficiency of the gang,

1. Cf. Chapter VIII, Section 5; also Figure 16.

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who were, however, liberally dosed with quinine.

Of necessity, Season 1936 had been devoted primarily to the skeletal material, and so in 1937, while not neglecting so important a factor, we hoped to obtain much more evidence from the mass of pottery and sherds uncovered daily. It was important to make quite certain whether the K.2 culture was homogeneous, or whether intrusive elements occurred anywhere else apart from the superficial Bantu traces mentioned previously.

Pottery in the blocks under investigation was very abundant and consisted exclusively of Schofield's M.2: lavishly decorated beakers, many with pierced lugs, bowls of all descriptions and cooking pots and the typical K.2 spouted pot or bowl were very numerous and found at all depths. Not so common, and in all instances damaged beyond repair, were fragments of pedestal pots and vessels with handles, somewhat similar to the modern Toby jugs. None of the inferior ceramics discovered in Trench 2 was unearthed in this area. It should be noted that in Block 2, Sections 2 and 3, the occupational refuse was several feet in depth, but the pottery and sherds were similar to those from the higher levels. Some vessels in particular deserve mention. One was an oval dish, about 5 inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, with the stumps of handles which formerly sprang from the points of the oval and presumably met above, not unlike a modern caketray (Plate LIII, No. 77). Another was a spherical bowl around the outer rim of which was a continuous decoration of slit lugs, both specimens being quite unique (Plate LII, No. 37). A new discovery made during 1937 was the recovery of a number of pottery beads of a type quite different from anything found previously. These consisted of long, hard-baked cylinders, $1–1\frac{1}{4}$ inch $\times$ $\frac{3}{8}$ inch, exactly like macaroni in shape, and some were of about the same diameter, others more delicate, and all bore traces of wear at the ends, where the cord or fibre on which they had been strung had chafed. Two colours were found, black and red, the red predominating. Some years previously I had come across red pottery beads in Egypt, but some of these terminated in a bulb, rather like an attenuated Indian club. Some strange discoidal beads of a brown-speckled glass were found, whose shape suggested that they might have been made in a mould. So far no report has been obtained on these. Bone articles were found in some profusion: beautifully made little awls or needles and numerous bone arrow points and their linkshafts, many bearing an identification device. These deserve an article to themselves and are described in Chapter XI [cf. also Chapter VII (4)]. Another bone tool, perhaps a skin-scraper, was fashioned from the scapula of some animal, the edge of which was ground down. One of the most interesting objects recovered at K.2 was a curious ivory article, a slab or section of an elephant's tusk some 6 inches long with holes drilled along one side. It is difficult to imagine its purpose, for it is too long to have been a wristlet or anklet. It has the appearance of the leather armguard used by the bowmen of old to protect the wrist from the backlash of the bowstring; and as I am given to understand that the Masai use a similar object, there may be nothing very extraordinary about it. Two such "armguards" were recovered during 1937. Copper bangles of the solid and ribbon types were found, one having the ends reduced and turned in to form a kind of clasp. Many small cups and beakers were recovered from Skeletons 42, 43, and 44, all broken, but for the most part repairable. An interesting occupational horizon was discovered in Block 4, only some 12 inches below the present surface, but that area had been subject to great erosion. Here we unearthed fireplaces *in situ*, complete with hearths and hammerstones, the accompanying sherds being similar in all respects to those from Blocks 1 and 2. It was conjectured that the inhabitants of K.2, contrary to the custom on Mapungubwe, did not cook inside their flimsy structures, but set stones upright in the sand outside and placed their pots upon them. The reason for lugs at the *bottom* of some large cooking vessels is perhaps explained in this fashion: the lugs prevented the pot from slipping off the stones while allowing the flames to circulate freely.

The majority of the skeletons found in Blocks 3 and 4 appeared to be those of young persons or children, but the funerary furniture was extraordinarily rich. As a rule these interments were in a bad state of preservation owing to their proximity to the surface.

Mention must be made of what were termed "casual burials", that is, those discovered by accident and outside the area under investigation and for which no organised search was made. C.1, the first casual, was found close to a large rock beside the path between Mapungubwe and K.2, interred in a shallow hole in which the body was jammed with one leg partly extended. An examination of the bones by the physical anthropologist pronounced them to be predominantly Negro (Plate XX, No. 3). C.2 was found on the slope opposite the gateway to the kraal on Bambandyanalo, but only portions of the calvaria, leg and scapula were recovered. As far as is known, no report has been issued on these bones. No beads were associated with C.1, but a few black oblates were obtained from C.2, similar in all respects to those found in such profusion on Mapungubwe.

In June extra help, which was greatly appreciated, arrived in the persons of two medical students, E. T. Meyer and F. Daubenton. The latter relieved me on the Hill, while Meyer was occupied in clearing a small smelting site (G.1.) behind Mapungubwe Hill, which may be described briefly. This complex consisted of two walls,

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well faced on both outer sides with sandstone blocks, with rubbish filling the inside. West of this wall ran a cobbled pavement bearing marks of fire. It may have been on this spot that the furnace stood. To the east ran a narrow pavement, terminating in another paved area near which were stone seats and an anvil stone. Under a small red rubble floor, glass and gold beads and a few sherds of indeterminate facies were found. From the appearance of the beads and type of walling, the place was judged to have been Venda (Plate VII, No. 1). This was competently excavated by Mr. Meyer, who sent in his report to the Archaeological Committee.

As a matter of interest, it will be as well to record the discovery of a small walled koppie (Plate VI, No. 1) across the river in Southern Rhodesia. This lay about 2 miles from Mapungubwe and consisted of a well-built wall and traces of copper working. Rods of copper were common and had been cast in a wet sandheap into which sticks had been thrust, the molten copper being then poured in, and, overflowing, producing large-headed nail-like objects, which were presumably worked up into the desired article. Evidence of copper-working, many beads, and a few polychrome sherds proclaimed the site to be probably Venda. Mention has been made of this spot, for, although not within our sphere of activity, it proved to be very similar to the one which was discovered behind Mapungubwe and which has been described above.

## 4. CONCLUSIONS: MAPUNGUBWE, 1937

The gridding of Mapungubwe was the first attempt at stratigraphic exploration, and although only a few months could be devoted to the two blocks, much was learnt and the way was paved for future discoveries. It was perfectly apparent that the culture was by no means homogeneous. Two phases were plain to observe, and there were indications that yet a third, and even a fourth, might be recognised. The skeletal material on the Hill had already been pronounced by the physical anthropologist to be Boskop-Bush with certain Negro characteristics. How did this fit in with what was discovered during the 1937 season? At this stage it dit not appear to fit in at all well, but certain aspects of the evidence did seem to suggest a solution of the puzzle. These, however, were not the proofs required before a definite conclusion could be reached, and all that could be said with safety was that there had been contact between K.2 and the Hill; but how and when the relationship evolved had yet to be discovered. It was perfectly clear that Schofield's M.1 or shallow dishware was a late deposit. Unquestionable proofs existed that in the depths of the Hill it overlay the other types of pottery, but there were puzzling indications that in Blocks 3 and 4 it also overlay not only the intermediate but also the so-called K.2 derivative types. No explanation of this phenomenon could be offered at the conclusion of the season, and it was not until 1939 that the puzzle was solved, when, in the great central depression, we obtained undoubted stratification.

Apart from the pottery, we did obtain several concrete facts concerning Mapungubwe and its inhabitants. The stripping of all debris from the summit disclosed two things. The first was that the first people lived on or near the outer margin of the Hill, leaving the rocky interior bare, and there they drilled their grinding holes and left their sharpening grooves in the living rock. The second was that, as time went on, the habitational area encroached on the interior, the people levelling up inequalities of ground and erecting their huts on the platforms so made, until the whole centre of the Hill became covered with midden refuse. The complete clearance of all rubbish from the precipitous borders of Mapungubwe showed that its inhabitants had erected retaining walls where necessary to stop erosion and to protect their dwellings from being swept over the cliffs by heavy rains. Those walls were for the most part invisible above ground, but their foundations were quickly uncovered and their purpose was easily deduced.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS: K.2, 1937

The excavations of Blocks 3 and 4 during 1937 showed that the culture west of the central mound was identical with that found in Blocks 1 and 2 of the previous season, and very little need be added to the interpretations arrived at during the previous year. Only the remains of one hut that could be called recent were discovered and those only a foot below the present surface. The charred pots and clay plaster were in good condition, and the structure could not have been built many years ago. Excepting this one intrusive element, unquestionably late, the remainder of the culture was entirely K.2, giving evidence of complete homogeneity, if the above is excluded. This was very satisfactory, substantiating as it did the conclusions of the previous season. The beads from K.2 were illuminative. After three seasons' work on the site it was possible to state without fear of contradiction that the K.2 people used distinctive types of beads, the chief of which was undoubtedly the so-called garden-roller or barrel bead in two colours, blue and green, and made on the spot, the broken moulds of which were common throughout the area. Another type of bead found in profusion on the skeletons was a transparent or translucent glass cylinder of a greenish-blue colour, usually long to standard, and found in such quantities that they may well be termed a typical K.2 bead. Opaque yellows

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and small Indian reds were sparingly found, but the black oblate so common on the Hill was associated with only a few burials thought to be more recent, and did not occur at all in the pits or with the beast burials. One skeleton, the body of which was thought to have been brought from Mapungubwe, had a few plum-coloured beads associated with it, but the so-called recent and middle-period ones, the blue hexagonal, the blue annular, the pink, the light-blue and striped varieties, were entirely wanting in all the blocks excavated. Another question arising from the burials at K.2 presented itself. Did the people at this site practise reinterment? Some African tribes, such as the Nandi and the Masai, are known to do this, and that there were peculiarities in some of the K.2 interments has already been noticed. An analysis of the depth at which 19 of the 1937 skeletons were buried may be of interest and may help to throw some light on the problem:

1 skeleton at a depth of 1 foot
7 skeletons at a depth of 2 feet
10 skeletons at a depth of 3 feet
1 skeleton at a depth of 4 feet

It will be apparent therefore that the greater number were found 2 or 3 feet from the present surface. What can this mean? It can only be explained in two ways, or a combination of both: either the present surface was much higher than it is today, the loss being due to erosion, or the corpses were exposed, the flesh being allowed to decay before they were ceremoniously buried where they were now found with all their grave furniture. It is unthinkable that a people, however primitive, should have buried their newly dead in such close proximity to their living quarters. I am aware, of course, that such dwellings as they possessed might have been at once abandoned had the body been interred immediately in or under a floor, but the extent of the burials at K.2 is such that if a like practice were followed it would have become necessary to evacuate the whole site, and that this was not done is quite clear from our excavations. The reinterment theory is rendered the more probable by the fact that so many bones were often missing, and one skeleton (No. 16) was so contracted that it was difficult to imagine how this could have been accomplished had the body had flesh on its bones.

At the close of the 1937 season Dr. Galloway's report[1] on the skeletal material became available. He stated emphatically that the bodies on the Hill showed few traces of Negro characteristics and were, in his opinion, a pre-Bantu indigenous stock with marked Boskopoid elements in their make-up. It must be self-evident therefore that if the K.2 people were also pre-Bantu the culture so intimately associated with them must be pre-Bantu as well. To say they were a Boskopoid race possessing a Negro civilisation is just a patent absurdity. All historical records go to show that the virile Bantu invaders interbred and assimilated their weaker adversaries, and had the K.2 folk been in any contact with negroid tribes this would have been easily detected in their skeletal make-up. The steatopygous figurines already alluded to should indicate to anybody that a primitive race does not attempt to invent or portray in pottery or any other medium objects which are new or unaccustomed to the eye. If the K.2 potters made the steatopygous models they simply drew their inspiration from what was daily before them. They could not have invented such a thing. The Bantu-speaking people have not that physical peculiarity; the Bush and Hottentot often have.

After reading Dr. Galloway's report on the skeletal remains and discussing the material from K.2 with him, I asked point-blank whether his term "Boskop-Bush" was synonymous with Hottentot, and the answer was "Yes". What then should the K.2 people be called? Sir Arthur Keith, the well-known anthropologist, said in a report on Dr. Galloway's findings that they should be named "The Limpopo People". This was all very well at the time, but since then other groups of these Boskopoids have been discovered in Southern Africa, and so the term Limpopo would hardly be appropriate. I suggested the term "proto-Hottentot", which gives liberal latitude for racial differences; or they might more simply be called the "K.2 people", which would naturally embrace other settlements wherever found; but one disadvantage of this is the fact that the Bantu are found on or at K.2, and confusion might result. Perhaps the K.2 folk will eventually be regarded as proto-Hottentots by all scientists. We shall see.

1. Cf. FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe*, Vol. I, 1937, p. 162.

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# Chapter IV

## 1. THE 1938 SEASON: BEAST BURIALS AND POTTERY OBJECTS

Owing to unforeseen circumstances, work at K.2 was not begun until June 24th, the previous week having been devoted to the usual road-making and camp adjustments. Nothing was done on the Hill during the season because it was decided to concentrate entirely on K.2 with a view to getting all five blocks excavated and completed if possible. Blocks 3 and 4, which remained unfinished at the close of 1937, were tackled with our usual gang of 20 labourers. During the following months the above blocks were taken to bedrock, the remaining areas were surveyed for further investigation, and Block 5 was started on. It was, however, found impossible to complete this block in the time allotted, and so it was left over to the following year.

The most outstanding find of the season was unquestionably that of Beast Burial No. 6, which was by far the most elaborate of its kind. This is fully described in the chapter on such interments and need not be detailed here.[1] It may be noted, however, that the small cairn marking this burial in Block 4 gave what was probably the first and original level of the settlement, as numerous hearths were discovered on the same horizon and nothing below it. Five feet of midden refuse had accumulated over the area on which these cooking sites had been placed. How much had been eroded away before the discovery of K.2 is, of course, impossible to estimate.

When a general view of Block 5 was taken it had to be admitted that as digging proceeded in a northerly direction, that is, away from the original starting point, the signs of decadence appeared. It was particularly noticeable with respect to the skeletons, the majority having been interred in a haphazard fashion and lacking the careful deposition in the sleeping or flexed position that characterised those from other blocks, particularly 1, 2, and 3. Evidence of reinterment, so plainly visible in 1936 and 1937, was entirely absent, and the bodies appeared to have been flung into their graves in any posture.

It may be as well to mention here the discovery during the season of small, badly made cement floors, all of them near the surface. These appear extraordinary by reason of their diameter, the largest of which was barely 5 feet across. If these were intended for dwellings they would be too small for comfort and almost impossible to live in; but in Block 5 a possible explanation of their purpose was unearthed. It is a well-known fact that it is often possible to estimate the original height of a ruined wall by the amount of debris lying below it, approximately, that is. A large quantity of clay marked with the impress of the wattle sticks postulates the idea of a reasonably high wall, and traces of burnt thatch tell what the roof was composed of. Now in Block 5 the wall debris was negligible, fire having prevented its total disintegration, and it could not have been the remains of a structure of any great height, while the posts as shown by the post-holes or charred stumps were on the thin side and might not have supported a great weight of roof. Judged by the general appearance of the clay rubbish, the walls could not have been more than 2 or 3 feet high, and as no trace of burnt thatch remained the roofs were probably of fine grass or malala palm leaves. The purpose of these small shelters was puzzling, until in one of them were found 3 pots, one being an elaborate and finely decorated beaker which had been crushed or compressed before firing, as the broken pieces, when placed together, showed much distortion of shape (Plate VII, No. 2). This hut or shelter had been burnt, and the vessels recovered from the interior were naturally hard-baked; but the compression of the beaker is significant, as it could not have occurred after firing. It was thought, therefore, that these small erections might have been used for drying pots, or for storing them before they were ready for the kiln or firing hole; but whatever their purpose, they must have appeared late in the history of the site, for although the pottery was typically K.2, these small structures were not found at any depth.

The excavation of Block 5 brought us into intimate contact with the very definite deposit that was found in the more central portion of the mound. [See section on A.6 (Diagram 3).] In Trench 1 this deposit was approximately 3 feet thick, but tailed off and gradually disappeared in Section 6 of Block 5. Samples were submitted to various authorities, who offered the information that it was certainly the produce of an old manure heap, compressed and consolidated through the years. This material appears contemporary with the first occupation of K.2; that is, the mound was started by the earliest inhabitants, who, when the central portion had accumulated to a depth of about 3 or 4 feet, allowing for subsidence, abandoned

1. Cf. Chapter IX.

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the kraal as a cattle-pen and used the site solely as a rubbish dump. It is not known how far this deposit extends eastwards, but if the datum line of Trench 1 is, as it appears to be, the centre, the diameter of the old kraal would have been about 160–170 feet. Very few objects of interest were discovered in the deposit, but numerous horn-cores and frontal bones of bovines were sent to Johannesburg and were reported on by Dr. H. H. Curson, whose report is given in Chapter VI.

Away from the old manure dump and further east into Blocks 4 and 5 finds became more numerous, and they are listed in Inventory No. 2. Some steatopygous figurines were recovered, while the pottery was entirely Schofield's M.2 or K.2 type, and comprised a unique spouted dish, not bowl (Plate LI, No. 35), and a hard-baked pottery funnel (Plate LX, No. 2). Another discovery in Block 5 was a curious, mushroom-shaped object. A number of these had been found in past seasons, and one is mentioned by Fouché as having been recovered from the hill-wash at the bottom of Mapungubwe cliffs.[1] This peculiar pottery artefact (Plate XXIX, No. 5) has led to much discussion and argument. Some say it is a pottery stopper, but its narrowed waist and the two or three holes in the base seem to negative this suggestion. I myself consider it to be the artificial penis used by the Hottentot women, and so described by Schapera in his illuminative work on the customs of the Khoisan peoples.[2] Pottery stoppers are undoubtedly found, but they differ considerably from the object shown on Plate XXIX, No. 2. Moreover, the exponents of the stopper theory are unable to point to a single vessel in which such an article could be used. Two small oval dishes with upturned ends were recovered from Block 5, but metal was, as usual, very scarce. The most noteworthy specimen was in the form of a coiled snake-like ring of copper which, as it was unearthed from a depth of 7 feet from the surface, must presumably be one of the oldest objects recovered from Block 5. The numerous pits and fireplaces are listed in Inventory No. 3 and will be fully described in Chapter VII. Suffice it to say that they appeared to be of two kinds, cooking and pottery firing-pits.

While the various blocks were being dug a number of mollusca were found. The genera were *Cypraea*, *Cardium*, *Natica*, and *Nerita*, while the freshwater bivalve *Unio* appears to have been used as a pot-polishing instrument. About the genus *Cypraea* it is worth noting that the only species recovered from K.2 was that of *C. annulus*, which is found on the east coast of Africa. The majority of these specimens had their dorsal surface pierced, presumably for stringing.

1. FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe*, Vol. I, 1937, p. 18.
2. SCHAPERA: *Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, 1930, p. 243. Quotes K. FALK: *Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest Afrika.*

A stone implement like a modern bricklayer's hammer and a waisted stone, similar to a mace-head, were found in Block 4. Beads continued to be of the typical K.2 varieties, but the finding of a waisted garden-roller bead was interesting, as it postulated a type of mould entirely different from the usual barrel one.

## 2. K.2 CONCLUSIONS, 1938

Nothing eventuated during 1938 to alter in any way the tentative conclusions arrived at in the past years; in fact, all our discoveries tended to confirm them.

A discerning reader may well remark that K.2 ceramics appear to have been found on the Bantu horizon at that site. How, if the culture was homogeneous, could that be explained? At the time, 1938, this was indeed a puzzle, and it was not until the discovery of the great depression on the Hill in 1939 that a solution offered itself. The reader is therefore requested to be patient until the interrelationship of both sites is set out and discussed. It will then become quite clear why typical K.2 pottery was discovered in the higher levels of K.2 and in association with unquestionably Bantu culture.

The lack of ceremonial burial of many of the skeletons at K.2 found during 1938 gave much food for thought. Taking all the evidence into consideration, we were forced to the conclusion that at some period in the history of the site invaders had overwhelmed the settlement, and the bodies found in the pits were those of the unfortunate inhabitants who had been unable to flee and had been murdered on the spot. The lack of all funerary furniture and the careless way in which the victims had been buried all pointed to some violent end. This hypothesis will be elaborated later when the distribution and the survival of the pottery types come up for discussion.

The uncovering of the manure heap in Blocks 4 and 5 showed plainly that the first settlement had been grouped around the central spot where the cattle dung accumulated, but with the passage of time this dump became too large or too high, and so the area dwelt upon was expanded, leaving the decomposed manure almost free from artefacts and allowing it to be used as a communal rubbish heap for sherds, bones, and all the refuse of a settled community. In Trench 2, north of Trench 1, no K.2 pottery was found in depth, but K.2 sherds lying on or near the surface seemed to indicate that these had been washed down into the later Bantu area during tropical downpours. The mound today is some 20 feet from bedrock to the surface, and much material must have been swept from its apex down and over the spot occupied by the Bantu.

A successful season terminated on October 28th, 1938.

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# Chapter V

## 1. THE 1939 SEASON: EXCAVATIONS AT K.2

The first few weeks of 1939 were devoted entirely to making our camp more suitable for living in; for the situation in Europe seemed more stabilised, and we were looking forward to several years of interesting discoveries on the Limpopo. These improvements and additions were commenced in May, 1939, and were completed by the middle of June, work being restarted at K.2, Block 5 having been left unfinished the previous season.

The intrusion of the old manure heap into Block 5 resulted in a paucity of finds, and only one skeleton (No. 70) was recovered. Bone and ivory were well represented, a beautifully fashioned bone needle, complete with eye, being worthy of mention. Ivory, however, was badly exfoliated, and only small fragments were recoverable. The 3rd and 4th strips of Section 2 covered by the old manure heap were completely sterile, but in Section 5 it began to thin out, and further artefacts were found below the 3-foot level. It may be noted that during the 5 years of exploration no spindle-whorls were recovered from K.2. The culture throughout Block 5 was similar to those of Blocks 1 and 2.

As nothing of outstanding importance was obtained from the final clearing of Block 5, there is no object in reiterating the previous season's conclusions, which remained as before. Suffice it to say that the pottery was all of the M.2 facies, the beads were all of K.2 type, and iron was conspicuous by its absence, the metal ornaments found being of copper. No sign of hoe-culture was discovered, and no weapons of offence except, of course, the bone arrows were found in the lower levels.

As early as 1936 it had become apparent that the conclusions arrived at by my predecessors at K.2 were probably erroneous, and, as has already been stated, I cast about for a people who could fulfil the conditions disclosed at the site. I came to the conclusion that the only stock that could be said to have these cultural characteristics were the Hottentots. If the K.2 folk were of that race, what were they doing on the Limpopo and at what period were they there? The whole civilisation in the lower levels of K.2 postulated a well-organised community with a long ceramic tradition and not a recent upstart culture developed on the spot. Investigations showed that similar pottery had been unearthed at several sites in Southern Rhodesia and, what is more important, the typical garden-roller bead was found in association with the sherds, but unfortunately no skeletons had come to light which would have settled the question one way or another. Dr. Thompson of Messina, whom I have mentioned in the introduction, had in his possession an old 18th-century map of Southern Africa compiled before any white settlement in the Northern Transvaal or across the Limpopo. This map showed the country at present known as Southern Rhodesia and the region of the Limpopo valley as being the "Land of the Hottentots". This can only mean that the cartographers of the 18th century had heard of the presence of Hottentots in those lands, now entirely foreign to them, and so, on all the evidence available, I felt justified in calling our K.2 folk by that name, unless and until a better explanation can be advanced. The addition of the prefix "proto" seems advisable, as the ancient stock must have possessed racial differences from that of the historical. I suggested to the committee that I regarded it as very unlikely that K.2 was an isolated example and that sooner or later other sites would come to light, giving us skeletons similar in all respects to our Greefswald material. This, of course, has already happened and will be dealt with in its proper place.

The termination of all work at K.2 convinced me that the lower levels of the site were pre-Bantu, and I am therefore in complete agreement with the physical anthropologist. The predominating culture at K.2 appears to me to be no more Bantu than the skeletal material. No southern Negro made such pottery as is found in association with the burials, and I do not believe the Bantu to have been capable of producing similar ceramics. During many years of close contact with present-day natives I have never seen any pottery comparable to that of K.2, and there is nothing in the past history of our Negroes to warrant the assumption that they were more advanced, culturally, in the past than they are today. To repeat: the K.2 culture was found to the west of the central trench and extended an unknown distance towards the east. The trial pits proved this. The later habitational areas to the north and on the talus slopes of Bambandyanalo were un-

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doubtedly Negro, however, but were marked by strong Hottentot influences, as the pottery there shows a continuation of typical K.2 stuff intermingled with an inferior type, whereas the dwellings are entirely Bantu in construction.

Before closing the account of the 5 years' work at K.2 mention must be made of the puzzling white and red gravel strips, or beds, of greatly varying extent. When first exposed in 1935, these, owing to the narrowness of the exploratory trench, were taken to be traces of inferior floors, but the horizontal lowering of the ground in subsequent years showed that the idea was probably erroneous. It became evident as time went on that these gravels had been swept into the position they were found in by the action of water, for they lie in horizontal beds and have filled up many holes and depressions. That these gravels travelled only a short distance was apparent from their freshness and unrolled appearance. Now at the base of the western cliff there is an underlying stratum of red gravel or decomposed red sandstone which could have been swept by torrential downpours down and over K.2. The snag in this theory is that today there exists a considerable donga between the cliff and the settlement, preventing any gravel from reaching the site. As I was very anxious to obtain expert opinion on this, Dr. Houghton and Dr. Nel of the Geological Survey made a brief inspection of the deposits in August, and agreed with me that they were waterborne and could only have come from the basal layer of the cliff. How long it took to cut the intervening donga and what climatic changes were indicated were touched on, but no definite conclusions were vouchsafed.

As in previous years, visitors were numerous. During July Mr. Bosazza arrived and took samples of soils from various spots for analysis. We were glad to welcome Dr. van Warmelo, the ethnologist, who informed me that his enquiries among the natives of the district had assured him that the present-day Sotho people knew nothing and had no recollection of any race having lived on Mapungubwe. This is at variance with the information given me by Mr. Wilson of the Harper Mine, Messina, and Mr. Swanepoel of Kilgour, to the effect that old natives in their employ had told them that in their youth they had heard from older natives that once upon a time Hottentots had dwelt on the Hill.

## 2. EXCAVATIONS ON SUMMIT OF MAPUNGUBWE RECOMMENCED

It was with a certain feeling of dismay that I received strict instructions from Pretoria to resume work on the summit of Mapungubwe, for, as has already been mentioned, I had come to the conclusion that nothing further could be discovered there, because all the midden material appeared to have been excavated, and so before a search was made for a spot which seemed to offer a certain amount of depth there were several shallow sections and grids left undug in 1937 which had to be cleared to bedrock. It was therefore decided to clear Section 6 of Block 4 and several sections of Block 2, which would then expose an unbroken face to Blocks 1 and 2. These sections yielded nothing of great importance, the usual tangle of hut floors and plastered courtyards being cut through and yielding pottery almost exclusively of Schofield's M.1 (Plate VI, No. 4).

As has been stated, the shallow dishware was not found below the 4th strip. Metal was common, and mention may be made of a curious pin, or perhaps a hair ornament, made from a copper rod $3\frac{1}{2}''$ in length, the bar being doubled back from the point and ending in two scroll-like devices, something similar to the volutes of an Ionic column (Plate XXVIII, No. 6). Remarkably few beads were recovered (only half a dozen from an old hut floor), and all were of the usual Mapungubwe variety. On bedrock and without any intervening sterile layer, a number of Middle Stone Age artefacts were uncovered, these being the first of any quantity found on the Hill.

On the completion of Block 2, Blocks 3 and 4 were cleared. This was done very rapidly, as the whole surface had been lowered by Van Tonder in 1934, and it was from that part of the Hill that the gold skeletons were recovered. As these sections had not been taken to bedrock, this was done immediately, but nothing of any import turned up in the area under investigation. The sieves yielded a few gold and numerous black and opaque blue beads, no doubt missed in 1934. While Van Tonder was thus occupied in clearing his old ground, I drew out four more blocks (5, 6, 7 and 8) of the same dimensions as Blocks 1 to 4. If the reader turns to Map I in Volume I it will be seen that to the west of the gold grave area is a blank space, only marred by a shallow test pit V.T. This is also shown on Diagram 5 of this work and lies between Blocks 6 and 8. It was in this area that I was compelled to set out my grids, because it appeared to be the only portion of the summit remaining undug. The spot looked most unprepossessing and likely to be unproductive, for outcrops of rock seemed to converge on the centre of the Hill, and it was thought that only a few inches of midden might be capable of excavation. My predecessors had evidently gained the same impression from surface indications and had left this area severely alone. As it was the only portion of the summit unexplored, however, I laid down the four blocks, and work was commenced on No. 5, starting from the north-eastern margin. I have already commented on the good fortune that attended the digging of this block, for nobody could have guessed

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from surface appearances that it would reach a depth of 11 feet from the present surface (Plate VII, Nos. 3 and 4). It was this excavation that gave the long-sought-for stratigraphy and laid bare in no uncertain manner the history of the whole site and also its relationship to K.2. Without the discovery of the great central depression it is doubtful whether any conclusive evidence could have been unravelled from the entangled mass of midden, burnt huts, and other traces of long occupation.

Thanks to the evidence obtained from the central depression, it is hoped that, by a detailing of the stratification in connection with the cultural stages exposed, all relative matter affecting the two sites will become clear. Block 5, therefore, was excavated in the most meticulous manner, particular attention being paid to the M.1 or shallow dishware, because a knowledge of its distribution was vital to the solution of the puzzle. As in 1937, this ware was not found below the bottom of the 4th strip, and a brief analysis of its presence in the four blocks may be given here and need not be repeated when the short season of 1940 is described.

M.1 Pottery: In Block 2 from 3′ to 4′
„ „ 5 „ 2′ to 4′
„ „ 6 „ 1′ to 2′
„ „ 7 „ 1′ to 2′

The depth from the surface is unimportant, since there is no means of knowing the amount of erosion that has taken place through the years. That erosion must have been considerable has already been mentioned and is borne out by the partial exposure of some of the skeletons on the Hill itself. The important point to note is the depth of deposit below which M.1 does not appear. A reference to Plate LXI, giving the vertical distribution of pottery at R.58, Block 5, Section 1, will explain the stratigraphy better than any written description. It must be realised of course that this distribution is not an arbitrary one, but is merely taken at one spot on the side wall of Block 5. It may, and does, vary considerably in either direction; but it should be noted here that the ash bands extend right across the length of the whole section, varying very little in the horizontal plane, and must represent the total destruction of all huts lying on those levels. The outstanding discovery in this area was the recovery of an extraordinary number of bone arrowheads and their corresponding linkshafts: over 400 were unearthed in Block 5. These small weapons of offence were found in great numbers from the first to the third strip and decreased rapidly afterwards. They must, therefore, have been made and used by the last inhabitants on the summit. It may be remembered that bone arrows were found at K.2, but the majority there were of a much more primitive type, some being the double-ended, unsmoothed variety used by the Bushmen. On Mapungubwe the arrows were beautifully made and were of three different types, being found in such profusion that the presence of a workshop site is indicated in the region embraced by Blocks 5 to 8. The importance and interest of these lethal objects warrant a chapter to themselves and a full description of the different models. Their identification marks and the method of manufacture will be given later.

A curious pottery object found in Block 3, Section 1 (Plate LX, No. 4), may possibly have been used for holding the arrow points while the poison was being applied, and was the only specimen of its kind found during the season. There is always the possibility that it had other uses of which we are not aware.

The astonishing feature about the 1939 excavations was its depth. After the 3-foot level had been passed it was expected that bedrock would be reached at any moment, but as time passed we went deeper and deeper, until finally we reached bottom at exactly 10′ 11″. Such a surprising depth could mean only one thing, namely that in the west central portion of the summit lay a huge depression that had been occupied from the very earliest times, and it was to this hollow that the two western ascents must have led; that is, to the focal point of the Hill. It also showed that when the depression was occupied the midden refuse could not have been piled up on the rising ground to the east of it, for torrential rains would have swept all occupational rubbish down into the hollow, rendering it quite unfit as a dwelling place. How this central portion was reached from the western ascent is hard to say. There may have been a gully or steep rock path leading into it, and drainage must have been effected in some manner, for some of the heavy rains experienced during 1939 flooded our excavation to a depth of 3 feet. Consequently stormwater must have escaped, probably from some fissure in the rock. We were not there long enough to discover how the place was drained. The finds listed in Inventory No. 4 were more interesting and prolific than those obtained elsewhere on the Hill, for this hollow had been sealed, as it were, by the built-up accumulation of years, and when level with the surrounding rock outcrop was not so subject to erosion as were the steeper and more irregular parts of the summit. Beads were scarce and in the lowest levels were hardly found at all, only the garden-roller being recovered from the neighbourhood of the hut complex; but no trace of their broken pottery moulds was present. Above stratum D on the vertical distribution scale (Plate LXVI) of pottery the beads were found in profusion and in association with the late skeletal material. The absence of bead moulds can only mean that the large glass barrels were no longer made by the people occupying the depression. Metal in the hollow appeared to have been not only worked but possibly smelted, for large quantities of slag, iron and

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copper in various forms were found just below the surface, down to approximately 7 feet. Lumps of unworked iron, usually in the last stage of oxidisation, and evidently the product of a nearby furnace, were embedded in thick ash and slag deposits, while several rough copper discs full of blow-holes, and bearing traces of the sand on which they had fallen in a viscous state when fresh from the smelter, gave proof that this metal was obtained in large quantities. Copper bracelets, both of the spiral-wound and flat-ribbon type, were common at all depths. Of iron tools there were many, including assegai blades, some with barbs and well-formed midribs. One splendid specimen hafted to bone and 2 inches long is deserving of notice, whereas others were of extremely poor workmanship. Chisels, ground in native fashion on both edges, frequently occurred, and one small iron hoe was recovered from a depth of nearly 7 feet. Iron spikes, used perhaps as awls, were often met with, one having a hook at one end. Two very curious objects were found in different sections, each being a conical copper socket or ferrule, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length. Both were recovered from depths of 6 feet and bearing traces of decomposed wood in their interiors. I have been given to understand that similar ferrules with a hook at the point have been discovered at Mapoch's Cave in the Transvaal, but I do not know of any report on these. They were found in association with large, coarse, blue beads. Bone arrows have already been mentioned, but numerous other bone objects continued to turn up. Several bone needles of a rather wide type with eye and semicircular notch cut in the top were discovered, and a bone pin that had been cut out of the solid, possessing circular bosses around the shaft and head, was remarkable for its rarity. Several amulets of bone and a whistle-like object pierced for suspension were found. Very numerous were spindle-whorls, which, as has been stated before, were wanting at K.2. Circular pottery discs with no central hole may have been embryo whorls, or may have been used for some other purpose, perhaps as pot rubbers. Such undrilled circular sherds were common at Jebel Moya,[1] but no proof of any particular use can be suggested.

As was not the case at K.2, figurines were extremely rare, some rough bovines being modelled, but crudely, and the few human torsos showed no trace of steatopygia.

One of the most interesting discoveries of the season was the almost complete clearance of a very elaborate hut complex, a maze of passages, cement steps and seats (Plate IX, Nos. 1, 2 and 3). I use the term "cement" to describe the hard haematite mixture that sets with rock-like consistency and must not be confused with the soft red dagha which often forms hut floors. A description of this dwelling will be more easily understood if the plan (Plate VIII) is followed and we proceed to imagine that the actual complex is about to be entered. It must be understood that this structure was erected on the decomposed sandstone forming the basal deposit of the deepest portion of the depression, and lies at a depth of 7 to 8 feet from the present surface. No erosion, or comparatively little, could have taken place over this complex, since it was not exposed to the action of wind and very little, perhaps, to that of water. It must be claimed, therefore, that it is one of the oldest erections, if not the oldest, on Mapungubwe, and was built by the people who used pottery of the K.2 facies, but in conjunction with other and more simple forms.

Entrance to the enclosure was effected by a carved wooden door (A) which faced almost south and which seemed to have opened into a small plastered courtyard (B). This door had two broken pots on its right, jammed between the wall posts and the door itself. A line of charred posts, represented on the plan by small, thick, black circles, mark what must have been the outer wall of the whole complex, but this was badly damaged before it was realised that the labourers had broken into such a barrier, for the wood had been reduced to powder and the whole outer margin was very indistinct. The only means of gauging the original height of the girdle-wall was by checking the amount of debris lying where it had fallen. As this was not great, the walls were presumably not more than breast-high. The visitor, having reached the cemented court (B), would see directly in front a low ridge of hard cement projecting only a few inches above the courtyard level. This appeared to have acted as a barrier for deflecting rainwater away from the central yard, but where the necessary outlet had been was impossible to discover. The water may have escaped by the small door. To the right and left of this drainage ridge extended another plastered courtyard of unknown extent, for to the east it was still covered by the unexcavated portion of Section 2, while to the west it had been entirely destroyed. Stepping over the small ridge, the visitor would encounter another low mound or step (C), beyond which was another door marked by the fallen charred posts and giving on to another small courtyard (D). Immediately opposite the entrance was a very fine cement seat, some 8 inches high, with battered sides. On top of this were two small depressions where bowls had been placed before the setting of the cement, while to the left and right of the seat were two curious, small, semicircular kerbs, enclosing a very limited space of a few inches. To the right of this seat a passage led to a large cement step (E), at present partially covered by the rubbish of Section 2, and it was on this platform that several portions of

1. ADDISON: *The Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan (Jebel Moya)*, 1949, p. 214.

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spouted bowls were found. To the left of the cement seat another cement erection (F) was met with, standing about 6 inches above the level of the courtyard (D), and on it were found three deep bowls, not unlike K.2 beakers, but without their swelling base. These vessels had been placed with their mouths down on the surface of the step and when removed were empty and clean, showing quite clearly the scraping of the interior before they had been put away, presumably for further use. Crossing platform (F), another small step led down into a plastered passage (G), which, when completely cleared, would probably run entirely around the centre of the complex. At the base of this step were a few flat stones, evidently forming a kind of flagged floor to the entrance of the central hut (J), which lay behind them at (H). This entrance or doorway had entirely disappeared, its presence being indicated by a break in the continuity of the surrounding wall. A large lump of copper, appearing as if fresh from the furnace, was found at this spot, having perhaps been dropped by an inmate when ruin overtook the whole structure, as was unquestionably the case, for fire had completed its destruction. The hut could now be entered through the opening at (H) and was surprisingly small, having a diameter of slightly less than 7 feet. In this respect it bears a close resemblance to the upper level huts at K.2. The finds in the interior were interesting: a fine, large, spouted bowl, pure K.2 type, broken but repairable; a portion of another spouted bowl, Class B (Plate LV, No. 100); a section of a fine, red, deep bowl decorated with two lines of converging chevrons below the lip; and a small cooking pot, distorted by heat and pressure. A few iron and copper bangles and a very corroded iron spike represented the metal, while two, almost devitrified, garden-roller beads were found in the centre court (D). No small glass beads were discovered, which is curious. A few pelagic mollusca were recovered from the ruins, the genera being similar to those found at K.2; but unlike those, their dorsal surfaces had not been pierced. At the rear of the complex the ruins of a small wall showed where the ancient inhabitants had erected a defence against any wash from the high ground immediately above them. Below this hut complex, and indeed all through the lowest stratum of Block 5, the hill-wash or hard compacted sand was sterile so far as was investigated, but under this layer and lying in bedrock was an extraordinary assemblage of Middle Stone Age spalls, chips, and implements. Thousands of these small objects lay where they had been manufactured from river pebbles, and the bottom of the great depression must have been a workshop of considerable extent.[1] It will be remembered that Middle Stone Age material was discovered in 1937, and the uncovering of the deep, low-lying workshop site can only mean that the Hill was dwelt on from the earliest times and continued to be so occupied, the only cultural break being revealed by the sterile stratum of hard, consolidated, wind-blown sand. The section of stratification at R.58 has already been referred to. Another was taken at R.40 and gave approximately the same measurements, except that the sterile layer was narrower, for the rock begins to rise sharply to the north.

In conclusion, it is again advisable to point out that K.2 ceramics were found in the lowest occupational stratum on the Hill, where Schofield's M.1 pottery does not occur at all.

1. These implements were classified as Magosian. Cf. MALAN, B. D.: *The Distribution and Chronology of the Modderpoort Culture*. S. Afr. J. Sci, 42. 1946, pp. 254–260. (Ed.)

## 3. EXPLORATION OF VENDA SITE AT SHATANANA AND DISCOVERIES AT KILGOUR

The observant reader will by this time have noticed the frequent references to traces of Venda occupation in and around the neighbourhood of the country adjacent to the Limpopo.

The numerous smelting sites with the customary walls, their typical and identical pottery, and the similarity of their beads, all pointed to a wide distribution of this stock, not only in the Northern Transvaal but across the river in Southern Rhodesia. For some time past I had been considering the possibility of Venda impact on the Mapungubwe culture, and as the years passed the conviction grew within me that there was strong evidence of such an impact, especially as I had long ago discarded the so-called Shona hypothesis. Professor G. P. Lestrade,[1] in his report on certain ethnological investigations in connection with Mapungubwe, is also of the opinion that the Venda played their part in that culture; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the Lemba, a subsection of the Venda people, did. These people were the metal workers, the smiths of the nexus; and as Professor Lestrade points out, they had many Semitic or Arabian characteristics. This, in my opinion, explains the great amount of metal-working to be seen on the Hill and in the vicinity, and it may again be noted in this connection that gold beads were found in association with Venda or Lemba smelting sites, especially the one south of Mapungubwe. It is incredible that the Boskopoid stocks should have been workers in gold, and such craftsmanship is foreign to the Nguni and Sotho tribes who occupied the Hill at different periods. With all this in mind, I was extremely anxious to investigate a deserted and undisturbed Venda settlement, for a comparison of artefacts

1. FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe*, Vol. I, 1937, Part IV, p. 119.

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from both sites would, I hoped, assist in elucidating some of our problems. I was very fortunate to have had such a co-operative friend as Dr. Thompson of Messina, who not only knew of such a Venda locality but offered to accompany me to the spot as a guide, for the place lay in the Malonga Hills and was difficult to find. Our party consisted of Dr. Thompson, my assistant, four natives, and myself, complete with tent and two 44-gallon drums containing fresh water. We passed through Messina and continued along the Pafuri road for some 50 miles, until a side-track led us along a sandy path to the site, about 10 miles from the main road. Leaving Van Tonder and the labourers to pitch camp, Dr. Thompson and I ascended the low hill on which the settlement had once stood. The first thing we saw was a large stone enclosure built of sandstone blocks in Zimbabwe style, with the rounded gate apertures typical of the great Rhodesian site. We could do no more than look around, but it was plain that the settlement had not been a large one, had occupied the crest of the hill, and had been dominated by the stone kraal-like erection. To our surprise we had a little difficulty with our labourers, who had already learned that the place was haunted, but on being assured that they would not be required to work after sundown and that one of us would be in constant attendance, they more or less forgot their fears. We were up at sunrise next day, and while Dr. Thompson put down trial holes and did the sieving, I dug round the debris-filled entrance of the enclosure to ascertain the present height of the walls and to uncover the gateway, photographs of which, together with the walling, are shown on Plate X, Nos. 2, 3, and 4. At the base of the hill we discovered a small family of Venda folk living a troglodyte existence in a miserable cave. The old woman who appeared to be in charge had some strings of interesting beads around her neck, but refused to part with them although money was offered. Language difficulties made bargaining impossible, for no one in our party could speak Venda, and the old woman knew no Sotho or Zulu. We spent four days on the site and our labours were not unproductive, although not a trace of a human skeleton was found. The beads and the sherds, however, told us exactly what we wanted to know and were well worth the time and trouble. It may be stated here that the Venda polychrome pottery is to be considered a late feature of their ceramics, and this was substantiated by Shatanana, for only a few pieces of that ware were unearthed, while the majority of the sherds were identical in appearance with those from Zimbabwe, Caton-Thompson's Class B[1] and our own middle-period stuff from the Hill. The beads were even more dependable, being similar in all respects to those from Zimbabwe's lowest levels and also to those of a corresponding horizon on the Hill. The typical greenish-blue bead of K.2 and the large garden-rollers were not found at Shatanana. We returned to camp on August 20th, conscious of having gained important information of great value to our final conclusions.

1. CATON-THOMPSON: *Zimbabwe Culture*, 1931, Plate XVIII.

Early in September a visit was paid to Mr. Swanepoel's farm, Kilgour, which lay between Mapungubwe and Messina and on which it was reported a large number of copper objects, beads, and other artefacts had been found, apparently indicating a grave. A day was spent investigating this spot, which lay on the border of the mopani bush, some 5 miles from the homestead; but no skeletons were found, and the mass of material appeared to consist of a hoard of personal belongings, buried perhaps during a period of racial strife. The finds consisted of iron hoes, copper and iron bracelets, and a curious copper object, the *mutsuku*, a ceremonial copper ingot of unknown import,[1] while the whole cache was literally strewn with beads all of the Venda type and exactly similar to others obtained from their well-known cultural areas. This incident is mentioned because it gives prominence to the statement that the Venda people were once widespread over the whole district, which they occupied before migrating further south to the region of the Zoutpansberg, where they are found today.

On September 3rd we heard the tragic news from Europe announcing a state of war between the Allied Powers and Germany, and we realised that our hopes of many months of archaeological investigation on the Limpopo were likely to be brought to a speedy termination.

Later, in spite of the position and because matters abroad seemed to be static, I was asked whether I would undertake further exploration of Mapungubwe early in 1940. To this I agreed, with the proviso that should I be required for military service I would be free to leave immediately. At this stage we terminated our work for this season.

## 4. K.2: CONCLUSIONS, 1939

On the termination of work at K.2 we were left with a considerable number of facts from which deductions might be made, but which, as deductions, could not be proved by ocular demonstration. What facts had we after 5 years' labour at K.2? The most important of them all was the proof that on our site a people had lived who had no Bantu, or, to be more accurate, any Negroid characteristics, in their physical make-up. That they must be regarded as pre-Bantu will be considered when we come to analyse all our conclusions and summarise them. It is

1. L. C. THOMPSON: *The Mu-Tsuku*, S. African Journal of Science, Vol. XXXV, p. 396.

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a fact that they did not build huts or houses after the fashion of our present-day natives and that the use of iron, except as an ornament, was unknown to them. That they were expert potters was a self-evident fact, for they produced a multitude of forms differing from any known Bantu ceramics. We know they made large beads in pottery moulds, melting down other blue and green strings to do this. We know they buried their dead in a flexed prehistoric fashion, surrounding the bodies with pots or stones. There is ample evidence of a religion, a primitive bovine cult, which can be traced back to the mists of time, varying in manifestation among different and ancient peoples, but being essentially the worship or veneration of a bull or a cow. That they were a peaceful folk is shown by the absence of weapons of offence and by the vulnerability of their habitation site. The few bone arrows found at K.2 were an indication of what was to come, and it is clear that no factory site was established at K.2. It is apparent that they dug two kinds of pits during their occupation of the site: one a cooking pit and the other doing duty as a kiln or hole for the firing of pottery. That the settlement was overwhelmed and that some of its inhabitants were done to death by a Bantu tribe is clearly to be seen, for the newcomers did not settle in great numbers on the old site but on the slopes of Bambandyanalo and around the perimeter of the more ancient area, where evidence of Bantu occupation presents itself. That these hut-dwelling Bantu adopted the pottery of their victims is a fact, while the introduction of a new type of bead synchronises with the disappearance of the moulds of the large barrel variety, whose manufacture was not continued by the Bantu.

In conclusion, it may be stated that many writers on the Khoisan, such as Schapera, Engelbrecht and others, have described the habits and customs of the Hottentots as they have come down to us, and their descriptions evidently tally with the customs of the people who lived in the lower levels of K.2. In this volume it is not intended to comment to any great extent on the native races who destroyed the K.2 culture or who, at different periods, occupied the summit of Mapungubwe, but if we are to get a clear picture of what we think happened in the region of the Limpopo it will be necessary to discuss at some length the inter-relationship between the Bantu and the K.2 people. As I did very little digging on the talus slope at Bambandyanalo, I do not feel justified in saying more than that there was indisputable evidence of the Bantu occupation before mentioned. This volume seeks to deal primarily with the K.2 folk, whose Boskopoid, Mongolian, Hottentot, and Hamitic characteristics we hope to explain. In a previous chapter we suggested the name proto-Hottentot for these hybrids, for all the evidence so far collected seems to point to the culture being Hottentot, while the dominant physical factor is Boskopoid.



## 5. MAPUNGUBWE: CONCLUSIONS, 1939

I have mentioned elsewhere that the discovery of the great depression provided the key to the whole complex puzzle, and this it did to a convincing degree. What facts, therefore, can we obtain from the excavations of the Hill, particularly those of 1939? It is quite evident to anyone that the first-comers to the summit of Mapungubwe were a stone-age people who had a workshop or factory site on bedrock at the bottom of the depression and who obtained their stones from the Limpopo River. How or why these primitives disappeared is not evident. The next-comers were identical in all respects to the Bantu-speaking tribe that overwhelmed K.2. They brought to the depression not only the ceramics from the older site but also their inferior pottery and, of course, the art of hut-building. They were workers in metal, as many objects of iron and copper attest. That these people were warlike is indicated by the large number of iron weapons discovered in the depths of the depression, all being of the thrusting variety, that is, spears and assegais. They did not use bone arrows, and no linkshafts were unearthed. These dwellers in the depression were in their turn overwhelmed by another inundation of savages who brought with them a totally different pottery technique, comparable in fact to Caton-Thompson's Class B.[1] A thick bed of ash, interspersed with lumps of clay and charred wood, shows that the invaders sacked and burnt whatever lay in the depression in true native fashion. These invaders may be called the shouldered-pot people, as the type was typical of that horizon. Who they were will be discussed when we come to make our deductions.

History repeats itself. In their turn, these shouldered-pot folk were annihilated or driven off, and another thick bed of black ash can be attributed to their destruction. So far all is plain sailing and easy to read from the stratigraphical story set before us; now, however, things are not quite so easy to understand. It is clear that the shouldered-pot people were followed by another Bantu invasion, by people who made the flat-dish and thin ware (Schofield's M.1) and whose beads were similar to those from Zimbabwe and Shatanana; but what happened to them is impossible to state with any degree of certainty. We can here only rely on what little evidence there is, and then get on with deductions from what we do know. There is no evidence to show that the flat-dish people were

1. CATON-THOMPSON: *Zimbabwe Culture*, 1931, Plate XVIII.

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obliterated as were their predecessors; in fact, all observations testify to the contratry. Had the skeletons on the Hill been pure Negroid the solution would have been easy: that they had been just another Bantu tribe that had come along and coalesced with the flat-dish folk. Unfortunately, this theory is untenable. Anthropologists have stated most emphatically that the skeletal material recovered on the summit of Mapungubwe was Boskopoid, with traces of Negro in some of it—that, in fact, they were almost identical with the K.2 remains. This being a fact which, I think, is nowhere disputed, the so-called gold skeletons cannot have been members of any pure native stock. From all evidence, slight as it is, and from the fact that no signs of violence appear in the topmost horizons of the Hill, it may be concluded that the last-comers intermingled peacefully with our flat-dish folk, or perhaps, and this is more likely, drove them off the Hill after appropriating their gold and other belongings. What were the last-comers like, apart from their Boskopoid characteristics? They made or brought with them excellent pottery, some forms being reminiscent of the K.2 material. That they took over the pottery of the flat-dish people is evident, for the two types are often found in close association; but their chief claim to distinction is the bone-arrow factory they started in the upper levels of the great depression. Here we unearthed hundreds of bone arrows of three different types and almost an equal number of their linkshafts. Many sandstone blocks pitted with grooves showed how these small weapons were ground down and smoothed after being cut from a solid bone. The beads, heavy copper leg ornaments, and the usual huts postulated close contact with the Bantu, but they continued their own distinctive type of burial and did not adopt the native method of interment. These arrow-making folk disappeared again in their turn, and, as far as we know, the Hill has been deserted and taboo since their departure.

All these people, their probable origin, stock, and other matters, will be discussed in the chapters which are to follow.

## 6. THE 1940 SEASON AND TERMINATION OF WORK AT GREEFSWALD

In April, 1940, work was recommenced on the summit of Mapungubwe, and Section 1 in Block 6 and Section 6 in Block 8 were carried to bedrock (Diagram 5). Owing to the precarious state of affairs at home and abroad, and as instructions were expected at any time to close down operations, I was anxious to get as much as possible done. The labourers were therefore divided into two gangs, one digging the block first mentioned and the other clearing Block 8. As work progressed it was clear that the great central depression lay principally in Blocks 5 and 7, or towards the more northern aspect of the Hill, while at Block 6 the ground rose rapidly to join the areas excavated by Schofield and later by Van Tonder. It is much regretted that owing to lack of time and the incomplete clearance of any one sectional face no full section across the depression was taken. We were fortunate in being able to get a record of stratification at the point already mentioned in the preceding chapter. At the end of April I received orders from Defence Headquarters to report to the South African Military College at Voortrekkerhoogte, near Pretoria; and after arranging with Van Tonder what should be attempted in my absence, I left Greefswald on May 3rd. I returned to Mapungubwe on June 6th, but realising that my stay could only be a short one, I proceeded to cut storm drains on the summit, taking what precautions were possible to prevent further erosion and to leave the site in as secure a state as possible. Van Tonder had continued the excavations of Blocks 5 and 6 while I was away, and had done extremely well, his accuracy in recording meeting with my entire approval.

The short season could not produce much in the way of finds, and what were recovered were culturally similar to those of 1939. Bone arrows and their linkshafts were found in great numbers in the first and second strips, iron and copper articles being again abundant. Another of the curious copper ferrules was discovered with a ring at the pointed end; and so what we had previously suspected to be hooks were, in all probability, rings. The pottery differed in no respect from that discovered the previous season, being still an intermingling of the flat dishware with the more well-made and finer ceramics associated with the skeletons. The number and variety of bone tools is noteworthy, for more were found in the western area of the Hill than in any other locality. Awls were common; one with a carved knob at one end and another with raised and incised bands. A fine needle, elaborately decorated at the butt, but with a broken eye, and the usual needles with eye and a curious final notch were unearthed at all depths. Another engraved, hollow, whistle-like bone object was also discovered. We found time to excavate Block 8 to rock-bottom, which was reached at 9 feet, the finds being altogether similar to those of the previous blocks and indicating an identical culture. We were surprised at the lack of steatopygous figurines, which is perhaps explained by the fact that the culture in the depression being later than that of K.2 the bodily deformity might have died out or was not so much in evidence to those who modelled the clay figures. It was quite apparent that the garden-roller beads were not manufactured on the Hill.

War is no respecter of persons, and even less so of

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archaeology, and therefore it was with the greatest regret that early in July, 1940, I received my mobilisation orders, with instructions to proceed to Natal immediately. Most fortunately the past two seasons had given information of the most valuable description, but it is of course much to be regretted that complete excavation of the great central depression could not be effected before closing down. The clearance of the curious hut complex would have been instructive, Moreover, it was not at all clear how the place had been drained. If this hollow had been cleaned out and all midden refuse dumped over the cliffs there would have been a clear picture of the spot as it appeared to the first people to climb its precipitous sides and to take refuge in the innermost depths of Mapungubwe.

Van Tonder carried on for a month after my departure, and the investigations were terminated in September. His finds were not spectacular, but a great number of bone arrows were recovered and some very fine spearheads and copper ornaments.

This concludes our account of the six seasons' work at Greefswald, and it will now be necessary to discuss all aspects of the K.2 culture in detail, so that the reader may be initiated into the daily lives of these interesting and forgotten people.

A summary of conclusions will follow, based on the evidence obtained during the six years; but it must be distinctly understood that the opinions expressed are almost entirely my own and may not be acceptable to all students of South African prehistory. I shall always be glad to hear arguments for and against; and if anyone can produce a hypothesis that embraces all known facts and deductions I shall be pleased to give it credence.

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# Chapter VI

## 1. PROTO-HOTTENTOTS

In the foregoing chapters I have endeavoured to set out in simple language, avoiding archaeological jargon, an account of what was accomplished during the six seasons' work at Greefswald and of how we overcame the obvious difficulties as they presented themselves. Starting with the premise that all the cultures in the neighbourhood were Bantu, we were gradually forced to the conclusion that that could not be the case, because the evidence obtained, especially from K.2, compelled us to visualise a more ancient civilisation possessing few, if any, Bantu elements. Evidence continues to come in from Southern Rhodesia and Tanganyika that at some unknown period in the history of the sub-continent there dwelt in the eastern areas a widely distributed race whose dominant factor was Boskop but whose physical make-up consisted of other racial elements and who varied greatly in actual culture, though not differing in any great degree anatomically. The people who lived in and on the lower levels of K.2 were such a hybrid stock. The following chapters are designed to give the reader an accurate and comprehensive overall picture of the daily lives and habits of these hybrids in so far as can be deduced and explained from the evidence obtained over the years.

It has been remarked elsewhere that the archaeologist should "dig up" people. In order to accomplish this laudable design, however, he must of course "dig up" the everyday articles associated with them and, better still, the actual remains of the people as well; for it is only by the correlation of all facts and what we are able to deduce from them that an accurate picture can be built up of how such individuals lived and had their being.

At K.2 we literally dug up the inhabitants and such a wealth of cultural material associated with them that we are able to present, with a large measure of certainty, the story of the customs and possessions of this ancient folk. The spot where they dwelt in the Northern Transvaal has already been described and need not be referred to again; it is enough to say that it must have been a pleasant place and possessed all the amenities desired by a primitive community. The physical anthropologists who have examined the skeletal material from K.2 and elsewhere and have reported on its osteological character[1] are convinced that these people were a pre-Bantu aboriginal stock, showing traces of the extinct Boskop type, much Bush, a dash of Mongoloid mixed, as the residual elements show, with a primitive Hamitic culture. This ancient hybrid stock that I have provisionally termed proto-Hottentot came probably from an intermingling of various entities, and it was from such a medley of people that our historical yellow-skinned Hottentots derived. Ethnologists have given us what is known of the history and customs of these historical folk, and their culture, as described by various writers, corresponds exactly to that from the lower levels of K.2.

When the K.2 culture has been more exhaustively examined we shall endeavour to point out where these people originated and what, according to our conjectures, the route was of their migrations down the tropical corridor of the continent. Since the days of Stow, Johnston, and Theal, much has been learnt about these primitive adventurers, and, as Sir Harry Johnston says: "These yellow-skinned, wrinkled, steatopygous Hottentots were carrying with them at some remote date, perhaps 6,000 or 7,000 years ago, the first glimmerings of neolithic civilization into Bushman Africa, then in a condition of almost eolithic civilization."[2]

After this preamble, it is perhaps permissible to imagine the outward appearance of our K.2 folk, using this symbol for the moment in place of the longer and more descriptive term.

They must be regarded as a people of average stature, not too tall or stunted in any degree. Their heads were large, and their extremities slender and drawn out. Their massive jaws and great teeth denoted flesh-eating individuals, and they probably used the skins of wild beasts for clothing. Many of their women must have presented that peculiar characteristic of the Bush race, namely, the fatty accumulation on the buttocks, amounting to real deformity in our eyes, but serving, much like the camel's hump, as a reserve of energy in times of hunger or famine. The strange elongation of the *labia minora* is also typical in the female of that stock, and

1. GALLOWAY: *The Skeletal Remains of Bambandyanalo*, 1959. Cf. p. 118 *et. seq.*
2. JOHNSTON: *Opening Up of Africa*, 1911, p. 31.

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that it must have been in evidence at K.2 is proved by the finding of a figurine which portrayed this physical aspect with great minuteness. Primitive artists do not draw on their imagination but model what they see around them in everyday life. In fact, we may conjecture that the appearance of our K.2 people was very similar to that of the Cape Hottentots on the arrival of the first white men, though the former perhaps had the larger head.

With this type of human being before our eyes, we can now proceed to discuss their culture, section by section, as it was laid bare by the excavations described in the previous chapters.

## 2. HABITATION REMAINS

That these people possessed no huts in the accepted sense of the word was at once apparent when the first block at K.2 was dug to bedrock. They appear to have lived in flimsy structures, probably of thin sticks stuck in the ground and covered with skins or grass. In fact, their dwellings must have been like those recorded by Vaillant and other travellers among the Cape Hottentots during the 18th century. The most careful examination showed no signs of post-holes or any trace of actual floors, such as we know of in Bantu huts; but there was present in all the blocks a confused medley of semi-consolidated gravel, which may have been tamped down by the tread of human feet. Unfortunately the site was, in ancient days, subject to floods which swept sheets of red gravel from the base of the western cliffs over the occupied area, rendering the distinction between probable floors and the surrounding gravel sheets extremely difficult to detect.

It is for that reason that I have not attempted to show all the suggested floors in the sections at K.2 (Diagram 3), but the heavy black horizontal lines (representing red gravel patches) give the approximate position of such areas as can be recognised as having once been dwelt upon. It is uncertain whether the inhabitants cooked inside or outside their shelters. I am inclined to the opinion that they cooked outside, for the lower levels produced no moulded hearths such as the Bantu make in the huts they build all over the country. On the lowest occupational level at K.2 in Block 4, Section 6, and on the same horizon as the cairn of Beast Burial No. 6, some 6′ 6″ from the surface, a line of rude stone hearths was discovered with broken fragments of cooking pots adjacent to it. These, in conjunction with the nearby cooking holes, must be the earliest examples of culinary appliances used in the Northern Transvaal. These hearths consisted merely of suitable stones set on edge, or in a manner most adequate for supporting the one pot that was used, probably for boiling water or milk. No animal bones were found among these stone hearths, in contradistinction to the cooking pits. The hearths were uncovered at various depths and to within 2 or 3 feet from the surface, at which level they gave place to those of the newcomers —Bantu in origin.

In connection with the dwellings not the slightest trace of woodwork was discovered, and there was no burnt clay or the impress of matting, skins, or the like. No fragment of clothing of any kind was encountered, and, as has been said, the inhabitants probably clothed themselves in skins, as did their descendants. There is no suggestion whatever that the K.2 folk built any walls, for none was discovered in connection with the original settlement, and it is presumed that the walling on Bambandyanalo summit was of a later date and of Bantu origin (Plate X, No. 1). The diet of K.2 must have been wholly milk and meat. They, like the Bantu, were probably averse to the killing of their cattle, except perhaps for ritual purposes, and both races may have had the unhealthy habit of eating any beast that died from disease. Bovine bones were numerous in all sections of the excavations, but we have no means of knowing whether the cattle were deliberately killed or not. In connection with this, the report of Dr. Brink on the bovine bones submitted to him is of the greatest interest and will be discussed in its proper place. It is perhaps curious that no fish bones were discovered on the cooking sites, since these people lived in close proximity to the Limpopo, in which fish are abundant. It is possible, of course, that there was a taboo on fish, for, as is well known, the Nguni tribes in their raw state will not touch it; and they were in close contact with the Hottentots, from whom they adopted many customs and linguistic peculiarities. On the other hand, it is also known that the Hottentots known to us did practise hunting and fishing where conditions permitted.[1]

We have therefore a picture of a primitive people dwelling peacefully in the area of their choice, with sufficient food to nourish them and little labour involved in its production. At an earlier period nothing seems to have disturbed them, and one must conclude from many indications that they lived happily with the Bushmen and probably interbred with them, for in those far-off days there was ample room for man and beast, and grazing disputes were unlikely to occur.

The basis of my thesis that what is now Southern Rhodesia was once largely occupied by people of Hottentot stock would be untenable, or at least highly improbable, if K.2 had been the only settlement of that description in the country lying between the Zambesi and the Limpopo. Fortunately for my argument, this was not the case, and several sites in the districts under investigation have given evidence of a culture similar in all

1. SCHAPERA: *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, 1930, p. 300.

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respects to that of K.2. It will be as well to mention the known archaeological spots, and we may be fairly certain that, as the years slip by, more will come to light, as has actually been the case during the past 24 months. Probably the most important site in Bechuanaland is that of the hill of Toupye, which, although superficially scratched, has, on account of native hostility, not been fully explored. On its summit Van Riet Lowe found pottery sherds similar to K.2 and, what is even more convincing, the typical garden-roller bead. The place warrants careful exploration, and some agreement should be arrived at between the Protectorate authorities, the natives, and the archaeological experts entrusted with the investigation of the site.

At Essexvale and West Nicholson in Southern Rhodesia traces of K.2 culture have been discovered, but so far no skeletons have been disinterred. It is probable that skeletal material might lie at considerable depth, and it is only by organised exploration over a given period that such material can be unearthed. The most recent and important discovery is that at Marlborough, a suburb of Salisbury. Lt.-Col. Boultbee of the Queen Victoria Museum reports that when a pit was being excavated for a septic tank a complete pot burial was discovered some distance from the surface. This led to further investigation, brought to a halt, unfortunately, by the fact that the graves lay in a built-up area, but enough was uncovered to prove the presence of a large number of interments consisting of skeletons in a flexed position and surrounded by pots in true K.2 fashion. The report of the physical anthropologist on these skeletons is not fully completed, but preliminary examination would seem to equate these with the K.2 material.[1]

Not only in Rhodesia are these ancient hybrids coming to light, but in Tanganyika further graves have been found containing skeletons which Dr. Galloway, who has examined them, has found to be anatomically similar to the K.2 material. It is curious that in this case there were no pots associated with the bodies. The whole problem will require much further investigation, and this can be achieved only by the combined efforts of the various territories concerned, which will be required to work in the closest collaboration. At present interest appears to be lukewarm, and considerable public pressure will be necessary to obtain practical results.

It would appear, therefore, that before the coming of the Bantu there lived in the eastern parts of the subcontinent a medley of peoples who had racial elements to which I have already alluded and who were ancestral to our historical Hottentots.

1. Cf. GALLOWAY: *The Skeletal Remains of Bambandyanalo*, 1959, p. 129; TREVOR-JONES: *Prehistoric Man in Southern Rhodesia*, Central Afr. Journal of Med. Vol. III (Ed.).

## 3. DOMESTIC ANIMALS

The K.2 people, like their descendants, were cattle-herders who probably, as with most primitive folk, estimated their wealth in terms of the hoof. From the cooking pits, to be described later, we were fortunate in being able to procure a large number of bovine frontal bones and horn-cores. No actual horn itself remained, but enough skeletal material was obtained to render identification an easy matter for the veterinarians. Dr. A. S. Brink, in his report on the cattle bones submitted to him, mentions some interesting facts. He gives the co-ordinates of much of the material, but these need not concern us at this stage. What is important is his concluding remarks: "Very peculiar about this material is the almost total absence of vertebrae, the considerable amount of teeth compared with the very tiny fragments of skulls and, in fact, that all the limb bones, even the largest and strongest, are fractured into small splinters. Peculiar about the remains from the site K.2 are the very few skeletal bones compared with the skull elements, and the skull fragments are nearly all portions of brain cases. A conclusion that may be drawn with very little doubt, judging from the condition of the bones, is that whole carcasses were not buried, not even complete portions of carcasses. It appears as though particular portions were especially prepared before burial to serve as food for the dead, which is a custom not found in the Bantu races of Southern Africa. Very peculiar too is the fact that all the brain cases are opened and the limb bones fractured so obviously that one cannot otherwise than deduce that the importance of everything for this race lay in the brain and marrow. Another point of interest is the fact that there are many unworn or unerupted molars among the teeth, which shows that some of the remains are those of young animals. These burials are therefore of animals which were especially killed for the purpose and not of animals which died of old age."

Dr. Brink's comments on the fracturing of bones and brain cases need not surprise anyone acquainted with the Hottentot's habit of breaking bones for the extraction of the marrow, which they probably rendered down in the large open-mouthed vessels suitable for that purpose. What does intrigue us is Dr. Brink's last paragraph. Primitive people are only likely to offer young animals as a sacrifice to some deity powerful enough to overcome the natural repugnance of such people to an act at variance with all their wishes and desires; and it is extremely probable that the beast burials at K.2 commemorate a portion of the ceremony connected with such a sacrifice, perhaps even pointing to the cult of Heitzi-Eibib himself. As a number of the bovine bones in the beast burials were not fractured at all, the whole

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assemblage may be taken as a manifestation of a religious creed of some description, probably Hamitic in origin. Dr. Brink does not comment on the type of beast under examination, but Dr. Curson gives us some information on the subject: "In regard to the first of the points upon which Prof. Fouché desired information, it is clear that the Mapungubwe folk possessed cattle of the Afrikander and Sanga types."

Dr. Curson's note on the Sanga, a type not so well known as the Afrikander, reads as follows: "Sanga, best represented in South Africa and usually possessing a cervicothoratic and muscular hump. It is derived by the mating of the Hamitic longhorn and the lateral-horned Zebu."

Pictures of the Sanga type show long horns, but they are inclined in a downward direction. My comment on the two reports is that they may reflect different types. Dr. Brink dealt with the K.2 cattle, whereas Dr. Curson reported on the bovines from Mapungubwe. I do not feel competent to express an opinion on the probability or otherwise of interbreeding on the farm Greefswald, but it has generally been accepted that our K.2 beasts were of the long-horned type. Schapera[1] states that the cattle of the Hottentots appear to have been of the long-horned, straight-backed variety (*Bos aegyptiacus*), still found among the native people of the Horn of Africa.

It is curious to note, however, that in Vaillant's account of the Cape Hottentots, in which he illustrates a contemporary bovine, this cow had much shorter horns. It is possible that even in his time interbreeding had taken place among the Gonaqua cattle. That our K.2 people possessed the fat-tailed sheep is highly probable, for it is known that this animal was imported by the Hottentot clans and is also mentioned by Vaillant, an observant naturalist. Dr. Curson reports that the bones of sheep and near-relatives are not susceptible to strict identification, and we therefore have no actual proof that the K.2 animals were of the fat-tailed variety, but, as they were the only breed mentioned by the first white explorers, one may be fairly certain that they were of the so-called Persian species. Our people do not appear to have possessed any other domestic animals, and no bones either of the fowl or of any canine species have been met with, but this does not prove absolutely that there were no such bones; we may not have found them. The domestic pig was a comparatively recent comer to this country, and among all the bones sent down from K.2 for examination, those of swine do not appear. It was only in Beast Burial No. 6 that the tusk of a pig was found; and so there may have been a taboo on that particular beast, for wild pigs such as the wart-hog and others are common in the Northern Transvaal. It has already been recorded that during the early days of the site the cattle appear to have been kraaled in the centre of the settlement, with the huts or shelters surrounding the kraal. When this spot ceased to be used for that purpose it must have been moved to a situation not yet discovered, for a large area of the plateau still remains to be investigated.

1. SCHAPERA: *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, 1930, p. 292.

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# Chapter VII

## 1. WOOD

No wood was found in the lower levels of K.2 in its pristine state, but much charcoal was recovered from the cooking and other pits. The Archaeological Survey of South Africa sent a quantity of this charcoal from Beast Burial No. 6 to America because this cult burial was on the very lowest horizon and it was thought that the remains recovered from it probably represented the oldest cultural objects at K.2. This charcoal was sent to the United States in 1951, and we were fortunate to receive a report on a C.14 test, the results of which are given and discussed in Chapter XII.

The soil of K.2 is sandy, and wood, if comparatively recent, might easily have survived, as it did in fact on the Hill; hence its total absence may be some indication that the lower levels at K.2 are of considerable age.

## 2. METAL, EXCLUDING WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS

The reader will notice from the various inventories that metal on the whole was scarce at K.2. An analysis of all metal found on the skeletons is given below, and for the sake of convenience the burials are divided into three classes: 1. Pot burials, 2. Those with sherds and beads, 3. Those with stones or nothing at all in the way of funerary furniture. The distribution of iron and copper found with the various classes of burials is as follows:

1. *Pot Burials:*
   8 skeletons out of 34 with traces of iron.
   3 skeletons out of 34 with traces of copper.
2. *Sherds and Bead Burials:*
   1 skeleton out of 18 with traces of iron.
   3 skeletons out of 18 with traces of copper.
3. *Little Furniture:*
   1 skeleton out of 9 with traces of iron.

We find, therefore, that 10 skeletons possessed iron and 6 copper, that is, 16 skeletons out of a total of 72 had metal buried with them. The metal ornaments were very simple. Bracelets and anklets of metal consisted mainly of three types: a solid copper or iron rod, circular in section and bent into a circle, sometimes with overlapping and decorated terminals; others in copper consisted only of a wide ribbon type, very thin and about ½ inch across; and spiral wristlets wound on fibre or sinew, long perished, were recovered from a few of the skeletons. Iron ornaments were never found in isolation below a depth of 3′ 6″ to 4′ from the surface and were in such a state of oxidisation as to render their preservation for the most part impossible. Copper was found in isolation to bedrock, in some instances 7 feet below the surface. An interesting find was a solid copper spiral-wound snake-like finger ring, recovered from just above bedrock at a depth of 7 feet. No bronze or other metal was found at K.2.

## 3. METAL WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS

Le Vaillant[1] remarks that the assegai is not the natural weapon of the Hottentots and they are awkward with them; the Kaffirs, on the contrary, have no other weapon.

Professor Goodwin,[2] in an interesting article in the *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, concludes that the early Cape Hottentots had no knowledge of metals or metal-working and that their so-called assegais were probably pointed sticks hardened in fire. If this was so, it is extremely unlikely that their forebears were any better off, and, in fact, both the above conclusions are substantiated by the excavations on the Limpopo at Marlborough and near Arusha, all these sites being devoid of weapons, with the exception of the bone arrow at the former, and metal of any description being a rarity, probably greatly prized for ornaments and obtained by barter. At K.2 no iron assegais were found at depth, an exception being one badly corroded blade from a 4-foot strip, but as midden refuse had been washed down from the central mound, the actual depth did not tell us very much. In all, three small assegai blades were found from 1 foot to 2 feet below the surface, and they probably represent the later Bantu intrusion. A small arrowhead,

1. LE VAILLANT: *Travels into the Interior of Africa*, 1790, Vol. II, pp. 68–69.
2. GOODWIN: *Metal-working Among the Early Hottentots*, S. African Archaeological Bulletin No. 1942, 56.

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of perhaps late Hottentot type, at 2 feet comprises the list of iron weapons. Two badly corroded butts of small iron hoes were unearthed 1 foot below the present surface, and these specimens represent all we have of primitive agricultural implements. It will be shown later that K.2 was probably overrun by a Bantu-speaking people who brought with them their traditional hoe-culture and probably the usual weapons of war and chase. Why then was there an extreme paucity of such objects in the upper levels of K.2? I think this may be accounted for by the fact that there is evidence of the wholesale desertion of the site by its inhabitants, and if they took refuge on Mapungubwe Hill, as seems probable, it is natural that their treasured belongings should have gone with them. That this is what actually happened may be deduced from the story told by the later excavations on the Hill itself where, in the lower levels of the great depression and in association with K.2 pottery, a profusion of iron weapons and tools was discovered. No weapons of copper or bronze were found at either site, and no trace existed at K.2 of smelting operations in the lower horizons. It may be concluded, therefore, that these people knew metal only as an article of adornment, probably obtained from the coast by barter. The numerous seashells indicate some contact with the eastern shores of the sub-continent. Where they therefore obtained their shells, they might also have got their few bits of metal.

In conclusion, would it be too rash to formulate the suggestion that culturally they were emerging from the neolithic and just entering a metal age?

## 4. BONE AND IVORY

As will be seen from the inventories, many articles of these two materials were recovered from all depths at K.2. They were in fact far more prolific than those of metal, which is not to be wondered at, since bone was more easily obtained and worked than either copper or iron. Bone was used for many purposes, some of which are obscure. Needles ground to a point, the other end being flattened and squared with the usual hole in it, were common; but a point regarding these useful domestic articles should be noted. Some had a small semicircular notch at the flattened end above the eye. The publication *The Badarian Civilisation*[1] mentions these notches found on similar articles of that culture, and there it is suggested that such notches represent a first attempt at boring; but Brunton adds as a rider that it is difficult to believe the eyes were so hard to bore. I agree with this latter statement, for an examination of our many specimens seems to show that the finished hole was not an afterthought. In every case the semicircular notch is far larger in diameter than any threading aperture, and there appears to be no object in trying to bore a large hole at the extreme tip of the needle where it was almost bound to crack away the bone. The notches are all of approximately the same size and had, I consider, some purpose of which we are ignorant. None of the K.2 specimens shows any attempt at reboring as do the Badarian variety. These needles, notched and unnotched, are shown on Plate XXVIII, No. 5.

Well-made, smooth bone arrow points were rare at K.2, but a few with their attendant linkshafts were recovered from various depths. These are erroneously described as awls or ear ornaments in *Mapungubwe*, Vol. I.[1] Some of the arrows and shafts bore identification marks, but these small lethal weapons became so numerous in later excavations on the Hill that a separate chapter is devoted to their description and use.

At a depth of 3 feet from the present surface in Block 3 a hoard of over one hundred rough bone arrow points was recovered. Thirty-four were of the long variety and 39 short, while many were of the double-ended Bushman type. These were all in the rough, just as they had been cut out of the bone, and may have represented the collection of an arrow-maker, got together before grinding and smoothing. Scraping tools and polishing and graving implements of bone were in general use, while sections of elephants' tusks were ground to a scoop-like edge. A portion of such a tusk was recovered from a depth of 6 feet and was engraved with a pattern of zigzag triangles, a motif found on many beakers.

Two interesting articles of ivory, sections of drilled elephants' tusks, were found at the 6-foot level (Plate XXVIII, No. 1). These have already been mentioned in the description of the 1937 excavations. Their use is problematical, but it is possible that they were intended to protect the wrist against the backlash of the bowstring. G. W. Murray[2] mentions a remarkable discovery of two wooden arm-clasps, such as the Masai warriors wear today, that was made by the Archaeological Survey of Nubia in an undisturbed grave of early dynastic date at Shellal. Unfortunately there is neither an illustration of this object nor a detailed description; but an arm-clasp that could be tied on describes our ivory article very accurately. Armlets, bracelets and rings of bone and ivory were discovered in all blocks, the last-named material frequently exfoliating on exposure to the air and before preservation could be effected. Bone spoons of rough manufacture were also unearthed. Ear ornaments and nose studs were entirely wanting.

1. BRUNTON and CATON-THOMPSON: *The Badarian Civilisation*, 1928.

1. FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe*, Vol. I, 1937, p. 25.
2. MURRAY: *Sons of Ishmael*, 1935, p. 12.

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## 5. ORNAMENTS AND BEADS

The adornments of the K.2 people, as has been said, were simple, the bulk of them falling into the sections allotted to metal, bone, and ivory. No amulets, pendants, or other such articles, were recovered from the skeletons or in any of the areas under excavation.

The pottery beads have already been described, and it may be noted that none was found on the Hill. Even at K.2 they were very rare. That the K.2 people made use of seashells as personal adornments is extremely probable, for not only were a large number of mollusca encountered but Sparrman[1] states that the Cape Hottentots made great use of *Cypraea* and *Nerita* shells, and these genera were found in considerable numbers associated with the human and bovine interments, particularly the latter. It may be mentioned here that the large land snail, *Achatina*, was constantly being unearthed in association with every type of burial, and must have been of some significance to the K.2 folk. These large snails appear never to have been deliberately broken, but the pelagic variety usually had their dorsal surface pierced to facilitate stringing.

The late Professor van Riet Lowe, in his recently published monograph[2] on the Greefswald beads, gives an instructive spectroscopic analysis of those found at K.2 and goes on to discuss in detail the various aspects of each type, together with a distribution list of all specimens found on the site. The monograph deals principally with the beads from K.2 and does not give particulars of the many varieties from the Hill, confining itself to what is called the "new types", that is, beads not described in Volume I.

Professor Lowe's assertion that the Mapungubwe beads probably derive from Egypt is thought quite possible, but the older varieties from K.2 cannot be placed so securely in that category, and Beck's assumption that their place of provenance was India and their age 1,000 years, or thereabouts, agrees well with my investigations. There is, however, a serious error in the monograph owing to the author's not having been present at the actual excavations, a mistake that might have been made by anybody who had not seen the skeletons unearthed. Van Riet Lowe classified the beads from K.2 as belonging to the "K" and "K.M." associations, beads from the Hill being the "M" association. The K.M. beads are the black and plum-coloured varieties found only on 12 skeletons out of 70, and they do not in fact belong to K.2 at all, but are intrusive from the Hill. In the fourth paragraph of his conclusions[3] he begins to realise the difficulty and remarks that the Burial K.S. No. 29 is "extremely puzzling unless it is intrusive". There he was right. All burials with black or plum-coloured beads were from the Hill. This is proved by two indisputable facts. Among all the beast burials in the numerous pits and hearths not a single black or plum bead was discovered in what was the habitable area where the K.2 folk lived and died. Again, it has been established that the majority of the 12 burials producing the alien beads had pottery planted with them which was the exact counterpart of that found on the topmost horizon on the summit of Mapungubwe, and these sherds are not found with the other burials or in the pits or with the bovine interments. Anatomically the inhabitants of both sites were nearly identical; but a long period intervened between the founding of K.2 and the arrival of members of a similar stock on the Hill.

Why were the last inhabitants of Mapungubwe, or some of them, buried at K.2? We may never know and can only hazard a guess or two. It is possible that the bodies buried with the gold and other ornaments in the debris that covered certain portions of the hilltop were those of chiefs or notables and that their retainers were interred in what the resident natives must have known as an ancient inhabited site. We know the peculiar custom of these proto-Hottentots who buried their dead under or near their dwellings, in contradistinction to the Bantu, who did not have this habit.[1] Another reason for these intrusive burials may have been the lack of actual ground on the Hill, the more eastern part of which is practically bare rock. We know there were no burials of any sort in the great depression to the west, and that left only the central portion of the Hill suitable for the erection of huts and having sufficient detritus in which the dead could be buried. As some 25 bodies were found in this central part, it might be assumed that all available space had been occupied and therefore, as they died, the 12 were removed to K.2, where ample territory was found.

To correct Van Riet Lowe's table, therefore, we must delete No. 3 black and No. 7 plum, which do not belong to the K category at all, but to the sequence of beads from Mapungubwe summit and are therefore to be included in the "M" association.

There is one paragraph which states that the author considers these events, i.e. the settlement of K.2 and Mapungubwe, to have taken place in late medieval and early modern times. This dictum I am not prepared to accept in its entirety, for the settlement at K.2 is definitely old. Its beads are undatable, and, if my estimate of age

1. SPARRMAN: *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, 1785.
2. VAN RIET LOWE: *The Glass Beads of Mapungubwe*, 1955.
3. *Ibid.*: p. 16.

1. This is not entirely correct, since certain Bantu tribes do bury their dead in their huts (Bavenda and the Bantu of the Gabun) or near their huts, as for instance among the Zulus and Tsonga. Cf. WILLOUGHBY: *The Soul of the Bantu*, 1928, p. 28; JUNOD: *Life of a South African Tribe*, 1927, *Vol. I*, p. 136; KRIGE: *Social System of the Zulus*, 1950, p. 161. (Ed.)

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(1,000 or 1,100 years) is anywhere near correct, then K.2 can hardly be classed as late medieval,[1] though the various specimens found on the Hill and on the nearby fortified koppies may well be late medieval, and even much later.

Van Riet Lowe has not attempted to work out any general chronology and, as absolute dating is of course impossible, I propose to work out a time sequence based on the millions of beads unearthed at both sites and also on observing what particular type of bead was more intimately associated with either K.2 or Mapungubwe. There are naturally overlaps, because, for example, an ancient bead may appear more sparingly in a middle-period and peter out entirely in a recent one. The whole provisional chronology is therefore based on the largest number of beads found in conjunction with objects which can be arranged in a time sequence based on archaeological observation.

Consider the beast burials, for instance. As these are unquestionably the most ancient of the burials on the site, it is reasonable to presume that the beads associated with these are also the oldest at K.2. Again the stratigraphy on the Hill tells us that the black variety appears at about the centre of the great depression, and therefore may be termed the type bead of the middle-period; but it is not found at all in the beast burials or the pits at K.2. I have therefore drawn out a provisional chronology based on the above interpretation, and up to the present have found it to work very well indeed, not only for the Greefswald glass beads but also for other and far-distant sites.

Schofield[2] in his account of the prehistoric beads of the Northern Transvaal and Natal goes into the distribution of the beads among the various native tribes in great detail, and while I agree with him that such a distribution cannot be used for absolute dating, an examination of all the beads from the two sites in question has convinced me that his grouping into three series does not reflect what we found at K.2 or in the depths of the Hill. Furthermore, there appears a discrepancy between the Venda names in Schofield's monograph and the names given to Van Riet Lowe and me by the Venda smelters at the Johannesburg Exhibition in November, 1936. One example may suffice. According to Schofield, the Denga or Madenga beads of the Venda are hexagonals of blue or violet glass. The Venda witchdoctor at the Exhibition called the Indian red canes by the same name. Apparently the Venda call the blue and green garden-rollers by the same name as the royal-blue hexagonals, namely *Tombo la Venda.*

1. That the author's surmise at this early stage was more or less correct has since been corroborated by findings based on C.14 tests. Cf. Chapter XII. (Ed.)
2. SCHOFIELD: *A Preliminary Study of the Prehistoric Beads of the Northern Transvaal and Natal.* Transactions of the Royal Society, Vol. XXVI, Part IV, 1938, pp. 341–371.

I came away from the Exhibition feeling that the smelters and witchdoctors knew nothing very much about the more ancient beads and that a very great deal of research was necessary before a clear picture of the distribution and names of the Central African beads could be obtained. It is quite evident that the Northern Transvaal is literally sown with Venda beads of all types, and it is most important to note that the garden-roller and the greenish-blue, translucent canes do not appear at any of their known habitats, such as the smelting or settlement sites.

I propose to divide the beads of the region under investigation into three classes and to use the symbol "M" as the distinguishing mark. Thus we have Early Mapungubwe, i.e. M.1; Middle Mapungubwe, i.e. M.2; and Late Mapungubwe, i.e. M.3. All the beads from Greefswald and Rhodesia fall easily into these groups, but, as I have already stated, there are naturally overlaps in most cases.

*Class M.1* (Early Mapungubwe): The following beads are found on all the beast burials at K.2, in the pits and also on the majority of the pot burials, and may safely be termed the typical K.2 bead.

*No. 1:* The so-called "garden-roller" was manufactured on the spot at K.2, where many broken moulds show that the bead was cast in a pottery mould which had to be broken for the extracting of the bead (Plate LX, No. 1). Plate IV, No. 1, shows the actual bead slightly enlarged, its usual length being $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Only one complete mould was recovered during the 6 years, and the broken portion depicted shows globules of glass adhering to its interior. These garden-rollers were probably cast from green and blue beads and were melted or fused at a very low temperature, so low, in fact, that the glass was nearly devitrified. This is the opinion of Mr. Adamson of the Union Glass Factory near Dundee, to whom these beads were submitted. The same types have also been discovered in Southern Rhodesia and at Toupye in Bechuanaland, and may well be representative of proto-Hottentot settlements. The garden-roller beads are not always identical in shape. Some vary from the true barrel to a true cylinder, others have been found with one end wider than the other, like a truncated cone, and some others have the ends ground quite flat. This variation was probably due to the caprice of the maker.

*No. 2:* Sea-green and blue canes, both long and short to standard and either transparent or translucent, having a peculiar sheen. This is a typical pot burial bead, which was found in vast quantities at K.2 and very sparingly among the skeletons on the summit of Mapungubwe. These vary greatly in shade, owing, I am told, to the different degree of rapidity with which the canes were

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cooled. I may state here that these are not the Venda "beads of the water".

*No. 3:* An opaque oblate bead of medium blue and without the peculiar sheen that characterises No. 2. These beads vary considerably, some being true oblates and others being short to standard cylinders.[1] It is from this bead that the dark or blue type of garden-roller may have been cast.

*No. 4:* A dull opaque bead in two shades of green, owing perhaps to unequal cooling. These vary considerably in size, some being long and others short to standard, and showing signs, as does No. 3, of very considerable wear. This green type may have formed the light garden-roller.

*No. 5:* Small opaque Indian red beads, for the most part short to standard cylinders and well worn. These beads are not common, only a few being associated with each burial. It is curious that the Venda should lump together all Indian reds, whether canes or oblates, and regardless of the colour of the core, as *mukuvhibvu*, for the pure, opaque, Indian reds are totally different from those with green or white centres, and this only goes to show the unreliability of the native nomenclature. The late Mr. Beck considered this type of bead to be Indian in origin and to date from about the 8th and 9th centuries of our era.[2] Similar specimens have been found in the graves at Marlborough near Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia.

*No. 6:* Lemon-yellow beads, short to standard, and usually discoloured. Those found at K.2 appear to be of a lighter colour and more worn and not so bright-looking as the yellow beads found in such quantities on the Hill. Mr. Beck states that the glass is similar to the Egyptian and Roman types.[3]

*No. 7:* I am uncertain about this bead, a large brown glass that has the appearance of having been made in a mould. If this is so, it may be placed in class M.1, but, if wound, it should be relegated to class M.3. Unfortunately only one specimen of this type was found at K.2 and nothing like it from the Hill.

*No. 8:* Only one bead of this type was recovered from K.2. It is of rock crystal, ½ inch in diameter, with drilling having begun at each end of the sphere, but, for some reason, eventually discontinued.

*No. 9:* Vast quantities of ostrich and *Achatina* shell discs were found at K.2 and more sparingly on the Hill. The ostrich discs varied in size from about ¼ inch to ½ inch. The "Achatinas" were beautifully made of the finest nacre and must, on account of their extreme delicacy, have been very difficult to drill.

1. A standard cylinder is one in which the diameter and the length of the bead is approximately the same.
2. Cf. FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe*, Vol. 1, 1937, p. 111. (Ed.)
3. Cf. *Op. cit.*, p. 106. (Ed.)

*No. 10:* Long cylindrical pottery beads of macaroni type, hard-baked and of two colours, red and black. These were not found on the Hill.

*Class M.2* (Middle Mapungubwe): The following may be mentioned:

*No. 1:* In this class the predominating bead is a black one, and these black beads range from tiny oblates to long to standard cylinders. They are found in vast quantities on the Hill, but at K.2 are only associated with later interments of probably the same people who occupied the Hill and the lower terrace. They are not found with the beast burials or in the pits, and must be considered of a later type, especially as they do not occur in the lowest levels of the great depression on the Hill. The small black bead, coloured with iron, is older than the one coloured with manganese, which has a more purple sheen.

*No. 2:* A royal-blue cobalt bead similar to Caton-Thompson's No. 4.[1] This is a small oblate and a very fine-looking bead.

*No. 3:* Yellow beads of a bright shade, all oblates. These may be the same as M.1, No. 6, but the freshness of their appearance and the lack of signs of wear incline me to place them in the above class. It will be necessary to determine their specific gravity and submit them to a spectroscopic examination to find out the difference, if there is any.

*No. 4:* Light-topaz-blue beads, mostly oblates, but short to standard cylinders do occur. This type of bead is common on the Hill, but is not present at K.2.

*No. 5:* Beads of a distinct orange colour, small oblates. Mr. Beck considers that these are merely a variation of the yellow variety, but as a considerable number of this particular shade have been discovered I have thought it as well to place them in a separate division at the moment.

*No. 6:* A light-green oblate bead, opaque, but of a character totally distinct from those described in the early class. I am uncertain about this bead, but an analysis might help to place it in the proper group.

*No. 7:* Plum-coloured oblates and translucent. They are fairly common on the Hill, and a few were recovered from a skeleton at K.2.

*No. 8:* Gold beads of all types.

*Class M.3* (Late Mapungubwe): The following are noted:

*No. 1:* Red beads with green centres. These beads are larger in size than any of the foregoing and are opaque canes and oblates of all sizes. It is curious to note that such types are found as far apart as Cairo, Sofala and Mapungubwe. None was discovered at K.2.

*No. 2:* Red beads similar to the above, but lacking the

1. Cf. CATON-THOMPSON: *Zimbabwe Culture*, 1931, Frontispiece.

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coloured centre and having a high exterior polish. These beads have also been found at Sofala.

*No. 3:* Dark-green opaque beads from canes, mostly standard cylinders.

*No. 4:* Blue beads, some light and some dark, made from canes and in all sizes and shades. They are fresh in appearance and unworn.

*No. 5:* Modern-looking orange beads, some oblates and some short to standard cylinders.

*No. 6:* Pink oblate beads, varying in size. Quite modern.

*No. 7:* Large medium-green cane beads, opaque, long to standard cylinders.

*No. 8:* Dark-blue opaque beads, long to standard.

*No. 9:* Dark-blue oblates, very recent in appearance and highly polished.

*No. 10:* White oblates with perpendicular blue stripes. Also found in old Zulu kraals.

*No. 11:* Discoloured white beads, mostly oblates, but a few standard cylinders occur.

*No. 12:* Large, annular, royal-blue. Opinions differ about the age of this bead, but I call it Arab, because it is found from Cairo, through Sofala, to Mapungubwe. This does not mean, of course, that it was of Arab manufacture, but a bead much prized by the Arabs and found in profusion in their settlements.

*No. 13:* Large, hexagonal, royal-blue. These, according to Beck, are of recent origin and of European make.[1] They are also numerous on Arab sites and appear in conjunction with the royal-blue annular. I have several of both in my collection from Sofala on the east coast.

*No. 14:* A sky-blue, opaque, biconal, wound bead of about ½ inch at its greatest diameter. Specimens were not found at K.2.

The beads comprising the three classes mentioned embrace all the specimens found at Greefswald and in the neighbourhood, extending from Rhodesia to the Malanga Mountains.

I have in my possession strings of beads from the five sites mentioned last in the list to follow, and I know that the garden-roller has been found at the three central Rhodesian spots, but so far not at Salisbury. Let us see how beads from these places fit in with the groups mentioned above.

Salisbury: M.1. Essexvale: M.1. Toupye: M.1. W. Nicholson: M.1. K.2: M.1 and few M.2. Mapungubwe: M.2, a few M.1 and M.3. Zimbabwe: M.2 and M.3. Shatanana: M.2 and M.3. Kilgour: M.2 and M.3.

It would appear unsound at the present stage to try to formulate any dogmatic classification for Central African beads. We are only now becoming aware of their significance as an aid to prehistoric archaeology in Southern Africa; for, when taken in conjunction with pottery sherds or, better still, the actual pots themselves, they offer the future archaeologist a wide field of investigation, and it is to be hoped and expected that some such chronology as I have suggested in the previous pages may be evolved and found workable.

Mapungubwe, with its profusion of glass beads, would make an excellent type station, having on its summit nearly every type of bead obtainable in the Northern Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia, with the exception of one or two odd beads found at K.2, which may safely be consigned to the M.1 group.

The symbols M.1, M.2, and M.3, therefore, seem to me to be peculiarly suitable to denote the classification of beads from Central to Southern Africa, for they can be extended and enlarged to take any type of beads that may eventually be discovered. A complete list of beads associated with each skeleton is given in the chapter on the skeletal material, and there the reader will be able to judge what particular type of bead was found with the funerary vessels in each separate grave.[1]

## 6. STONE ARTEFACTS AT K.2

I was particularly requested to keep a sharp lookout for artefacts of stone, because the evidence, or lack of it, is of manifest importance. The predominating stone implement (if one may term it that) was a river pebble, sometimes rounded and unworked, and at other sites fashioned into the form of a cube with rounded ends and edges. These varied greatly in size and were found literally in hundreds all through the site. They were used, of course, to break up the animal bones from which the marrow was extracted and often showed signs of much wear, especially where they were used as a kind of hammer, the marks being clearly visible at the extremities. They were usually unearthed in close proximity to the cooking sites and pits and are rarely associated with any burials, human or otherwise. These and the countless *isifuba* pebbles used in a game called "Tigers and Lambs" by Le Vaillant or by the Korana clans *//hus* according to Engelbrecht,[2] are not included in the analysis table given on page 36, since they are found in such profusion right through the whole area. It may be mentioned in connection with the above game that the squares containing the shallow holes in which the *isifuba* stones were placed are found on the rocks all over the neighbourhood and have been discovered elsewhere in the extreme north of Africa. In the following lists of stone artefacts only the block number and the depth of each article from the surface are given. More detail is superfluous, because the more important are listed in the inventories.

1. Cf. FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe*, Vol. I, 1937, p. 108. (Ed.)

1. Cf. Chapter VIII.
2. ENGELBRECHT: *The Korana*, 1936, p. 168.

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*Trench 1:* Roughly squared hammer-stone, 2 ft.

*Block 1:* Whetstone, 1 ft. Chalcedony scraper: 1 ft. Basalt polishing stone much worn: 2 ft. Half a sandstone nodule with drilled centre: 3 ft. Sandstone object, upper face convex, and traces of working on flat surface: 3 ft. Roughly chipped point: 3 ft.

*Block 2:* Chopping stone, end roughly flaked: 1 ft. Heavy, four-sided hammer-stone: 1 ft. Whetstone: 2 ft.

*Block 3:* Grooved arrow-sharpening stone: 2 ft. Long sandstone whetstone: 2 ft. Long hammer-stone: 3 ft. Waisted hammer-stone or mace: 3 ft. Worn and pointed polishing pebble: 3 ft. Fat, well-polished rubbing stone: 4 ft.

*Block 4:* Grooved arrow-sharpening stone: 1 ft. Squared sandstone rubbing block: 1 ft. Hollowed sandstone nodule: 1 ft. Waisted hammer-stone or mace: 1 ft. (Plate XXIX, No. 3). Hoard of 74 polishing pebbles: 2 ft. Worked stone pick: 2 ft. (Plate XXIX, No. 1.) Four-sided, well-shaped hammer-stone: 2 ft. Hollowed sandstone nodule: 2 ft. Sandstone rubber: 2 ft.

*Block 5:* Worn hammer-stone: 2 ft. Waisted hammer-stone or mace: 2 ft. Worn hammer-stone: 2 ft. Chalcedony flake with secondary chipping: 3 ft. Long rubbing stone: 3 ft. Small quartz polishing stone: 3 ft. Squared rubbing stone: 4 ft. Worn hammer-stone: 4 ft. Small, ovate, polishing pebble: 4 ft. Small cube of agate: 4 ft. Well-shaped whetstone: 5 ft. Flat stone with side chipping: 7 ft.

*Pit 3:* Hammer-stone: 2 ft.

*Pit 14:* Small slab of sandstone with worn concave surface: 2 ft.

*Pit 15:* Squared rubbing stone: 2 ft.

It must be conceded that the people who overran K.2 and lived there also made use of the hammer and other stones, since the round river pebbles and "isifubas" were found from the surface down to the lowest levels. It has been suggested that the hollowed sandstone nodules were used to mix some kind of pigment, for the Bushmen employed such a stone for a like purpose. It is perhaps noteworthy that no bored stones were found at K.2 or in the neighbourhood and also that no petroglyphs were discovered in the vicinity, although Bushmen paintings are to be seen in some of the shelters.

## 7. FIGURINES AND OTHER OBJECTS

Figurines at K.2 were numerous in the excavated areas and are of great importance from an ethnological point of view. As primitive people do not invent or portray what is foreign to their culture, it is reasonably certain that where certain physical characteristics are represented in their models such characteristics are part and parcel of the make-up of the ordinary individuals forming such a community. The bulk of the figurines are steatopygous, and this must surely mean that such a deformity was usual among the inhabitants of K.2. It may be noticed that the majority of the clay objects tend to congregate near the surface, and this is also to be observed in respect of the stone artefacts. There may be several explanations for this if it can be established as a fact over the whole area, but a large portion of the ground is still to be investigated. It may be that the earliest inhabitants did not make figurines, though there is no reason on earth why they should not have done so. The figurines may have been modelled by any of the later Bantu invaders who saw the deformity on the women they captured and then produced it in clay. The making of the clay figurines may even have been introduced by the last Hottentot arrivals at Mapungubwe Hill, who have left a few graves at K.2. It is impossible to know what actually took place during the frequent invasions, and all we can do is to chronicle the facts as they present themselves. Figurines and stone artefacts tend towards the present surface. Has much been eroded away? We just do not know. The following analysis of all clay objects, excluding ceramics, is instructive and saves much searching among the inventories.

*Steatopygous figurines at K.2:* Distributed as follows: At a depth of 1 ft.: 5. At 2 ft.: 12. At 3 ft.: 4. At 4 ft.: 5. Total: 26 (Plate XXIX).

*Ordinary or broken figurines* that cannot be identified as steatopygous (Plate XXIX): At 1 ft.: 8. At 2 ft.: 6. At 3 ft.: 2. At 4 ft.: 1. At 5 ft.: 1. Total: 18.

*Animals, often fragmentary:* At 1 ft.: 3. At 2 ft.: 7. At 3 ft.: 4. At 4 ft.: 1. Total: 15.

*Phalli, perhaps exfoliated figurines:* At 1 ft.: 5. At 2 ft.: 8. At 5 ft.: 3. Total: 16.

*Stoppers (?)* (Plate XXIX): At 1 ft.: 2. At 2 ft.: 1. At 3 ft.: 2. Total: 5.

*Artificial penes* (Plate XXIX): At 1 ft.: 3. At 2 ft.: 2. Total: 5.

*Tuyères:* At 1 ft.: 2. At 2 ft.: 2. Total: 4.

In this account of K.2 and its early inhabitants I have endeavoured to keep the two sites apart as much as possible, but there are instances where it is advisable to bring Mapungubwe Hill into the picture not only for the sake of brevity but because an overall view of all related cultures will be more readily understood if taken together. This, for example, was done when the beads were under discussion, and it will be necessary to do the same when the pottery and arrow industries are gone into. In a like manner, therefore, I propose to give a list of the clay objects found on the summit of the Hill, which are briefly referred to in the first volume.[1] It will be noticed immediately that few figurines were discovered by my predecessors, and my experience was the same. During all

1. FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe,* Vol. I, p. 25.

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the months we worked on the summit only 18 clay figures were found. They comprised 7 phalli or, as I have said before, perhaps exfoliated figurines but possessing no appreciable human characteristics, 3 rough animals, and 8 human models, only one of which was steatopygous. The paucity of such figurines on the summit, in contradistinction to K.2, may mean that this deformity was already being bred out; and the fact that only 1 phallus was found at depth in Block 5 might suggest that on Mapungubwe the figurines were a later importation, for their absence in the lower levels of the great depression, which we equate with the desertion of K.2 by its mixed Hottentot and Bantu inhabitants, seems to point to the same conclusion, namely that at K.2 and on the Hill the manufacture of figurines was late and was introduced by people who succeeded the early settlers on the two sites.

On the human models the cicatrisation is varied and cannot be made to explain anything. The various tribal markings have not been seriously studied, except in a few instances, and nothing is recorded regarding ancient branding, except that scarification was practised by the Cape Hottentots and still is among the Naman. I have already referred to the two outstanding figurines from K.2: the hippopotamus with bead eyes and the female figure showing the elongation of the *labia minora*. Schultze,[1] who has studied this peculiarity carefully, maintains that it is a natural physiological characteristic and not produced by manipulation. The so-called artificial penes, or by some termed stoppers, have given rise to considerable controversy. Although, admittedly, pottery stoppers were produced in ancient times,[2] no vessel requiring such an article was found at K.2. It may be argued that they were employed to seal gourd-like natural containers, but why would people have gone to the trouble of fashioning elaborate pottery plugs when wooden ones would have served an equally good purpose? Furthermore, these objects are too long and have the tip wider than the waist, which renders them quite unsuitable for sealing any liquid. It appears to me that the objects illustrated on Plate XXIX were used, as is described by Schapera[3] and Falk, as artificial penes, used by the Hottentot women.

In the figurines, as is usual with prehistoric folk in general, the head is never truly represented. It sometimes forms a mere roughly made sphere with pricked points for eyes, but is otherwise quite formless. The mouth is occasionally shown as a small hole in the face, while arms are rudimentary, being mere blobs of pinched-up clay. Legs in human figurines are not represented at all, but some of the bovine models display more artistry, the head and horns being well modelled; but the legs, as with the human figurines, are remarkably sketchy. I have made no special mention of the so-called phalli, because I am dubious whether they actually were phalli. In some cases the baked outer coating of a figurine has weathered or split off, producing an object which at first glance could easily be mistaken for a phallus. The tuyères at K.2 were so near the surface that they must be recognised as a later importation and are probably Bantu.

1. SCHULTZE, L.: *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928. pages 186–211.
2. ADDISON: *The Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan (Jebel Moya)*, 1949. Plate CXIV.
3. SCHAPERA: *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, 1930, p. 243. (Ed.): FALK, *Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in S.W. Afrika*, 1925–26.

## 8. PITS[1]

The many pits discovered in the various blocks of K.2 were of absorbing interest because their contents told us much about the daily life of the inhabitants of the site and gave proof that our bead chronology was based on the correct interpretation of the evidence obtained, not a single black M.2 or M.3 bead being found in any of the pits, but only Class M.1 beads. The pits were 32 in number and have been recognised as follows: 13 cooking pits, 14 kiln or pottery firing pits, 3 uncertain, and 2 containing beast burials. The cooking and firing pits might easily have been interchangeable and may have been used for either purpose, but our classification is based on all evidence obtainable: pots, sherds, stones, marks of fire, etc. We will deal first with the cooking pits. This type of cooking is of course as old as primitive man, and was even used by us in camp on occasions. So that game can be roasted according to this method, a hole is made in the ground and lined with stones, and a fire is kindled over this. When the stones become red-hot the wood is pushed aside and the oven exposed for use.

This method was probably adopted by the early inhabitants of K.2. All pits contain masses of charcoal, usually small stuff, and it is curious to note that beads and other objects contained in these pits do not bear any mark of fire. We must conclude, therefore, that such material was purposely thrown into or accidentally fell into these pits after the abandonment of their original purposes. Many charred bones were recovered from the cooking holes, and it was mainly on these animal fragments that we based our classification, for the firing pits or kilns, while possessing stones and many broken sherds, did not give up the bones of bovines or buck slaughtered for food. As far as the kilns are concerned, it is possible that the pots were placed on the stone lining of the pit in their green state and a fire was lit over the excavation which would, I presume, bake the vessels to the required hardness. The masses of broken pottery found in these pits

1. Cf. Plate III, No. 3, and Inventory No. 3.

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seem to indicate that this method was not entirely a satisfactory one. It is possible, of course, that when these holes ceased to be used for their original purpose they became mere rubbish receptacles into which the belongings of the community were deliberately or accidentally cast. No trace of Middle or Late Mapungubwe pottery was discovered, which proves that the pits date from the earliest settlement. The contents of these are listed in Inventory No. 3.

## 9. HEARTHS OR FIREPLACES

Besides the pits, 15 unquestionable hearths or cooking spots were unearthed at K.2. These fireplaces, as they may be called, are quite unmistakable and can safely be identified as such. In every case one or more pots were found, either resting on the stones used as a hearth or lying in fragments between such stones. Large numbers of pounding-stones were recovered from these hearths, for the round variety seem to have been used to break up bones, while the other, or hammer-stone, seems, perhaps, to have been an instrument for hammering stakes into the ground. It has already been mentioned that the cairn marking Beast Burial No. 6 stood on the same horizon as a line of well-defined hearths, which were probably the oldest cooking sites at K.2 and stood on the first level of the old settlement. Again it must be mentioned that only M.1 beads were associated with these hearths, and the pottery was identical with that recovered from the pits, no recent ceramic being unearthed. No figurines or garden-roller moulds were sieved from the sand surrounding these hearths.

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# Chapter VIII

## 1. HUMAN BURIALS AND SKELETAL MATERIAL

Burials, both human and animal, owing to their importance, require detailed analysis, and in the following pages we propose to examine the whole subject from every angle, so that all aspects of the burials can be clearly presented.

The K.2 people buried their dead in or near their dwellings, in contradistinction to the Bantu, to whom such a custom was repugnant.[1] Pot burials are a feature of K.2 and the Hill and are identical in every respect with those of pre-dynastic Egypt and the Sudan,[2] the body lying on its side, fully or partly flexed and surrounded by pots, either intact or deliberately broken. It is therefore a very ancient form of burial, pointing presumably to a belief in a future life. It should be noted that such a type of grave is completely foreign to any Bantu tribe in the sub-continent and the Bantu do not practise the above rites. No definite orientation was observed, but the placing of the skulls, where discernible, is given in the grave lists.

Since the carelessness of some interments has already been noted and adequate reasons have been given for such burials, it is unnecessary to mention the matter again, except to stress the point that all bodies, regardless of how they were buried, appear to have been of the same stock. Some of the most elaborate funerary furniture was obtained from the graves of small children, and in many instances the pots were more intact than in the adult interments.

Before starting on the grave lists I propose to give in detail an account of our method of lifting the skeletons, because it proved eminently successful. I cannot claim to be the inventor of the method employed, for I saw it described many years ago in one of the journals of the Museum Association (British), and having experienced the horrors of paraffin wax, I was determined to try out this method which, as the reader will discover, was a great improvement and a complete success. While I do not attempt to detract from the value of wax as a preservative, everybody who has worked with it in the field must admit that it is an intractable medium, liable to catch fire, difficult to keep fluid, and, when once an object has been immersed, difficult to remove. The Museum Association recommended the use of ordinary gelatine, which has many advantages. It is light in weight and obtainable almost anywhere, does not catch fire, may be applied hot as a kind of thin glue, and is easy to remove with hot water. It not only sinks into the disintegrating bones and gives them cohesion but may be painted on the sand surrounding the skeleton and will hold the grains together in a remarkable manner.

It should be unnecessary in a volume of this description to stress the paramount importance of meticulous care in recording and observation, for it must be apparent to anyone that an archaeological object, no matter of what kind, if once removed or disturbed can never be replaced exactly in its original state or position, and therefore, while the body is lying exposed, every care must be taken to record all the conditions that present themselves. Every scrap of sand must be sieved and the position of each and every article of funerary furniture noted. In fact, the whole secret of successful archaeology may be said to rest on the accuracy of one's recording. Nothing is too insignificant to be taken note of; indeed, it is far better to note too much than too little.

It was understood that as soon as our workmen had discovered a skeleton one of us should take over, and either my assistant or I remained with and worked on that body until its entire removal. My method then was as follows: The bodies at K.2 were interred in sand or hard hill-wash, and the tools employed were trowels, brushes of various sizes, and a strong knife, which were for the actual exhumation. A small fire warming the gelatine in a small three-legged native pot and sieves of various dimensions were, of course, essential. We commenced by carefully removing the sand from that portion of the body first exposed, working with knife and trowel and brushing the sand gently away from the bones. All this sand was collected and passed through the sieves. The skeletons varied a good deal in actual condition, some being in quite a good state of preservation, while others were in a very friable state. The more disintegrated the specimen, the more gelatine was applied. The bones were exposed as the work progressed, and all were carefully

1. Cf. Footnote on page 32, column 2. (Ed.)
2. CATON-THOMPSON and GARDNER: *The Desert Fayum*, 1934, p. 99, Plate LXXXVI, No. 3.



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painted several times with the hot preservative and allowed to dry. This was continued until the whole of the skeleton was exposed as far as possible and lying on its bed of sand. We were ordered to send the bodies to Johannesburg in as complete a state as possible; that is, we were not to dismember them but to send them down entire. It was therefore necessary to preserve the bed of sand, which was treated in a manner about to be described. It may be noted that while in this condition the body was photographed and drawn, and it would of course have been more satisfactory if every stage of the removal had been filmed. This, for obvious reasons, we were unable to do. Where the contrast between the painted bones and the sand was not sufficiently distinct, the bones were sprinkled with some light powder, which gave the desired contrast.

As the skeleton was lying on its bed of sand, thoroughly saturated with the gelatine, all the necessary data having been inscribed in the field-book, we set about its removal. We dug all around the specimen, leaving it, as it were, on a pedestal of sand, the sides of which were also treated with the preservative. Then, using a tool like a tyre-lever, or any drawn-out iron bar, we undercut the pedestal as far as we dared on every side, even using sherds to support the overburden where necessary. When all this had been accomplished we took wooden slats (those from fruit boxes were admirable), and formed a kind of frame around the pedestal as near to its edges as possible, but allowed space for pouring in the liquid plaster of paris, an operation which had to be effected as quickly as possible. When this had been done and the plaster had been allowed to set hard the whole body was carefully prised from its connection with the sand, the small remaining portion cut away, and the space filled with plaster to prevent the interior sand of the cast from trickling away through the hole. An identification number was painted over the left ear of the skull and the whole exhibit removed to camp, where it was packed in a suitable box for despatch. I found it advisable to strengthen the skull with gelatine-soaked bandages, which could also be fastened to the sides or bottom of the box. Wood-wool was found to be the most satisfactory material for packing.

In dealing with the skeletal material from K.2 I propose to give a list of the skeletons, their numbers and description, and the funerary furniture. I also propose to give a plan of all five blocks at K.2, on which each grave will be marked with its correct number. In this way it is hoped a comprehensive and lasting record of the skeletal material of K.2 will always be available to future investigators.

The symbol used for the skeletons is K.S. No....., the letter "K" referring to the site and the "S" to the bones. The first six we were unable to photograph or draw because four were in Trench 1, where there was little light, and the other two (Nos. 5 and 6) were very decomposed.

## 2. GRAVE LISTS (K.2—1936)

*K.S. No. 1: Trench 1, Section 5, 1′, 9′, 6″:*

Adult. On right side, facing south. Very decomposed and many bones missing. On bedrock, covered with hill-wash. Fragments of bowl at feet of skeleton, which was surrounded by small stones, animal bones, sherds, and charcoal. Bowl appeared to be of M.1 class with incised counter-triangle decoration. Associated finds: Ostrich shell disc: 1. Opaque green beads, cane: 41. Dark-blue canes: 23. Yellow: 2. Small black oblates, M.2 type: 2,259.

*K.S. No. 2: Trench 1, Section 23. 8′ 6″, 6″, 6″:*

Adult. Just below surface in ash and humus. Bones completely decomposed and burial position impossible to detect. Very oxidised massive iron bangles on one foot. Probably a late burial.

*K.S., No. 3: Trench 1, Section 24. 4′, 2′, 12′ 6″:*

Adult, 25–30. Portion only, therefore impossible to detect burial position. Lower jaw detached and 6″ from skull fragments. Fragments of skull covered by inverted sherds and surrounded by small stones. The lower jaw, portions of the skull, and two vertebrae were recovered. Sherds, bones, and charcoal heaped over the remains.

*K.S. No. 4: Trench 1, Section 26. 4′, 5′, 9′ 6″:*

Adult 40–50. Facing north. Portions of skull, ribs, lower jaw, and one scapula recovered. Potsherds carefully placed over skull in manner of a "testudo". Interred in hole in ash and filled in with clean sand. Surrounded by circle of small stones. Small portion of black sherd with remains. Many animal bones mixed up with the human.

*K.S. No. 5: Test Pit No. 1. 4′, 1′, 2′ 6″:*

Young child on right side, facing south. Probably fully flexed, as limb bones appeared near the head. Skeleton nearly complete, but very decomposed. Surrounded by small stones and covered with sherds and animal bones. Rough intact bowl over feet. Fragment of garden-roller bead, light type. Buried over a floor.

*K.S. No. 6: Block 1, Section 2. 4′, 22′, 1′:*

Young child 7–8. Probably flexed, and facing north. Remains on right side on cement floor and rubbish heaped over them.

*K.s. No. 7: Block 1, Section 2. 3′, 20′, 1′* (Plate XI, No. 1):

Young person 12–15, partly flexed, on left side and facing east. Lying on same floor as above in a hole at the edge of the floor. Many bones missing. Skull badly crushed by violent blow on right cheek. Covered with the usual refuse of sherds, animal bones, and small stones.

Associated finds: Small blue beads: 3. Large green

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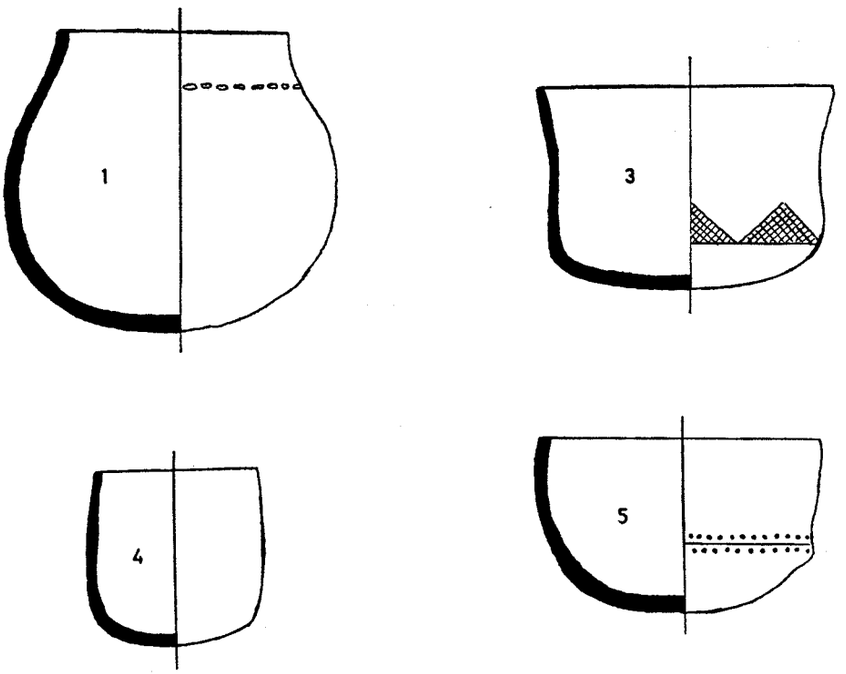


Fig. 1. K.S. No. 9, Block 1, Section 9.
3.′ 24.′ 2.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

bead: 1. (This and the blues are long to standard cylinders.) Small *Achatina:* 1.

*K.S. No. 8: Block 1, Section 1. 11′, 18′, 2′* (Plate XI, No. 2).

Very young child, 3 years. Fully flexed and facing south. Bones in fair condition, head bent down and crushed into a small compass. Interred in hole in bedrock and covered with 54 small stones and 63 sherds.

Associated finds: Ostrich shell discs: 101. *Achatina* discs: 3. Indian red canes: 2. Worn cane beads, green: 4. Translucent greenish-blue: 10. Black canes: 6.

*K.S. No. No. 9: Block 1, Section 9. 3′, 24′, 2′* (Fig. 1):

Young child, 4 years. On right side facing south, limb bones missing, burial position impossible to detect. Buried under sheet of white gravel. A true pot burial, but having the usual small stones and animal bones over remains. Skull very badly crushed.

Associated finds: Garden-roller beads, dark type: 4, three at neck and one at centre. Indian red: 10. Greenish-blue: 26. *Achatina* discs: 8, all M.1. Three broken pots surrounded the skeleton, one nearly intact lying 3′ 6″ east of the skull.

(1) Pot, rough coarse ware. Height 7″, diameter over rim 4½″. This was the one east of the skull. (cf. Fig. 1, No. 1.)

(2) Portion of rim of large bowl with decorated top, $\frac{9}{16}$″ wide and with diagonal lines.

(3) Large beaker. Height 4¾″, diameter over rim 7″. (Fig. 1, No. 3.)

(4) Small straight-sided beaker. Height 4⅛″, diameter over rim 4″. (Fig. 1, No. 4.)

(5) Beaker bowl. Height 4″, diameter over rim 6½″. One unpierced lug. (Fig. 1, No. 5.)

(6) Miscellaneous fragments of pots, beakers and bowls, impossible to reconstruct.

*K.S. No. 10: Block 1, Section 10. 10′, 19′, 2′* (Plate XI, No. 3):

Child, 11–12. On right side facing south. Skull very badly crushed and position difficult to detect, but thought to be fully flexed. A true pot burial. Surrounded by five large sherds, two against skull. Buried beneath floor, which was 14″ above skull. Stones, sherds and animal bones as usual.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue beads: 39. Indian reds: 7. Two large bowls deliberately broken, placed over the remains.

(1) Coarse undecorated bowl, height 3¼″, diameter over rim 6¾″ (Fig. 2).

(2) Similar bowl, height 3¾″, approximate diameter over rim 6¼″.

(3) Half of large beaker, height 5″, diameter over rim 7½″. Two encircling lines above base containing diagonal lines, left to right.

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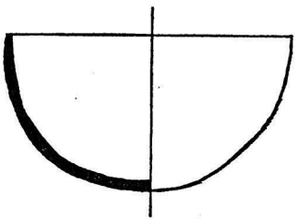

Fig. 2. K.S. No. 10, Block 1, Section 10.
10.′ 19.′ 2.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

*K.S. No. 11: Block 1, Section 9. 2′, 6′, 2′* (Plate XI, No. 4):

Child, 8–9. Skull crushed and very compressed. Portion of lower jaw, leg bones and a few ribs recovered, most missing. Very decomposed. Facing south-west. Buried in hole in cement floor, many animal bones and stones present. A true pot burial.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 18. Lemon-yellows: 2. Shell discs, *Achatina* and nacre: 22. Pots left *in situ* as museum piece. Portions of beaker, bowls and small pot.

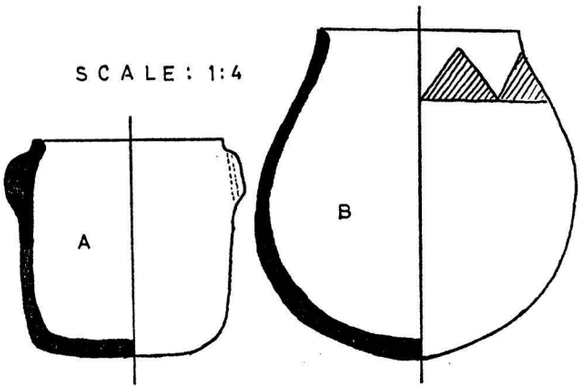


Fig. 3. K.S. No. 12, Block 1, Section 10.
3.′ 23.′ 3.′

*K.S. No. 12: Block 1, Section 10. 3′, 23′, 3′* (cf. Plate XII, Nos. 1 and 3):

Child, 12–15. On right side, facing south. Partly flexed. True pot burial. Frontal portion of skull smashed in and missing. *Achatina* shell in front of ribs. Corroded iron bangle rear, and skull capped with sherds.

Associated finds: Three light type, green garden-roller beads at neck. Greenish-blues: 172. Transparent canes in bangle: 34.

(1) Very fine large bowl with wide rim, decorated with diagonal lines. Height 4″, diameter over rim $9\frac{5}{8}$″. Excellent workmanship.

(2) Beaker, height 4″, diameter over rim $3\frac{3}{4}$″, probably deliberately broken, as a portion of lip was set inside arge fragment and the whole had solidified into a hard mass.

(3) Large straight-sided beaker with lugs pierced to outside. Height 5″, diameter over rim $4\frac{3}{4}$″ (Figure 3A).

(4) Pot, height $7\frac{1}{2}$″, diameter over rim $4\frac{3}{4}$″, encircling line below lip supporting large triangles, containing diagonal lines (Fig. 3B).

(5) Small, well-made cup, height 2″, diameter over rim approximately $4\frac{1}{4}$″.

(6) Fragments of other pots, and large hammer-stone not shown.

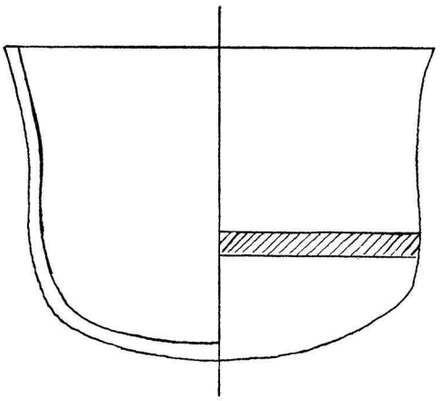

Fig. 4. K.S. No. 13, Block 2, Section 3.
6.′ 12.′ 2.′ (Scale: 1 : 4)

*K.S. No. 13: Block 2, Section 3. 6′, 12′, 2′* (Plate XII, No. 2):

Adult 40–50. On left side, facing north-east and fully flexed. Complete skeleton. On excavation the skull was found to be facing in the opposite direction to that of the lower jaw, which was fixed in place by the finger bones. Possibly a reinterment, the skull having fallen off at the time of reburial. A semi-pot burial with large sherds set up near the knees. Good preservation.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 16.

(1) Almost complete large beaker, height $7\frac{1}{4}$″, diameter over rim 10″. Probably deliberately broken and placed on edge. Encircling lines above base. Probably a male, and interred in very soft refuse (Fig. 4).

*K.S. No. 14: Block 2, Section 1. 7′, 13′, 2′* (Plate XIII, No. 2):

Adult 30–40. Facing east. Very incomplete; fingers of one hand in lower jaw. Impossible to detect position. A few limb bones were discovered some distance from the skull. Remains surrounded by rough circle of fairly large stones. No associated finds.

*K.S. No. 14A: Block 2, Section 1. 7′, 13′, 2′ 6″:*

Child, 10–12. Bones decomposed and fragmentary, hence position impossible to detect. This interment was almost under K.S. 14, which must have been buried when

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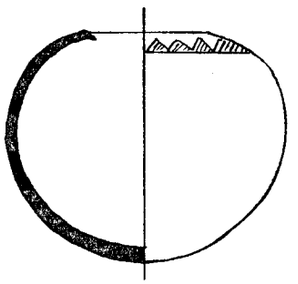

Fig. 5. K.S. No. 14A, Block 2, Section 1. 7.′ 13.′ 2′ 6″. (Scale: 1 : 4).

K.S. 14A had been forgotten. A pot burial. *Achatina* discs seem more prevalent with the older burials and ostrich shells with the later.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 8. *Achatina* discs: 11. Ostrich shell discs: 5.

(1) Fragment of small beaker with diamond pattern at base.

(2) Fragment of small cup with irregular hatchings at centre forming rough triangles.

(3) Lip of pot with coarse diagonal lines left to right between two parallel lines.

(4) Worn hammer-stone.

(5) Fragment of large undecorated beaker.

(6) Fragment of small beaker with two encircling lines above base containing diagonal lines.

(7) Small beaker, height 4″, diameter over rim 4⅜″, undecorated.

(8) Fine spherical bowl with strongly inverted rim. Height 5″, diameter across rim approximately 3½″. Faint triangular decoration below lip (Fig. 5).

*K.S. No. 15: Block 2, Section 1. 12′, 12′, 2′:*

New-born baby, or at most only a few days old. Skull and bones smashed by pick. Burial position impossible to detect. No associated finds.

*K.S. No. 15A: Block 2, Section 1. 10′ 6″, 12′, 2′:*

Small child found 18″ west of K.S. 15. Only two fragments of skull and a limb bone found. Nothing else remained. No associated finds.

*K.S. No. 16: Block 2, Section 5. 6′, 26′, 2′* (Plate XIII, Nos. 1 and 3, and Plate XIV, No. 3, right):

Young child, 6–7. On left side, facing north and fully flexed. Bones complete and in fair preservation. Under two floors of hard cement. Large sherd completely covering the forehead.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 25. Pale-yellow beads: 3. *Achatina* discs: 13. Ostrich discs: 7. Solid iron ring on one wrist and small fragments of copper bangles were found.

(1) Very fine bowl with inverted lip, similar to that on K.S. 14A.

(2) Large undecorated broken bowl.

(3) Small intact cup over feet. Height 2″, diameter over rim 3½″.

*K.S. No. 17: Block 2, Section 7. 14′, 15′, 2′* (Plate XIV, No. 3, left):

Young child, 8–9. On left side, facing north, and fully flexed. Interred under white gravel. Bones very decomposed and covered with small stones, animal bones and sherds.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 17. *Achatina* discs: 22. One disc of uncertain material; may be bone.

*K.S. No. 18: Block 2, Section 12. 9′, 10′, 2′* (Plate XIV, No. 1):

Child, 9–11. On left side, facing south. Some bones missing. Very decomposed as it was buried in ash. One hand under head. Two large stones near head. No pots.

Associated finds: Two types of beads: M.1 and M.2. Greenish-blue canes: 17. Lemon-yellow beads: 5. Indian red beads: 2. All M.1. Small black oblates: 171. *Achatina* discs: 26.

*K.S. No. 19: Block 2, Section 11. 3′, 19′, 2′:*

Young child. Portions of skull, fragment of lower jaw and a few vertebrae recovered. Frontal bone of skull 2″ below jaw. Jammed in hole under white gravel. Impossible to detect position of burial. No associated finds.

*K.S. No. 20: Block 2, Section 14. 2′, 7′, 2′:*

Young child, 3–4. Skull completely smashed. Appears to have been buried on left side, facing north-east, and may have been fully flexed, as leg bones were near head. Fell to pieces when removed from dust in which it was buried.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 21. Yellow oblates: 4. Indian red beads: 4. *Achatina* discs: 42. Ostrich shell discs: 24. All M.1. Small black oblates: 49, M.2.

Associated finds:

(1) Gourd-shaped pot of good workmanship, encircling line 2″ below lip from which hang triangles filled with diagonal lines running left to right. Height approximately 5″.

(2) Large beaker, fine grey paste burnt black. Parallel lines containing diagonals forming rough chevrons.

(3) Rough beaker, coarse gritty paste burnt red. Height 3½″, diameter over rim 4¾″, lug on one side pierced perpendicularly.

*K.S. No. 21: Block 2, Section 13. 14′, 29′, 3′* (Plate XIV, No. 2):

Adult, 25-30. Lying on breast, slightly to the right, head turned south and considerably higher than remainder of body. Femur straight, but tibia bent back towards pelvis. Hands near head. Iron bangle left centre detached from body, iron and copper bangles on left ankle. Very large stones heaped over remains; one flat and bearing signs

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of wear, another with four deep elliptical holes worn in it. Remains on bedrock, probably a late burial and can be equated with the Hill.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 6. Lemon-yellow beads: 3. Plum-coloured beads: 7. *Achatina* discs: 5. Black canes and oblates: 124.

*K.S. No. 22: Block 1, Section 1. 12′, 20′, 3′:*

Young child, 3–4. On right side, facing south, and appears partly flexed. Many bones missing. Very decomposed. Stones, animal bones and sherds over the remains.

Associated finds: Portion of ivory bangle near head.

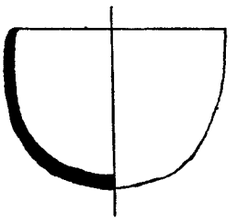

Fig. 6. K.S. No. 23, Block 1, Section 1. 13.′ 12.′ 3.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

*K.S. No. 23: Block 1, Section 1. 13′, 12′, 3′:*

Young child, 7–12. On right side, facing south, and fully flexed. Buried on bedrock, and bones fell to pieces immediately refuse was removed. Skull completely crushed, and small stones and sand consolidated within it.

Associated finds: Bowl, height 4″, diameter over rim 5¼″, undecorated. Broken into four pieces, one of which was 3″ from forehead, remaining portions over remains, encircling skull (Fig. 6):

*K.S. No. 24: Block 1, Section 8. 9′, 13′, 3′* (Plate XV, No. 1):

Very young child, 3 years. On left side, fully flexed. Skull crushed down with teeth below, hence forehead may be said to face east. The remains appear to have been bent into a circular position. Bones in a fair state of preservation. Pot burial.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes, short and long to standard, varying greatly in shade: 373. *Achatina* discs: 3. Corroded iron bangle around left ankle.

(1) Fragment of small beaker very badly corroded with pierced lugs on each side. Undecorated.

(2) Portions of pot with diagonal decoration below lip. Both vessels impossible to reconstruct.

*K.S. No. 25: Block 1, Section 10. 6′, 15′, 3′* (Plate XV, No. 2):

Young person on right side, facing south and fully flexed. Bones very decomposed and interred beneath red gravel. A pot burial.

Associated finds: The pots were left *in situ* as a museum piece, and consisted of the following:

(1) Pot with diagonal decoration around neck under lip.

(2) Portion of small beaker.

(3) Portions of bowls.

(4) Large sherds of undecorated pot covering the forehead.

(5) Fragments of copper bangles completely corroded.

(6) Complete *Achatina* shell.

*K.S. No. 26: Block 1, Section 12. 1′, 26′, 3′:*

Very young child. Burial position difficult to detect, but it appeared to be facing south and on right side. Buried in ash and completely decomposed.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue transparent canes: 904. Indian red beads: 4. *Achatina* discs: 7. One large straight-sided beaker, undecorated.

*K.S. No. 27: Block 1, Section 13. 6′, 0′, 3′:*

Young child, 3–4 years. Remains crushed under large stones, falling to pieces immediately refuse was removed. Burial position impossible to detect.

Associated finds: Portion of drilled ivory bracelet. Large grooved stone, probably for sharpening.

*K.S. No. 28: Block 2, Section 9. 4′, 3′, 3′:*

Young child, 2 years. Broken completely, hence burial position could not be detected.

Associated finds: Opaque, oblate, green beads: 23. Devitrified greenish-blue canes: 16. Indian red beads: 4. *Achatina* discs: 4. Unidentified white beads, looking like bone or paste, but may be devitrified: 14.

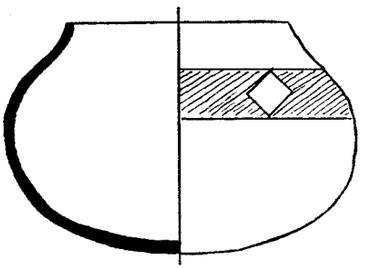

Fig. 7. K.S. No. 29, Block 2, Section 5. 4.′ 3.′ 3.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

*K.S. No. 29: Block 2, Section 5. 14′, 22′, 3′* (Plate XV, No. 3):

Adult, 25–30 years. On right side, facing west, and partly flexed. This is an M.1, burial, as the black beads show.

Associated finds: Small black oblates: 356. Transparent brown beads: 14. Greenish-blue canes: 5. Indian red beads: 1. *Achatina* disc: 1.

(1) A fine M.1 shouldered pot, deliberately broken; fine grey paste, burnished black. Height 5½″, diameter

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over rim 5½″. Decorated with well-cut diagonal lines enclosing triangles (Fig. 7).

(2) Copper bangles on left ankle.

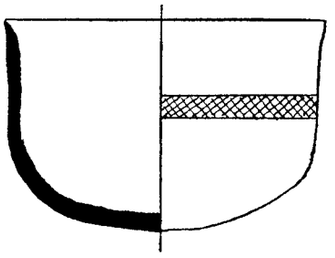

Fig. 8. K.S. No. 30, Block 1, Section 5.
13.′ 23.′ 3.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

*K.S. No. 30: Block 1, Section 5. 13′, 23′, 3′* (Plate XV, No. 4):

Child, 9–10 years. On left side, facing east, and appears partly flexed. Bones very decomposed and skull badly crushed. Burial similar to K.S. No. 21, since it had large stones over and surrounding it. Portion of pot over mouth and portion of same pot over pelvis. Some bones missing.

Associated finds: Large beaker, height 4½″, diameter over rim 7½″. Two encircling lines containing diagonals (Fig. 8).

*K.S. No. 31: Block 2, Section 12. 4′, 12′, 3′* (Plate XVI, No. 1):

Adult, 21–25 years. On right side, facing south, and partly flexed. One hand at head, the other extended from body; nearly complete, but feet missing. Bones in fair preservation.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue cane: 1. Lemon-yellow beads: 7. Large green oblate: 1. Small black oblates: 17. Large broken black bead: 1. Black canes irregularly fractured: 2. Opaque blue beads: 5. Large wound blue-green bead: 1. Ostrich shell discs: 9. Many fragments of black burnished pot.

*K.S. No. 32: Block 1, Section 5. 9′, 21′, 4′:*

Young child, 4–8 years. On right side, facing south.

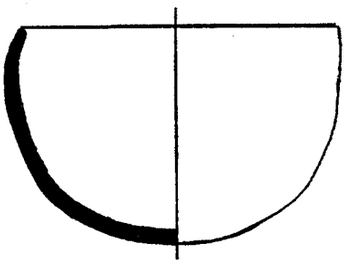

Fig. 9. K.S. No. 32, Block 1, Section 5.
9.′ 21.′ 4.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

On bedrock, and bones too decomposed to identify position; skull completely smashed.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue cane: 1. Mixed *Achatina* and ostrich shell discs: 346. One deep bowl, broken portions of which were inverted over remains. Height 5″, diameter over rim 7¾″. Undecorated (Fig. 9).

*K.S. No. 33: Block 2, Section 6. 3′, 15′, 5′* (Plate XVI, No. 2):

Adult, 30-40 years. On left side, facing north, and partly flexed. Buried in hill-wash or perhaps old pit. Left hand on right knee, right hand over head. Leg bones very massive. Bones rather decomposed. A pot burial.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes of different sizes, much worn: 2,364, a number of these at the neck having been threaded in ropes of three; no trace of fibre remained. Indian red beads: 7. Ostrich shell discs: 3. *Achatina* disc: 1.

(1) Portions of very fine bowl of fine black paste, slightly decomposed. Probably deliberately broken and fragments distributed along sides of skeleton. Height approximately 6″. Black inside and brindle outside.

(2) Large shallow bowl, height 3¾″, outside diameter 9¼″, also broken up and scattered around the skeleton. Decomposed and fragile.

(3) Large pot with boldly incised alternate diagonal lines round neck. Too broken for measurements to be obtained. Fine grey paste and finished brindle, in same style as No. 1.

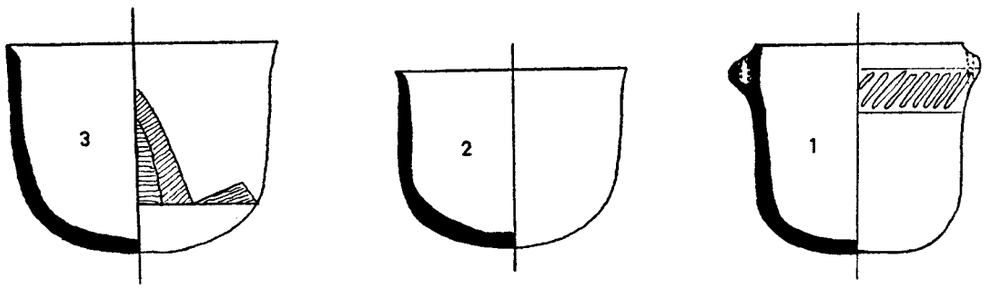


Fig. 10. K.S. No. 34, Block 1, Section 11.
6.′ 0.′ 3.′ (Scale: 1 : 4)

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(4) Small pot of coarse grey paste finished dull black. Undecorated. Height $4\frac{1}{4}''$, diameter over rim $4''$.

(5) Impress of what appears to be a gourd in sand at back of body near ribs.

*K.S. No. 34: Block 1, Section 11. 6′, 0′, 3′* (Fig. 10):

Young person, on right side and fully flexed, as limb bones were recovered near the skull, which was completely smashed and many bones missing. A pot burial.

Associated finds: Opaque green beads, class M.1, No. 4, 11. Opaque blue beads, class M.1, No. 3: 20. Pale-yellow bead: 1. Black beads, worn, long to standard: 2 *Achatina* discs: 2.

(1) Fine beaker bowl, height $4\frac{3}{4}''$, diameter over rim $5''$, large externally pierced lugs, being horizontally longer than deeper, which is unusual. Bold deeply incised diagonal decoration $\frac{5}{8}''$ below lip. This was broken into four large pieces (Fig. 10, No. 1).

(2) Undecorated beaker of fine grey paste finished black. Height $4\frac{3}{4}''$, diameter over rim $5\frac{1}{2}''$. Broken into three main fragments (Fig. 10, No. 2).

(3) Large beaker bowl, height $5''$, diameter over rim $6\frac{1}{2}''$, fine grey paste, finished black. Encircling line above base supporting triangles. In centre a large leaf-shaped figure. Also broken into three pieces (Fig. 10, No. 3).

This completes the skeletons found during the 1936 season.

## 3. GRAVE LISTS (K.2—1937)

*K.S. No. 35: Block 3, Section 3. 2′, 2′, 2′:*

Yound child, on left side, facing north-west and fully flexed. Skull smashed, bones fairly well preserved; left hand near head; right hand centre of body. No funerary furniture.

*K.S. No. 36: Block 3, Section 5. 8′, 5′, 2′:*

Young child. Completely destroyed by pick, and position impossible to detect. Bones decomposed. No funerary furniture.

*K.S. No. 37: Block 3, Section 5. 9′, 3′, 2′* (Fig. 11):

Young child, on left side, facing north, and probably fully flexed. Bones decomposed and very broken.

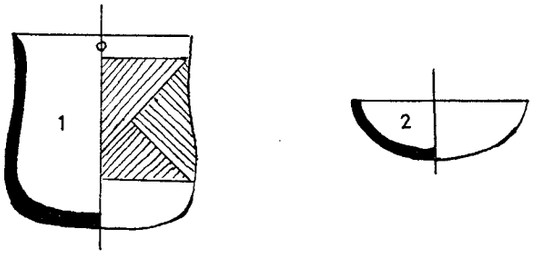


Fig. 11. K.S. No. 37, Block 3, Section 5. 9.′ 3.′ 2.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 543. *Achatina* discs: 3.

(1) Portion of small beautifully decorated beaker, height $4\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter over rim approximately $4\frac{5}{8}''$. Holes $\frac{1}{2}''$ below rim for suspension. Clear-cut diagonal lines forming large triangles.

(2) Small roughly modelled saucer of fine grey paste burnt a mottled red. Height $1\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter over rim $4\frac{1}{8}''$.

*K.S. No. 38: Block 3, Section 5. 10′, 2′, 2′* (Plate XXX and Plate XVI, No. 3):

Young child, on left side, facing north-east, and fully flexed. Bones very decomposed and friable, hence removal entirely impossible. Skull crushed in and broken portion of pot placed over the front and side of head. Interred in a patch of white gravel.

Associated finds: Large number of greenish-blue canes, M.1: 748. Indian red beads: 19. Lemon-yellow beads: 19. Dark-green opaque beads: 42. Black beads of type M.2: 12. *Achatina* discs: 8. Ostrich discs: 13.

(1) Pot of coarse brown ware, deliberately broken and placed around the skull. Pot entire when two pieces were fitted together. Decorated with series of double loops hanging from rim. Height $6''$, diameter over rim $4\frac{1}{2}''$.

(2) Bowl of fine grey paste burnt a mottled red. Plain. Height $3\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter over rim $5''$.

(3) Two seashells of genus *Natica*.

*K.S. No. 39: Block 4, Section 4. 2′, 20′, 2′* (Plate XVI, No. 4):

Young child on left side, facing north, and fully flexed. Hands near mouth. Bones in fair preservation. No funerary furniture or sherds or stones with burial, which may be recent.

Associated finds: *Achatina* discs: 31. Ostrich discs: 14. Greenish-blue cane of typical M.1 class: 1 only.

*K.S. No. 40: Block 3, Section 3. 3′, 8′, 3′:*

Baby. Buried in hole in floor and completely broken up, with ash and refuse heaped over it. No funerary furniture of any kind.

*K.S. No. 41: Block 3, Section 4. 7′ 6″, 10′ 6″, 3′* (Plate XXX):

Premature or newly born baby. Almost totally decomposed and position impossible to detect. Lower limbs were jammed into a long cylindrical beaker, which had been placed in a hole in a rough floor, the remainder of the body lying on the edge of the hole.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 11. It is doubtful whether these belonged to the burial, but were recovered from the refuse. *Achatina* discs: 2.

(1) Long straight-sided beaker of fine grey paste finished black. Decorated with large triangles resting on encircling line. Height $5\frac{3}{4}''$, diameter over rim $4''$.

(2) Small delicate beaker or drinking-cup, like modern

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teacup without handle. Height $1\frac{7}{8}''$, diameter over rim $3\frac{9}{16}''$.

(3) Broken bone point. Also of doubtful provenance. This point and the cane beads probably intrusive.

*K.S. No. 42: Block 3, Section 4. 5', 24', 3'* (Plate XXX):

Very young baby. Bones completely decomposed and most of them missing. Interred below white gravel patch. Exceptionally good funerary furniture. A pot burial.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 23. Indian red beads: 3. *Achatina* discs: 4. Ostrich discs: 4.

(1) One large pot of coarse, red ware. Height $10\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter round belly $35\frac{1}{4}''$. Unusual to find such a large pot with a human burial.

(2) Elaborately decorated beaker with two side lugs, pierced to the interior of the pot. Fine grey paste finished black. The lugs appear to have been pinched into the sides of the vessel during construction. Height $4\frac{7}{8}''$, diameter over rim $4\frac{3}{8}''$.

(3) Almost straight-sided beaker with two holes pierced in the sides below lip, which is flat and the bottom rounded. Height 5", diameter over rim $4\frac{3}{8}''$.

(4) Squat beaker bowl with very rounded bottom, almost pointed. Coarse black paste burnt red. Height $3\frac{1}{8}''$, diameter over rim $4\frac{1}{2}''$.

(5) Portion of very rough cup or small bowl. Coarse black paste burnt red. Undecorated. Height about 2", diameter over rim about 4".

(6) The following were recovered from the infilling of the grave, but it is improbable that they have any connection with the burial beyond mere propinquity: a highly decorated sherd with raised triangular moulding, gashed on the underside with diagonal cuts, and elaborate series of lines and anchor decoration on what must have been the shoulder; six fragments of garden-roller moulds, one with a splinter of glass adhering to the inside; fragments of garden-roller beads of the dark or blue type; one bone awl.

*K.S. No. 43: Block 3, Section 4. 11' 3", 10', 3'* (Plate XXX):

Young child, 10–12 years. On left side, facing east, and fully flexed. Skull smashed and crushed, one portion of the lower jaw being above the left eye. Hands at head. Very decomposed and friable.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes, M.1 type: 876. Lemon-yellow beads: 14. Indian red bead: 1. *Achatina* discs: 2.

(1) Delicate beaker of burnished black with two holes below lip for suspension. Height 5", diameter over rim $3\frac{3}{4}''$.

(2) Small drinking-cup, fine grey paste finished mottled brown. Height $2\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter over rim $3\frac{1}{4}''$.

(3) Delicate beaker or drinking-cup, fine grey paste finished a mottled brown. Two holes for suspension. Height $3\frac{3}{8}''$, diameter over rim 3".

(4) Fragments of the most delicate bowl yet discovered; compares favourably with any wheel-made article. Height $2\frac{1}{4}''$, over rim $6\frac{1}{4}''$.

(5) Large iron bangle in last stages of corrosion. Near legs, but on account of its size was probably a neck ornament. Diameter $3\frac{3}{4}''$.

(6) Cowrie shell, genus *Cypraea*, species *Annulus*. Pierced dorsally.

(7) A bone awl of usual size.

*K.S. No. 44: Block 3, Section 4. 13', 9' 6", 3'* (Plate XXX):

Remains of a young baby, a few skull fragments and bones, all remainder missing. Position impossible to detect. Pot burial.

Associated finds:

(1) Small beaker of fine grey paste finished black. Two holes for suspension. Slight swelling at base. Height $2\frac{3}{4}''$, diameter over rim $3\frac{1}{4}''$. All vessels of this burial have the appearance of considerable age.

(2) Small beaker or drinking-cup of fine grey paste finished black with two holes for suspension. Top flared and base bulging considerably. Height $2\frac{7}{8}''$, diameter over rim $3\frac{3}{8}''$.

(3) Beautifully made and finished spherical bowl of fine grey paste originally burnished brown. Height 5", diameter over rim $3\frac{1}{2}''$.

(4) Another spherical bowl almost identical with No. 3 and may have been made by the same potter; slightly smaller. Height $4\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter over rim $3\frac{7}{8}''$. Both very broken, but repairable.

*K.S. No. 45: Block 3, Section 4, 13' 6", 19', 3'* (Plate XXX):

Young person. Apparently on left side, facing south, but position difficult to detect as bones were broken and decomposed. 38 teeth were recovered from this skeleton (?) and a portion of the lower jaw. Broken pot over head and another over pelvis.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes of M.1 type: 506. Indian red bead: 1. *Achatina* discs: 7. Ostrich discs: 6.

(1) Large beaker, badly broken, of fine grey paste finished black. Pyramid and palm-tree decoration. Height $4\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter over rim $5\frac{1}{2}''$.

(2) Rough pot, probably cooking, series of triangular stabs below lip. Coarse black paste burnt red. Height $5\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter over rim 4".

*K.S. No. 46: Block 4, Section 4. 8' 6", 7', 3'* (Plate XVII, No. 1):

Adult. On right side, facing south, and probably fully flexed, but lower limbs destroyed by careless labourer. Right hand under lower jaw, left at centre of body. Interred in hole in white gravel and covered with ash. Bones in good condition. No funerary furniture.

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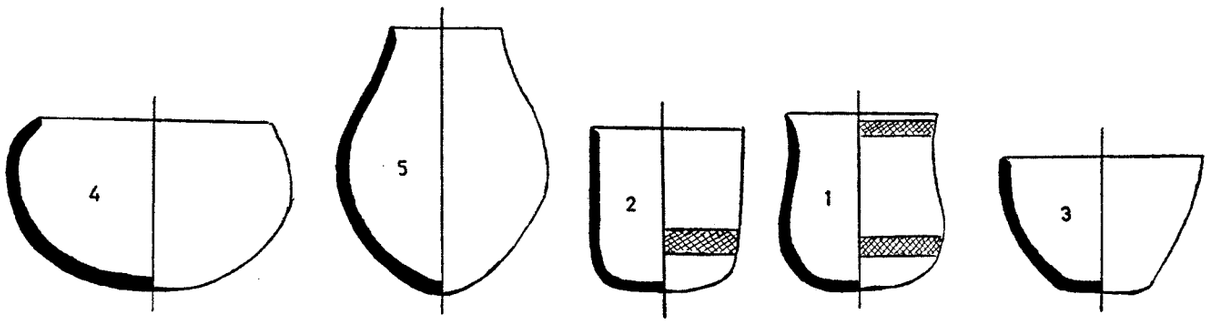


Fig. 12. K.S. No. 48. Block 3, Section 7.
15.′ 21.′ 2.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

*K.S. No. 47: Block 4, Section 6. 3′, 20′, 1′* (Plate XVII, No. 2):

Young child. On left side, facing north, and fully flexed. Skull badly smashed and bones in poor condition, probably due to proximity to surface. Both hands in front of head. Remains of two broken pots were placed in front of face and over legs. Pot burial.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 15. Fragments of garden-roller beads. *Achatina* discs: 14, some found inside of skull. Ostrich discs: 8.

(1) Coarse undecorated cooking pot, black paste burnt red. Height 5½″, diameter over rim 3⅜″.

(2) Base of pot or bowl, too fragmentary to describe.

(3) Small lump of slag.

(4) Badly corroded solid iron bangle around left ankle.

*K.S. No. 48: Block 3, Section 7. 15′, 21′, 2′.* (Fig. 12 and Plate XVII, No. 3):

Young person. On right side, facing south-west, and partly flexed. Right hand under chin and left hand near knee. Skull shattered and bones in poor condition. A large stone placed in front of skull in lieu of usual pot. Many pots, but probably all deliberately broken. A pot burial.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 10. Indian red bead: 1. Fine necklace of *Achatina* discs, some of great delicacy. The largest is 5 mm. in diameter and slightly less than 1 mm. in thickness. The smallest is about 2·5 mm. in diameter and ·5 mm. in thickness.

(1) Well-shaped beaker of fine grey paste, finished black, with two holes for suspension. Bottom very rounded and lip bevelled off to inner margin. Height 4¼″, diameter over rim 3½″.

(2) A beaker, nearly straight-sided and bearing marks of wear and age. Two large holes below lip for suspension. Bottom nearly flat, rim thin and rounded. Height 4¼″, diameter over rim 3¾″.

(3) Small bowl or drinking-cup with widely flared sides. Fine grey paste finished a mottled brown. Undecorated. Height 3″, diameter over rim 4⅞″.

(4) Large sub-spherical bowl of gritty grey paste burnished black. Undecorated. Height 4″, diameter over rim 5½″.

(5) Coarse cooking pot of usual type, undecorated. Coarse black paste burnt a reddish brown. Flattened rim, bottom rather pointed. Height 6″, diameter over rim 3⅞″.

(6) A few fragments of greatly corroded iron and a minute quartz flake.

*K.S. No. 49: Block 4, Section 7. 3′, 22′, 2′:*

Young child. Almost entirely decomposed and position impossible to detect, but appeared to be facing south-east and on its left side.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 13. *Achatina* discs: 5.

(1) One sherd of deep bowl with well-moulded rim with remains.

(2) Lump of hard slag.

*K.S. No. 50: Block 4, Section 8. 2′, 7′, 3′* (Plate XVII, No. 4):

Young child. On left side, facing north, and partly flexed. Skull smashed and bones in poor condition. No pots or stones.

Associated finds: Uncommon type of faintly translucent green beads, dull, with no sheen: 24. They somewhat resemble the beads from the Venda site behind Mapungubwe. A solid copper bangle encircled the right ankle, its oxidisation having discoloured the bones in its vicinity.

*K.S. No. 51: Block 3, Section 8. 0′, 22′, 3′* (Plate XVIII, No. 1):

Child. On right side, facing south-west and slightly flexed. All bones very decomposed. Body surrounded by large stones set on their narrowest face; one jammed against the skull.

Associated finds: Broken M.1 greenish bead: 1. Yellow bead: 1. Double string of ostrich discs round neck and one broken cowrie shell. No pots or sherds.

*K.S. No. 52: Block 4, Section 6. 14′, 24′, 3′:*

Child, on left side, facing south-west and partly flexed.

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Skull crushed and bones decomposed. Appears to be a reinterment, as pelvis and left femur are missing. Two stones at back of head and a few odd sherds placed around and over the body.

Associated finds: Almost devitrified garden-roller beads in very poor condition: 5. New type of bead, discoid in shape, of a brown glass turning to speckled white on one side. Appears to have been made in a mould, for the smoothness and regularity of the sides seem to negative the idea of its being wound. Dimensions: length 8 mm., thickness 4 mm., and is the only one found. Greenish-blue beads: 6. Lemon-yellow bead: 1.

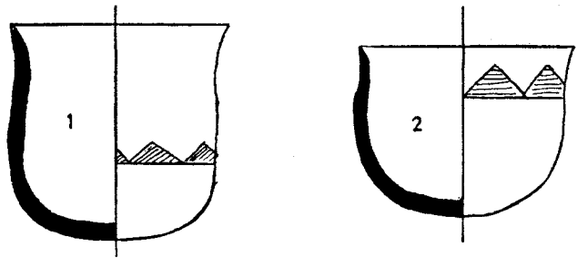


Fig. 13. K.S. No. 53, Block 3, Section 9. 2.′ 20.′ 4.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

*K.S. No. 53: Block 3, Section 9. 2′, 20′, 4′* (Fig. 13):

Young child. On left side, facing north, bones decomposed and position impossible to detect. Funerary pots at shoulders.

Associated finds: A large number of transparent greenish-blue canes of all shapes and sizes, long, short and standard cylinders, varying greatly in shade: 757. Indian red beads: 19. Lemon-yellow bead: 1. Devitrified beads with traces of green: 9. One long-to-standard bead of greyish-brown glass and elliptical in section.

(1) Beaker, originally of great beauty, but badly broken. Lip widely flared and burnished brown. Height $4\frac{3}{4}''$, diameter over rim $5''$.

(2) Well-shaped beaker bowl of fine grey paste burnished brown outside and black inside. Bottom rounded. Height $3\frac{3}{4}''$, diameter over rim $5\frac{1}{8}''$.

(3) Curious sandstone rock drilled completely through and rounded; something like a miniature Bushman digging stone. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter of hole irregular: $\frac{1}{2}''$ to $\frac{3}{8}''$.

This completes the skeletons found during the 1937 season.

## 4. GRAVE LISTS (K.2—1938)

*K.S. No. 54: Block 3, Section 14. 3′, 6′ 1′:*

Young child, 8–9 years. On left side, facing west. Right knee drawn up more than left. Left hand near knee. Bones well preserved.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 9. Indian red bead: 1. Portion of garden-roller bead. Ostrich discs at neck and pelvis: 21. Small fragments of copper and iron bangles.

*K.S. No. 55: Block 3, Section 14. 8′, 27′, 2′* (Plates XVIII, No. 2, and XXXI):

Young adult, 15–16 years. On back, with head on chest and facing north. Arms spreadeagled. Legs to right of trunk and partly flexed. Skull smashed. The one beaker was over back of head and at centre of back, and was broken into five pieces.

Associated finds: No beads.

(1) Beaker bowl. Height $4\frac{3}{8}''$, diameter over rim $5\frac{1}{2}''$. Rim flat. Undecorated.

(2) Broken pounding stone. Other stones surrounding burial.

*K.S. No. 56: Block 4, Section 15. 5′, 24′, 1′* (Plate XXXI):

Young baby. Lower jaw facing north. Skeleton completely crushed and flattened. Bones in very bad condition. Pot burial.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 6. *Achatina* discs: 6. Large piece of ostrich shell.

(1) Beaker, height $4''$, diameter over rim $4\frac{5}{16}''$. Fine grey paste finished black inside and brown outside. Rim flat, base almost flat. Plain. Over back of head.

(2) Small beaker, very corroded. Height $3\frac{5}{8}''$, diameter over rim $3\frac{1}{2}''$. Fine black paste finished black. Two holes under lip for suspension. Rim flat and lip slightly everted. Bottom flat.

(3) The small beaker found near this burial was probably intended to be placed with the others, as it is very similar to No. 1. These small beakers or cups are not found lying about, being nearly always in the graves of small children.

(4) Iron bangle at ankle.

*K.S. No. 57: Block 4, Section 15. 8′, 23′, 1′* (Plates XVIII, No. 3, and XXXI):

Very young child. On right side, facing west; teeth visible in lower jaw. Skull and skeleton completely crushed. Impossible to detect position. Pot burial.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 42. Indian red beads: 30. Pale-yellow beads: 11. Ostrich shell discs: 6.

(1) Beaker, fine grey paste, finished mottled black. Bottom slightly rounded. Height $3\frac{3}{4}''$, diameter over rim $4\frac{5}{8}''$. Decorated with large rectangles containing cross-hatching.

(2) Beaker cup. Height $3\frac{1}{4}''$, diameter over rim $3\frac{7}{8}''$, fine grey paste finished brown inside and out. Lip rounded to inner margin and considerably flared. Thin delicate ware.

(3) Long bell beaker. Height $4''$, diameter over rim $3\frac{1}{8}''$. Fine grey paste mottled black and brown. Two encircling lines above bulge containing cross-hatching from which extend a double arrow-like decoration, reaching nearly

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to lip. Two holes for suspension. Rounded swelling base.

(4) Beautiful sub-spherical bowl, very thin delicate ware. Height 3⅜″, diameter of mouth 2¼″. Fine grey paste fired red all over.

(5) Small pot. Height 5″, diameter over rim 3¾″. Fine grey paste fired black and mottled brown, but with surface flaking and corroded.

(6) Small corroded iron bangles around both ankles.

*K.S. No. 58: Block 4, Section 15. 11′, 26′, 2′* (Plates XVIII, No. 4, and XXXI):

Adult. On right side facing east and partly flexed; hands under and in front of head. Skull and bones crushed and flattened as if a steamroller had been over it. Decomposed and friable. Lugged beaker at knee and portions of large bowl over shoulders.

Associated finds: Black pottery bead: 1, usual macaroni type. *Achatina* disc: 1. Ostrich disc: 1. Greenish-blue canes: 6. In the infilling were two lumps of slag and the upper portion of a very small figurine with hole for mouth.

(1) Large bowl. Height 4⅝″, diameter over rim 11⅜″. Grey paste burnished black inside and out.

(2) Beaker with horizontal lugs pierced for suspension. Height 4⅝″, diameter over rim 4″. One encircling line below lip supporting high, looped triangles filled with diagonals. Rim flat and base slightly rounded. A pot burial.

*K.S. No. 59: Block 3, Section 13. 8′, 9′, 2′* (Plate XIX, Nos. 1 and 3):

Adult male. On right side, facing north-east. Flexed, hands in front of and under face. Skull smashed by pick, but bones in good condition. Twelve large stones over and around the skeleton. Similar to burial K.S. No. 21.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 8. Royal-blue beads: 7. *Achatina* discs: 9. Various black beads, all sizes: 417.

*K.S. No. 60: Block 3, Section 14. 0′, 26′, 2′* (Plate XIX, No. 2, and Plate XXXI):

Young child. On right side, facing west. Bones broken.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 503. Pale-yellow beads: 9. Brown beads of unknown material: 2. Devitrified beads: 4. Indian red bead: 1. Fine circlet of *Achatina* and ostrich discs at pelvis and neck. A pot burial.

(1) Small poorly shaped bowl. Height 3⅛″, diameter over rim 4⅞″. Coarse black paste burnt a dull red. Wide, badly finished rim.

*K.S. No. 61: Block 3, Section 15. 2′, 15′, 2′:*

Young child. On left side, facing west. Bones broken and dispersed. Position impossible to detect.

Associated finds: A necklace of transparent greenish-blue canes with a light-green-type garden-roller bead at centre. *Achatina* discs prevented the entry of the glass beads into the central hole of the garden-rollers. Indian red bead: 1.

*K.S. No. 62: Block 3, Section 14, 6′, 17′, 2′:*

Young baby. Buried in loose dust and skeleton fell to pieces immediately. All bones broken. No funerary furniture.

*K.S. No. 63: Block 4, Section 15. 14′, 9′, 2′* (Plate XXXI):

Young child. Bones completely scattered and many missing. Position impossible to detect. A pot burial.

Associated finds: Exceptionally fine necklace of *Achatina* and ostrich discs.

(1) Beaker bowl. Height 4½″, diameter over rim 6¼″. Grey paste finished black inside and out. Bottom rounded.

(2) Small pot. Height 4½″, diameter over rim 3⅞″. Black outside and brown inside. Decoration of looped triangles with alternate diagonal lines.

(3) Small polishing pebble of bantam variety.

*K.S. No. 64: Block 4, Section 10. 11′, 9′, 3′* (Plate XX, No. 1):

Adult. Skull turned north-east, but body resting rather on its stomach. Knees bent and lower limbs turned up towards buttocks in same position as K.S. No. 21. No funerary objects.

*K.S. No. 65: Block 4, Section 12. 6′, 18′, 4′* (Fig. 14 and Plate XX, No. 2):

Young adult, 25 years. On back, head turned to the right and south. Legs flexed. Left arm at side, forearm across the body. Right arm at right side and fingers near

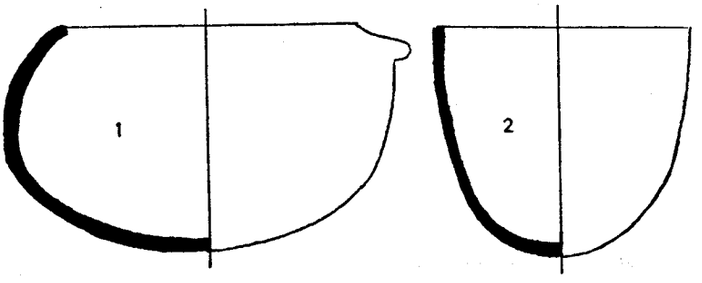


Fig. 14. K.S. No. 65, Block 4, Section 12. 6.′ 18.′ 4.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

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face. Bones very friable and decomposed. This is the one and only occurrence of the spouted bowl with human remains. No beads. Pot burial.

Associated finds:

(1) Spouted bowl. Class "B". Height 5½", diameter over rim 9¼". Finished black, but badly pitted and corroded. As always, undecorated.

(2) Delicate deep bowl. Height 5½", diameter over rim 6". Thin ware. Finished black inside and mottled brown out. Undecorated.

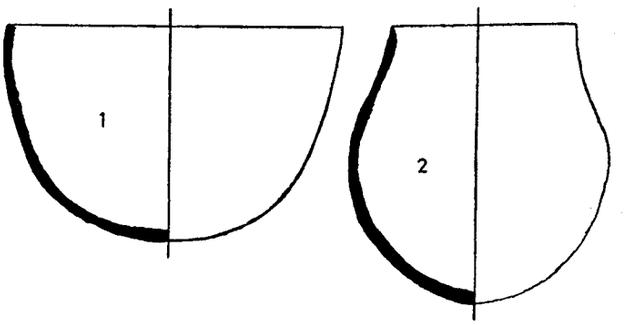


Fig. 15. K.S. No. 66, Block 3, Section 10. 13.′ 16.′ 5.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

*K.S. No. 66: Block 3, Section 10. 13′, 16′, 5′* (Fig. 15):

Young child on left side facing north-east. Right leg displaced from pelvis and left leg missing. Skull completely crushed and flattened; teeth appearing. Lying on sandstone gravel on edge of Pit No. 20. Bones very friable and decomposed. A pot burial.

Associated finds: Transparent blue beads, long to standard: 437, at right wrist of skeleton.

(1) Fine bowl. Height 5", diameter over rim 8". Coarse gritty paste burnished brown inside and out. Undecorated.

(2) Well-made small pot, thin ware. Height 6½", diameter over rim 4⅛". Burnished brown inside and out; lip flat and bottom rounded. Decorated with line of gashes below lip.

*K.S. No. 67: Block 5, Section 12. 3′, 28′, 2′:*

Young child on left side, facing east, and fully flexed. Skull smashed by pick. Bones decomposed.

Associated finds: Opaque green bead: 1. Ostrich disc: 1. Many sherds with burial, but incapable of reconstruction.

*K.S. No. 68: Block 5, Section 12. 14′, 16′, 2′* (Plates XX, No. 3, and XXXII):

Young child, on left side, facing north-east. Probably flexed, but most leg bones missing. Bones very decomposed and skull crushed and flattened sideways.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 42. Pale-yellow beads: 14. Indian red beads: 4. *Achatina* discs: 9. Half a garden-roller bead of light or green type. Badly made garden-roller bead cast in rough mould, light type: 1. Long, black, pottery bead, macaroni type: 1, 3/16" in length.

(1) Half rough bowl. Height 4½", diameter over rim 5¼". Undecorated coarse paste, mottled black and brown.

(2) Small rough bowl. Height 3", diameter over rim 3⅞". Very pitted and decomposed. Found at centre of body.

(3) Badly corroded fragments of iron bangles.

*K.S. No. 69: Block 5, Section 9. 8′, 11′, 3′:*

Young child. On back, facing west. Knees up and apart. Buried in hole which was filled in with red and white gravel and had hardened by water action to rock-like consistency.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 861. Indian red beads: 21. Pale-yellow beads: 7. Long black beads: 2. Black pottery beads of macaroni type: 2. Beads were all on both wrists.

*K.S. No. 70: Block 5, Section 6. 7′, 16′, 3′* (Plate XX, No. 4):

Young child. On right side, face down, but head turned to the west. Fully flexed. Buried in cooking hole and bones in fair condition but associated with charcoal and animal bones. No pots.

Associated finds: Greenish-blue canes: 29. Lemon-yellow beads: 2. Transparent green and blue opaque beads: 1 each. *Achatina* discs: 8.

(1) Solid copper expanding bangle with overlapping rounded ends found on right wrist.

This completes the list of 72 skeletons found at K.2.

## 5. GRAVE LISTS FROM SUMMIT OF MAPUNGUBWE (SEASON 1937)

The interments excavated on the summit of Mapungubwe were few in number, but represented people of the same stock as K.2. The majority of the skeletons were found, of course, by my predecessors, and were confined entirely to the upper levels of the Hill. No skeletal material at all was recovered in the great depression. The burial customs of the two sites were identical, although there is a variation in the pottery forms, for the Hill folk had already a modicum of Negroid blood and had adopted a number of Bantu customs. The symbol for the burials on Mapungubwe is "M", with the letter "S" representing the skeletons. The so-called "casual" interments will follow those from the Hill,[1] the symbol "C" being used to denote these burials, which were Bantu and which were discovered accidentally; that is, we did not have the time or opportunity to search for native graves, which were not dug in intimate contact with their dwellings but, as now, interred at some distance from the home site.

1. See next section.

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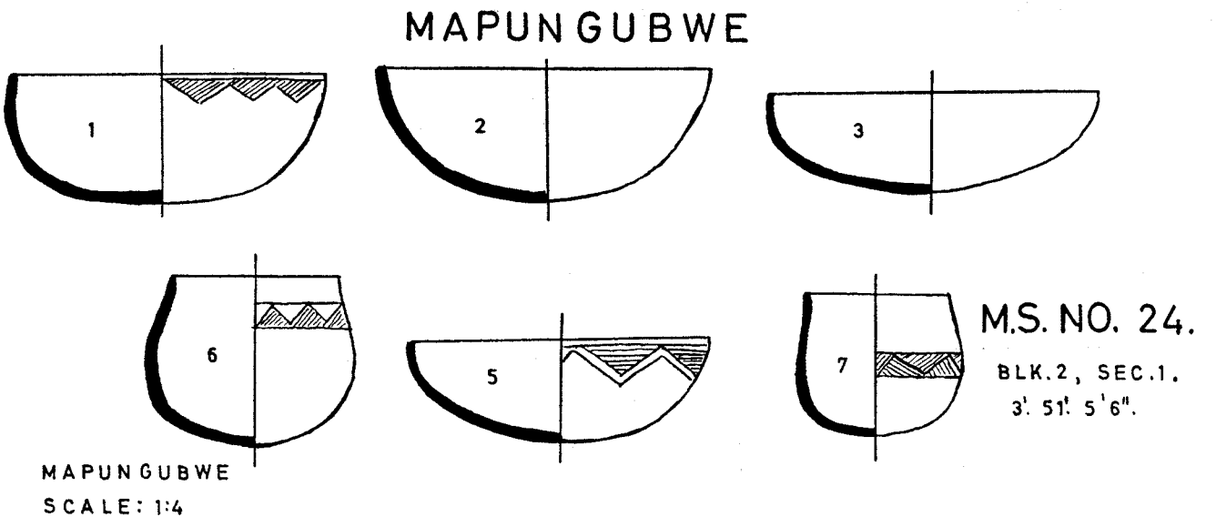


Fig. 16

*M.S. No. 24: Block 2, Section 1. 3', 51', 5' 6"* (Fig. 16):

This skeleton had completely disappeared, except a portion of the leg bones, which were thrust through the usual long heavy mass of iron anklets. The boss boy stated that four years ago this skeleton had been discovered and its upper portions removed, the pots not having been uncovered. This may be true, as the pots were not near the body but some 12" from the feet.

Associated finds: Thousands of small black oblates of M.2 type. Greenish-blue canes: 2. Indian red beads: 4. These last all of M.1 type.

(1) Good shallow bowl of fine grey paste burnished black. Height 3", diameter over rim $7\frac{1}{2}$". Rim slightly everted.

(2) Shallow bowl, undecorated. Burnished black. Rim bevelled and rounded to the inside. Height $2\frac{1}{2}$", diameter over rim $7\frac{3}{4}$".

(3) Good shallow bowl. Undecorated. Mottled black and brown. Height 3", diameter over rim 8".

(4) Shallow bowl of fine grey paste, finished with brown burnish. Height $2\frac{1}{4}$", diameter over rim $6\frac{7}{8}$".

(5) Fine shallow bowl. Burnished black. Height $2\frac{1}{4}$", diameter over rim $7\frac{5}{8}$".

(6) Small well-made pot. Grey paste burnished brown. Bottom round and rim flattened. Height $2\frac{1}{4}$", diameter over rim $3\frac{5}{8}$".

(7) Small globular pot, badly broken. Burnished black. Bottom round and lip rounded to inner margin. Height 4", diameter over rim 4".

*M.S. No. 25: Block 1, Section 3. 6', 26', 3'* (Plate XXI, No. 1, and Fig. 17):

Young person. On right side, facing north-east. Bones decomposed. Buried in hole in floor, but with legs lying on top. Another floor had been built over this 18" from the surface. Usual heavy iron anklets on legs of skeleton. One pot broken into pieces was placed near the feet.

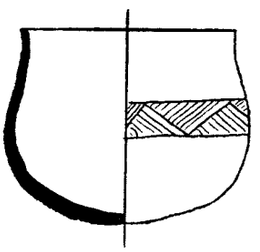

Fig. 17. M.S. No. 25, Block 1, Section 3. 6'. 26.' 3.' (Scale: 1 : 4).

Associated finds: Hundreds of small black oblates. Greenish-blue canes: 48. Indian red beads: 5. Orange-yellow beads: 3.

(1) Well-made globular pot of fine grey paste burnished black. Opposed triangular decoration. Height $4\frac{3}{4}$", diameter over rim $5\frac{1}{4}$".

*M.S. No. 26: Block 2, Section 3. 9', 59', 2'* (Plate XXI, No. 2, and Fig. 18):

Young child on right side, facing east, and probably fully flexed. Bones crumbled to powder on exposure; only a few fragments recoverable. Pots not touching the remains. Skeleton lay with its head resting on the edge of a hole, the remainder in a shallow depression cut in a floor. Heavy iron anklets, usual variety.

Associated finds: Hundreds of small black oblates. Indian red beads: 8. Bracelet of 47 ostrich discs near left wrist. Coarse ostrich discs: 47.

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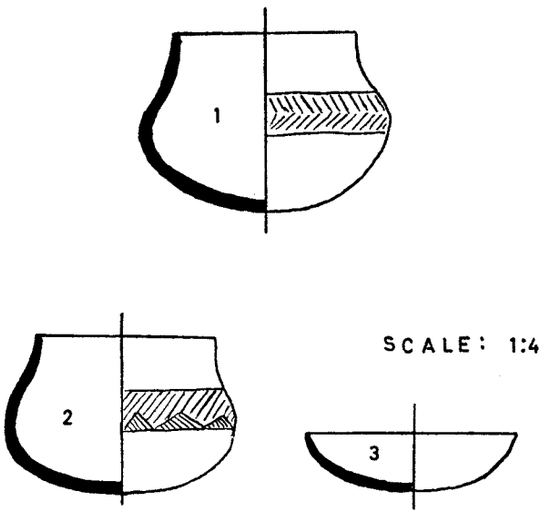


Fig. 18. M.S. No. 26, Block 2, Section 3.
9.′ 59.′ 2.′

(1) Shouldered pot burnished black. Height 4″, diameter over rim $4\frac{3}{8}$″.

(2) Another pot similar in shape, but smaller. Height $3\frac{3}{4}$″, diameter over rim $4\frac{1}{4}$″.

(3) One complete and unbroken small saucer. Height $1\frac{1}{2}$″, diameter over rim 5″.

(4) Remains of shallow dish or platter with raised sides and rim slightly everted. Burnished black. Height $1\frac{1}{4}$″, diameter over rim approximately $4\frac{1}{4}$″.

This completes the skeletons found in 1937. None were found later.

## 6. CASUAL BURIALS WITH NEGRO ELEMENTS

*C.S. No. 1:* Near path between Mapungubwe and K.2 (Plate XXI, No. 3):

Skeleton of adult on right side, facing south. One leg flexed, the other partly extended. Interred under a rock in shallow hole, earth and stones being heaped over it. Bones slightly decomposed but recoverable. Sherds of rough Bantu cooking-pot thrown into the grave at time of infilling. No beads or ornaments associated with this burial.

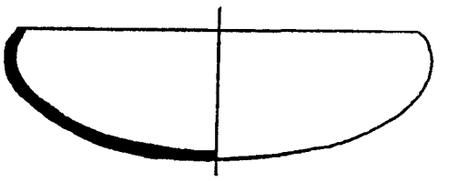

Fig. 19. C.S. No. 2. Hillside near K.2.
(Scale: 1 : 4).

*C.S. No. 2:* On hillside above stream near K.2 (Fig. 19):

Adult. Bones scattered by burrowing animals and riddled with holes. Only upper portion of skull found, no jaw and only the leg and portion of a scapula recovered.

Associated finds: Black oblate beads, M.2 type: 55. Ostrich discs: 21. One small green ovate bead of uncertain facies. Large shallow bowl, undecorated. Dull black ware. Height 3″, diameter over rim 10″.

## 7. CONCLUSION

This completes the list of all human skeletons found at K.2, Mapungubwe and in the neighbourhood, and brings the grand total to 77. These may be analysed as follows:

(1) 30 pot burials with beads of M.1 type only. K.2 pottery.

(2) 8 pot burials with beads of M.1 and M.2 types.

(3) 12 stone and sherd burials with beads of M.1 type only (K.2).

(4) 8 stone and sherd burials with beads of M.1 and M.2 types.

(5) 8 burials with no beads and very few sherds.

(6) 11 burials with no funerary furniture of any sort.

Numbers 2 and 4 possessed pottery similar to that recovered from the summit of Mapungubwe, and probably represent the later arrivals in the neighbourhood.

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# Chapter IX

## 1. BEAST BURIALS AT K.2

There is no doubt that the so-called beast burials were unquestionably one of the most important, if not *the* most important, of all the discoveries at K.2. It may perhaps be thought that the term "beast burial" is a misnomer and tends to give a false idea of this type of interment, in that the burial of a whole animal is expressed or implied, but these graves were essentially animal, although only a small portion of the beast was present, and the term "beast burial" is used in contradistinction to a human one. In South Africa the word "beast" is taken generally to mean a species of bovine, whereas elsewhere, in Europe and America, any animal, and not particularly an ox or cow, may be referred to as such. Now in the K.2 animal burials the majority of the bones were bovine, the few isolated sheep and buck being regarded as perhaps aberrants. Therefore the term "beast burials" is used throughout this chapter.[1]

These graves are unique in South Africa, and up to the present nothing comparable has been discovered in Rhodesia. It should be noted that these interments neither occur on Mapungubwe Hill nor have they been found on any of the more ancient sites in its vicinity. A detailed description of each of the six beast burials will be given and their cultural significance discussed when the reader has obtained a comprehensive view of their make-up.

It is unfortunate that the photographs of these burials were not satisfactory. The taking of the photographs involved more knowledge of photography than we possessed, and the subjects were not easy ones. Here again the necessity for a professional assistant was made evident, as it was throughout the six years we were working on the two sites.

*Beast Burial No. 1. Trench 1, Section 17. 5′, 30′, 10′ 6″:*

This burial was, as the co-ordinates show, found in the first exploratory trench at K.2 and lay 10′ 6″ below the present surface. That is to say, it must have been buried before the great heap of manure had accumulated in the centre of the settlement and was, therefore, one of the oldest relics on the site, representing an early stage of the successive cultural developments at K.2. When it was first unearthed its significance was not realised, and it was thought that it was perhaps the efforts of some child preparing a model kraal or the like, although the placing of pottery sherds over the bones seemed to negative this suggestion. The focal point of the burial, which consisted of a few fragmentary bovine bones and an *Achatina* shell, was carefully covered with sherds, and some were also placed on edge, forming a fence or ring around the central portion. This fence was in its turn surrounded by rough stones, the whole complex covering a small area of about 2 ft., the total depth being 6–7″. The sieves yielded nothing in the way of beads or metal, and the grave (if such it was) became forgotten, until next season brought to light two more of these unusual interments and with them the realisation that we had discovered something of paramount importance to the ethnological and archaeological history of South Africa.

*Beast Burial No. 2. Block 1, Section 4. 2′, 0′, 2′* (Plate XXI, No. 4):

It may be remarked that the shallow depth of this burial precludes the suggestion of any great age in comparison with the remainder of the site. On the edge of Block 1, however, bedrock was very near the surface, owing perhaps to the erosion that has already been remarked upon, and this interment had been made in the basal deposit of what was originally a portion of an old pit, with between 2–3′ of soil covering it. Its depth, therefore, is no criterion of its age. This burial lacked the fence of sherds and its surrounding stones, the bones, a portion of a lower jaw and mandible of a bovine being laid on sherds, their concave side uppermost, and sherds placed on top of the bones, concave side downwards, forming a small chamber in which the remains were set. This small tomb is well illustrated on Plate XXI, No. 4. The sherds themselves had once formed eight different pots and were 604 in number, showing how thorough was the breakage. These included portions of a large spouted bowl (not shown) which had been placed before the entrance of the cavity, forming a kind of seal or door. The eight different vessels constituting the series had been deliberately broken, but were capable of reconstruction and are illustrated on Plate XXXII. Associated with the bones were 3 lumps of oxidised iron, a small portion of badly corroded iron bangle, 28 greenish-blue M.1 beads, 3

1. Cf. Dr. Brink's report, Chapter VI, Section 3. Abbreviation B.B. used for "Beast Burial".

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opaque greenish-blue and 1 translucent green oblate, 5 *Achatina* and 4 ostrich shell discs, 8 fragments of garden-roller beads of the dark type, and a complete *Achatina* shell. Two grinding and 3 polishing stones were recovered from the infilling. To complete this description, a detailed list of all the vessels found with Beast Burial No. 2 is now given.

(1) Beaker bowl of fine grey paste, burnt black. Height $4\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter over rim 8″. A band of irregular chevron pattern around the centre.

(2) Large undecorated cauldron-like beaker-shaped pot, similar to the one found with Beast Burial No. 6 and thought to have been used for rendering down fat. Black and mottled inside and out. Height $7\frac{3}{8}''$, diameter over rim 7″.

(3) Small globular pot, fine grey paste with traces of black burnish. Height $5\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter over rim 3″. A line supporting triangles around neck.

(4) Large globular pot with line of gashes below neck. Coarse, discoloured and gritty paste. Height $8\frac{3}{4}''$, diameter over rim $5\frac{1}{2}''$.

(5) Large globular pot with rim missing, similar to No. 4. Height 7″, diameter over rim 5″ approximately.

(6) Small globular pot with line of gashes below neck in opposite direction to those of No. 4. Rough coarse ware. Height $6\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter over rim 4″.

(7) Small rough pot burnt a dull red, probably for cooking, meandering lines below neck. Height $5\frac{3}{4}''$, diameter over rim $3\frac{1}{2}''$.

(8) Very large bowl. Fine grey paste and well made. Height $6\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter over rim 10″. Undecorated. The largest of its kind found on the site.

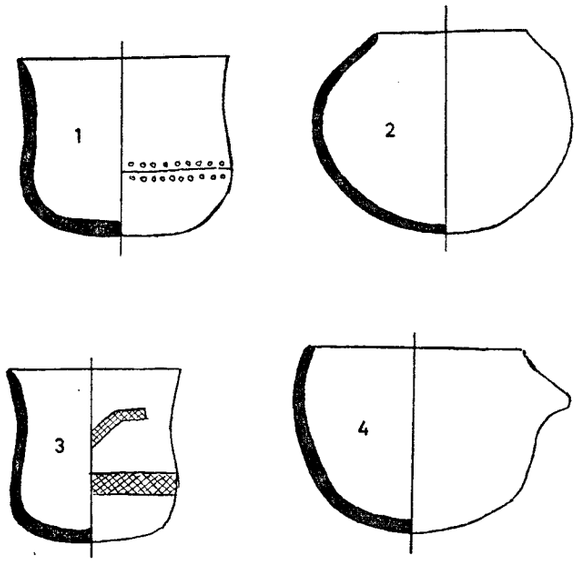


Fig. 20. Beast Burial No. 3 at K.2. Block 2, Section 9. 6.′ 9.′ 5.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

(9) Portions of large spouted bowl; could not be reconstructed.

*Beast Burial No. 3.* Block 2, Section 9. 6′, 9′, 5′ (Plate XXII, No. 1, and Fig. 20):

This burial was found in Pit 6, which may have been dug for the purpose. The focal point consisted of a portion of the lower jaw of a young bovine, but other bones were missing. In this burial the jaw lay upon a bed of sand and not sherds, but the remains of two beakers and a spherical pot, deliberately broken, were carefully placed over the remains. Associated with the jaw were the following objects: fragments of a spouted bowl, a sherd with an unusual, pierced tongue-lug, one complete *Achatina* shell, a large lump of white quartz, 10 transparent greenish-blue canes, 9 translucent beads of M.1 type, 1 ostrich shell disc, 1 *Achatina* disc and 1 fragment of a dark-type, garden-roller bead. In the photograph on Plate XXII, No. 1, the bone of this burial is seen to the right of the pots, just emerging from the sand.

Associated pottery as follows:

(1) Beaker, fine grey paste finished black. Line above base with small circles above and below. Height 4″, diameter over rim 5″.

(2) Undecorated bowl. Height $4\frac{1}{2}''$, diameter over rim $3\frac{1}{2}''$.

(3) Well-made beaker. Height 4″, diameter over rim 4″. Unusual decoration of hatched band with bent diagonal pole-like design.

(4) Spouted bowl. Usual. Height $4\frac{1}{4}''$, diameter over rim $5\frac{1}{4}''$. Brown. Undecorated as these always are. Class "B".

*Beast Burial No. 4: Block 2, Section 12. 6′, 12′, 5′:*

This burial was interred in Pit No. 13, which had every appearance of having been dug into bedrock. The focal point was again the broken jaw of a small bovine, together with a few limb bones. The unusual feature of this interment was the placing of a spherical pot over the remains, while the sherds of all surrounding pots were not capable of reconstruction, but contained the usual spouted bowl in many pieces. The pit in which the burial had been placed was large, measuring 5′ in diameter, with a depth of 2′. No glass beads were associated with this interment, but one complete *Achatina* shell and several delicate *Achatina* discs were recovered from the pit in close proximity to the bones.

*Beast Burial No. 5: Block 4, Section 5. 10′, 3′, 1′* (Fig. 21):

This burial had been placed on bedrock with only a foot of soil covering it. It consisted of several skull fragments, a portion of the lower jaw and rib of a small bovine, the latter having been nicked with some sharp instrument in several places. No beads associated with this burial; only one complete *Achatina* shell.



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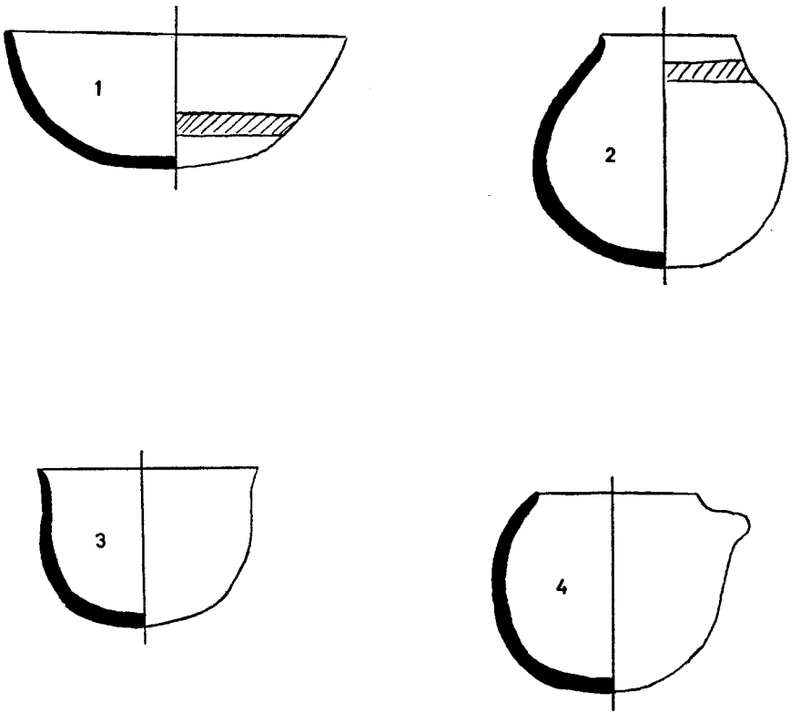


Fig. 21. Beast Burial No. 5 at K.2. Block 4, Section 5.
10.′ 3.′ 1.′ (Scale: 1 : 4).

Associated pottery:

(1) Delicate shallow bowl, fine grey paste finished black. Encircling lines above base with line left to right. Height 3″, diameter over rim 8″.

(2) Globular pot with same decoration below lip. Height 5¼″, diameter over rim 3½″. Coarse, gritty paste, burnt dull red.

(3) Small undecorated drinking-cup, thick walls. Height 3¼″, diameter over rim 5″.

(4) Usual spouted bowl of Class "B". Height 4½″, diameter over rim 3¼″.

These pots were more broken than was usual with the beast burials. Many pieces were missing, and the restoration was very difficult. Other sherds were found in the infilling, but no reconstruction was found possible; they did not fit together at all.

*Beast Burial No. 6: Block 4, Section 6: 4′, 7′, 5′ 6″* (Plates XXII, Nos. 2–4, XXIII, Nos. 1–3 and 5, and XXXIII):

Season 1938 saw the excavation of the most interesting and elaborate beast burial yet discovered. The furniture was so diverse and important that a very detailed description of all the finds is deemed necessary; for the ceremonious burial of such objects, which must have been greatly prized by their owner or owners, denotes some very powerful influence—whether to propitiate a god or to the memory of some departed and revered relative we have no means of knowing with any certitude; but the analogous bull or bovine cults in Northern Africa, which will be discussed later, may well have a bearing on it. The first indication of this find was the discovery of a small cairn of stones, four in number, which was superimposed on a thick bed of sherds consisting of many fragments of bowls and beakers, for the most part with their concave face up. Beneath this pile of sherds was a thick bed of sand full of bovine limb bones, small portions of the skull plates of cattle, together with those of a small rodent, and beneath these again lay another floor of broken pottery, completely surrounded by various sherds set on edge, in a manner similar to that of Beast Burial No. 1. The pile was then carefully demolished, all bones and sherds being collected and set aside; and beneath the lower floor a remarkable assemblage of objects came to light. The focus in this case was, surprisingly enough, the tusk of a wild pig in the last stages of decomposition. This was covered by a large section of a broken bowl, forming the usual cavity, which might be termed the *sanctum sanctorum*. Here, in this tiny cave, were huddled together a diverse number of articles: 2 copper rings of wide ribbon-like bands with overlapping ends, width

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$\frac{3}{8}$″, long axis $\frac{3}{4}$″, and short $\frac{5}{8}$″, being therefore ellipses and not true circles; 2 copper bangles of the same ribbon material, width $\frac{5}{16}$″, while the diameters were $1\frac{7}{8}$″ and $1\frac{3}{4}$″ respectively; fragments of 4 other copper rings too corroded for measurement; a portion of a spiral-wound copper bangle badly corroded; a length of thin copper rod $4\frac{1}{4}$″ in length and tapering to one end, perhaps an awl; fragments of a solid iron bangle, just a line of oxidised red dust; a large broken *Achatina* shell; 8 small *Cypraea* shells, probably *C. annulus*, with their dorsal faces pierced as usual; half a garden-roller bead, blue type; 12 greenish-blue translucent canes and 5 small opaque Indian red beads; 8 *Achatina* shell discs; 2 *isifuba* stones, and a small piece of quartz crystal. The most unusual thing about the whole deposit was the finding of 4 pieces of clear, good-quality mica placed inside the rings and bracelets. This was quite unique, since no mica was found elsewhere at K.2 or on the Hill itself. A calabash had been placed at the side of the covering bowl, the only trace of which was its imprint on the sand. The height from the top of the small cairn to the surface was 5′, and the total thickness of the burial, exclusive of the cairn, was about 18″. Therefore the copper objects and other articles were recovered from a depth of about 6′ 6″ from the present surface. The bottom of the cairn probably represents an old occupational level, because cooking sites were found in other sections at the same depth.

When the large quantity of sherds were removed and assembled they were found to consist of 14 vessels, excellent in quality and design. What, the reader may well ask, was the reason for such wholesale destruction? Why was the really beautifully formed amphora-like pot broken into 58 pieces and the large beaker-like fat-boiling cauldron into some 47 bits? What was the reason for this grim destruction? We have elsewhere commented on the almost universal practice of breaking pottery in connection with ancient funerary rites, and it may therefore be taken as axiomatic that at K.2 this custom was not only practised in connection with human beings but was also extended to the cattle, sacred or otherwise, of its inhabitants. When the broken ceramics were assembled in our temporary workshop very few sherds were found to be missing, except in the case of pot No. 11, and the photographs on Plates XXII (Nos. 2–4) and XXIII (Nos. 1–3 and 5) and the scale drawings on Plate XXXIII show as fine a collection of ancient pottery as this subcontinent has yet produced. To complete this description, a detailed list of all vessels found in Beast Burial No. 6 is now given.

Associated pottery:

(1) A fine zoned beaker, height $6\frac{1}{2}$″, diameter over rim 10″. Fine black paste originally burnished black. Inner lip rounded. Cross-hatched triangles supported by two parallel bands.

(2) An equally fine bell beaker, though smaller. Height $5\frac{1}{8}$″, diameter over rim $7\frac{13}{16}$″. Fine grey paste burnished brown outside and black inside. Lip sharply bevelled to the interior. A line of triangles above base containing diagonals.

(3) Beaker bowl. Height $5\frac{1}{2}$″, diameter over rim approximately $8\frac{1}{2}$″. Broken. Finished mottled brown and black. Lip slightly everted and sloping to the interior. Line on centre from which hang irregular loops filled with wide cross-hatching.

(4) Drinking-cup. Small, slightly waisted. Height $3\frac{7}{8}$″, diameter over rim $3\frac{7}{8}$″. Two holes for suspension. Burnt a dull red inside and out. Undecorated.

(5) Fine spouted bowl. Class "B". Height 8″, diameter over rim $8\frac{1}{4}$″. The sherds of this bowl formed a portion of the first floor of the complex.

(6) Fine large open bowl. Height 9″, diameter over rim $11\frac{1}{8}$″. Its sherds formed a portion of the second floor.

(7) Sub-spherical bowl. Height $6\frac{3}{4}$″, diameter inside rim $5\frac{3}{8}$″. Its sherds formed portions of floors one and two. Undecorated.

(8) and (9). Two sub-spherical bowls, almost identical, but No. 8 slightly larger than No. 9. Both undecorated. Height of No. 8 6″, diameter inside rim $6\frac{1}{8}$″. Height of No. 9 $5\frac{5}{8}$″, diameter inside rim $5\frac{1}{2}$″. Both badly corroded and stained.

(10) Cooking pot. Height $10\frac{1}{4}$″, diameter over rim 7″. Coarse paste burnt red right through. Encircling line below neck from which hung loops filled with diagonals.

(11) Cooking pot. Badly broken and bottom portion missing. Height approximately 11″, diameter over rim $6\frac{1}{4}$″. Coarse, grey paste burnt red and fire-stained. Series of four gashes below neck.

(12) Deep dish or shallow bowl. Height $5\frac{1}{2}$″, diameter over rim $13\frac{1}{4}$″. Fine, grey paste mottled inside and black outside. An unusual decoration of hanging triangles unevenly spaced and a curious design at one end. This will again be illustrated to show the complete decoration.

(13) Beautifully shaped shouldered pot with narrow neck. Height 18″, diameter over rim 6″, greatest girth 15″. Lip sloped to the interior and bottom ovoid. Complicated design of enormous loops running up over neck and shoulder and filled with deep diagonal gashes.

(14) Large pot or cauldron. Height $13\frac{3}{4}$″, diameter over rim $14\frac{5}{8}$″. Fine black paste burnished brown outside, lower portion much fire-stained. Dull brown inside. It is this type of pot that the inhabitants of K.2 were thought to have used for the rendering down of fat and marrow from bones.

This group of vessels from Beast Burial No. 6 is quite

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without parallel in South Africa, and there is nothing elsewhere that can be compared with it.

## 2. BEAST BURIALS AND SIMILAR INTERMENTS ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA

Now that a mass of facts and figures have been assembled it is necessary to discuss what we know about bovine cults in other parts of Africa and to decide whether we can suggest any comparison or parallel with the beast burials at K.2. These questions have already been broached: What did these burials represent? Were they laid in honour of some forgotten god or cult? Did they represent a voluntary offering to ensure good hunting, or were they —as suggested by the late Mr. Martin of Penhalonga, Southern Rhodesia—burials by proxy of some important person who died or was killed far from the home settlement?[1] It is thought that the first hypothesis is the correct one, and the K.2 interments do in fact remind us of a bovine or bull cult, so widespread among the primitive Hamitic people of North Africa. Cattle, as everyone is aware, have been and still are greatly prized by all the Bantu tribes of the sub-continent, but they do not regard them from any religious point of view.[2] The Dinka of North Africa, who have Hamitic blood in them, possess a well-developed bull cult. The veneration of the ancient Egyptians for many types of animals is too well known to be stressed here. The adoration of Apis at Memphis or the Mnevis at Heliopolis, and the almost universal cult of Hathor, characterise Hamitic belief, while the related Semites must once have venerated cattle, as is witnessed by the lapse of the Israelites when they turned to the golden calf. The people of the Nile valley were not the only ones who worshipped virility as manifested in the strength and majesty of a bull; even the Indo-European Hittites regarded this animal with respect, and an ancient bas-relief shows a Hittite king[3] worshipping a bull as a symbol of the weather god. The better-known cult of Mithras, also an eastern religion, was widespread, even over the Roman world, and the figure of the god about to sacrifice the animal is frequently represented on various tombstones and frescoes. Coming nearer home, we have the *umkhosi* ceremony of the Zulus,[1] who kill a bull by manhandling, and also the analogous custom of the Swazis at the festival of the first fruits: all these must be manifestations of the same idol. The pre-dynastic people of Egypt must have brought their complex form of therianthropic worship with them when they entered the Nile valley, and wandering tribes of Hamites and half-Hamites may have drifted southwards, mingling with primitive Boskop-Bush stock, and may have carried the recollection of an animal cult even across the Limpopo. The veneration of cow or bull in early dynastic times is important enough; but we are fortunate in having definite proof of this ancient cult in Old Kingdom days, as is witnessed by the account of ox burials by the late Guy Brunton and G. Caton-Thompson. Owing to its bearing on the K.2 beast burials, the excerpt from *The Badarian Civilisation* is quoted in full:

"A discovery upon this site, the full import of which must, in the absence of any record of a similar phenomenon, remain for the moment obscure, was the numerous, carefully arranged piles of animal bones, found at a slight depth beneath the surface and confined to the region of the Old Kingdom burials. There was no sign of a prepared grave; the bones had been piled up in shallow holes dug to receive them in the soft "sebakh" of the Predynastic settlement. In all there were thirteen of these burials, composed of the remains of young oxen. The bones, which had been carefully dismembered before their arrangement in this manner, and which were in most cases incomplete, were stacked without any apparent order beyond the needs of balance; with the exception of the animal's head, which was in all cases where vestige of it remained, used to cap the erection, and was carefully oriented. The missing bones showed no uniformity of absence and varied in each pile. There was no trace of fire upon them . . . The diameter of the stacks averaged about 2 ft., and the height about 2 ft. to 2 ft. 6 inches. The top of the pile—the head—was in most instances so near the surface, though in no case did it actually protrude, that it was seldom found complete, and in some examples had vanished almost entirely. In the five stacks where the position of the head was certain, it was found to face what was locally doubtless considered to be north. No. 219 was a good example, and shows the widely spreading horns of the beast, 15″ in length. In the particular burial the following parts of the animal were noted as missing: mandibular rami, femora, sacrum, calcanea, astragali and some vertebrae. There were no traces of coloration upon the bones; nor are our heads bucrania in the accepted meaning of the term, for it is clear that the complete cranium was buried and not the frontal bones and the

1. Such a mode of burial was actually practised by the Makalaka of Southern Rhodesia. Cf. WILLOUGHBY: *The Soul of the Bantu*, 1928, p. 29 *et. seq.* Stayt also reported a fictitious burial practised by the Bavenda, who buried a sheep's head representing the corpse of a person who died away from home and whose spirit was thought to be angry. The sheep's head was buried in the usual way together with the dead man's clothing or possessions, and this grave was thereafter regarded as his. (Cf. STAYT: *The Bavenda*, 1931, p. 163.) This fact, however, need not affect the author's argument, because the Makalaka and Bavenda must have appeared on the scene at a much later stage. (Ed.)
2. With the exception perhaps of the Venda. Cf. STAYT: *The Bavenda*, 1931, p. 242, *et. seq.* (Ed.)
3. GURNEY: *The Hittites*, 1952, p. 149. (Cf. also plate opp. p. 129.)

1. BRYANT, A. T.: *The Zulu People*, 1949, p. 512.

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horns only . . . The site shows no vestige of occupants either living or dead after the VIth Dynasty, when it was abandoned as a burial ground; and it is, in my opinion, most unlikely that these animal burials are later than the latest burial . . . We must distinguish between two different aspects of the animal burials known to us; those placed sacrificially in human graves, and those given a burial separately and apparently unconnected with human death. In the Predynastic of Upper Egypt both types have been recorded and this is also the case amongst the Pan-grave intruders of dynastic times along with their many other suggestive retentions of prehistoric practices and arts . . . In Nubia, from Early Predynastic to "C"-group times, animal burials occur frequently both in human graves and in separate tombs . . ., but not, as far as I am aware, in separate cemeteries . . . At all events, it is evident that the practice of animal burials, whether separately or with human remains, has a long span of time in Egypt, dating back to Early Predynastic times, and it appears to belong to that portion of Nile valley cultural heritage which is assignable to Hamitic tradition."[1]

1. BRUNTON and CATON-THOMPSON: *The Badarian Civilisation*, 1928, p. 91.

The Wellcome Expedition[1] to the Sudan at Jebel Moya also discovered animal burials, and an illustration of such a burial with the ox or cow intact is given in the book. These burials do not show as great care as those from the Badarian site, but, like them, they are devoid of funerary furniture.

It is unnecessary to elaborate the similarity of these North African animal burials with those of K.2, the main difference being, as was stated above, the absence of grave furniture, which is so diverse and valuable on the latter site. The dismembering of the carcasses in all the Badarian interments should be noted, as should the age of the animals concerned and also the fact that in Egypt the bones present are much more numerous than at K.2. This, however, is a matter of individual detail. The main fact that emerges is that a bovine cult of probable Hamitic tradition once existed from Northern to Southern Africa and must have been introduced into the sub-continent by our proto-Hottentot folk at K.2 and probably elsewhere, as time and the spade will undoubtedly show.[2]

1. ADDISON: *The Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan (Jebel Moya)*, Vol. II, Plate XXX.
2. The positions of the beast burials at K.2 are shown on Diagrams 2 and 4. Beast Burial No. 1 is marked on Diagram 2 (that of Trench 1), and Beast Burials Nos. 2 to 6 on Diagram 4.

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# Chapter X

## 1. K.2 POTTERY

It is perhaps a trite saying that pottery is the best friend of the archaeologist, but this is unquestionably the truth, and nowhere can this dictum be better proved than at K.2 and Mapungubwe, where there is such a diversity of form and where different cultures once flourished and were superseded in their turn by others, presenting a tangle of civilisations difficult to unravel.

In this chapter I do not propose to make any attempt to classify Bush, Hottentot, and Bantu pottery, and I do not intend to comment on its manufacture. All this has been done competently by Schofield,[1] who has analysed South African primitive ceramics in great detail. Where we part company is in the identification of all pottery at K.2 and on the Hill. Schofield regards it as all Bantu with Shona and Sotho facies, whereas I see a large element of Hottentot at both sites, but predominantly at K.2. That Bantu vessels are found, particularly on the Hill, is unquestionable, and exceedingly rough native ware has been recovered from the upper levels at K.2 and in the surrounding district, but to lump together all the pottery found on Greefswald as Bantu is, in my opinion, an error of judgement which would not have occurred if my predecessors had had more time in which to pursue their investigations and, more especially, if they had discovered the great depression on the Hill, where the stratigraphy is plain to all and the past history of the site may easily be deduced.

I find it difficult to understand how Schofield arrives at the Sotho-Shona hypothesis. If you examine his work you will find there are seventeen plates with drawings of the ceramics of different Bantu tribes, Sotho and Shona included; but none of the pots represented on these pages, except one, have any resemblance to the pottery found on the lower levels of K.2. On Plate VII, page 134, there are sketches of the so-called Limpopo valley vessels, and if we except Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 12 no other plate has anything that can be compared with the remainder of the pots. It appears therefore that, according to the book itself, there are no Sotho or Shona ceramics resembling ours at K.2. Schofield's Class R pottery, Plate IV, from Southern Rhodesia is almost identical in appearance with our Middle Period pottery from the Hill, and here I agree that it is Bantu; but I doubt its Shona affinities, because I cannot visualise two totally different native tribes living in close proximity and in harmony with each other. Such a practice is against all Bantu tradition.

But there is another and more vital reason why we should not associate K.2 pottery with Bantu influence, and that reason is evident when the people themselves, the first inhabitants of the site, are studied. It has been proved, I think, to everybody's satisfaction that these people possessed no Negro elements in their skeletal make-up. What does this mean? Only one conclusion is indicated: the Hottentots were in occupation of the country now broadly known as Southern Rhodesia. This we have come to believe from the many settlements that have been and still are coming to light, and if the invading Bantu had had any physical contact with them the Negro elements would have been detectable in their skeletons. It is quite fantastic to think that the Bantu could have had any influence on the Hottentots culturally and not physically. Such a notion is against all common sense and historical records, and does not fit with what we know of the miscegenation of the races concerned. Can one imagine the savage Bantu invaders, with their bloodthirsty record, by-passing such flourishing settlements, allowing them to exist undisturbed, and inflicting their very inferior pottery technique on an older and more developed tradition—all this without any intermingling of the two stocks? The idea is both quite absurd and a biological impossibility.

As I have several times attempted to point out in the *South African Archaeological Bulletin*,[1] the absence of Negro characteristics in the osteological make-up of the K.2 people goes very far to show that they were pre-Bantu and that, therefore, if there was any later mixing of cultures the Bantu adopted something from the Hottentots, and not vice versa, as the study of their history tells us. There is still one more point that may be advanced for the Hottentot origin of the K.2 people: Ten Rhyne[2] in 1686 was the first person to give any details of the

1. SCHOFIELD: *Primitive Pottery*, 1948.

1. GARDNER: *Mapungubwe*, 1935–40. S. African Archaeological Bulletin, Vol. 10, p. 73, 1955.
2. Cf. SCHAPERA and FARRINGTON: *The Early Cape Hottentots*, 1933.

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pottery of the Cape Hottentots, who, he says, made beautiful clay pots for cooking. Schapera[1] quotes Schönland, giving a description of Khoisan ceramics which might have been taken from the K.2 vessels. The description reads as follows:

"The art of making pottery formerly found among all the Hottentots was lost soon after the Europeans came among them, although as late as the early years of the last century earthenware vessels made by themselves were still noted among the Naman. From the description available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it seems that in shape and manner of construction they were generally similar to those formerly found among the Cape Bushmen. The most common form is that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord can be passed in order to suspend it. Other pots of the same style are quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base is slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot. They are often ornamented around the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They are unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout."

The only fault I have to find in the above quotation is the mention of Bushmen. We now know that the primitive Bush race did not make pottery of the kind described above. The important paragraphs in Schapera's book refer to the large-bellied urn (No. 14 on Plate XXXIII) and the bell beakers (Nos. 1 and 2 of the same plate), which have the base greater in diameter than the rest of the pot. This account links our typical K.2 vessels with the Naman pottery, and it should be noted that the bellied urn and the bell beakers are not found on definitely Bantu sites. A disciple of the Bantu hypothesis doubted that the K.2 ceramics were Hottentot because they did not all possess pointed bases. This is quite absurd. Apart from Schapera's quotation, one might as well say that all Egyptian pots had conical bases, because every single vessel from the gypsum quarries at Umm es Sawan[2] in the Fayum was formed in that fashion and was probably so made to enable it to remain upright when thrust into the all-prevailing sand.

Another question was put to me in connection with the Bantu origin of the K.2 pottery. Why, my inquirer wished to know, were not the Nguni ceramics of the present day more like the old Hottentot vessels if, as was alleged, that branch of the Bantu race had been for a long period in intimate contact with the Khoi-Khoin? The answer was easy. The Nguni were influenced by contact with the Hottentots not only culturally but, as we know, linguistically, and, as regards the pottery, the great depression on the Hill shows that a tribe, probably of Nguni affinities, crossed the Limpopo, overran K.2 and did in fact continue with the older pottery technique, although dropping many of the more exotic forms. We have no means of estimating how long the Nguni continued to manufacture vessels copied from their predecessors. Perhaps they did so not more than a generation or two. The old Zulus in their homeland formerly made a pedestal pot, a form derived from a Hottentot prototype, but they no longer make this and have reverted to their more primitive and ancestral forms.

The cultural objects associated with the K.2 pottery also help to establish the Hottentot origin of the settlement; and in fact I am so convinced in my own mind that the pottery is not Bantu, either in form or in inspiration, that even if we had not found a single skeleton I should have hesitated to call the K.2 ceramics the product of any of our native tribes. It is gratifying to obtain corroboration of my ideas from the recently discovered graveyard near Salisbury, already mentioned in this text.[1] There the people possessed no negroid elements, being similar in all anatomical respects to the inhabitants of K.2. The authorities of the Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury, report that the pottery associated with these burials has no parallel among that of the native tribes of the Federation.

Regarding the classification of pottery, it is sometimes necessary, though none the less undesirable, to use the decoration on sherds as a basis of classification. One realises that it is not always possible to obtain vessels intact; but to use the decoration on the broken pieces for such purposes leads to many pitfalls. Suppose, for instance, that having no complete specimens, one attempted to classify the K.2 beakers by ornamentation only. One would eventually have a multitude of classes and end up in chaos, for the beakers are incised with many diverse patterns. It is the shape of the beaker that is important, not the decoration. Plate XVIII of Caton-Thompson's work[2] illustrates sherds of Class B.2, Class B, and Class D, and these sherds are, from my experience, all of one category, belonging to one type of pot. Those marked Class D, for example, are from the same shaped vessel as Class B.2, the difference being only a matter of more decoration or less. As Mapungubwe Middle Period produces the same sort of pottery intact, the comparison is easy.

I believe that the foregoing proves our case for the pre-Bantu origin of our lower K.2 ceramics. The entire absence of anything definitely Bantu in those horizons

1. SCHAPERA: *Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, 1930, p. 313.
2. CATON-THOMPSON and GARDNER: *The Desert Fayum*, 1934, Plate XV, pp. 104–110.

1. Cf. Chapter VI, Section 2.
2. *Zimbabwe Culture*, p. 51.

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has been stressed again and again, and it is entirely reasonable to suppose that the Hottentot settlers in Southern Rhodesia and in the Limpopo valley made their own pottery, which must have had a long tradition behind it and arrived as a fully developed entity on the spot.

Should the reader be seeking some kind of comparison, it may be of interest to state that the pottery from the passage graves of Eastern Europe resembles our Northern Transvaal material in some particulars. A zoned beaker from a grave at Carnac in Brittany is most surprisingly like the large zoned beaker on Plate XXXIII, No. 1. Other similarities, such as lugged pots, frequently occur. Is this resemblance fortuitous or did the wandering Brown Race send offshoots to the remotest parts of East and South Africa? Here is an interesting field of research for future investigators.

I have already stated that I do not propose to arrange the Greefswald pottery into any arbitrarily lettered classes. Readers can judge for themselves. I shall give drawings of all types of vessels, grouped according to their form, and also rim and sherd sections of various pots from which the decoration may be studied. The ceramics are drawn complete and not in section, as was done with the human and beast burials, for by this method the whole scheme of ornamentation is seen at a glance, and what sections it is necessary to study can be seen from the funerary furniture given on the various plates. In connection with this it will be noted that the beakers and spouted pots are usually much coarser and thicker than the sub-spherical and shallow bowls. The cooking utensils, almost invariably broken, are very similar to those of other races and other times, and do not change to any great extent through the ages. Nothing about them deserves special observation except perhaps the extraordinary variation in their decoration.

The sections and complete drawings of the K.2 ceramics show a well-developed and flourishing art, in which imagination and ingenuity have been exercised in the production of a class of pottery without parallel among the native races of South Africa today. This pottery shows no sign of the degeneration so apparent in the Bantu wares of our own time. That it was manufactured by the women is most probable, for a few of the more common forms were still being made after the site had been overrun by the first Bantu invaders and were taken by them, or by the captured women, into the lowest depths of the great depression on the Hill, where we find them today.

Plates XXXIV to XLIX give a comprehensive picture of the majority of rims and the ornamentation of the K.2 pottery. It may be observed that the greater number of broken fragments represent the cooking class of vessel, in contradistinction to the beaker or drinking class. The absence of most of the cross-hatching on the cooking pots is noteworthy, for that type of decoration appears to have been a favourite one on the drinking utensils. The bellied pots with narrow mouths are not found with the human interments and are consequently rarely recovered intact, the broken pieces being numerous on the cooking sites and on the mound on which they were cast after having been smashed by the users. The variation in the moulding of the rim tops should also be noted. Several of the specimens reflect the almost mathematical precision of incising, as if done by some mechanical means. Observe the sherds of Plate XXXVI, 8/8 and 8/7. Plate XLIV, B.2.S., 12/2, shows the sherd of a large open-mouthed pot with accurate lines falling from an encircling line below the rim. No such accurate incising was found on the Hill pottery.

Attention may be called to Plate XLVI, which depicts the major portion of a typical beaker with an extraordinary leaf-like ornamentation around the base from which rise two anchor-like designs. It has already been stated that the spouted bowls or pots never have any decoration whatever. It is not proposed in this work to illustrate sherd and rim sections from the summit of Mapungubwe. For these the reader is referred to Volume I.[1]

## 2. NUMBER AND VARIETY OF POTS FOUND AT K.2 AND ON MAPUNGUBWE

At the two sites on Greefswald some 280 pots of all descriptions passed through our hands during the six seasons we were at work there. Of these some were intact, mainly those from the human burials; others were capable of reconstruction, either entirely or partially, while with some we were able to obtain only the diameter of the mouth by fitting the rim fragments to a chart of concentric circles, which, of course, gave no indication of the depth or width of the original. From K.2 we were able to reproduce on paper some 195 pots of all shapes and sizes, inclusive of the human and beast burials, and it will be instructive to draw out a list of the K.2 ceramics and compare quantities and form with those from the Hill. It is easy enough to group beakers, spouted pots, and vessels of totally different shape and use; but it is not

1. Cf. Vol. I, p. 32. The reader is referred to SIR MORTIMER WHEELER'S *Archaeology from the Earth*, 1954, p. 147, for a description of an easy way to draw and measure pots. I evolved a similar method in Egypt and I used it on all other sites where pottery required drawing. For many years I regarded myself as the sole inventor of this method, but on reading Sir Mortimer's work a short time ago I found that he had suggested the same technique. I am still wondering whether the famous archaeologist had heard of my method, or whether at different periods and in different regions of the earth we had evolved the same solution to an identical problem.

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quite so simple to group the class of cooking pots, even if we could identify them as such, which we could not. In order to simplify matters I have called such ceramics "large" or "small" pots, grouping them roughly as to size. We therefore start with the K.2 pottery and arrange it as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Flared Beakers | 25 | Drinking-cups | 12 |
| Cylindrical Pots | 5 | Lugged Pots | 18 |
| Carinated Pots | 1 | Shouldered Pots | 1 |
| Small Pots | 54 | Large Pots | 17 |
| Exotic Pots | 12 | Deep Bowls | 19 |
| Shallow Bowls | 16 | Spouted Pots | 6 |
| Wide-mouth Urns | 3 | Straight-sided Beakers | 3 |
| Flat Dishware | Nil | Handled Pots | 2 |

The above takes cognisance only of those vessels we were able to handle and delineate but not of the thousands of sherds that littered the site.

On Mapungubwe summit we obtained the following:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Flared Beakers | 7 | Drinking-cups | 5 |
| Cylindrical Pots | Nil | Lugged Pots | Nil |
| Carinated Pots | 4 | Shouldered Pots | 8 |
| Small Pots | 16 | Large Pots | 7 |
| Exotic Pots | 1 | Deep Bowls | 9 |
| Shallow Bowls | 6 | Spouted Pots | 2 |
| Wide-mouth Urns | Nil | Straight-sided Beakers | 6 |
| Flat Dishware | 14 | Handled Pots | Nil |

A broad comparison can therefore be made between the two groups. At K.2 we notice that there is a preponderance of the flared beakers, cylindrical and lugged pots, bowls generally, and exotic forms such as the pedestal and handled pots. Not a single sherd of the flat dishware was discovered during the six years. On the Hill we found more shouldered and carinated pottery, many specimens of the flat dishware, and a total absence of the more exotic K.2 ceramics. This grouping will be found to work out very well and is clearly to be seen in the vertical pottery scale, Plate LXI, from the great depression on the Hill, where the different types of pottery, each in its own zone, is quite clear to the eye.

On Plate V, No. 1, typical Mapungubwe vessels are seen on the table and these show the shouldered and carinated types. Further specimens are illustrated in Plate XXV, Nos. 3 and 4. Pottery types of K.2 are shown on Plates XXIII, Nos. 3 and 4, and XXIV, Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Photograph No. 1 on Plate XXV is a group showing both types of vessels. Again on Plate XXVI K.2 ceramics are to be seen: No. 1 with a double-lugged flat-bottomed pot and No. 2 with a handled jug that looks quite European in style.

In the following pages the K.2 pottery will be delineated first, followed by the Mapungubwe material, and after that a comparative study will be an easy matter. For reference, each pot will be numbered consecutively, but these numbers have no co-ordinate significance, being merely useful when such and such a plate or pot is referred to.

It is not proposed to describe each pot in detail: the reader can see from the scale the dimensions of each vessel and observe its shape and form. The addition of such details as colour, burnish, quality of clay, and the like, is of no vital importance to the study of the culture, and such details have been omitted. If, however, there is anything of peculiar interest among the ceramics depicted on the plates it will be discussed in the appropriate place.

Should the reader be disposed to trace the provenance of each article shown on the various sheets he can easily do so by referring to the grid or trench plans shown on Diagrams 2, 4 and 5, and to enable him to do so an explanation of the symbols used is appended: T.1 and T.2 refer to Trenches 1 and 2 and T.P. to the test pits. B, or Blk, refers to the various blocks, whether at K.2. or on the Hill. The letter S or Sec. refers to all sections within the blocks. On Plate LIII the letters T.S. occur. These refer to the talus slopes or ground between the actual kraal at K.2 and the lower portion of Bambandyanalo, where Van Tonder excavated in 1934 before my arrival. No grid was put down, and only trial holes were sunk where sherds and bones indicated an area once inhabited. It may be mentioned that the clay for the various pots was probably obtained from the bed of an ancient river that once flowed past Mapungubwe terrace and is now represented by a few isolated shallow pools which turn into a raging torrent during the infrequent but heavy rains.

## 3. DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

*Plate L:* The resemblance of our bell beakers to those of the passage graves in Brittany has already been commented upon.[1] The description of the various calyx-formed vessels found in France is taken from a British Museum publication.[2] It may be as well to note here that the older beakers of K.2 have their walls more flared outwards than the later cups of rather similar form from the Hill. That is to say, this type of vessel tends to approximate more and more to the modern straight-sided beaker of native manufacture.

*Plate LI:* Cylindrical pots such as Nos. 26 and 27 are very rare indeed and are always found in close association with the K.2 interments. No. 27 contained the limb bones of an infant. This type is completely absent from Mapungubwe summit. The carinated pot, No. 28, was the only one of its type found during the six seasons' work, though such pots are common on the Hill. It is not a typical K.2

1. Cf. p. 62, col. 1.
2. British Museum: *Antiquities of the Stone Age*, 1926, p. 148.

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ceramic and may be regarded as intrusive or an aberrant. Spouted pots, both open channel and bridged or tubular, are typical of K.2 and are always found with the beast burials, only one having been recovered in association with a human skeleton. These pots are not found in the upper and middle regions of Mapungubwe. Again it is of interest to note the resemblance of pots 34 and 35 to certain Old Kingdom vessels of similar form from Egypt.

*Plate LII:* This plate illustrates what may be termed a typical characteristic K.2 ceramic, namely, the lugged pot, surprisingly absent from the summit of Mapungubwe. The lugs are usually pierced vertically, but some are holed above the lug and into the interior of the pot, as in No. 48. No. 46 has the hole through the lug and into the interior of the vessel. No. 36 is thought to be a type of cooking pot that has lugs towards the bottom which would assist to keep it on the stones forming the rough hearths at K.2. No. 37 has a complete series of grooved lugs surrounding the perimeter of the rim and is unique, being the only bowl discovered with such ornamentation. It may be noted that the drinking-cups and shallow bowls very seldom have any decoration at all, and in no instance are they pierced for suspension. Occasionally the lugs are not pierced at all, as in No. 40.

*Plate LIII:* The spherical and sub-spherical bowls are usually without ornamentation, but three are shown on this plate with their attendant décor. The exotic pots shown are of great interest because they are extremely rare and only to be found at K.2. No. 69, a long flat-bottomed pot, has two bosses or mammillary protuberances on each side, ornamented with concentric circles, but solid and not pierced. Two pedestal pots were discovered on the talus slopes bordering on the main settlement. These unsteady-looking vessels were copied by the Nguni tribes, but have now fallen into desuetude. Handled jugs such as Nos. 71 and 72 are very uncommon, and nothing comparable was found on the Hill. No. 73 was a small well-made decorated pot with tight-fitting lid, the under-projecting portion of which fitted into a raised ring on the top of the main body of the pot. Nothing comparable was found anywhere in the settlement. Several double-compartment dishes were uncovered at K.2, but none on the Hill. An exotic and curious little dish is represented by No. 77, the handle of which was thought to carry on over the body of the pot. Only one of this type came to light. No. 78 has given rise to considerable argument. Schofield thought that the object in question was a rattle modelled on a metal hawk-bell and that therefore a medieval tradition was postulated. I cannot agree with this suggestion, but believe the object to have been a snuff-box, the small hole at the top being used for pouring in the snuff. The primitive people of Greefswald, whether Hottentot or Bantu, could have had no use for a hawk-bell, and No. 77 appears to me to have been modelled from a small gourd which was probably the original prototype.

*Plate LIV:* The large cooking pots or containers were of two types. Specimens Nos. 80, 81 and 82 have a narrow mouth and constricted neck, and were probably for holding water or milk (in this connection cf. the well-formed amphora-like vessel from Beast Burial No. 6, Plates XXII, No. 4, XXIII, No. 1, and XXXIII, No. 13). No. 80 is quite classical in design. The wide open-mouthed pots were not found at any great depth and may have been a later importation. They are comparable with the large pots from the Venda horizon on the Hill.

Turning now to Mapungubwe itself, we have the following:

*Plate LV:* Here we have a collection of straight-sided and slightly flared beakers, reminiscent of K.2 but not identically similar. The decoration is nearly always a triangular motif and does not display the variety seen at the former site. It may also be noted that there are no holes for suspension. The spouted bowl, No. 100, will be discussed in its proper place when we come to analyse the stratigraphy of the great depression. Carinated bowls were common on the Hill in contradistinction to K.2, and the shallow bowls were found in considerable numbers.

*Plate LVI:* The shouldered pots illustrated on this plate may be termed the type vessel of the Middle Period of Mapungubwe Hill. Only one such pot was found at K.2 and there in connection with Burial K.S. No. 29, Plate XV, which was thought to have been one of a group of late burials from the Hill, contemporary, that is, with the gold skeletons there, which possessed shouldered pots.

Exotic or unusual vessels were uncommon on the Hill, the most important being a wide, deep bowl, No. 121, which was the only specimen discovered out of the ordinary in shape. Spherical bowls were very rare and were not found at depth. Wide-mouthed cooking pots, similar in all respects to those found over a wide area, were common and need no comment.

*Plates LVII and LVIII:* These show a type of large container for either grain or water, and such containers, curiously enough, were found in groups in the great depression. Plate IX, No. 4, shows such a group emerging from the ground. It may be surmised that such a collection of pots was made for the conserving of water, which must always have been a problem on the desiccated summit.

## 4. FLAT, SHALLOW DISHWARE FROM MAPUNGUBWE: PLATE LIX

We now come to the most puzzling and uncommon collection of vessels on the Hill, vessels that at the moment

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are unknown in other parts of the Northern Transvaal. They are well illustrated on the above-mentioned plate and are all demonstrable of one particular family. It is necessary to say at the outset that not a single sherd of this make was discovered on any portion of K.2, and the whole assemblage, which was numerous, must be considered as belonging exclusively to the Hill. Schofield has nothing in particular to say about this type of vessel, apart from calling it a shallow bowl and designating it as M.1, with which I disagree, because it bears no resemblance in design or texture to other pots classed as such. It must have been made by a different people and is of a much thicker and coarser make than any of the shouldered or spherical bowls, although they often show a black burnish and are elaborately incised all round. In the first volume on Mapungubwe these shallow dishes are well illustrated on pages 64 and 74, where the intricate decoration and uncommon moulding are clearly seen.

To obtain more information about this shallow dishware we must turn to Plate LXI, on which the stratification in the great depression is depicted by a graph which attempts to show in diagrammatic form the various horizons or cultural levels disclosed by the excavations. We notice immediately that this ware is not found at depth, a fact that is also apparent from Schofield's description of the vessels.[1] Not a single sherd was unearthed much below 4 feet, and it must be concluded therefore that this ware is recent as ceramics go on the Hill and was much used by its inhabitants. I frankly admit that I am puzzled by its distribution and can offer no proof of any sort regarding its provenance. What the difficulty is will appear from what follows. About 4 feet from the surface of the great depression and in other spots where we have depth there is evidence of what I consider to be Venda occupation. The groups of large storage vessels, the associated beads, and the metal work all seem to point to a settlement on the summit by such tribal units, especially as we have indisputable evidence of the Venda in close proximity to the Hill itself. Were they the originators of the shallow dishware? If so, why was I unable to find traces of such forms on definitely known Venda sites which I investigated? Another point I wish to make is that this ware is found on the very top of the great depression, one dish being only 6 inches below the surface. That being so, it was used by people or peoples who occupied roughly the four-foot zone, or the D and C surfaces shown on the graph. Now we know from the physical anthropologist that the skeletons from the Hill, while in some instances showing traces of Negro, were in the main Boskop-Bush, or, in other words, Hottentot. This being so, were these last-comers the makers of our shallow dishware? I do not think so. We see from the distribution of the bone arrows that the Hottentot zone did not extend downwards for more than about 3 feet. Arrows found sparingly below that level probably worked their way down by the action of water or erosion, for it is on the first and second strips that the great majority of these weapons were recovered. It is unfortunate that the funerary furniture associated with the Mapungubwe skeletons was not described in greater detail. In the first volume we are told on page 126 that two shallow bowls were found with skeleton No. 10. As we have no more information about these, we cannot tell whether they are identical with our flat-dish type. Now, associated with skeleton M.S. No. 24 (Fig. 16), I found two shallow bowls, Nos. 3 and 5, which although not exactly similar to the long flat dishes on Plate LIX, nevertheless bear a generalised resemblance to them, especially to No. 138. It might appear therefore that the Mapungubwe skeletons had shallow bowls for funerary furniture but did not use the true flat- and shallow-dish type for burial purposes. We are therefore quite unable to say definitely who the makers of this ware were: the people on C surface or those on D surface. It is a plausible supposition that the Hottentots, who were the last-comers to the Hill, ousted the C-surface people, whether Venda or not, and annexed their pottery, as they subsequently, I hope to show, acquired other cultural objects from previous occupiers. With regard to the actual use of these uncommon dishes, we know from various historians that the Khoi-Khoin made butter by the oscillation of the cream in skin bags and used it to grease themselves. Our immediate forebears produced cream by the exposure of milk in shallow pans, when the fat was skimmed off the surface and rendered into butter. Could not the Hottentots have used our shallow dishware for a similar purpose? This is a possible explanation for the use of these unusual types; but of course it is impossible to prove whether they were so used or not. Further excavation, particularly in Southern Rhodesia, may throw light on these pots, but at the moment all that we can say with safety is that this type of dish was used by people or peoples who lived on the upper levels of the Hill and that the type is not found below 4 feet from the present surface.

1. Cf. FOUCHÉ: *Mapungubwe*, Vol. I, 1937, p. 64.

## 5. VERTICAL POTTERY SCALE: PLATE LXI

To conclude the chapter on the Greefswald ceramics a few remarks on the vertical pottery scale are necessary. It must be understood that this graph represents a portion of the actual face of Block 5, Section 1, and at a point 58 feet from line A.1. It is marked by a small circle on

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the grid plan of the summit (Diagram 5), and is the deepest point of the great depression, with bedrock rising from that spot to the right and left. In Chapter V (Section 2) I have discussed the great depression at some length, but have given no indication of how our pottery scale was arrived at. It was of course obvious to everyone that the first huts and signs of a more complex culture were erected on the sterile belt of sand covering the stone-age deposit, and it is the horizon above this that I have designated the K.2—Nguni zone. My reasons for this are deductive, for there are only the pottery and cultural objects as evidence for the theory which follows. During the seasons preceding 1939 we had obtained an accurate knowledge of typical K.2 pottery and, by careful observation, had proved to our satisfaction that the settlement had been overrun and occupied by Negro tribes which we term Bantu. These people brought with them the straight-sided beaker, but adopted many of the K.2 ceramics which still continued to be manufactured by the women they took as spoils of war. History tells us that Nguni tribes lived for a long period in contact with Hottentot influences—long enough in fact to alter their original speech materially—and therefore it may be admitted that it was an Nguni clan that first crossed the Limpopo at this point and made contact with our K.2 folk on coming across their settlement. That these wandering people had no very distinct pottery tradition is more than probable, and it is therefore not to be wondered at that they adopted the ceramics, or some of them, of a superior culture. When their time came to occupy the great depression they took the K.2 type of pottery with them and also the straight-sided cups we found in the hut complex, from which the typical K.2 spouted bowl was also recovered. This zone on A surface shows unmistakable signs of all the elements of Bantu culture with their metal tools and weapons, but as the zone possessed unquestionable K.2 ceramics, a mingling of the two cultures in the lowest depths of the Hill is indicated. I may state here that there is no archaeological evidence of when this took place. We are unable to tell whether the Nguni occupied the Hill on their arrival at K.2 or whether they remained at the Hottentot settlement for any length of time and eventually took refuge on Mapungubwe. Whichever was the case is immaterial. What we do know is that they in their turn were attacked and presumably driven off, as the first thick bed of ash tells us and the total absence of any K.2 ceramics above B surface indicates. I have called the second zone Sotho for the reason that the pottery found there resembles the pottery of the modern Basuto, and it is logical to suppose that Sotho tribes followed the Nguni, who by that time had left the Northern Transvaal and had migrated towards those lands where we now find them. I will call the reader's attention to pot 108 in the Sotho zone of the pottery scale. I have in my possession an identical vessel from Basutoland, with hatched triangles and all. Another thick bed of ash proclaims the extinction or expulsion of the Sotho settlement, and we now approach debatable ground. We know that the Venda or allied tribes were the last Bantu-speaking people to cross the Limpopo. For this the evidence is quite clear. We know, as I have already stated, that there were numerous smelting sites in the immediate vicinity of Mapungubwe, and it is extremely improbable that the oncoming Venda would have left a pocket of Sotho tribesmen in undisputed possession of a valuable site like the Hill. Although, as I have already remarked, we are not sure, I think it is highly probable that the Venda occupied the summit for some considerable time, and there their large storage pots, typical beads, copper and other metal work are well displayed above C surface. All the accumulated evidence of years points to a small Hottentot clan as being the last occupants and dwellers on the Hill and its immediate surroundings. Some were actually buried at K.2, even if they did not live there. These latecomers appear to have dispossessed the Venda of the summit without much trouble, for there is no belt of ash to mark a sudden and fatal termination to their occupancy. These Hottentots brought well-made shouldered pots and beakers with them and, as has been said, either made or took over the flat dishware. The great depression was the only place on the summit where we could obtain reliable and clear stratigraphy, and the graph shows most convincingly that the pottery on the Hill was not homogeneous but that different people lived there at different periods, each with its own culture. The study of the beads tells the same story as the pottery: garden-rollers and translucent canes in the lower zones, various blacks and other types in the middle period, and more recent pinks and striped beads on or near the surface.

To summarise: The K.2 pottery in the actual settlement was pre-Bantu and Hottentot or proto-Hottentot. Rough and badly made Bantu ware has been discovered in close proximity to Bambandyanalo. At Mapungubwe Hill, on A surface at the lowest cultural depth, we have a mixture of K.2 and Bantu ceramics and on B and C surfaces a purely Bantu form of pottery comparable to ancient and modern native types. On D surface we are confronted again with Hottentot and Bantu types, the former predominating the nearer we get to the surface.

In conclusion, we believe that the preceding pages give a reasonable explanation of the chaotic mixture of all pottery types found on Greefswald. The explanation is based on the evidence of six seasons' work and is supported by bead stratigraphy and by investigation into neighbouring cultures at various other sites.

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It is hardly necessary to point out the value of close archaeological co-operation with Southern Rhodesia, for if, as we think, the cultural centre of this civilisation lay in that region it is apparent that the two countries must work together in close and complete harmony, for otherwise new evidence that may accumulate will not be co-ordinated and much valuable material will be overlooked for want of departmental unity.

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# Chapter XI

## 1. BONE ARROWS AND LINKSHAFTS FROM THE HILL

The finding of a well-developed arrow-making industry on the summit of Mapungubwe in the great depression did much to substantiate our previous conclusions that Hottentots had once been masters of the Hill and had lived and died there.

The finding of such large quantities of bone arrows, far in excess of the ordinary requirements of a small clan, inclines one to the opinion that there was really a factory site at which these weapons were manufactured in such large numbers as to warrant the idea of export. That the industry was concentrated in the great depression is beyond doubt, because it was there that the arrows were found in their hundreds, and only odd detached specimens were recovered from other parts of the summit. During our excavations at K.2 a few isolated bone arrows, 5 in all, and 2 linkshafts were recovered from the various blocks; and on page 31 a hoard of over 100 rough arrow shafts are described, some of which were of the double-ended Bushman variety. It must be noted that not a single arrow was found at depth at K.2, the hoard mentioned above being on a high level, that is, at 3 feet, the remainder being at 2 and 1 foot respectively. Not a single specimen was recovered from the burials, whether human or animal; and the fireplaces or pits did not yield any traces of arrows either. It must be concluded, therefore, that the old inhabitants of K.2 had no knowledge of these weapons, and the few specimens found on the site were probably imported by the last inhabitants of the Hill, who, as has been stated, had certain contact with the settlement. This would seem to agree with the opinion of Professor Maingard,[1] who suggests that the more ancient Hottentots did not originate the bone arrows but adopted them from the Bushmen. To corroborate our views still further, the large site recently discovered near Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia has also failed to produce any of these weapons up to the present.

Before the specimens from Mapungubwe are described it will be as well to learn what other investigators have to say about Hottentot arrows, the more ancient the better.

1. MAINGARD: *History and Distribution of the Bow and Arrow in South Africa.* S. African Journal of Science, XXIX.

Andrew Sparrman[1] states:

"Their arrows are a foot and a half long, and of the same thickness, as they appear in the drawings in Plate VIII (our Fig. 22). They are made of a reed one foot in length, which, at the base, or the end that receives the bow-string, has a notch of a proper size to fit it. Just above this notch there is a joint in the reed, about which strings made of sinews are wound, in order to strengthen it. The other end of the reed is armed with a highly polished bone, five or six inches long. At the distance of an inch or two from the tip of this bone, a piece of quill is bound on very fast with sinews, in the same manner as may be seen in Figs. 4 and 7. This is done, in order that the arrow shall not be easily drawn out of the flesh; and thus there may be so much the longer time for the poison, which is spread on of a thick consistence like that of an extract, to be dissolved, and infect the wound. It is not common, however, for an arrow to be headed in the manner above mentioned, with a pointed bone only; this latter being usually cut square at the top, and a thin triangular bit of iron fixed into it, as may be seen in Plate VIII (our Fig. 22, No. 4), where the upper part of the arrow is represented without any poison on it; for with this the binding is covered and besmeared, the same being afterwards rubbed down level and smooth all round the shaft, that the arrow may pierce so much the deeper into the flesh."

The above extract from Sparrman is sufficient for our purpose, and we can now turn to what Le Vaillant[2] has to say concerning these weapons:

"These arrows are made of reeds, and very curiously formed. They are only eighteen inches, or at most two feet in length; whereas those of the Caribs are six feet. Having rounded a small bone three or four inches in length, and less in diameter than the reed, these Hottentots thrust it into one of the ends of the arrow, but without fixing it; on this account, when the arrow penetrates any body, the rod may be drawn out; but the bone remains in the wound, because it is armed with a small iron hook, placed on one of its sides in such a manner, that by its resistance, and the new lacerations it occasions in the

1. SPARRMAN: *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, 1785, p. 199.
2. LE VAILLANT: *Travels in the Interior of Africa*, Vol. 2, 1790, pp. 66–67.

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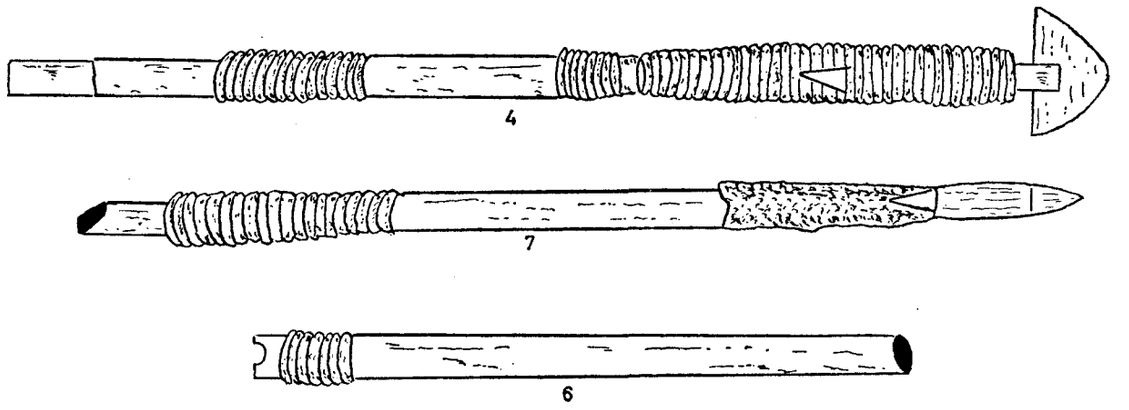


Fig. 22. Hottentot bone arrows, after Sparrman. (Scale: 1 : 1)

flesh, it renders useless all those means which art might devise to extract it. This bone also is dipped in a poison which has the consistence of mastich; and they often add to its point a small triangular bit of iron well sharpened, which renders the weapon still more terrible."

Both these authors go on to describe the bows used by the Hottentots, but as no trace of these remain on Mapungubwe, we need not concern ourselves about them. Both Sparrman and Le Vaillant are aware of the method of fixing the iron point or tip to the bone, but as there are two varieties they had better be described more clearly. There are three types of bone arrows at Mapungubwe. First there is the bone point, which is merely a length of bone brought to a very sharp point. There were two ways of fixing the iron barb. In some specimens the bone tip is squared off and bevelled down slightly, forming a depression in the bone about $\frac{7}{8}$" long and quite flat. To this must have been bound a sliver of iron or even a piece of sharp stone, no doubt tied with sinews, which when soaked would contract on drying and grip the bone tightly. This type of arrow was invariably longer than the split-point variety, which rarely exceeded three inches. Another way of fixing the barb was to split the top of the bone delicately, insert the barb, which was probably kept in place by some adhesive, and then to treat the whole with poison. The barbs in arrows of this type have long since disappeared, their presence being indicated by the split bone held together with a rusty deposit of oxidised iron and stained red. Plate XXVII gives a photographic selection of bone arrows and their attendant linkshafts. Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are long arrows which had the side of the bone cut out to receive a barb of some kind. Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 are the split-top variety, and in No. 6 a paper barb has been inserted to show the method employed. The actual split is well seen in No. 5. Nos. 8, 9 and 10 are the sharpened bone points and vary much in length. The linkshafts shown below the arrows are much of a type: some have an obtuse point, others have not; but all are approximately of the same length and diameter. The drawings of arrows as given in Fig. 22 are taken from Sparrman's book and show the split-end variety with iron barb and the flat notched type with poison and quill. Hottentot and Bushman bone arrows have of course long been known and commented upon by various authors, but I am unaware of identification marks having been mentioned by any of them. On Mapungubwe it was at once noticed that many of these small weapons bore designs which could only be attributed to personal marks, each hunter having his own particular means of identifying his own arrow, which was a very sound idea, for the arrows must have taken time and trouble to make, and the owners would naturally wish to recover as many as possible. Identification marks would also prevent arguments as to the ownership of any game that might be shot. On Plate LXII I give a number of these designs which we first noticed in 1939. There are probably many others to be registered, for after my departure from Greefswald Van Tonder remained on for a few months and found several hundred more of both arrows and linkshafts, but unfortunately did not keep a record of the actual number or of any new identification marks.

The arrows represented on Plate LXII are diagrammatic and are not supposed to be a facsimile of the actual weapon.

A few words about the Mapungubwe arrows, their depth and their number may be of interest. It must be recorded that the same conditions prevailed on the summit as we have seen at K.2, namely that the arrows were a surface

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deposit or nearly so. No bone weapons were found in the lower levels of the great depression, and the actual factory site on the Hill was about three feet from the present surface. The arrows were made from the bones of ostrich limbs and were ground and shaped by rubbing on pieces of sandstone, the grooves formed by this action being found all over the site. Not all, however, were of bone. During 1939 and a portion of 1940 seven ivory heads and five linkshafts were recovered. These were of the fine bone-point variety and not formed to take a barb. Is it permissible to suppose that they belonged to the principal person on the Hill? Perhaps. Now, during the few months I was on the summit, we excavated 216 arrows and 235 linkshafts. A record of the depth of these articles is instructive: 72 were found in the one-foot level, 105 in the two-foot, 30 in the three-foot, eight in the four-foot, and one at the five-foot level. These last nine are thought to have worked their way down to a lower horizon which does not represent the actual foundation of the factory site. Eighty-eight arrows were recovered from Block 6 (see Diagram 5), and an analysis of the various types is not without interest. They were as follows: metal-tipped: 23; flat and notched for metal or a substitute: 10; pure bone points: 55. Other blocks showed much the same proportions, the plain bone point predominating. In conclusion it may be remarked that there were a great number of broken or discarded weapons which were not taken into consideration when the quantities were worked out. No double-ended arrows of Bushman type were found in the great depression. On no other site on the Limpopo near Greefswald have bone arrows been found in such quantities, and from the Venda smelting factories I did not recover a single specimen. The object shown on Plate LX, No. 4, and mentioned on page 19, col. 2, in the text is thought to have been used in the supposed arrow factory. An arrow placed in one of the grooves could be kept firm while the shaft was engraved or poisoned. This is of course pure supposition, but otherwise it is difficult to find a use for such an uncommon specimen.

## 2. CAIRNS (*IZIVIVANE*) WITH REFERENCE TO MIGRATION

In a previous chapter I referred very briefly to the cults or religious beliefs of our K.2 folk, except those represented by the beast burials, which were given with all possible detail. There is, however, on Greefswald a type of monument formed of two great mounds of stones which, with all due deference to my predecessors, should have told them that the history of our Limpopo site was not quite so simple as it appeared to them. One of these mounds points to the entrance of the valley leading to the settlement at K.2 and the other to the pass which gives access to the plain on which Mapungubwe lies. I have not mentioned the cairns before, for it is necessary to discuss their meaning and purpose in considerable detail because of the most important bearing they have on who our K.2 people were and where they came from. These cairns also serve to point out the relationship with other ancient and modern stocks. They are termed *izivivane* (singular: *isivivane*) by the Zulu, and a brief explanation of the use of this name is necessary. I have not been able either to discover what the descendants of our Hottentots called these mounds or to find mention of them in any of the accounts of early writers that I have had access to. In far-away Asia they are called "obos" by the Mongolians, and have exactly the same significance as in Africa. The Beja, a North African tribe of Hamitic stock, term these heaps "Tiheiw", but as the Nguni clans must at some remote period have been in intimate contact with the Hottentot elements, from whom they adopted their clicks and some cultural traits, the employment of the word *izivivane* seems to be a sensible one and is both brief and euphonious, for it is probable that even if we discovered the Hottentot word it would be as hard to write as to pronounce. The reader will understand, therefore, that by *izivivane* is meant the large cultural heaps of stones, as distinct from the piled-up cairns over human interments which are found throughout the Cape, South West Africa, and sparingly in Natal, and which have been traced through Kenya and into Somaliland. As far as I am aware, there is no publication dealing exclusively with this particular cult, though several writers past and present have mentioned their whereabouts and conjectural significance. Accordingly, as they have an important bearing on the validity of our final conclusions, I make no apology for going into what is known about them in considerable detail, for they are of manifest value not only to the archaeologist but also to the ethnologist.

I am personally well acquainted with the *izivivane*. During the South West African campaign of 1914 and 1915 I saw many of these cairns in what was then German territory, and from enquiries made among German prisoners I was informed that the Hottentots had erected such mounds of stone in honour of some god about whose identity my informants knew nothing. In Natal, where they have not been removed for agricultural reasons, we have several examples, and during the year 1953 I placed an advertisement in one of our local papers, asking farmers whether they knew of these mounds and to report on them if possible. The response was gratifying. From Dundee, Mr. van Greuning gave particulars of one in that neighbourhood; while Mr. C. J. Cronje, an old resident of Ladysmith, reported that a large one existed between Lombard's Kop and Umbulwana, hills in the

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vicinity of the town. I already knew of the *isivivane* near Weenen and was therefore more than pleased to learn from Mr. Coombes of the farm "Greenhill", near Umzimkulu, of one of the mounds on his property that marked a drift over the Umzimkulu River. These cairns are, of course, well known throughout Pondoland and the Eastern Province. It will be noticed that the route indicated by these cairns might mark the path taken by the Hottentots who trekked from the Northern Transvaal and entered Natal, avoiding the deep river mouths and the high hills of the Drakensberg. They took the line of least resistance for their flocks and herds and passed through Natal at places where the rivers were easily fordable. The present-day Zulu or Xhosa, who might be expected to have retained a faint recollection of their significance, has, however, no knowledge whatsoever regarding them, and merely states that it may bring good luck to throw a stick or stone on such a heap.

The cairns are common in the Cape wherever the early Hottentot clans dwelt and, as has already been stated, we have two fine examples on the farm Greefswald. It is possible, therefore, to trace the *izivivane* from the confines of the Cape right through to the Limpopo, two routes being suggested in a southerly direction—a central and an eastern one.

If all trace of these mounds terminated on that river they would not be of much assistance to us in following the passage of the K.2 people, but the recent war, which did so much damage archaeologically, also aided archaeology in other ways. With regard to the continent of Africa, I requested some members of the First South African Brigade, then training in Kenya, to keep their eyes open for such cairns and to report on their observations. The result was highly gratifying, for *izivivane* not only were found in Kenya but were traced right into Somaliland, being sometimes used by the troops to establish temporary causeways over dry river beds and the like. As one soldier told me: "We traced these heaps of stones right across the wild country until we reached the metalled highways of the Italians, when our advance was so rapid that all touch with such monuments was lost."

We have in the cairns at Greefswald definite proof of the presence of Hottentots during some period of its history near K.2 and the Hill itself, and this, taken in conjunction with the physical and cultural characteristics of the inhabitants of the former site and the finding of large quantities of bone arrows, should make the evidence in favour of the Hottentot origin of such people conclusive and beyond any further argument.

Older writers believed that the Hottentots, coming from somewhere in the region of the Great Lakes or even further north, journeyed across the continent until they reached the Kunene River, where they turned south, eventually finding their way into the lands where the first white settlers made contact with them. The absurdity of such a hypothesis was, I think, first exposed by Schofield, who pointed out not only the impossibility of a pastoral people trekking with their flocks through the waterless wastes south of the Kunene but also the almost hopeless task of getting cattle through the defiles and gorges along the route. Engelbrecht[1] was on the right track when he quoted the evidence of a missionary who had interviewed an old Kora man of nearly 100 years and stated that the Hottentots did not travel south along the coast but came from the interior of the continent, following the course of the ancient river, now called Harts. Now the Harts River rises somewhere near Lichtenburg and is comparatively close to the headwaters of the Marico. If we assume that the old Kora man had heard that his ancestors took the route Limpopo, Marico and finally the Harts, that would bring them easily from Southern Rhodesia to the vicinity of the Vaal in the Orange Free State, where history places them in quite recent times. This would be my central migrational road, the other, as has been stated, crossing over into Natal and down the south-east coast. If we look in a more northerly direction, say up the Shashi River or other tributaries of the Limpopo, we come to what may be termed the "tropical corridor", and evidence, accumulated through the years, points most conclusively to the suggestion that the Hottentot clans entered Southern Africa by that tropical corridor (a road followed by all invaders of the sub-continent) and probably settled for an unknown period in and around what is now known as Southern Rhodesia.

The Hottentots believed that these cairns represented the spot where their hero Heitzi-Eibib died and was resurrected many times, theirs being a type of worship comparable, as we shall see, with a Mongolian cult. But those heaps of stone not only blaze the trail of the proto-Hottentots but go a long way towards helping us solve the problem of where such a hybrid people originated. That these *izivivane* are the present-day remains of an ancient Hamitic tradition is probably irrefutable. They are found all through that portion of Eastern Africa in which dwelt tribes of the Hamitic stock such as the Beja, Galla, and kindred stems. Some quotations gathered from past and present writers will give the reader much information on this interesting subject.

G. M. Theal writes of "Heitzi-Eibib, who was believed by them (the Hottentots) to have died and risen again many times, and whose worship consisted in throwing a branch of a tree, a bit of wood, or an additional stone

1. ENGELBRECHT: *The Korana*, 1936, p. 11.



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upon a cairn at a place where he was supposed to have been once buried".[1]

W. Thesiger makes the following statement about a like custom of the Danakils: "Sometimes one passes a large heap of stones by the roadside and the Danakils with you will let you cast a stone, crying out 'Hess, Hess', which means, 'Preserve us from this'."[2]

Schapera also has something to tell us about the cairns. "His 'graves' (Heitzi-Eibib's) are found all over the country, in the Cape Colony as well as in South West Africa, generally in narrow mountain passes on both sides of the road. Natives passing these graves, which consist of great heaps of stones piled up high, throw pieces of their clothing, or skins, or dung of the zebra, or twigs of shrubs and branches of trees, as well as stones, on the heap."[3]

That such mounds are not confined to one part of Africa is clear from a description given by G. W. Murray of heaps of stones, generally found wherever any definite landmark like the sea or the cliffs of the Nile valley come into view. These commemorate the prayers and thanksgiving which have been offered on these spots. Other large cairns are also found on caravan routes, all significance of which is now entirely lost. "The Ababda (a Hamitic tribe) call such *Tiheiw*. On removing the one seen on Plate XXI, nothing was found below it."[4]

It may be surmised that the mounds of stones mentioned above were Heitzi-Eibib cairns, for nothing in the way of any burial or votive offering is ever found beneath them. These extracts should be enough to give the reader an idea of the extent of this ancient cult and its wide distribution over Eastern and Southern Africa and also of its unquestionable association with the historical Hottentots and, therefore, in a like degree, with the early inhabitants of K.2. It must not be supposed that it is only in Africa that such stone cairns are found, for we have their exact parallel in Mongolia and Tibet. Miss Maillart, writing on this subject, relates: "We left the flat shore of the Kokonor and slowly climbed two passes. At the highest point stood these typical Mongolian landmarks, the cairns or 'obos' made of piled-up stones by passers-by to propitiate the gods."[5]

Sir J. G. Frazer has a great deal of information to give about stones and their relation to ancestor and other types of worship. He says "that the Hebrews heaped up cairns which they called the 'Heap of Witness', such as that between Jacob and Laban.[1] The cairn was conceived not simply as a heap of stones but as a personality, a powerful spirit or deity, which would keep a watchful eye on both the covenanters and hold them to their bond.[2] The custom of erecting cairns as witnesses is apparently not extinct in Syria, even now. One of the most famous shrines of the country is that of Aaron on Mount Hor. The Prophet's tomb on the mountain is visited by pilgrims, who pray the saint to intercede for the recovery of sick friends, and pile up heaps of stones as witnesses (Meshhad) of the vows they make on behalf of the sufferers."[3]

He further states that the natives of Timor, an island in the Indian Archipelago, believe that "the spirit who resides in the stone cares for the welfare of the people, and requires in return to receive betel and rice, but also sometimes fowls, pigs and buffaloes."[4] Sacred stones play an important role in the religion of many tribes in India.[5]

These paragraphs on the cult of the stone in its various aspects and visible remains might be extended considerably, but the quotations given will suffice to show the diffusion of this worship and the widespread areas that it embraces.

The reader may forgive the suggestion that the practice of headstones on graves during recent times is a survival of this ancient ritual. It may also be suggested that the above is mainly ethnological and not strictly archaeological, but the two sciences are inextricably bound together, and if we are to get a comprehensive overall view of our K.2 people analogous cultural characteristics of races that have similar habits must be examined. The study, therefore, of the religious beliefs of our proto-Hottentots at Greefswald not only leads us into uncertainties about the far-distant past, where age-old cults are shrouded in obscurity, but also suggests that Central Asia was the birthplace of many of our ritualistic ceremonies. In support of this, the words of C. G. Seligman are well worth quoting. Referring to some aspects of the Hamitic problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, he says: "There is indeed some reason to believe that this stratum goes back to the times of an undifferentiated Hamito-Semitic culture, but whether this be so or not the idea of an underlying Hamitic culture layer is not only entirely consistent with the physical evidence but is supported in a remarkable way by Westermann's recent researches on the Shilluk and other Nilotic languages."[6] In the same work he states: ". . . the cradle-

1. THEAL: *Yellow and Dark-skinned People of South Africa*, 1910, p. 80.
2. THESIGER: *Customs of the Danakils*, 1934. Extract from *The Times*.
3. SCHAPERA: *Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, 1930, p. 384.
4. MURRAY: *Sons of Ishmael*, 1935, pp. 194–195.
5. MAILLART: *Forbidden Journey from Peking to Kashmir*, 1937, p. 1,200.

1. FRAZER: *Folklore in the Old Testament*, 1923, p. 245.
2. *Ibid.*: p. 246.
3. *Ibid.*: p. 250.
4. *Ibid.*: pp. 233–234.
5. *Ibid.*: pp. 235–236.
6. SELIGMAN: *Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*. Journ. Royal Anthr. Inst. XLIII, 1913, p. 593.

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land of the Hamites, though generally considered to be Arabia, is unknown[1]". In a later work he states: "The Hamitic cradle-land is generally agreed to be Asiatic, perhaps Southern Arabia or possibly an area further east, though Sergi suggests the Horn of Africa."[2]

The idea of a common origin for both races is of course not new; but does not the provenance of our stone heaps in Asia and their significance exactly parallel to those of Africa give some indication of the cradle-lands mentioned above? Is it not possible that the stock from which both of these allied stems sprang originated in the mountainous regions of Central Asia and, on debouching into the more spacious adjacent lands, spread abroad their peculiar cult of the stone, which endured for such a lengthy period and which, with its attendant ancestor worship, must be one of the most ancient in the world?

To make one more point concerning the *izivivane*: it may be as well to explain to the reader that many of the older writers on the subject refer to Heitzi-Eibib as a god. This is not strictly true, because he was not worshipped as a god, but was more of a legendary hero, perhaps a demi-god, whose memory was preserved by the casting of stones on his supposed graves. That such memory endured for apparently a long period may suggest that he once lived and was perhaps the man who led the Hottentots on one of their migrations down the continent in much the same way as Moses released the Children of Israel from the bondage of the Egyptians. This is pure speculation, but nevertheless interesting. Some writers, like G. M. Theal, conjecture that the Hottentots originated in that part of North Africa now called Somaliland, whereas others suggest that they came from the regions of the Great Lakes. My investigations have led me to the conclusion that, in a sense, both these views contain elements of truth, for if there is any probability in my reasoning, these people came into being not in one particular spot but, through force of circumstances, gradually evolved all through the eastern territories; that is, from the Horn of Africa down to and including the lake region. That our ancestral Hottentots were once in contact with people of pure Hamitic stock is unquestionable, and in support of this Theal gives corroborative evidence: "Already in 1851 the Reverend Dr. James Adamson had reported to the Syro-Egyptian Society a discovery he had made, that 'the signs of gender were almost identical in the Namaqua and the Egyptian, and the feminine affix might be considered the same in Namaqua, Galla, and old Egyptian.' This was not known to Dr. Bleek before he made the same discovery . . . There is strong reason to believe that the Hottentots had their origin in the country now termed Somaliland, and were formed by the intercourse of men of a light-coloured Hamitic stock with Bushman blood".[1]

The above is very important and unquestionably true; but there is another factor in the make-up of the Hottentot that was not suspected by Theal or any of the older writers. It is only in very recent years that the discoveries on Greefswald and those in Southern Rhodesia and Tanganyika have given us a clue to the complex character of the Hottentot set-up, which will be discussed in all possible detail in the concluding chapter of this work. To end this account of our stone heaps, I should like to state that the complete mapping of the country covered by the *izivivane* seems to me essential. I have already pointed out how successful my enquiries were concerning these monuments in Natal, and there are doubtless many others waiting to be discovered and described.* An accurate plan of their diffusion would assist us in fixing the probable migration routes of our early Hottentots, whose ancient history, provenance and wanderings should be of interest to every educated person in South Africa and, indeed, elsewhere.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 595.
2. SELIGMAN: *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan.* 1932, p. 4.

1. THEAL: *Yellow and Dark-skinned People of South Africa*, 1910, pp. 58–59.

*Since writing the above, I have received a report from Mr. A. McLean, a Government official at Greytown, who informs me that there is an *izivivane* on the road between that town and Ngobevu, which lies right alongside the highway, the stones of which were about to be put to some use by the local road party man, but, fortunately, he was prevented from doing so. A heap of stones may mean nothing to the uninitiated, and undoubtedly many such monuments have been unthinkingly destroyed in the past. It must therefore be apparent to those interested in the archaeological history of our country that the education of the general public in such matters is long overdue. The dimensions of this Heitzi-Eibib mound are as follows: Approximately 21′ × 12′ at its widest, and about 2′ 6″ in height. It, therefore, covers roughly the same area as the one near Mapungubwe. Mr. McLean also reports the presence of *izivivane* near the Tugela Hot Springs and another in the Krantzkop district, Emakabaleni area, but they are rather far from the beaten track and not easy to get at.

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# Chapter XII[1]

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Famous archaeologists from Pitt-Rivers to Mortimer Wheeler have always stressed that it is desirable, if not a matter of absolute duty, for an excavator to publish the account of his labours as quickly as possible. In fact, Roger Summers of Southern Rhodesia summarises the prevalent opinion by stating categorically that "he who excavates without publication is guilty of some kind of theft".

This, basically, is true enough, but, like so many other things in life, may be adjusted to suit unusual circumstances. Nobody has regretted the delay in publishing the second volume of Mapungubwe more than the Archaeological Committee of the University of Pretoria and the author; but conditions at the cessation of hostilities were such as to preclude, under all but exceptional circumstances, the printing of much interesting scientific matter. The world was too exhausted to think in terms of archaeology. Actually the delay in publication has been of considerable benefit to this book and, it is hoped, will have enhanced its scientific value. During the 1930's my conclusions were received with a certain amount of scepticism by many interested though badly informed individuals, persons who had never laid eyes on the site or sites and who were completely ignorant of the typical culture uncovered there, as it was exposed on the inhabited areas, especially the human and bovine interments. Much of this scepticism has now been dispelled as people begin to realise more and more that there were races and cultures in Southern Africa other than the Bush and Bantu.

The principal gain through the delay has been, however, the substantial confirmation of our dating or provisional chronology. Until 1958 we had no other means of arriving at any estimate of age except that provided by archaeological reasoning and deduction. If any datable artefacts of recent or medieval times had been recovered from K.2 some definite ideas about their age might have been assumed, but no such datable objects presented themselves, and we were forced to rely on what may be termed circumstantial evidence only. Now, thanks to scientific discoveries in America and elsewhere, the approximate age of certain substances can, under favourable conditions, be assessed with a fair degree of accuracy.

This is of vital importance in dealing with a prehistoric site such as K.2 and almost causes one to look on the delay in publication as well worth while.

In rewriting this chapter I have thought it advisable to adhere to the original plan as far as possible and to insert the latest information wherever it seems appropriate and necessary. Some additional information has also been received about Northern Transvaal beads and the ruins of Zimbabwe; and although this matter is not entirely germane to this chapter it has been incorporated, for at this stage it would be quite impracticable to rewrite the relevant chapters to include such fresh material which, as a matter of fact, is continually being brought to our notice.

I think it was Elliot Smith who said that theories should be founded on facts and not on possibilities. During our six seasons' work at Greefswald we have, I feel sure, collected a great number of facts to which suggestions or, if you like, theories can be attached. Since what may be regarded as a fact by one person may be disputed by another, how is one to determine whether a fact is a fact or not? I believe that the only fact held in general agreement regarding K.2, during the 1930's anyway, was based on the statement of the physical anthropologists, namely, that the skeletal material at that site showed no trace whatever of Negro elements. It should therefore be an easy matter to hang our theories on such a peg. I believe that this is also true in respect of the cultural material, but there are others who cannot accept my ideas, and they are just as much entitled to their opinion as I am to mine. Let us say that I interpret all the evidence in a certain direction, my interpretation, according to my belief, explaining all the complex factors that present themselves at K.2 and on the Hill. If others wish to elaborate their own interpretation or a different one they must offer a hypothesis that will embrace each and every phenomenon that we find on the two sites, and such a hypothesis must be not only archaeologically reasonable but ethnologically so as well. It is useless, for instance, to keep on repeat-

1. This chapter has been revised and rewritten. This was rendered necessary by the recent acquisition of valuable dating material, which was entirely lacking when the work was originally completed.

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ing that all the pottery found on Greefswald is Bantu. There is no proof whatever that such is the case, because all archaeological evidence points to the contrary; and to reiterate that a Hottentot population had a Bantu culture, when no trace of such a culture exists, is merely uttering an absurdity. If one cannot accept the evidence produced by the spade when the layout is clear, what can one accept?

In this chapter I propose to give a summary of the findings of the two sites, based on our six seasons' work in the Northern Transvaal, and to advance theories or, preferably, suggestions about the origin and physical make-up of our K.2 people, with which this volume is, after all, principally concerned. This can be done only in the broadest outlines, for the scope of this work does not warrant complete transcriptions of anthropological detail which, if the reader is interested in such details, can readily be obtained if the literature mentioned in the bibliography is consulted. This course I propose to follow with due regard to any fresh information that may become available.

## 2. THE K.2 PEOPLE

Before dealing with the actual settlement at K.2, which comprises its central kraal, the inhabited area, the cemeteries and the like, I consider it desirable to try to find out who the K.2 people were, where they came from, and how they developed as a racial or tribal entity. In the first volume Dr. Galloway's report on the skeletons of Mapungubwe came as a considerable shock to the holders of the Bantu hypothesis. In a review of this report in *Antiquity*, G. M. Morant[1] stated that he believed the material then produced as being insufficient to warrant any definite conclusion regarding the racial relationship of the group represented. At that period Galloway had not a single skeleton from K.2, and his material from the Hill was certainly not altogether satisfactory, being usually in a friable and broken condition. Sir Arthur Keith, however, in a report on the thesis submitted by Dr. Galloway upheld Dr. Galloway's conclusions in the clearest terms.

The need for more and better preserved skeletal remains was, of course, realised by the Archaeological Committee of the University of Pretoria, which particularly requested me to concentrate on the recovery of such remains. We were fortunate in discovering 74 human interments in a portion of the settlement itself, and before my arrival Van Tonder had already found 4 on the talus slope of Bambandyanalo, so that, with 27 from the Hill, the physical anthropologists had over 100 skeletons on which to conduct their investigations.

I have stated elsewhere that the human remains were sent as intact as possible to the Medical School, Johannesburg, where they were expertly examined by Drs. Dart, Galloway and others. A report on this material has just been published.[1] This work, compiled by such well-known scientists, was extremely gratifying to me, for it corroborated fully my basic ideas concerning our ancient site, and now and in the future puts paid to the upholders of the theory of Bantu influence and culture. The following excerpt from Galloway's thesis should be of interest to those readers who are anxious to follow his racial arguments but are perhaps not so interested in the highly technical pages constituting the bulk of the publication:

"This Bambandyanalo series of bones thus presents features which can be classified as follows, in order of frequency of occurrence:

(1) Boskop features, that is, features which are known to characterize Middle Stone Age skeletal material, but which frequently occur in skeletons of the living Bush physical type and very much less frequently in the Negro;

(2) Bush features, that is features specific to the Bush physical type which, again, may crop up in any Negro collection, but do not occur in Middle Stone Age skeletons;

(3) features not observed or reported for any South African race previously and which, at present, one is unable to classify;

(4) extra-African Caucasoid features which, however, are not characteristic of the Nordic type of skeleton, but which find their nearest counterpart in the six Sardinian skeletons presented to our collection by Prof. F. Frassetto, and classified by him as being of the Mediterranean physical type. Such features can only be tentatively classified as Mediterranean since only six such skeletons are at my disposal. They comprise elongation of the face in K.29, and to a less extent in K.31, the form of the nasal bridge in K.13, the great breadth of the sacrum and correspondingly of the pelvic inlet in K.29, and the form of the tarso-metatarsal joint and of the metatarsus in K.21. In the face of these it may be questioned further whether some of the features of Group III may not be of Caucasoid origin."[2] He also states: "The crucial feature of the first collection of skeletal material from Mapungubwe, i.e. the almost complete absence of specific Negro features, is repeated even more emphatically in this new series. The inhabitants of Mapungubwe were morphologically of pre-Negro type; they belong funda-

1. MORANT: *Mapungubwe, Skeletal Remains.* Antiquity, 1939, Vol. XIII, p. 335.

1. GALLOWAY: *The Skeletal Remains of Bambandyanalo*, edited by P. V. Tobias, and with a foreward by Prof. Raymond A. Dart. Witwatersrand University Press, 1959.
2. *Ibid.*: p. 120.

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mentally to the aboriginal population which preceded the Negro immigration, and which was of mixed Boskop and Bush origin."[1] In conclusion we may further quote: "The Bambandyanalo people are thus true representatives of a pre-Negro indigenous type, with which the Bantu-speaking Negro people had never hybridized."[2]

Prof. Dart concludes his foreword with these significant words: "Bambandyanalo assumes significance in the history of South African archaeology because it has a Zimbabwe—pre-Zimbabwe stratification. Not only that, but it is the first site having an adequate number of skeletons accompanied by funerary furniture to show that the population at the time the Zimbabwe culture was introduced into the Limpopo watershed was Boskop-Bush in physical type and pastoral Hottentot in culture."[3]

It is in respect of this last paragraph that I have the temerity to cross swords with my learned friend. In the first place, I cannot believe that the Zimbabwe culture is of any great antiquity, all archaeological evidence being against such a theory, as I hope to show later. In the second place, I doubt whether either of the learned gentlemen realises the time-lapse between the settlement at K.2 and the arrival of a small Hottentot clan on the summit of Mapungubwe. There is no trace of Zimbabwe or Bantu culture either at K.2 or in the lower levels of the great depression on the Hill, where evidence of the Negro is abundant.

Perhaps the upper zones of level No. 3 and certainly the whole of stratum 4 show a contact or similarity with the pottery and beads of Zimbabwe, but they are nevertheless Bantu in character. The absence of burials in the great depression show that the Negroid inhabitants buried their dead away from their dwellings, as do the present-day natives. It was the small infiltrating Hottentot clan which kept to its traditional burial rites and interred the corpses under its hut floors, having already adopted the huts from the people it had dispossessed. These facts, and they are unquestionably facts, are in a great measure what I have been trying for some 15 years to impress upon the scientific minds of those interested in or associated with the subject, and today the accumulation of evidence is so considerable that it would be a rash man who would dispute my basic facts. To put the matter briefly: the K.2 folk were non-Negroid and were pre-Bantu, and, therefore, their culture was pre-Negro and was brought with them when they settled in the territories where their remains are now being unearthed. Who were they? How did they come to Southern Africa and why do we find them here? The reader will notice that I have frequently employed the term Hottentot or proto-Hottentot. The physical make-up of these people may perhaps not have corresponded quite to that of the historical Hottentot, but their culture, as it is seen at K.2, certainly does compare in all respects with that of those people. Why cavil at the name of Hottentot? It is only in recent years that we have known or surmised the influence of this stock on the history of South Africa. It was known long ago that they came from the north and were different in all respects from the Bantu-speaking tribes who supplanted them. What was not realised was the extent of their distribution and the complex character of their physical make-up. It is these attributes that we have been trying to study and unravel, only since, one might say, the termination of the war in 1945.

I propose, therefore, to use the word Hottentot or proto-Hottentot, wherever it is suitable, to describe these people, for it is a term that has long been in use, is sufficiently brief, and can be understood to embrace all the varying clans of that particular stock. It appears to me absurd and unnecessary to try to invent another name for those pre-Bantu inhabitants of Southern Africa, and the term Boskop-Bush-Hamite is fantastically verbose, although it does describe this stock with considerable accuracy. The first and most predominant feature of our K.2 people is Boskop. What do we know about this extinct type? A considerable amount really, for specimens have been recovered in South Africa for some time past, but it was only comparatively recently that this racial type came to the fore. The physical characteristics are briefly as follows:

The head is large, with well-developed parietal bosses contrasting with the narrow frontal region. The whole face is massive with huge jaws and wide heavy rami. The teeth too are larger than the ordinary. The orbits are rectangular in outline with wide inter-orbital space. The bones are large and heavy, but the extremities appear to be more slender and differ greatly from the pure Negro.

Dr. Galloway gives a detailed analysis of the K.2 people.[1] It will be interesting and instructive to see what other scientists have to say about these Boskopoids.

Dr. G. D. Laing states that in all probability "Boskop man preceded the great migration of the San race into South Africa . . . The ability of Boskop man to mix with and leave an indelible impression on other races received ample proof in the discovery in 1925 by Prof. Drennan of Cape Town of a skull from the material in the dissecting room which showed undoubted Boskopoid characteristics . . .".[2] "Finally came the Bantu hordes in successive waves, each applying the same forces of partial extermi-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 124–125.
3. *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

1. Cf. *The Skeletal Remains of Bambandyanalo*, 1959.
2. LAING: *The Relationship between Boskop, Bushman and Negro Elements in the Formation of the Native Races of South Africa.* S.A. J. Sc. XXIII, p. 906.

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nation and absorption, resulting in the formation of a polyglot of tribal entities, in whom the preponderance of Boskop, Bushman or Negroid blood is largely a matter of circumstance."[1]

In a report on six "practically pure Boskop" skulls Dr. H. S. Gear gives a clear indication of the typical characteristics of the Boskopoids. He concludes this report with the following statement: "Finally this conclusion is reached, that this group of six skulls, practically pure Boskop in type, provides definite evidence of the great extent of the dispersal of the Boskop race in South Africa; not a mere scattering of one or two individuals, but the existence of actual colonies of this type."[2]

Anyone, therefore, who has studied Dr. Galloway's report on the Greefswald skulls cannot fail to be impressed by their resemblance to the known Boskop crania described by the above scientists.

That the San or Bush race succeeded the Boskop is, of course, well known, and the hybridisation of the two stocks is commented upon in Laing's report. This blending of the two races is thought today to be easily demonstrable in the people from K.2, from Salisbury and from Tanganyika, all of whom have physical characteristics in common and were probably once widespread over the eastern part of Africa. These folk are termed by Galloway and others as Boskop-Bush, and are in my opinion the progenitors of our ancestral Hottentots, mixed, as we shall see later, with other and more stabilising influences. The wide distribution of the Boskop, and therefore of the Boskop-Bush types, has already been noted. How widely spread these hybrids were may be deduced from an article by Sir Arthur Smith Woodward, the relevant portion of which I quote: "It is interesting to observe that in its most important features the Sudan fossil agrees still more closely with the fossil Boskop skull which was found in 1913 in the Transvaal, South Africa. Its calvaria, indeed, may be described as a brachycephalic variant of the Boskop type. The ancestors of the Bushmen, or proto-Bushmen as they have been termed, were therefore distributed very widely in Africa from north to south, and they formed a vigorous race of normal bodily proportions."[3]

It is highly probable that the above-mentioned fossil was one of our many Boskop-Bush individuals, substantiating the wide distribution of that particular breed and showing, quite plainly I think, how such a type of man came to be discovered in so many divergent places.

Mr. Fosbrook, formerly of Arusha, reported the discovery of Boskopoid skeletons in Tanganyika, the osteological elements of which were identical with our K.2; and this also applies to the specimens unearthed by Lt.-Col. Boultbee and Mrs. Goodall at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

The Arusha remains, however, were not accompanied by any funerary furniture, in contradistinction to the large assemblage of vessels from Marlborough and Hatfield cemeteries. All the skeletons adopted the same style of burial as those of K.2, where, interred ceremoniously, the limbs were as fully flexed as possible.

Were these Boskop men authochthonous in the fullest sense of the word, or did they too derive from Asia? Some say that the Bush race originated in the continent of Asia and, making their way west, crossed over what is now the strait of Bab el Mandeb, then dry land, until, finally wandering down the eastern parts of Africa, they interbred with the older Boskop type which they found in scattered settlements throughout the country, all this taking place many centuries before the Negro invasions were contemplated. Now it cannot be supposed that this hybrid stock was able to offer all the evidences of culture that we find at K.2 and other places. The Bush, as we know, rarely made pottery, and then only of a rough and primitive variety. It is also highly improbable that the Boskop, being primitive in all senses of the word, had any knowledge of advanced ceramic manufacture or any other art for that matter. How then did the inhabitants of our known Hottentot sites obtain their wide variety of well-made and useful pots, besides other aspects of civilisation? It has already been stressed that these hybrids were pre-Bantu and, therefore, could not have adopted any Negro elements of culture, if one may term them such, but must have derived theirs from some other source. There is, in my opinion, only one possible derivative, namely, the Brown Race or Hamites and their offshoots.

Philologists tell us that there are undoubted affinities between the ancient Egyptian and the Hottentot tongues as I have already suggested,[1] and so this fact alone gives proof of contact at some time and at some place between our Boskop-Bush and the Hamitic stock. I have quoted Theal as suggesting that the contact took place in what is now Somaliland, but, from various aspects of the problem, I am inclined to the opinion that it took place all down the central and eastern parts of the continent and between different groups of Hamites who had varying degrees of culture. How otherwise can we explain the

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 908.
2. GEAR: *A Further Report on the Boskopoid Remains from Zitzikama*, S.A. J. Sc. XXIII, p. 934. For further information on racial characteristics of native groups, ancient and modern, also see MUSIKER: *Facial Features of Southern Angolan Bantu* (p. 1); WILLIAMS: *Facial Features of Kung Bushmen* (p. 11); ERIKSEN: *Facial Features of Kuanyama Ovambo and Heikum Bushmen* (p. 18.) S.A. J. Sc. LI, 1954; and SCHAPERA (Ed.): *Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa*, p. 1, *et. seq.*
3. SMITH and WOODWARD: *A Fossil Skull of an Ancestral Bushman from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.* Antiquity. Vol. XII, 1938, p. 193.

1. Cf. p. 73.

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absence of pottery and other wordly goods among one group, while an exactly similar type had all the requirements of a primitive civilisation? If kindred stocks were separated by immense distances or insurmountable barriers the presence or absence of similar grave goods might be attributed to some such cause, but such conditions surely did not apply to the movement of peoples up or down the eastern confines of the vast continent, and the absence of funerary furniture must therefore be attributed to other causes. It might have meant, for example, that one group was considerably older than the other. The Arusha people, for instance, while being Boskop-Bush, were more ancient and less advanced than the K.2, or on the other hand they might have been isolated pockets of that stock, quite untouched by Hamitic culture. Further discoveries may contribute to the solution of these problems.

There is another aspect of our Boskop-Bush that must be taken into consideration, and that is the unquestionable evidence of Mongoloid characteristics in these people and often in their descendants. The Bush race are said to be very Mongolian in their make-up, and therefore they did perhaps originate in Central Asia; but Chinese facial aspects are so pronounced in our present-day Hottentots, or some of them, that it seems probable that there were other sources of influence besides the Bushmen, especially when we observe cultural similarity. Here I refer to the *Izivivane* or Heitzi-Eibib stone mounds, which are paralleled by and have the same religious significance as those in Central Asia. It therefore must be not only more than a coincidence that some of our Khoi-Khoin should have the features and build of the yellow races but an important cultural link as well. One of these similarities might have been accidental, but two could hardly have been.

It may interest the reader to know that during the 1914 – 1915 campaign in South West Africa I was instructed to place a guard on a water-hole at a spot in the desert inhabited by a small tribe of Hottentots. Having never laid eyes on such people, I accompanied the troops and was surprised at the appearance of the few men and women remaining at the spot. Except for their hair, they might have stepped out of the Gobi Desert, being slightly built, with fine extremities, and very light in colour, with slanting eyes and high cheek bones; and although, at that time, they were of no particular interest to me, I never forgot their Mongolian appearance. Is this remarkable resemblance a Boskop as well as a Bush trait? I have seen natives (Zulus), with quite Chinese features, slanting eyes and a light complexion, and others again bearing a close resemblance to what is considered to be typically Hamite. Do they derive this appearance from contact with the proto-Hottentot long ago? It seems feasible to believe this. Were the cradle-lands of the Hamites in Central Asia, and did the Hamites also bring with them Chinese or Mongolian characteristics?

I am mindful of Elliot Smith's injunction about facts and theories with which I started this chapter, and I therefore hesitate to set down on paper any idea connected with this Mongol trait in our primitives that is not based on any actual fact but is a possible explanation for the general Asian appearance of our Hottentot population, or at any rate of a portion of them, for not all the clans exhibit this peculiarity. Herodotus,[1] the father of history, who, if we consider his time and sources of information, was surprisingly accurate in many of his statements, tells us that the great King Cambyses of Persia campaigned against the Ethiopians with very unpleasant results, losing vast numbers of his soldiers. He also sent a large expedition into the desert with Kharga as its objective, and rumour had it that they were overwhelmed by the deadly sands of the Sahara. Now, it is well known that eastern potentates in those far-off days engaged large numbers of mercenaries and employed them on the more dangerous and hazardous campaigns, thereby saving their own subjects, who were doubtless more dependable and valuable. Is it possible that this army sent by Cambyses into Lower Egypt was composed very largely of troops from Mongolia or its confines and that, knowing what awaited them in the vast, sandy wastes, did not make any attempt on the oasis but deserted *en masse* and therefore, wishing to move towards the east, in the direction of home, made their way down the White Nile to its junction with the Blue, which they followed to its source in the Abyssinian highlands? Continuing to draw on our imagination, we ask whether these soldiers or their survivors, having given up all hope of crossing into Asia, could not have settled down and interbred with the Hamitic tribes roaming the north-eastern corner of Africa? By taking the native women, they would gradually have lost their own language or languages, their children tending to become more and more Hamitic as the years went by. History proves that religious customs are often deeply ingrained in those who adhere to them, so much so that only the ritual remains when all meaning of it has been lost, and consequently there is nothing extraordinary in the supposition that the cult of ancestor worship continued to exist, as expressed in the heaps of stones erected by the Mongolian forefathers. This is a fantastic idea, you might say. Possibly it is, but where and how did the Heitzi-Eibib mounds originate in Africa? The Bushman did not construct them, and the mounds are known to be typical of the Hottentot, those same people who have Mongolian elements in their make-up. Some people think that Chinese influences may have been

1. *Herodotus, The History of.* Vol. I, Book III, pp. 222–223.

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introduced by actual contact with members of that race. It is known of course that before the advent of the Arabs and Portuguese Chinese junks were accustomed to trade with India and undoubtedly with the African emporiums scattered along our lengthy coastline, and therefore an occasional sailor or merchant might well have landed there or might have even gone so far as to prepare a semi-permanent depot. Such a state of affairs might have produced some Mongolian traits in some skeletons, but it is doubtful whether it explains the wide distribution of such traits, for it is extremely unlikely that chance philanderers or keen business men would or could have introduced a lasting cult like that of Heitzi-Eibib.

Taking all these things into consideration, therefore, we can agree with Professor Dart that our K.2 people were Hottentots in culture, whereas physically they showed a greater element of Boskop-Bush than did their later representatives.

As we cannot know what their ancestral language was, we can only deduce the Hamitic traits in that language from a few grammatical similarities between the Hottentot and the Egyptian syntax. The burial methods of the K.2 people are paralleled by those of pre-dynastic times, and each has a well-developed bovine cult. Some of the K.2 pottery, particularly the shallow, spouted bowls, are very similar in appearance to the stone bowls of the early dynasties.

This, then, is a brief exposition of K.2 culture and its possible derivatives. There are great possibilities for further study along the lines I have indicated, for the scope of this work does not warrant too detailed an analysis, which must be left to future South African prehistorians.

Before we turn to the all-important question of dating, on which so much of our history depends, it will be necessary to eliminate K.1 and to give some additional information regarding K.2, its population, the coming of the Bantu, and the impact of the Hottentot culture on the more barbarous savages.

## 3. SITE K.1

This site[1] need not detain us long. At first glance it seemed to postulate the presence of a settlement below the slope on the top of which stood K.2 and extended over a considerable area.[2] In fact, my assistant Van Tonder thought it worth investigating and before my arrival had put down a trench 79 feet long by 54 inches wide. Waiting for equipment from Pretoria, we put down another trench 90 feet long, but found that the whole deposit nowhere exceeded a depth of 4 feet. It was at once apparent that the whole low mound had been formed by the action of water, torrential storms scouring the surface of K.2 having swept debris of pottery, stones, animal and human bones mingled with the sandy hill-wash into a great heap at the lowest point on the perimeter of K.2, where it was prevented from being carried further down the valley by the squat bushes and long grass growing on the plain. Archaeologically it was of little interest, yet it was important in showing the great amount of erosion that had taken place on the site through the years and in providing the reason for the presence of so many of the skeletons at K.2 so near the present surface. The same phenomenon is visible at Mapungubwe, where, on the camp side, the wearing away and subsequent deposition has been immense. At other points along the ridge and below the path there was ample evidence of equal erosion of the plateau's surface. The fragments of pottery, beads and other objects from K.1 were in all respects similar to those from K.2.

1. Cf. Chapter I, Section 2.
2. See Diagram 1, S.E. corner.

## 4. K.2 SETTLEMENT[1]

That the raised valley we called K.2 was once the site of a flourishing settlement is beyond all doubt. It was a large one, as ancient sites go in this country. My first survey, following the line ABCDEF on Diagram 1, was decided by trial holes, dug to discover the outer boundaries of the community. This was only partially successful, the inhabited area continuing up the valley and on to the talus slopes of Bambandyanalo. The actual area surveyed was 4½ acres, while the five blocks which were dug to bedrock occupied about three-quarters of an acre. It is impossible, of course, to do more than guess at the number of inhabitants, but Le Vaillant estimated the number of people in the kraal of Habaas, the Gonaqua, to have been about 400, and I think that the population of K.2 at the height of its prosperity might have been about the same. The shelters were originally grouped about the central cattle kraal, but this ground was finally given up as the settlement grew in size and was then occupied by the flimsy Hottentot dwellings. The proto-Hottentots of K.2 with their Boskopoid appearance must have lived in comparative security, with no inkling of the catastrophe that was to overtake them. Their site was entirely defenceless, and they appear to have possessed no reliable weapons of offence or defence. If they did make use of sharpened sticks, no trace of such weapons remains, and the people knew neither the bone arrow nor the iron assegai. For how long did they remain in isolated security on the Limpopo? We can form only the vaguest idea. The amount of occupational deposit is immense, especially when that of K.1 is taken into consideration. Were there

1. See Plates XLVI, XLVII, XLVIII, XLIX.

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many people over a short period, or fewer over a longer period? This is very difficult to judge. The number of skeletons obtained from three-quarters of an acre was 70. Does that number increase or diminish in proportion over the remainder of the site? We do not know, but wherever we dug we came across human remains.

About the years during which the K.2 people dwelt in peace there is very little to remark upon. They must have pursued the even tenor of their ways without outside interference, herding, milking and breeding their cattle, making remarkable pottery, and casting their beads, hunting the game that must have teemed in the vicinity, and, in fact doing everything one would expect a primitive community to do except fishing, for, as I have previously stated, not a fish bone was discovered anywhere at K.2.

How long these halcyon days lasted there is little to go upon, but from all that has been said the period of peace was considerable, and we get an overall picture of a peaceful folk living out their uneventful existence in what may today be termed ideal conditions.

## 5. THE ADVENT OF THE BANTU

The advent of the Bantu-speaking swarms must have come as a rude shock to this apparently peaceful community, and the Bantu impact on the K.2 culture and all that it implied can be comparatively easily interpreted when it is laid bare by the spade. We must now ask ourselves who the first of the Bantu invaders were and what their contribution, if any, to the culture at K.2 or in the immediate vicinity was. There is no place in this work for a dissertation on the origin and migrations of the early Bantu Negroids; it is enough to say that at some remote period they debouched from West Africa and, crossing the continent, flowed north and south in a series of black floods. For our purpose we are only concerned with one group of these invaders, those people known by the generic name of Nguni, whose language gave rise to the Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa and kindred tongues. That they were the first Bantu to cross the Zambesi, enter Rhodesia and finally cross the Limpopo seems highly probable. That they were in long and intimate contact with the Hottentots settled in those regions we can deduce from their adoption of three of the four Hottentot clicks[1] and other cultural characteristics; and an analysis of their physical make-up confirms this diagnosis. In a table representing the distribution of facial features of various tribes given by Dart[2] the racial characteristics of the Zulu, Xhosa, and Sotho, given in percentages, are as follows:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Zulu | Negro | 43·2 | Bush | 19·3 | Caucasoid | 22·0 | Mongol 5·5 |
| Xhosa | „ | 55·1 | „ | 26·0 | „ | 17·3 | „ 1·6 |
| Sotho | „ | 46·2 | „ | 27·2 | „ | 24·6 | „ 1·0 |

These figures are illuminating. They show that the Zulus, who, as we believe, were once in close contact with the Hottentots, have a racial composition much as one would expect from such contact, especially when Galloway's statement about the Caucasoid elements are taken into consideration. These might well be termed the imponderables, because they comprise elements which are probably Boskop and yet cannot definitely be proved so. If you take the figures as a whole you find a small percentage of pure Negro, a large percentage of Bush-Caucasoid and quite an element of Mongolian features represented. Curiously enough, the statistics for the Zulu can be compared closely with those for the Sotho, which give a low percentage of Negro and also a high percentage of Bush-Caucasoid features. How, then, did this come about if, as we have supposed, the Sotho were latecomers to the Limpopo region? If the K.2 inhabitants had all been liquidated the Sotho could not have acquired Hottentot traits from them. A. T. Bryant[1] gives just the explanation that can and does account for this seemingly puzzling state of affairs. I shall try to summarise his relevant paragraphs in the following manner: "Present Chwanaland was originally Nguniland, and the tribes living in the Northern Transvaal and Bechuanaland who call themselves baKoni are of Nguni origin, although now speaking a Sutu dialect and having become Sutuized. The baKwena group belong to the baKoni. Probably the Embo Ngunis and the Lala Ngunis left the Transvaal about the year 1500 A.D. The adoption of click consonants from the Hottentots into their respective languages must have been a slow and lengthy process." That the Nguni were the first Bantu people to come into any considerable contact with the Hottentots seems conclusive.

The above is entirely satisfactory and answers all the questions that were once so confusing. It suggests, as I have always maintained, that the Zulus or kindred tribes were the first to cross the Limpopo and to adopt much Hottentot culture. Other Ngunis or Bakoni arrived afterwards, but not too late to absorb a certain amount of the identical elements. Bryant thinks that the first Bantu to arrive on the Zambesi did so about A.D. 1400. I myself consider that this is too late, but it does help to put paid to the claim that Zimbabwe was occupied for a thousand years.

After our Nguni people had crossed the Limpopo and entered the K.2 settlement, what was their reaction? They probably did what other Bantu tribes have done since then: burning, plundering and murdering and, being

1. This only applies to Zulu and Xhosa-speaking peoples. (Ed.)
2. DART, R.: "*Racial Origins*"; SCHAPERA: *Bantu-speaking Tribes of S. Africa*, 1937, pp. 26–27.

1. BRYANT, A. T.: *The Zulu People*, 1949, pp. 8–34.

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perhaps short of women, driving off or killing the K.2 males while sparing some of the females as spoils of war. These Nguni brought with them their primitive hoe-culture, the use of iron and the practice of hut-building. They occupied most of the ground surrounding the central portion of the old settlement. They also dwelt on the talus slope of Bambandyanalo, to what extent is not known, but many trial holes along the slope gave signs of Bantu habitation.

The captured women of K.2 continued to make their typical pots, the exotic varieties becoming rarer, but the garden-roller beads were not cast any longer, for they had probably been the prerogative of the K.2 male, who had been eliminated at the first onslaught. The K.2 Nguni probably made use of a primitive kind of forge, but it is uncertain whether they smelted ore, although a few tuyères were recovered in the upper horizons. There is some indication, however, that they knew the art of smelting, for in the great depression on the Hill signs of such an art are quite clear. These folk did not adopt the burial customs of their victims but interred their dead away from the settlement, as is the present-day Bantu custom. They were makers of assegais, cruel-looking barbed spears and crude iron hoes, the last-named for cultivating their millet. Some of these hoes were discovered in pots of the roughest description.

It is an open question whether these newcomers occupied the Hill at the same time as they did K.2. We have no real evidence, but the large number of weapons unearthed in the great depression and their relative scarcity in the Bantu areas of K.2 may warrant the assumption that the Hill was taken over later, probably as a place of refuge.

How long the mixed Hottentot and Nguni hybrids remained in the old settlement at K.2 we shall never know. There is a deposit containing native or Bantu artefacts some 2–3 feet in depth and extending over a wide area, but again erosion must have been very considerable, and so the depth of the detritus does not tell us very much. What we do have evidence of is that all or part of the mixed population of K.2 did actually take refuge on the Hill and perhaps just below it as well, moving into the great depression where their huts and pots are found today, giving clear indication of the mingling of Hottentot and Bantu cultures.

It is improbable that K.2 was left entirely desolate and unoccupied, for beads of Venda provenance were found, especially on the talus slope of Bambandyanalo, while traces of comparatively modern huts were seen on the outer edges of the settlement. It may be assumed, therefore, that the place was occupied, perhaps spasmodically, right up to recent times. These later dwellings probably belonged to a certain type of Sotho who drifted back to the region after the departure of the Venda, and still inhabit the lands adjacent to the great river.

## 6. DATING AND CHRONOLOGY

We now come to the vexed question of dating and chronology which is so important to a site such as K.2, where other and neighbouring areas are likely to be affected by the conclusions arrived at. Almost from the first, that is, from 1935 onwards, I was being continually pressed to offer some estimate of the age of our senior locality. This I was very loath to attempt, for it was obvious that any such estimate could be based only on deduction and reasoning, no concrete corroborating evidence of a scientific nature being available.

The result of our labours on Greefswald had at least produced sufficient physical evidence to enable us to form a tentative chronology from the mere appearance of various artefacts and their distribution over the area in question and their presence or absence at adjoining sites; but what was really needed was solid scientific confirmation. That this was to come we had no inkling of when compiling our early reports.

What did we know about the time-scale at K.2 and what were the estimates of its age based upon? Firstly, there was the size of the mound still standing 20 feet from bedrock in spite of much erosion and the extent of the whole occupied area. These in themselves suggested a considerable period of time and did not seem to indicate a case of lived in today and gone tomorrow. A more satisfactory sign of age was the prehistoric type of burial, fully flexed in pre-dynastic Egyptian fashion, surrounded by household goods. The almost complete absence of metal from the ancient graves postulated a pre-iron-age site, the very few adornments being small articles of copper. The K.2 people appear to have had the unpleasant habit of interring their deceased under or near the gravelly floors of their shelters. This habit alone would proclaim them non-Negroid. Again, the total absence of anything recent, medieval or even Bantu, must be stressed, for had the site been occupied in the first instance by any other race or races evidence of their presence would have been discovered.

I concluded my report on the estimated age of K.2 as follows: Recent opinion seems to place the crossing of the Zambesi by successive waves of Bantu between the 10th and 12th centuries. If we presume that this is anywhere near correct, and we put the crossing of the Limpopo at 100 years later, the K.2 people were in occupation of their settlement about 800 or 900 years ago. If it took the inhabitants 200 years to pile up their mound and give other evidences of civilisation, the village was founded about 1,000 years ago. This is all supposition, of

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course, but the condition of the skeletons and of the funerary furniture renders such a period reasonable enough. I do not think we are entitled to attach any great age to the site, but it is unquestionably ancient when compared with many other places in South Africa.

My original estimate was about 1,000 years, and I was therefore highly gratified to get our first C.14 report from America. While digging from 1935 to 1940 I had never heard of such a test, but realising the value of scientific research and the necessity of keeping the required samples, I took charcoal, burnt millet, various seeds, and other objects from the ruins, not only of K.2 but from Mapungubwe as well.

During 1952, 21 specimens from Greefswald were sent to the United States for testing, and in January, 1958, we received the first reading. The actual figures given were 900 years, plus or minus 65. The samples were unlikely to have been affected in any degree by contamination, because the ground at the site is sandy and well drained. This does not mean, of course, that the founding of K.2 occurred 900 years ago, but merely that the date was that of the charcoal associated with Beast Burial No. 6. A line of hearths and other evidence of occupation on the same horizon as that of the small cairn marking the bovine interment with all its complicated interior must mean that the ritual burial was planted after the settlement had been founded and the community had already occupied the ground for some considerable period. We shall not be very far out then if we say that our K.2 site is at least 1,000 years old and may be even much more ancient. It will be remembered that in the great depression on the Hill the different habitational levels were clearly to be distinguished from one another by thick bands of ash, that is, if we of course postulate the destruction of the zone from which it was derived.

Again in 1959 we were fortunate enough to receive two more reports from America, this time on samples taken from the Hill itself and from levels 3 and 4. The reports read as follows:

Zone 3: 570 years plus or minus 60. B.P.
Zone 4: 530 years plus or minus 50. B.P.

I myself consider these figures to be slightly on the early side, and have altered them accordingly in my time-table. I would give them both a later date of some 40–50 years. At present it is impossible to be more exact, but should further reports come from the United States we might be enabled to narrow down the provisional dates and obtain a more accurate overall point of view. Now that we have these three pegs on which to hang our chronology, let us see how it appears when set down in cold print and whether it agrees with or is capable of embracing all the theories that have arisen, not only on the Limpopo but elsewhere in the not-so-distant neighbourhood:

*Provisional Chronology. K.2 and Mapungubwe:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Date unknown: | Occupation of bare summit of Hill by a Magosian stone-age factory. Zone 1. |
| A.D. 1000 | Hottentots in occupation of K.2 and Southern Rhodesia. C.14 date A.D. 1055 approximately. |
| A.D. 1100–1200 | Bantu first cross the Zambesi. |
| A.D. 1250 | Destruction of K.2 by Bantu. |
| A.D. 1250–1300 | Occupation of Mapungubwe by mixed Hottentot and Nguni. Depth 7–9 feet. Zone 2. |
| A.D. 1300–1450 | Sotho period. Depth 5–7 feet. C.14 date 570 years. Say approximately A.D. 1388. Zone 3. |
| A.D. 1450–1750 | Venda period. Depth 4 feet plus erosion. C.14 date 530 years ago. Approximately A.D. 1449. Zone 4. |
| A.D. 1750–1800 | Late Hottentot occupation. Depth from present surface 2–3 feet. Much erosion. Zone 5. |
| A.D. 1800–1825 | Final desertion of Mapungubwe. Never reoccupied. |

It is unfortunate that we possess only one reading for K.2. If other samples had been run it would have been possible to obtain a more accurate time-scale which might have given us an indication of how long K.2 had been occupied by its original or first inhabitants. We must be thankful, therefore, that we are able to fix even one date on such an interesting site. This period, A.D. 1055, must represent a time when the settlement was flourishing and in full bloom. I have already referred to the fact that such a date does not help us to arrive at an exact estimate of the age of the site, and it does not tell us when it was founded, still less when it met its end. It is unfortunate for the historian that there were no substantial dwellings at K.2 which would have left a sizable deposit of charcoal on their destruction. The flimsy shelters of the inhabitants left no more than a slight hardening of the ground on which they had lived, and no charcoal or other material capable of the C.14 test was left after the obliteration of the settlement. Those of the inhabitants who had been slain and cast helter-skelter into some of the pits had no charcoal buried with them, and even if it had been present one could not be sure that such charcoal and the corpses were contemporary. The date of the final dissolution of K.2 is, therefore, uncertain. It depends largely on when the Bantu first invaded Southern Rhodesia and started to pour south. I have set the date provisionally as A.D. 1250, but it might just as well have been A.D. 1200.

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This uncertainty in dating also applies to the second level or Zone 2 on Mapungubwe itself, for we do not know when the lower levels of the great depression were settled by refugees from K.2. Charcoal from the ruins of a ritual hut 7 or 8 feet down in the depression was sent to America, but again no report on this has come to hand. Zone 3 in the great depression gives us some actual information. Charcoal from a ruined hut at a depth of 5 feet from the present surface has given a date of about A.D. 1388 as the period of occupation. An inspection of the vertical scale of the great hollow will show the reader that this material occurs late in the Sotho period and should perhaps be dated about A.D. 1400 or a little later. I have termed the third level or zone in the depression "Sotho" solely because of the resemblance its pottery has to more or less recent Sotho ware, and if we take into consideration the probability that the Sotho succeeded the Nguni in the Northern Transvaal the term Sotho does not appear to be amiss.

Zone 4 is represented by the Venda period, so called from indisputable evidence of occupation by these particular people. Remains of smelting furnaces, the amount of metal-working both in copper and iron, the presence of copper tools and the characteristic Venda object or ingot, the *mutsuku*, all point to a long occupation of the Northern Transvaal by such a tribe, in association no doubt with their metal smiths, the Balemba. The date A.D. 1449 based on the C.14 figure was calculated with the help of burnt millet found in a ruined hut at a depth of 3 feet, which indicates that this deposit was early in the Venda occupation. Even today there are pockets of Venda in the wild country east and west of Messina.

That the final desertion of Mapungubwe was comparatively recent is proved by tradition, which affirms that Hottentots once occupied the summit, and it is a matter of no great importance whether, after despoiling the Venda, they deserted the site in 1800 or 1825. It is perfectly possible that the rumour of Umziligazi's approach hastened the evacuation.

This chronology has an important bearing on the cultural objects from K.2 and the Hill, such as pottery, beads, and bone implements found in such profusion on both. It was once supposed that the typical K.2 ceramics, the lugged and zoned beakers and the spouted pots, were of recent origin. These types can now be confidently pushed back at least 1,000 years and probably many more, as they appear to have arrived fully developed on the spot and must have had a long tradition behind them. The observant reader may inquire why, if the Hottentots made certain varieties in such large quantities, they did not at least take the technique with them on their trek into the lower portions of the continent. The answer is, of course, that they did, for early writers at the Cape have described quite clearly the Hottentot pottery of their own times, which was identical with the ceramics from K.2. We must always remember when dealing with the historical Hottentots that they were comparatively recent fugitives fleeing before the onset of a black peril which had destroyed their culture and wrecked their clan organisation. It is not surprising, therefore, that in their passage down the continent much of their culture was lost. Also, with more or less close contact with the Bushmen, they must have absorbed many of the physical characteristics of the Bushmen, losing Boskop elements and supplanting them with Bush. With whites thrusting up from the Cape, it is not surprising either that what little culture the fugitives brought with them soon disappeared, as is shown by the manner in which their pottery degenerated from the original fine types into crude vessels, then into rough wooden bowls, and finally into the adoption of the white man's tinware.

## 7. BEADS AND CHRONOLOGY

Our provisional chronology is also extremely useful in constructing some kind of a time-scale for the numerous varieties of beads found in the Northern Transvaal. Until recently it was difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate between the old and more recent specimens, but now, by the help of the C.14 dating, it has been comparatively easy to separate at least some of the older types from the younger. We can now say without fear of contradiction that the garden-roller, the transparent and translucent sea-green and blue, the small rough Indian red and the rather bleached yellow beads of K.2 are all beads of category M.1, were in fashion on the river a thousand years ago, and are, therefore, of considerable antiquity. One puzzling feature at K.2 was the finding in 12 graves of funerary furniture exactly paralleled by that of the Hill, Zones 4 and 5. Not only was the pottery Venda in appearance but the skeletons possessed black and plum-coloured beads, found nowhere else on the living areas of the settlement. This at first sight seems difficult to explain, but the late Van Riet Lowe, in his monograph on the beads of Mapungubwe, hit the nail on the head by suggesting that these blacks and plums were later intrusives.[1] That this was so archaeological evidence tends to prove. It is only on those bodies that have Hill pottery buried with them that we find the intrusive beads. The majority of the skeletons with their K.2 ceramics, the pits, the hearths and the beast burials show no signs whatever of intrusive elements, and we are compelled to agree with the postulation that the 12 burials with their Hilltop furniture were originally members of the late Hottentot

1. VAN RIET LOWE: *The Glass Beads of Mapungubwe*, 1955, p. 16.

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clan and the last inhabitants of Mapungubwe. The puzzle is not who these people were, but why they were interred at a spot so far from their headquarters. We may never know the actual circumstances, but there are one or two possible explanations. It will be remembered that altogether some 27 bodies were found on the Hill. Now the total area of the summit is not very large and is nothing in comparison with the overall dimensions of K.2, for instance. The Hilltop is not equally covered with sand and debris over its whole surface. To the east, rock outcrops occur for perhaps a third of the entire length, while on the west the great depression was not built over, and no skeletons were discovered there. That left only the central portion of the summit available for the erecting of huts and the subsequent planting of the dead. When the Venda and other Negroid tribes were in occupation they did not bury their people under the floors, and no skeletons were found at any great depth; but on the expulsion or absorption of the Venda by the Hottentots the latter reverted to, or perhaps had never given up, their usual burial customs, and we find the Boskopoid skeletons quite near the surface. A study of the conditions on the summit forces us to the conclusion that there was not very much room left when the 27 had been interred, and therefore another suitable cemetery was sought. Why should the K.2 people have gone three-quarters of a mile to plant their friends? I think I have the answer, and it is a religious one. I gave special attention to the *izivivane* of the Zulus, the Heitzi-Eibib mounds of the Hottentots and cairns of other peoples.[1] As I have already mentioned, there is a very large one at the entrance to the valley leading to K.2. In the settlement itself there is, or was, a small one, situated on the slope of the hill opposite Bambandyanalo and visible to the community from every direction. That the cult of Heitzi-Eibib has a long tradition behind it is unquestionable, and it must have been deeply rooted even in our historical Hottentots. That explains the reason for these intrusive burials as I see things: lack of room on the Hill itself and the known presence of the heaps of stones, signifying the spirit of Heitzi-Eibib, whose followers were under his protection.

Dr. van der Sleen, the bead expert from Holland, has had an opportunity to examine the beads from Mapungubwe and is particularly interested in the K.2 or M.1 series. He states categorically that they are not of Arab or Indian origin; and in this he is supported by Van Riet Lowe, who rather favoured the Alexandrian glass factories. These beads appear, I say "appear" advisedly, to Dr. van der Sleen as being of European manufacture, but they cannot be Venetian, for Venice started exporting beads only round about A.D. 1200, and, as we have already seen, our K.2 examples are at least 1,000 years old and may be much older. Dr. van der Sleen, as well as I, once rummaged in the old dumps at Fustat near Cairo, but nothing that could be compared with the K.2 specimens turned up. The many black beads on the Hill are coloured by different chemicals and have a very wide distribution, but Van der Sleen considers them to be of no very great age. He thinks that the ultimate limit is about 400 years, which agrees more or less with our estimates. There is not, and cannot be, any argument about the garden-roller beads. They were manufactured at K.2 by Hottentots for Hottentots. In conclusion, Dr. van der Sleen is as puzzled as the rest of us about the manner in which such a large variety of beads found their way so far south at such an early period. This reveals a fascinating field for research.

1. Cf. Chapter XI, Section 2.

## 8. RELATIONSHIP: ZIMBABWE, MAPUNGUBWE AND BAMBANDYANALO

Zimbabwe keeps on being called to mind, and I am continually being pestered to explain the relationship of the Rhodesian site to ours. Consequently I will conclude this chapter by setting down the latest information that we have concerning the ruins and the reasons for the supposition that there was intimate contact, if any. It is at first necessary to state in a work of this description that the full story of Zimbabwe cannot be gone into in detail. We have only two objects in view. The first is to prove whether or not there was a contact between the Rhodesian site and Mapungubwe and the second to dispute the date of occupation as given by Roger Summers, namely A.D. 700[1] more or less. The first question need not detain us long. Pottery and beads give definite proof of contact between the two places during the Venda period or in Zone 4 of the great depression. There are also faint traces of Sotho contact, but they are not so apparent as those of Venda. The similarity of the ceramics mentioned by Schofield and beads of identical appearance must suggest occupation of the Hill and of the Rhodesian ruins by people of the same stock. Iron and copper work may differ in a degree according to locality and conditions, but pottery tells its own tale and can be regarded as one of the most reliable aids the archaeologist possesses. Whether the Venda occupied Mapungubwe and the territory north of the Limpopo simultaneously we do not know, and we do not know either when the tribe evacuated Southern Rhodesia and settled in the Northern Transvaal. Native tradition rarely extends more than 100 years and is in any case liable to distortion. From iron-age areas near Salisbury there have been recovered pottery vessels that might have come direct from Mapungubwe,

1. SUMMERS: *The Dating of the Zimbabwe Ruins.* Antiquity, Vol. XXIX, 1955, p. 110.

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and consequently there is little doubt about such contact, but there is much doubt concerning the period of time involved.

Now we turn to the pros and cons of the C.14 date given to the log from a drain at Zimbabwe. I am one who cannot accept an early date for the Rhodesian ruins. That they were erected by people completely ignorant of even elementary building construction must be admitted by any unbiased person. The absence of any wear on the so-called steps and paths is significant. I have seen Arab pirate or slave castles in the Comoro Islands built of solid lava, and the attrition caused by the bare feet of the inmates is at once apparent. Nothing has been unearthed at Zimbabwe that cannot be ascribed to Bantu culture. If the remarkable theories of various romances had any foundation of probability, one would have found in the ruins some evidence that the Egyptians, Sabaeans, Phoenicians, or Persians had taken part in the development. Even if these various nationalities had employed natives in the building, some trace of their presence would have been detected, and as all were well acquainted with the elements of building construction they would never have permitted their slaves or helpers to erect walls of such faulty workmanship. We can, therefore, rule out the probability of any such suggestion, because otherwise some trace of their activities would have come to light.

Our investigations at K.2 and in Southern Rhodesia, supported by the C.14 dating on the Limpopo, seem to show that the Bantu had not reached Southern Rhodesia a thousand years ago, and therefore if Zimbabwe was occupied, as Mr. Summers suggests, in A.D. 700, who dwelt there? Who built it? If the Bantu were not in Southern Africa at that time, as seems certain, who were? Why then is the culture at Zimbabwe indisputably Bantu? Someone suggested to me that Negroid tribes might have been in Southern Rhodesia as long ago as A.D. 700, but all archaeological and ethnological evidence seems to negative this. If this had indeed been so their presence would have been detected in the many skeletons of the K.2 people discovered on the Limpopo and elsewhere. Dr. Galloway hits the nail on the head when he says that the Bantu have always interbred with associated peoples, and Negroid elements in the skeletons of such hybrids are easily detectable. Our early proto-Hottentots must be regarded as having been an indigenous stock with which the Bantu had had no contact in the remote past at K.2 and in Southern Rhodesia. The Bush race do not build in wood or stone, and cannot, therefore, be held responsible for the structures, which are Bantu in conception and execution.

I am now confronted by the advocates of the ancient theory who cast the C.14 reading of A.D. 700 in my face, asking why, if I am willing to adopt those for Greefswald, I cannot accept the C.14 for the log at Zimbabwe. The answer is, of course, that I have never disputed the Rhodesian reading; I only dispute its association with the date of the elliptical kraal. The log may well be of one age and the structure of another. The wood that covered the drain was tamboti (Zulu: *umthombothi*), a hard, ant-resisting material, and it is perfectly possible that the wood had been a dead stump for many years when it was hewn down to take its place in the walling. The whole crux of the matter is that at K.2 and Mapungubwe the C.14 dates and the archaeological evidence are in accord, whereas at Zimbabwe they are not and differ too widely to make sense. My opinion, for what it is worth, is that the most imposing structures were erected about 400–500 years ago. I am positive that had they been built during the 9th or 10th century they would today amount to just a heap of stones, for in a subtropical climate the growth of vegetation and its disintegrating effects are rapid, and the Bantu rarely repair anything.

There is another point that can be mentioned with regard to Zimbabwe. We know that it and other sites in Southern Rhodesia have been called iron-age sites. This is reasonable enough, for on such spots iron is found in various forms. In a recent publication Basil Davidson[1] refers to these iron-age settlements and states that he cannot understand the argument that iron reached the Limpopo only about the 12th or 13th century, after it had been in use in neighbouring communities several hundred years before. The question is undoubtedly puzzling, and if we were to rely only on K.2 for our evidence such an isolated case might be thought exceptional; but the cemeteries at or near Salisbury give corroborative data and show the same scarcity of metal objects. Goodwin points out that the Hottentots of the Cape possessed very little metal[2] and were anxious to purchase such a commodity from the whites, which proves, I think, that when they fled from their homeland they had not even then adopted the iron of their persecutors. Why, when they must have known about iron and its use, did they not adopt it immediately? Had the proto-Hottentots a taboo on the metal? Were their iron-using neighbours loath to give them the advantage of possessing metal tools? We shall probably never know, but it is reasonably certain that iron had not reached the Limpopo before the advent of the Bantu, about the 13th century.

Faint if doubtful light may be shed on Zimbabwe by briefly recounting the journey of one Antonio Fernandes, who, very early in the 16th century, was sent by the Portuguese Governor of Sofala into the interior to dis-

1. DAVIDSON: *Old Africa Rediscovered*, 1959.
2. GOODWIN: *Metal-working among the Early Hottentots*. S.A. Archaeological Bulletin, Vol. XI, No. 42 (1956).

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cover, if possible, the origin of the gold that was brought to the coast. Messrs. Tracey and Godlonton have written articles concerning this journey, but though they suggest two different routes that the Portuguese might have taken, they agree that his objective was the great place of the Monomotapa. Professor Axelson of Johannesburg states that today it is not known by what route Fernandes travelled inland, for one cannot identify existing with past villages.[1] What is of interest to us is that Fernandes describes a fortress in the making, which, if it can be identified with the Acropolis at Zimbabwe, would go a long way to uphold the theory of comparatively recent erection. His story, which savours of the improbable, or may be translated with minor alterations into probability, can be taken as he gives it. We shall deal with the elements of probability. In a country without roads a man entering the interior would naturally take the line of least resistance and travel upstream wherever possible. Now if Fernandes left Sofala he might have taken as his guide the Sabie River, which, if he progressed along it for a sufficient distance, would bring him just south of Zimbabwe, perhaps some 40 or 50 miles away. Why, if he was seeking Zimbabwe, as is likely, should he have struck out roughly north-west from Sofala and across unknown and difficult country? Zimbabwe has long been associated with the somewhat legendary Monomotapa, and it is possible therefore that Camanhaya and Zimbabwe were one and the same spot. Our traveller, however, reached his destination, whatever it was called, and while he was there he saw a fortress being built of stone without mortar. To the ordinary individual this might have passed unnoticed, but Fernandes was a ship's carpenter and was therefore probably acquainted with the elements of building construction and what they would entail. This description suggests the Acropolis of Zimbabwe, for where in the neighbourhood north of present-day Salisbury is there anything comparable? The pros and cons of this journey need not worry us unduly, but should there be any truth in the Sabie suggestion, then the upholders of the ancient theory would receive a vital blow, for the story of Fernandes would place the erection of the Acropolis about the year A.D. 1512, which is well within our estimated limits.

I trust that I have managed to make clear to our readers how necessary it is for all scientists to work together as a team, for without the C.14 results it would have been quite impossible to offer any sort of chronology that would have been in accord with the archaeological evidence and which would have entirely satisfied one's reasoning powers. Now, at least, we have something to build on, and the data acquired from K.2 and from Mapungubwe can be utilised to interpret archaeological evidence from other sites in the sub-continent, and perhaps further afield as well.

I cannot conclude this chapter without expressing my debt of gratitude to Professor P. V. Tobias of the Medical School, Johannesburg, without whose keen interest and co-operation we would still be floundering in the morass of uncertainty, for it is due largely to his initiative and drive that we have obtained the coveted C.14 information from the United States.

1. Cf. in this connection AXELSON: *The Portuguese in South-East Africa.*

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# Chapter XIII

## 1. MAPUNGUBWE: SUMMARY AND RECAPITULATION

I have frequently stressed the fact that without the great depression on the summit of Mapungubwe and evidence afforded by it we would have been entirely unable to arrive at the true history of the Hill and the events that took place on it.

The bewildering mass of debris consisting of ruined hut piled on hut, the inextricable tangle of pottery and, to cap it all, the presence of a non-Negroid community on or very near the surface, all presented a puzzle that would probably have defeated any archaeologist. In Chapter V I have already described the discovery of the great depression from which reliable stratigraphy could be obtained, and therefore there is no need to repeat the details. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a brief summary of the history of Mapungubwe as it was disclosed by the evidence obtained during 1939 and 1940.

In the previous chapter we determined a stage in the history of the Greefswald sites at which the people, who may be called the first invaders (Nguni), coalesced with the K.2 folk and sought refuge on the Hill. There had, however, been a *previous occupation of the summit by a stone-age community* which left abundant traces of its work almost on bare rock, particularly in the great depression. The implements, which B. D. Malan identified as "Modderpoort" and later recognised as "Magosian", were manufactured from pebbles taken from the Limpopo and consisted of such hard substances as chalcedony and quartz. The artefacts were in all stages of manufacture: pebbles, half-worked stones, and the complete implement; and the whole assemblage tended somewhat towards the microlithic, no large instruments of any kind being discovered. It may be noted that the typology was the same as that recovered near the Pye River in Southern Rhodesia, adjacent to a huge natural arch, where the ground is littered with similar implements. In the bed of the Pye River itself I found rough hand-axes of Chelles-Acheul type, but I discovered no palaeoliths at all near the arch mentioned above. In fact, the whole neighbourhood gives evidence of a large stone-age community at some time in its history, and Mapungubwe is therefore no exception to the rule. This factory site on the Hill was, as has been said, on bedrock, or the rotted sandstone termed thus, and this must mean that the whole surface of Mapungubwe was, at that time, bare rock, for had there been any quantity of earth on the summit it would have been washed down into the depression, rendering the place uninhabitable. The extent of the stone-age deposit was considerable. Wherever there was any depth at all, implements were found; and it is presumed that drainage was effected through cracks in the sandstone, which allowed the rain water to disperse. The passage of such water and the extremes of heat and cold during the winter probably caused great masses of the cliff to calve off and either sink below its original level as large detached blocks or to split up and tumble down the talus slopes in rivers of stone. In fact, the landscape is frequently dominated by these isolated mesas still in the process of disintegration until, from a flat-topped hill, we obtain a conical mass of rock and sand with no cliffs at all. Such is the physical or geological history of Mapungubwe in brief, and this can be seen today towards the western end of the Hill, where a great mass of sandstone slipped down, creating a rather narrow chimney, up which it was possible to ascend. On the sides of this fissure the ancients drilled holes in which sticks that could probably be withdrawn in time of danger could be inserted. This semi-detached block finally collapsed altogether, its ruins being found below the face of the cliff today. The present ascent was formed and used in the same manner, and it will doubtless go the way of its predecessor.

It may be of interest to note that I found a well-developed microlithic industry on the summit of Little Mapungubwe, a hill adjacent to our sacred one, and also an extensive site of the same nature on the farm La Rêve, on the escarpment.

Why or how these stone-age men deserted their sites in the Northern Transvaal we shall never know; but Mapungubwe was deserted, and the spot must have been unoccupied for a number of years, for a hard silt-like deposit of some 2 feet was formed over our ancient factory site, which was lost to view until our excavations of 1939 brought it to light once more.

It was, therefore, on this consolidated sand, which I have termed "A" surface, that our *hybrids from K.2 took*



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*refuge*.[1] It is of course impossible to conceive that a large or even a moderately large population could find sanctuary on the limited area of the summit. At most only a hundred or so individuals could obtain temporary asylum; and there was always the lack of water to be feared. As it was, however, foreign to the nature of the Bantu to adopt siege operations the Hill might well have proved a refuge from any marauding bands that might pass by. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the first invaders of Mapungubwe were the people of mixed descent from the old Hottentot settlement.[2] Their pottery, a survival of the K.2 technique, and the finding of the translucent bluish-green canes and even the garden-rollers, though in diminishing quantities, give proof of this, while the absence and scarcity of iron weapons in the Bantu horizons of the former site and their greater extension on the Hill seem to suggest that these first invaders took their assegais and iron tools with them. Their interesting and complex hut has been described in Chapter V and illustrated on Plate VIII, its extreme smallness having been commented upon. It seems difficult to believe that it could have been used as an actual dwelling, and we have no knowledge of any ritual or cult connected with ancient huts that I am aware of.

These first invaders had lived on "A" surface long enough to accumulate a deposit of about 2 feet, when they in their turn *were overwhelmed by another invasion by a people* who left their mark in the depression in the usual barbarous manner, the thick bed of black ash and debris bearing witness to the destruction. It is curious that no skeletal remains were recovered from the great hollow, for it was only in the superficial deposits on the surface that skeletons made their appearance. If the place was carried by assault, as the burning seems to indicate, were the bodies of the slain cast over the cliffs or did the inhabitants make their getaway on the threat of invasion? We shall never know.

Whatever took place, the K.2 and Nguni phase passed, to give place to the second invaders, and left no trace of their former presence above "B" surface, except a few beads. There was a complete break in the pottery forms, not a single vessel comparable with K.2 having been recovered from the Sotho horizon. I have already explained my reasons for calling this zone Sotho, and they need not be repeated. It was probably these people who started bringing up earth from below to level up some of the inequalities of the Hill, for their type of pottery is found in the rubbish heaped up in the eastern areas, over which their huts began to be built.

It is noteworthy that the spindle-whorl first appears above "B" surface, and the inhabitants probably wove a kind of cloth from the bark of the baobab, as do the present-day natives, but we found no trace of such cloth or an impress in any of the blocks excavated. That these people also possessed the Bantu hoe-culture was apparent from the archaeological evidence given by the finding of the usual Ban'u primitive hoe, while many iron spikes, gads, and other tools, point to the probability of actual mining, and that metal was worked has already been mentioned.

The spiral-wound bangle becomes more common, replacing the solid or ribbon type. The black bead makes its first appearance in the "B" zone, but a few of the translucent blue canes still persist. The garden-roller bead was not found in the levels represented in the great depression, but fragments of it were recovered from some of the huts, where any stratigraphy was impossible of observation owing to the chaotic conditions prevailing over the eastern part of the summit. These second invaders lived long enough on the Hill to pile up a deposit of about 3 feet in the great depression, which was of course beginning to silt up, but still afforded to its inhabitants a certain protection by which they were screened from the observation of their enemies.

Once again catastrophe overwhelmed Mapungubwe, and thick beds of ash and rubbish mark the obliteration of the Sotho inhabitants and the *advent of the third invaders*. I have already stated both who they were and why I term them Bavenda, and the evidence for this is very strong indeed. The well-known ethnologist, Prof. G. P. Lestrade, in discussing Mapungubwe, remarked in 1934: "I am now pretty firmly convinced that if the Venda and Lembas are not responsible for all Mapungubwe, they are at least responsible for huge chunks of it."

The archaeological evidence corroborates the professor's opinion to a great degree, for that the Venda overran the whole region is without doubt, signs of their culture and their walled smelting-sites being found all over that part of the Northern Transvaal that borders on the Limpopo. Such wide tribal distribution makes it impossible to conceive that they would have neglected such a valuable spot as Mapungubwe; and indeed the internal evidence from the Hill makes conjecture almost a certainty.

I cannot believe that our third invaders fused or coalesced with the previous inhabitants of the summit, but liquidated them, as the bed of black ash appears to indicate. Who has ever heard in the long history of South Africa of two totally distinct tribal units living in peace and harmony with each other? The opposite has always been the case: even two clans of the same tribe can rarely agree, as present-day events well show.

These Venda brought with them an entirely new type

1. Cf. Plate LXI.
2. Cf. Chapter XII, 5.

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of pottery, of which no trace exists either at K.2 or in the lower levels of the depression. They introduced a new bead or new beads. The hexagonal and annular beads are typical of this period. The red Indian cane is a persistent type ranging right through all the strata and was evidently an enduring old favourite. Fragments of garden-roller beads are found sparingly, suggesting that their antiquity was held in high regard.*

The beads are found in association with their copper objects such as the *mutsuku*, bangles and other articles of the same metal.

The dwellings of these Venda invaders do not appear to be as elaborate as those of their predecessors, and nothing comparable to the hut complex in Block 5 was found above "C" surface, for here the structures were completely ruined, their very foundations being often destroyed, and hut was heaped on hut in bewildering confusion. It was probably during this occupation that the retaining walls were erected on the edges of the Hill to prevent erosion of the built-up areas and to raise the surface of the summit by revetting stone-work. The Venda were probably responsible for the elaborate set-up, presumably a cattle-kraal, on Bambandyanalo summit, on the western and more easily accessible side of which there are walls and also a long, narrow entrance-passage to the interior of the Hill. Walls were built around the perimeter, but more for the purpose of keeping cattle in than keeping enemies out. Unfortunately, the summit is almost bare rock and does not appear to have ever been inhabited, for no sherds or cultural objects were discovered on it.

Again it must be noted that these third invaders did not bury their dead on Mapungubwe, no Negro skeletons having been unearthed anywhere in that horizon.

Only eight pottery figurines were recovered from Blocks 5, 6, 7 and 8, and two rather well-made model cows. The human figures were not steatopygous and were similar to those made by the Bantu today.

Bone was not well represented, and very little ivory was unearthed. No pendants or amulets were recovered.

Except in the basal deposit already described, stone implements were altogether absent, and at this stage the grinding holes in the rock, which had been used by the Sotho, had been built over. It seems therefore that the Venda women probably used a wooden stamp-mill to grind their millet in, as they do today.

It must have been during this third phase that the southern portion of the Hill was largely built over, giving rise to the great mass of deposit covering a large area; and at the close of this period the hollow called the great depression was silted up within 2 feet of the flat, rocky perimeter.

I have been asked to comment on the terrace below the Hill which is covered by occupational rubbish, but hardly feel justified to do so, for I did no work there and, in any case, the erosion on the Hill and the deposition of the detritus below the cliffs would probably render any exploration in the immediate vicinity of Mapungubwe as useless as was the excavation at K.1 in 1935. That the ground occupied by our camp had been lived on was certain, sherds appearing wherever a hole was dug, but to attempt any reasonable account of the history of the site would be impossible without extensive digging, which, as I have said above, would be complicated by the amount of rubbish washed down from the Hilltop. The summit of Mapungubwe could at the best accommodate only a certain number of people, and not many at that, for which reason the residue of the population probably dwelt on the plain where we pitched our camp.

There now appears on the summit another phase, that of *the fourth invaders*, which is puzzling and difficult to interpret exactly. There is no doubt at all about the evidence, for pottery and skeletons tell their own tale; but it is not easy to collate this evidence with the preceding or Venda section, for there are no signs of violent demarcation as existed between the lower strata. Isolated bands of ash do exist, but the thick beds of burnt hut debris separating "B" and "C" surfaces are absent between "C" and "D", the depth of which is more or less conjectural and based only on the pottery types found in that stratum. These ceramics are quite distinctive and must not be confused with the lower or Sotho pottery, the surface specimens bearing a generalised resemblance to the older K.2 types; and it is possible that the more ancient pottery tradition is represented.

If this interpretation is correct we have the unusual and quite unforeseen state of affairs that at K.2 the Bantu were superimposed on the Hottentot, whereas on the Hill we have the Hottentot superimposed upon the Bantu. This state of affairs might at first glance appear to be impossible and in fact incredible, but, as the reports of the physical anthropologists uphold the ceramic evidence in every respect, we can come to no other conclusion than that the above interpretation is the correct one. The signs of Hottentot occupation are clear enough, but what actually happened and when is not so easy to explain.

Apart from the archaeological evidence, we have a

*Samples of beads from K.2 and the Hill were submitted in 1936 to the Venda smelters and witchdoctors who gave an exhibition of their craft at the Johannesburg Exhibition in December of that year. They stated that they recognised the garden-roller, and although it was not made by them, they suggested that a few might still be in possession of some of the older folk, who used them in connection with ancestor worship. They did not recognise the bead mould and had no tradition of bead-making. The small translucent and transparent greenish-blue canes, so typical of K.2, were also unknown to them. I give this note in order to emphasise that our early-period M.1 beads were not Venda as some have supposed.

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certain amount of oral tradition, which I will give for what it is worth. During 1936 I met a Mr. Wilson, manager of the Harper Mine at Messina, and during the course of our conversation I mentioned that I thought my K.2 folk were Hottentots. He replied: "Didn't you know that before? I could have told you 30 years ago that Hottentots had once lived on your site."

Mr. Swanepoel of the farm Kilgour, not very far from Mapungubwe, also informed me that when he was a boy he had heard from old natives, who had obtained their information from their fathers, that Hottentots had once lived on the Hill.

It would seem, therefore, not only that the osteological and archaeological evidence supports this supposition but that there is, or was, an actual tradition or recollection of these people having been at Mapungubwe.

It has been mentioned before that the local natives have no knowledge regarding either site, but this is not at all surprising when one considers the probability that they themselves are comparative newcomers. Research into contemporary and documentary evidence confirming that some of the Hottentot clans started a northward migration is not wanting. Engelbrecht[1] says: "Actually, therefore, tribes (Hottentots) or remnants of them might have moved and did move further into the interior, either to be outside the sphere of the Company's activities or for other reasons. This not only applies to those tribes, called the *Orlam*, which are known to have migrated from the Cape into Namaqualand, but to many more." And according to Schapera the Korana clans were filibustering northwards in the 18th century.[2]

It will be seen, therefore, that we have evidence of a northward movement by some of the Hottentot tribes, and if, as is almost certain, they took their cattle with them they would avoid the terrors of the wastelands and retrace the paths of old, perhaps even up the Harts River, which brought them down the sub-continent, retreating through Bechuanaland towards what is now Southern Rhodesia; and such a small detachment might easily have found itself on the Limpopo at Greefswald. I say a small detachment, for the total number involved cannot have been large.

The burials on the Hill were few and seem to have represented the leaders of the clan, for the chief gold skeleton is reported to have had no Negro characteristics, and I have already remarked on the fact that there were only 12 late bodies found at K.2.

Now, as far as our knowledge goes, the Hottentots were not workers in gold or smelters of the metal. How does it come about then that in the so-called "grave area" on the Hill the skeletons were liberally supplied with gold, no sign of which was encountered at K.2? We can offer no proof of course, but it appears extremely probable that our Hill Hottentots took the gold from the previous Venda inhabitants, who, together with their Lemba associates, were workers in this and other metals. That they also adopted the Bantu or Venda custom of encircling the lower limbs with great masses of bangles is apparent from their skeletons, and this was a practice that was unknown to the old inhabitants of K.2.

What the resultant contact was between these two totally different aboriginal units we can only surmise. Did the Hottentots exterminate or drive off the Venda? We do not know. The small amount of Negro element in the Hill's later population seems to suggest that they did not have very much contact with the Bantu, and what they did possess was probably acquired before their arrival in the Northern Transvaal. They did not adopt the hoe-culture of their predecessors, for no millet or sign of grain was found in the great depression above the 3-foot level, and it is to be noted that no remains of huts or shelters were unearthed in the hollow.

I have already dwelt upon the puzzle of the flat dishware with its elaborate decoration. This was found in the Venda zone and extended right up into the Hottentot levels, and it may therefore have originated with the former people, its use being continued by the latter.

Beads were very numerous in our last horizon, all types, ancient and modern, being represented; and skeletons evinced what must be regarded as the great love that the last dwellers on the summit had for this finery.

I have been unable to discover any detailed description of the Mapungubwe remains and their furniture, apart from that given in the first volume,[1] and on the relevant page the writer erroneously stated that one of the bodies (No. 10) had been buried in a sitting position and that No. 14 had been buried in a like manner. For some time this was extremely puzzling, for none of the K.2 bodies were interred in this position, and actually this form of interment was once a custom indulged in by the Zulus. While in Johannesburg, preparing material for this volume, I had the good fortune to obtain some photographs taken by my assistant Van Tonder in 1934 while he was working alone on the Hill. These showed most clearly that the skeletons lay in exactly the same position as those from K.2, namely on their sides in a sleeping posture, the limbs being more or less flexed. The error arose through the fact that Van Tonder had not a very extensive vocabulary and was not aware of the word "flex" in connection with skeletal material. He viewed the bodies from above and described them to the best of his ability as "sitting", which, of course, they were not. I am glad to have cleared up this rather ambiguous paragraph.

1. ENGELBRECHT: *The Korana*, 1936. Introduction.
2. SCHAPERA: *Khoisan Peoples of S. Africa*, 1930, p. 47.

1. Volume I, pages 125–126.

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We can therefore briefly summarise the last phase of Mapungubwe as follows: It was occupied by a migrating Hottentot clan, possibly Korana, who left behind them indisputable traces of their origin. How long they dwelt on or near the Hill we have no idea, but that they departed in comparatively recent times is extremely probable, for otherwise the story of their presence would not have come down to us. That they adopted several of the customs of the people they dispossessed is highly conjectural, but their own culture was unquestionably that known to us as Hottentot.

We have now brought down the history of the Greefswald sites from our Boskop man to the last phase on the Hill. Was there any later Bantu occupation? The archaeological evidence says there was not, and the researches of Professor Gilliland would seem to indicate, botanically, that the Hill and its immediate neighbourhood were deserted about 150 years ago, a suggestion which would link up very well with the cultural evidence and also with the oral tradition. Furthermore, Dr. van Warmelo, who made exhaustive enquiries among the natives now dwelling in the district, is convinced that none of the present-day Bantu have ever lived on the summit, and what little they know about its past is only what has been handed down from generation to generation, such as the tale of the treasure being there. The Hill is, or was, taboo, and to ascend it was to court death or disaster. Such has been its character since it was deserted by the Hottentots. On the evacuation of Mapungubwe the descendants of the Sotho tribes living in a more westerly direction began to spread over the Northern Transvaal, but kept away from the areas occupied by the Venda.

These remnants of Sotho clans are found along the western Limpopo today.

In conclusion, it is once more advisable to point out that at K.2 and in the great depression there is no evidence of cultural contact with the outside world such as exists in some of the Transvaal and Rhodesian sites. Up to the present it has been impossible to determine the provenance of the translucent and transparent greenish-blue canes, so typical of K.2. Some of the other beads are thought to be Indian, and some may stem from glass factories in Egypt. The early pottery appears to be entirely indigenous and uninfluenced by cultural contact with any other known forms in Central or Southern Africa, but the supposed resemblance of the beaker and the lugged and the spouted pot to like vessels found in Northern Africa and the Western European seaboard may suggest a fruitful field of research.

Assessment of the molluscan genera throughout the sites might apply equally to the Red Sea or the Indian Ocean and only means that the shells originated in those areas. The cowries have their dorsal surfaces rubbed down, in keeping with a custom still in vogue among the East African people, and consists of two species: *C. moneta* and *C. annulus*. Such ornaments have a long record: mollusca are common not only in Badarian graves[1] but also at Jebel Moya[2], and are found in ancient tombs in Arabia.[3]

To complete this chapter a brief summary in seven phases of the eventful history of the Greefswald sites is appended, and the reader can see at a glance how I interpret the evidence collected over six seasons of painstaking investigations.

*K.2, 1st Phase:*

Proto-Hottentots. No Bantu contact. Osteological and archaeological evidence clear. (Before and up to about A.D. 1000.)

*K.2, 2nd Phase:*

Proto-Hottentots and first Bantu invaders mix. Archaeological evidence clear. (About A.D. 1100–1250.)

*Hill, 3rd Phase:*

Above mixed population takes refuge on the summit of Mapungubwe. Probable temporary desertion of K.2. Archaeological evidence clear. (About A.D. 1250–1300.)

*Hill, 4th Phase:*

People with Sotho characteristics overrun the Hill. Archaeological evidence fairly clear. (About A.D. 1300–1450.)

*Hill, 5th Phase:*

People of Venda stock overrun Mapungubwe. Archaeological evidence clear as to arrival, but obscure as to termination. (About A.D. 1450–1750.)

*Hill, 6th Phase:*

Arrival of Hottentot clan. Osteological and archaeological evidence clear, but contact with 5th phase not clear. (About A.D. 1750–1800.)

*Hill, 7th Phase:*

Complete desertion of Mapungubwe. Archaeological evidence clear. Gradual occupation of district by Sotho-speaking Bantu. Ethnological evidence clear. (After A.D. 1800.)

The foregoing chapters are an attempt to reconstruct the life and culture of the people who once lived at K.2 and on the Hill. Whether this interpretation is correct or otherwise only time and further investigation will tell.

1. BRUNTON and CATON-THOMPSON: *The Badarian Civilisation*, 1928, p. 27.
2. ADDISON: *The Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan (Jebel Moya)*, 1949, p. 127.
3. CATON-THOMPSON: *The Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha*, 1944, p. 95.

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The facts, however, are as related. Whether my deductions on debatable matters will stand the test of critical analysis may be doubted by some and upheld by others; yet, when all is said, there is no doubt about the great interest of our Limpopo sites, about their immense value for comparable dating in South and Central Africa, and about the stimulating effect they must have on South Africa's archaeology in the future.

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# The Inventories

It was manifestly impossible for the expedition with its small staff to record and register every sherd of the many thousands that were unearthed at Greefswald. By working some 14 hours a day we were only able to keep abreast of the more important artefacts, which are enumerated in the following four tables. *Inventory No. 1* lists the finds from the test pits and from Trenches 1 and 2 at K.2. *Inventory No. 2* details all the more important objects from the K.2 settlement which are not listed elsewhere. *Inventory No. 3* gives the contents of the numerous pits at K.2, while *No. 4* deals entirely with the finds from the summit of Mapungubwe. These inventories are of the greatest importance, and their detailed study is recommended. It may be as well to describe their arrangement. The symbols are the same as used previously; namely "B" for block and "S" for the section within the block; while the co-ordinates and figures attached to them, and the artefacts, explain themselves. No. 2 and No. 4 inventories are based on the chronological order of each separate strip; that is, not on the sequence of each section, but on the depth of each consecutive section, so that one can see at a glance what artefacts lie at what level, and comparison is an easy matter. For instance, the inventories show that the figurines at K.2 do not extend below the 4th strip; that the garden-roller bead and its mould are found at all depths; and that the black beads do not occur at K.2 except in association with skeletons of persons who either had been brought or had been buried from the Hill, and who therefore had carried the black beads on their bodies. The preponderance of metal objects on Mapungubwe is well seen from the tables, while the provenance of the flat and shallow dishware is unquestionably associated with the Hill. The total absence of the garden-roller bead moulds from the tables, while the provenance of the flat and shallow dish ware is unquestionably associated with the Hill. The total absence of the garden-roller bead moulds from the summit tends to substantiate our claim that these beads were manufactured by the males at K.2, and when this settlement was overrun they were no longer made but continued to remain objects of value and veneration to the newcomers. In conclusion, therefore, it is considered that the figures revealed by the inventories go a long way to uphold the deductions that have been advanced to explain in a reasonable fashion the past history of our two sites and their inhabitants.

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NO. 1 INVENTORY OF TRENCHES 1 AND 2, AND TEST PITS K.2.

| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory. | Figurines, Phalli. | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1935 | Trench 1 S.3. | 36″, 30″, 20″ | Decorated beaker bowl, hght. 4½″. | | | | | | | | | LI. No. 19 |
| | Trench 1 S.4. | 4′6″, 3′, 32″ (1)<br>6′6″, 33″, 22″ (2) | Complete bowl, decorated, hght. 7″. (1)<br>Beaker bowl. (2) | | | | | | | | | LI. No. 20 (2) |
| | Trench 1 S.6. | 7′, 22′, 24″ | | | | | | Pottery animal with rows of dots. | | | *Unio* shell. Burnt millet. | |
| | Trench 1 S.8. | 5′, 4′, 31″ | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.9. | 7′, 3′, 25″ | | | | | | | Tongue-shaped pottery burnisher. | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.10. | 6′, 4′, 25″ | Part spouted bowl. | | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.10 | 2′, 54″, 12″ | | | | | | Phallus with thin, perpendicular lines. | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.10. | 90″, 33″, 14″ (1)<br>54″, 24″, 30″ (2) | Rough cup. (2) | | | | Human lower jaw. (1) | | | | | LII. No. 54 (2) |
| | Trench 1 S.11. | 8′, 3′, 2′ | | | | | | | | | Horn cores, buck and bovine. | |
| | Trench 1 S.13. | 3′, 2′, 42″ | | | | | | | Pottery snuff-box, suspension holes. Length 1¾″. | | | LIII. No. 78 |
| | Trench 1 S.13. | 9′, 2′, 6′ | | | | | Bone amulet pierced 2 holes. | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.13. | 5′, 42″, 5′ | | Broken G.R. beads. | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.15. | 6′, 2′, 5′ | | | | Corroded copper bangles. Fragments. | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.16. | 3′, 3′, 3′ | Model pot with traces yellow ochre. | | | | | | | | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1935 | Trench 1 S.16. | 5′, 11″, 4′ | | | | | | 2 pottery animals. | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.16. | 66″, 12″, 42″ | | | | | Bone awl. | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.16. | 9′, 2′, 10′ | | Broken G.R. beads both types. | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.17. | 13′, 4′, 11′ | | | | | Bone with notch. | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.17. | 14′, 34″, 11′ (1)<br>4′, 28″, 11′ (2) | Carinated pot. (2) | | | | Portion elephant's tusk. (1) | | | | | LI. No. 28 (2) |
| | Trench 1 S.17. | 9′, 9″, 28″ | | Whole G.R. bead. | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.18. | 8′, 38″, 12″ | | | | | | | | | Burnt millet. | |
| | Trench 1 S.19. | 9′, 40″, 8′ | Spouted bowl, Class B. Black. | | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.19. | 5′, 30″, 4′ | Decorated pot to take lid. Hght. 4¼″. | | | | | | | | | LIII. No. 73 |
| | Trench 1 S.19. | 5′, 30″, 12″ | | Whole G.R. bead. | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.20. | 18″, 4′, 2″ | Decorated beaker. | | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.20. | 8′, 3′, 18″ | | | | | | | | | Incised tablet, divinatory? | |
| | Trench 1 S.20. | 42″, 54″, 7′ | | | | | | | | Chipped quartz point. | | |
| | Trench 1 S.20. | 3′, 30″, 6′ | | Pottery bead. Large G.R. type. | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.20. | 2′, 12″, 9′—12′ | | Broken G.R. beads both types. | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.20. | 12″, 12″, 23″, (1)<br>6″, 30″, 150″, (2) | | 1 transparent greenish-blue cane. (1) | | | Bones of large ungulate. (2) | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.21. | 6′, 2′, 23″ | | | | | | | Pottery cone, light lines on top. | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1935 | Trench 1 S.21. | 8′, 18′, 9′ (1)<br>54″, 4′, 12″ (2) | | ½ G.R. bead. (1)<br>Greenish-blue canes. (2) | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.23. | 3′, 4′, 4′ (1)<br>7′, 9′, 6′ (2)<br>8′, 6″, 6″ (3) | | ½ Pottery bead. (1)<br>Broken G.R. beads and sea-green canes. (2)<br>Ostrich discs. (3) | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.24. | 9′, 4′, 10′ (1)<br>2′, 2′, 10′ (2)<br>9′, 3′, 10′ (3)<br>4′, 3′, 9′ (4) | | | | | Ivory bangle. (1)<br>S.<br>Ivory bangle.<br>L. (2)<br>2 bone awls. (3)<br>3 bone points (4) | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.24. | 8′, 18″, 9′ (1)<br>5′, 2′, 3′ (2) | Small brown bowl. (1)<br>Coarse crucible. (2) | | | | | | | | | LII.<br>No. 52 (1)<br>LII.<br>No. 53 (2) |
| | Trench 1 S.25. | 5′, 30″, 30″ (1)<br>5′, 30″, 24″ (2) | Large decorated bowl. Hght. 6¼″, diam. 8¼″. (1)<br>Large beaker (2) | | | | | | | | | L.<br>No. 1 (2) |
| | Trench 1 S.25. | 8′, 4′, 18″ (1)<br>5′, 30″, 4′ (2)<br>5′, 42″, 30″ (3)<br>5′, 30″, 4′ (4)<br>5′, 42″, 20″ (5) | | Broken G.R. beads and sea-green canes. (2)<br>Ostrich shell discs. (3) | | 2 large pieces copper bangle. (4)<br>2 lgths. spiral-wound bangle. (5) | | Pottery phallus. (1) | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.26. | 2′, 3′, 42″ (1)<br>3′, 40″, 42″ (2)<br>3′, 30″, 48″ (3)<br>8′, 4′, 5′ (4) | | Broken G.R. beads. (4)<br>2 copper beads. (4) | | Nearly complete copper bangle. (1)<br>Copper rod. (2)<br>Iron rod. (3) | | | | | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1935 | Trench 1 S.27. | 5′, 30″, 3′ (1)<br>3′, 2′, 6′ (2)<br>8′, 6″, 7′ (3) | Large pot. Hght. 13½″. (1)<br>Contents → | 405 sea-green canes and broken G.R. beads. (1) | | Broken copper bangles. (1)<br>1 solid copper bangle. (1) | 2 worn bone awls. (2)<br>2 bone points (3) | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.28. | 9′, 2′, 30″ (1)<br>3′, 4′, 42″ (2) | | Broken G.R. beads. (1) | | Portions spiral copper bangle. (2) | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.31. | 8′, 30″, 4′ (1)<br>5′, 4′, 5′ (2)<br>42″, 3′, 4′ (3) | Coarse bowl. (1)<br>Broken decorated pot. (2) | ½ G.R. bead. (3)<br>2 *Achatina* discs. (3) | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.32. | 9′, 4′, 54″ | Decorated pot. Hght. 7⅝″. | | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.33. | 1′, 2′, 4′ (1)<br>6′, 3′, 4′ (2)<br>4′, 54″, 3′ (3) | | Broken G.R. beads. (2)<br>2 small green oblate beads. (3) | | | | Clay leg of animal. (1) | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.33. | 2′, 3′, 54″ | | | | | Drilled ivory bangles. | | | | | |
| | Trench 1 S.34. | 9′, 3′, 3′, (1)<br>8′, 2′, 42″ (2) | Lugged beaker. (1)<br>Coarse black pot. (2) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | END OF TRENCH 1. | | | | | | |
| | Trench 2 S.1. | 6′, 42″, 30″ | Large, coarse pot with burnt millet. | | | | | | | | | |
| | Trench 2 S.2. | 42″, 32″, 30″ (1)<br>6′, 40″, 30″ (2) | | | | | | | | | Portion moulded clay hearth. (1)<br>Ruined hut walls of clay. (2) | |
| | Trench 2 S.3. | 8′, 1′, 2′ (1)<br>4′, 2′, 42″ (2)<br>7′, 30″, 3′ (3) | Coarse black pot. (1)<br>Fine oval dish. (2) | | | | Broken bone awl. (3) | | | | | |
| | Trench 2 S.4. | 7′, 2′, 42″ | | | | | | | | Worn green polishing pebble. | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1935 | Trench 2 S.5. | 9′, 3′, 30″ (1)<br>3′, 1′, 7′ (2)<br>8′, 40″, 3′ (3)<br>7′, 5′, 5′ (4)<br>5′, 3′, 30″ (5) | | ½ G.R. bead, dark-blue type. (5) | | Corroded iron. (3)<br>Oxidised copper. (4) | Section of ivory bracelet. (2) | | Pottery lid or handle. (1) | | | |
| | Trench 2 S.6. | 8′, 1′, 7′6″ | | | | | Large quantity of ivory chips. | | | | | |
| | Trench 2 S.7. | 2′, 3′, 3′ (1)<br>4′, 30″, 3′ (2) | | Broken G.R. bead, blue type. (1) | | | Ivory tusk of wild pig. (2) | | | | | |
| | Trench 2 S.8. | 3′, 6′, 3′ (1)<br>9′, 3′, 4′ (2)<br>9′, 45″, 3′ (3) | | Broken G.R. bead, green type. (2) | | | | | | | Moulded edge of clay hearth. (1)<br>Large quantity burnt millet. (3) | |
| | Trench 2 S.9. | 6′, 2′, 2′ (1)<br>7′, 2′, 2′ (2)<br>4′, 43″, 30″ (3) | | Broken G.R. beads, both types. (1)<br>2 greenish-blue canes. (2) | | | Teeth and vertebra of large ungulate. (3) | | | | | |
| | | | | TRENCH 2 UNFINISHED. | | | | | | | | |
| | TEST PITS: TRENCHES 1 AND 2, K.2 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1935 | T. Pit No. 1 | Depth 18″ | | 3 sea-green canes.<br>1 ostrich shell disc. | | Portions of copper bangle on fibre. | Portion human calvaria. | | | | | |
| | T. Pit No. 2 | Depth 18″ | | 2 sea-green canes. | | | | | | | *Cypraea* shell. | |
| | T. Pit No. 3 | Depth 18″ | | Portion G.R. bead, dark type. | | | | | Portion of pottery tablet. | | | |
| | T. Pit No. 4 | Depth 24″ | | | | | Portions of human skull. | | | | | |
| | T. Pit No. 5 | Depth 18″ | Plain bowl, burnt red. | | | | | | | | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1935 | T. Pit No. 6 | Depth 54″ | Large bowl. (1)<br>Two-compartment dish.<br>Large coarse pot. (2) | | | | | | | | | L. No. 2 (1)<br>LIII. No. 74 (2) |
| | T. Pit No. 8 | Depth 30″ | Portion spouted bowl, Class C. (1)<br>Very rough pot.<br>Shallow bowl. (2) | Ostrich shell discs. | | Corroded iron arrowhead. | | | Pottery tablet.<br>Pottery handle or knob. | | | LI. No. 33 (1)<br>LII. No. 56 (2) |
| | T. Pit No. 9 | Depth 27″ | | Few sea-green and blue canes.<br>Few Indian reds. | | | | | | | 142 polishing pebbles in hole under floor. | |
| | T. Pit No. 10 | Depth 30″ | | Fragments of G.R. beads, green type.<br>2 sea-green canes.<br>2 small green oblates. | | Fragments of spiral copper bangle. | | | | | 2 *Cypraea* shells.<br>1 *Unio* shell. | |
| | T. Pit No. 11 | Depth 48″ | Portion of rough decorated vase. | | | | | | | | | LIII. No. 75 |
| | T. Pit No. 12 | Depth 30″<br>On talus slope of B'bandyanalo | Mass of fine sherds. | | | | | Human figure with tribal markings. | | | Hard cement hut floor:<br>*Section*<br>Humus 8″<br>Fallen walls 9″<br>Black ash 2″<br>Cement 3″<br>Hill-wash 8″<br>30″ | |
| | T. Pit No. 13 | Depth 30″ | Pot: long, flat-bottomed, mammillae on sides. (1)<br>Cylindrical pot. (2) | | | | | | | | | LIII. No. 69 (1)<br>LI. No. 26 (2) |
| | Talus Slope B'bandy-analo<br>do.<br>do. | Depth 30″<br>Depth 36″<br>Depth 40″ | Pedestal pot. (1)<br>Handled jug. (2)<br>Handled jug. (3) | | | | | | | | | LIII. No. 70 (1)<br>LIII. No. 71 (2)<br>LIII. No. 72 (3) |



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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | B.1.S.1. | 14′, 25′, 1′ (1)<br>14′, 23′, 1′ (2)<br>12′, 21′, 1′ (3) | | | | Corroded butt of iron hoe. (1)<br>Iron spoon. (2)<br>Butt of hoe. (3) | | | | | | |
| | B.1.S.2. | 3′, 25′, 1′ | | | | Portions copper bangles. | | | | | | |
| | B.1.S.3. | 7′, 20′, 1′ | Rough pot. Hght. 2½″. | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.1.S.5. | 2′, 13′, 1′ | | | | | | | Pottery animal. | | | |
| | B.1.S.7. | 12′, 14′, 1′ | | Pottery bead, G.R. type. | | | | | | | | |
| | B.1.S.8. | 3′, 10′, 1′ | Rough decorated beaker, pierced. H.3″. | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.1.S.9. | 13′, 27′, 1′ (1)<br>15′, 27′, 1′ (2) | Large pot. H. 15″ No. 7. (1) Bottom of pot containing → | numerous fragments G.R. beads, both types. 2 shell discs. (2) | | | | | | | | XXIV. Nos. 1 and 3 (1) |
| | B.1.S.10. | 1′, 28′, 1′ | | | | | | 2 phalli. One hollow, other solid. | | | | |
| | B.1.S.11. | 11′, 18′, 1′ (1)<br>7′, 6′, 1′ (2) | | | | Portion spiral bangle. (1) | | | Artificial penis. (2) | | | |
| | B.1.S.12. | 14′, 29′, 1′ (1)<br>1′, 29′, 1′ (2)<br>18′, 14′, 1′ (3) | | | | | | Large phallus. (1)<br>Portions figurines. (2)<br>Rough figurines. (3) | | | | |
| | B.1.S.13. | 1′, 28′, 1′ (1)<br>12′, 10′, 1′ (2)<br>8′, 18′, 1′ (3)<br>9′, 20′, 1′ (4) | | | | | | Portions of 4 figurines. (3)<br>Figurine. (4) | Pottery hippo. (1)<br>Pottery cone. (2)<br>Leg of animal. (3) | | | |
| | B.1.S.15. | 8′, 11′, 1′ | Beaker: decorated, coarse. H. 4″. | | | | | | | | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | B.1.S.4. | 4′, 6′, 2′ (1)<br>2′, 2′, 2′ (2)<br>10′, 9′, 2′ (3) | Large pot. H. 9¼″. (1)<br>Portion spouted bowl. (2)<br>Model pot. (3) | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.1.S.4. | 2′, 2′, 2′ (1)<br>7′, 22′, 2′ (2)<br>12′, 15′, 2′ (3) | Spouted bowl. (1) | Portion G.R. bead. (2)<br>Pottery bead, G.R. type. (3) | | | | | | | | LI. No. 30 (1) |
| | B.1.S.6. | 3′, 20′, 2′ (1)<br>3′, 8′, 2′ (2)<br>8′, 8′, 2′ (3) | | | | | | Pottery phallus. (3) | Pottery pestle (1)<br>Portion pottery animal. (2) | | | |
| | B.1.S.6. | 14′, 15′, 2′ | Fine beaker. Other beakers in pottery dump. | | | | | | | | | L. No. 3 |
| | B.1.S.7. | 13′, 29′, 2′ (1)<br>10′, 28′, 2′ (2)<br>11′, 4′, 2′ (3)<br>4′, 7′, 2′ (4) | | Fragment G.R. bead, dark type. (1) | | Spiral copper bangle on fibre. (4) | | | Round pottery burnisher. (2) | | Large *Unio* shell. (3) | |
| | B.1.S.8. | 2′, 30′, 2′ (1)<br>13′, 2′, 2′ (2)<br>4′, 17′, 2′ (3) | Deep bowl. (1) | | Portion G.R. beads. Moulds. (2) | | | | Artificial penis. (3) | | | LI. No. 22 (1) |
| | B.1.S.9. | 10′, 2′, 2′ (1)<br>9′, 3′, 2′ (2)<br>14′, 8′, 2′ (3)<br>7′, 8′, 2′ (4) | Small rough saucer. (1)<br>Bowl. H. 5¼″. (4) | ½ G.R. bead, light type. (3) | | | Portion of ivory armlet. (2) | | | | | |
| | B.1.S.11. | 7′, 6′, 2′ (1)<br>14′, 11′, 2′ (2)<br>5′, 21′, 2′ (3) | | ½ G.R. bead, dark type. (2) | | | | Phallus. (1) | Leg of animal (3) | | | |



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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | B.1.S.12. | 4′, 29′, 2′ (1)<br>4′, 29′, 2′ (2)<br>7′, 7′, 2′ (3)<br>6′, 6′, 2′ (4)<br>8′, 24′, 2′ (5) | Pot with bones. Hght. 9¼″. (3)<br>Decorated pot. Hght. 8½″. (5) | | | Corroded arrow-head, iron. (4) | | Phallus. (1)<br>Portion female figurine. (2) | | | | |
| | B.1.S.13. | 10′, 28′, 2′ (1)<br>9′, 21′, 2′ (2)<br>2′, 29′, 2′ (3) | | Black pottery bead. | Portion G.R. bead mould. | | | Female figurine. (1)<br>Portion of figurine. (2) | Pottery animal leg. (3) | | | |
| | B.1.S.14. | 3′, 29′, 2′ (1)<br>14′, 21′, 2′ (2)<br>9′, 24′, 2′ (3)<br>3′, 24′, 2′ (4)<br>8′, 18′, 2′ (5)<br>7′, 10′, 2′ (6)<br>13′, 9′, 2′ (7) | Small rough bowl. (4)<br>Coarse pot. Hght. 6½″. (5) | ½ G.R. bead, dark type. (3) | | Iron chisel, ground both edges. (6) | Broken bone arrow. (7) | Phallus. (2) | Tuyère. (1) | | | |
| | B.1.S.15. | 2′, 22′, 2′ (1)<br>8′, 15′, 2′ (2)<br>7′, 19′, 2′ (3) | | Pottery bead. (1)<br>G.R. bead, light type. (2) | | Portion copper bangle. (3) | | | | | | |
| | B.1.S.4. | 6′, 22′, 3′ (1)<br>13′, 14′, 3′ (2)<br>9′, 11′, 3′ (3) | Rough model pot. (2) | Portion of G.R. bead, light type. (1) | | | | Torso of figurine. (3) | | | | |
| | B.1.S.5. | 3′, 25′, 3′ (1)<br>2′, 14′, 3′ (2) | Portion of spouted pot. (2) | | | | | | | Stone pounder. (1) | | |
| | B.1.S.6. | 4′, 24′, 3′ (1)<br>8′, 22′, 3′ (2)<br>9′, 20′, 3′ (3) | | | | | Bone needle with eye and notch. (3) | | | Pebble with drilled centre, half only. (1)<br>Sandstone lid. (2) | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | B.1.S.7. | 6′, 17′, 3′ (1)<br>14′, 15′, 3′ (2) | | Ostrich shell disc beads. (2) | | | | Elongated pottery torso. (1) | | | | |
| | B.1.S.8. | 7′, 23′, 3′ (1)<br>1′, 5′, 3′ (2) | | | | Corroded iron chisel. (2) | | Figurine with *labia minora* elongated. (1) | | | | |
| | B.1.S.9. | 5′, 21′, 3′ | | | | | | | Probably artificial penis or phallus. | | | |
| | B.1.S.10. | 4′, 26′, 3′ (1)<br>3′, 23′, 3′ (2) | Cup with pierced lugs. (2) | | | | | | | *Isifuba* and polishing stones. (1) | | |
| | B.1.S.15. | 1′, 1′, 3′ | Broken pot with crushed bones. | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.1.S.5. | 3′, 12′, 4′ | Pot in bedrock. | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.1.S.8. | 4′, 24′, 4 | | Portions G.R. beads, dark type. | | | | | | | | |
| | B.1.S.5. | 12′, 7′, 5′ (1)<br>14′, 5′, 5′ (2)<br>11′, 6′, 5′ (3) | | | | | Bone needle with eye and notch. (3) | | | Pounding stone. (1)<br>Chipped stone tool. (2) | | |
| | B.1.S.1. | 14′, 13′, 6′ | Small saucer. | | | | | | | | | LII. No. 60 |
| | B.1.S.2. | 14′, 13′, 6′ | Larger saucer. | | | | | | | | | LII. No. 59 |
| | B.1.S.2. | 10′, 15′, 6′ | Beaker. | | | | | | | | | L. No. 12 |
| | B.2.S.1. | 14′, 11′, 1′ (1)<br>13′, 11′, 1′ (2) | | | | Corroded short length of iron. (1) | | | | | Mandible of ungulate. (2) | |



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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | B.2.S.2. | 9′, 10′, 6″ (1)<br>8′, 10′, 1′ (2)<br>9′, 8′, 1′ (3) | Pot with bones and charcoal. (1)<br>Pot with sherds of beaker. (2) | | | Corroded tool, perhaps chisel. (3) | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.3. | 12′, 16′, 1′ | | | | | | | | Sandstone chopper, edge flaked. | | |
| | B.2.S.6. | 9′, 28′, 1′ (1)<br>11′, 28′, 1′ (2) | | Portion G.R. bead, dark type. (1) | Portions of G.R. moulds. (2) | | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.9. | 11′, 26′, 1′ (1)<br>4′, 28′, 1′ (2)<br>10′, 10′, 1′ (3) | Cooking pot. (3) | | | ½ solid copper bangle. (1)<br>Portion spiral bangle. (2) | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.12. | 6′, 7′, 1′ (1)<br>7′, 8′, 1′ (2) | Rough cup. Hght. 3¾″. (2) | | | Corroded iron chisel both edges ground. (1) | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.13. | 2′, 23′, 1′ (1)<br>13′, 15′, 1′ (2)<br>4′, 7′, 1′, (3)<br>14′, 10′, 1′ (4) | Pot with crushed bones. (2) | | | Corroded assegai blade. (1) | | | | Heavy hammerstone, worn. (3)<br>Shallow sandstone dish, rough. (4) | | |
| | B.2.S.14. | 9′, 28′, 1′ (1)<br>5′, 24′, 1′ (2)<br>10′, 25′, 1′ (3)<br>12′, 7′, 1′ (4)<br>13′, 8′, 1′ (5) | | | | | Bone needle with eye. (5) | Steatopygous female figurine. (3)<br>Portion of figurine. (4) | Pottery animal. (1)<br>Artificial penis. (2) | | | |
| | B.2.S.15. | 10′, 24′, 1′ (1)<br>1′, 24′, 1′, (2) | Large cooking pot. Hght. 10″. (2) | | | Portions of spiral copper bangles. (1) | | | | | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | B.2.S.1. | 6′, 16′, 2′ (1)<br>11′, 16′, 2′ (2)<br>9′, 15′, 2′ (3) | | Pottery bead, G.R. type. (2) | | | Long bone arrow. (3) | Torso female figurine. (1) | | | | |
| | B.2.S.2. | 2′, 16′, 2′ (1)<br>4′ 22′, 2′ (2)<br>3′, 30′, 2′ (3)<br>3′, 23′, 2′ (4) | Shallow bowl. (1)<br>Spherical bowl. (3)<br>Pot 10″. Bones. (4) | | | | | Pottery phallus. (2) | | | | LIII. No. 64 (3) |
| | B.2.S.3. | 9′, 22′, 2′ (1)<br>11′, 21′, 2′ (2)<br>13′, 20′, 2′ (3)<br>13′, 17′, 2′ (4) | Pot. Hght. 4¾″. (1)<br>Small saucer. (2)<br>Dish with handle. (3)<br>Rough model pot. (4) | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.5. | 12′, 2′, 2′ (1)<br>11′, 4′, 2′, (2)<br>2′, 10′, 2′ (3)<br>9′, 13′, 2′ (4) | Pot. Hght. 9″. (3)<br>Pot. Hght. 15¾″ No. 18. (4) | | | | | Torso of figurine. (1)<br>Portion of animal. (2) | | | | XXIV. No. 2 (4) |
| | B.2.S.8. | 3′, 15′, 2′ (1)<br>6′, 12′, 2′ (2)<br>5′, 14′, 2′ (3)<br>7′, 18′, 2′ (4)<br>8′, 15′, 2′ (5)<br>7′, 9′, 2′ (6) | Small rough bowl. (5)<br>Sherd with fused material. (6) | | | Lump oxidised iron. (1)<br>Fragments of iron. (2)<br>Piece flat beaten copper. (3)<br>Portions of spiral bangles. (4) | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.9. | 5′, 22′, 2′ (1)<br>9′, 13′, 2′ (2) | Portion of beaker. (2) | | Complete G.R. mould. (1)<br>Portions of moulds. | | | | | | | LX. (1) |



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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | B.2.S.10. | 5′, 17′, 2′ (1)<br>7′, 20′, 2′ (2)<br>9′, 4′, 2′ (3)<br>9′, 8′, 2′ (4) | Spherical bowl. (3)<br>Model pot. (4) | Portions of G.R. beads, dark type. (2) | | | Portion of ivory bracelet. (1) | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.11. | 12′, 3′, 2′ (1)<br>7′, 9′, 2′ (2)<br>13′, 25′, 2′ (3)<br>6′, 7′, 2′ (4)<br>8′, 8′, 2′ (5) | | | | Corroded iron bangles. (1)<br>Copper ribbon bangles. (2)<br>Portion solid iron ring. (4) | Bone needle with eye. (5) | Torso of pottery figurine. (3) | | | | |
| | B.2.S.12. | 11′, 6′, 2′ (1)<br>12′, 6′, 2′ (2)<br>14′, 25′, 2′ (3) | Spherical bowl, narrow mouth. (2) | | | | | Torso female figurine. (1) | | | Fragments of fossil bone. (3) | |
| | B.2.S.13. | 5′, 2′, 2′ (1)<br>8′, 7′, 2′ (2)<br>13′, 8′, 2 (3)<br>2′, 16′, 2′ (4) | Compartment dish with lug. (2) | | | | | | Artificial penis with holes. (3) | Whetstone (4) | Lumps of slag. (1) | |
| | B.2.S.14. | 14′, 2′, 2′ (1)<br>5′, 2′, 2′ (2)<br>4′, 2′, 2′ (3)<br>4′, 2′, 2′ (4)<br>14′, 12′, 2′, (5)<br>4′, 18′, 2′ (6)<br>3′, 28′, 2′ (7) | Decorated pot Hght. 11¼″. (7) | Ostrich shell discs, also one greenish-blue cane bead. (6) | | | | Portion of figurine. (2)<br>Torso female figurine. (3) | Pottery object, perhaps base. (4) | Whetstone (1) | Portion of cowrie shell. (5) | |

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| 1936 | B.2.S.15. | 9′, 2′, 2′ (1)<br>5′, 6′, 2′ (2)<br>5′, 3′, 2′ (3)<br>11′, 12′, 2′ (4)<br>7′, 3′, 2′ (5) | | ½ G.R. bead, dark type. (1)<br>Fragments G.R. beads, both types. (2) | | Portion spiral copper bangle. (3)<br>Portion iron blade, much corroded. (4) | | | | Small whetstone. (5) | | |
| | B.2.S.3. | 14′, 3′, 3′ (1)<br>10′, 6′, 3′ (2) | | Portions G.R. bead, light type. (1) | | | | | Large lug-like object. (2) | | | |
| | B.2.S.5. | 4′, 3′, 3′ (1)<br>6′, 15′, 3′ (2)<br>11′, 22′, 3′ (3) | Rough model pot. (3) | | | | | Figurine (2) | | Worn stone mortar. (1) | | |
| | B.2.S.6. | 4′, 28′, 3′ (1)<br>4′, 17′, 3′ (2)<br>7′, 10′, 3′ (3) | Cooking pot. (2)<br>Small bowl. (3) | | | | | Portion of figurine. (1) | | | | |
| | B.2.S.9. | 7′, 8′, 3′ (1)<br>12′, 24′, 3′ (2)<br>11′, 10′, 3′ (3) | Small pot. (1)<br>Model pot. (2)<br>Beaker lugged. (3) | | | | | | | | | LII. No. 45 (3) |
| | B.2.S.11. | 14′, 9′, 3′ (1)<br>15′, 21′, 3′ (2) | | | | Short corroded iron rod. (1) | Short piece of worked bone. (2) | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.12. | 14′, 4′, 3′ (1)<br>9′, 15′, 3′ (2) | Spherical pot. Hght. 4½″. (1) | | | 6″ thin iron rod, corroded (2) | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.13. | 9′, 15′, 3′ | Pot with bones. | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.15. | 12′, 9′, 3′ (1)<br>10′, 7′, 3′ (2) | Pierced beaker. (1) | 2 greenish-blue canes. (2) | | | | | | | | LI. No. 21 (1) |
| | B.2.S.9. | 7′, 10′, 4′ (1)<br>5′, 0′, 4′ (2) | Deep dish, diam. 14¼″. (1)<br>Lugged beaker. (2) | | | | | | | | | LII. No. 44 (2) |



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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | B.2.S.3. | 10′, 12′, 4′ (1)<br>10′, 11′, 4′ (2)<br>9′, 6′, 4′ (3) | Lugged beaker. (3) | | | Corroded iron rod. (1) | | Portion figurine with scarification. (2) | | | | L. No. 13 (3) |
| | B.2.S.4. | 6′, 9′, 5′ | Spouted pot. | | | | | | | | | LI. No. 31 |
| 1937 | B.3.S.2. | 7′, 4′, 1′ (1)<br>0′, 10′, 1′ (2)<br>11′, 6′, 1′ (3) | | | | Fragments corroded iron. (3) | | | | Sandstone pounder. (2) | Portion of burnt millet. (1) | |
| | B.3.S.6. | 12′, 20′, 1′ (1)<br>10′, 18′, 1′ (2)<br>14′, 29′, 1′ (3)<br>10′, 18′, 1′ (4)<br>4′, 12′, 1′ (5) | | ½ G.R. bead. (1)<br>Portion G.R. bead. (2)<br>Blue bead. (3)<br>Ostrich discs. (4) | | Piece of corroded iron. (5) | | | | | | |
| | B.3.S.7. | 10′, 26′, 1′ (1)<br>1′, 28′, 1′ (2)<br>10′, 24′, 1′ (3)<br>14′, 28′, 1′ (4) | | | | Wide ¼″ copper armlet with end clasp. (1)<br>Corroded iron chisel. (2) | Fossilised bone or ivory. (3) | | | | Large *Unio* shell. (4) | |
| | B.3.S.8. | 3′, 4′, 1′ (1)<br>3′, 24′, 1′ (2)<br>3′, 29′, 1′ (3)<br>4′, 22′, 1′ (4) | Large cooking pot. (4) | | | | Broken bone arrow point. (2)<br>Broken arrow point (3) | | | | Cowrie shell. (1) | |
| | B.3.S.9. | 10′, 12′, 1′ (1)<br>12′, 17′, 1′ (2)<br>11′, 12′, 1′ (3) | Small crucible. (2)<br>Portion highly decorated beaker. (3) | | | Corroded iron chisel. (1) | | | | | | |
| 1938 | B.3.S.10. | 3′, 12′, 1′ | | Portion G.R. bead, dark type. | | | | | | | | |
| | B.3.S.11. | 1′, 3′, 1′ | Good red bowl. (1)<br>Long, lugged beaker. (2)<br>Pieces of bowl all in hut. | | | | | | | | Remains of small hut, diam. 5′, with pottery. | LIII. No. 65 (1)<br>LII. No. 48 (2) |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.3.S.12. | 13′, 23′, 1′ (1)<br>5′, 16′, 1′ (2)<br>15′, 24′, 1′ (3) | | Portion G.R. bead. (3) | | | | | Portion pottery tuyère. (2) | Pounding stone. (1) | | |
| | B.4.S.13. | 0′, 28′, 1′ (1)<br>6′, 3′, 1′ (2)<br>14′, 24′, 1′ (3)<br>3′, 8′, 1′ (4) | Small cup with flat base. (4) | | | | | Steatopygous figurine. (2)<br>Torso with small breasts. (3) | Portion pottery spoon. (1) | | | |
| | B.3.S.1. | 14′, 6′, 2′ (1)<br>12′, 14′, 2′ (2) | Small cup. Hght. 2¼″. (1) | | | | Portions calvaria of baby. (2) | | | | | |
| | B.3.S.2. | 4′, 9′, 2′ (1)<br>15′, 14′, 2′ (2) | Portion large beaker. (1)<br>Bowl drilled for repair. (2) | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.3.S.3. | 14′, 8′, 2′ (1)<br>11′, 4′, 2′ (2)<br>3′, 22′, 2′ (3)<br>7′, 16′, 2′ (4)<br>10′, 1′, 2′ (5) | Portions of drilled beakers, decorated. (5) | | | Fragments very corroded iron. (2) | Portion fossil bone. (1)<br>Bone awl with chevron pattern. (3) | | | | Cowrie shell. (4) | |
| | B.4.S.4. | 9′, 4′, 2′ (1)<br>13′, 3′, 2′ (2)<br>14′, 18′, 2′ (3)<br>12′, 1′, 2′ (4)<br>13′, 7′, 2′ (5)<br>10′, 9′, 2′ (6)<br>3′, 17′, 2′ (7) | Small crucible. (4)<br>Pierced beaker. (5)<br>Small crucible. (6) | | Broken G.R. moulds. (3) | Corroded iron drill. (2) | | Steatopygous female figurine. (1) | | | Horn cores of sheep. (7) | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.3.S.5. | 5′, 6′, 2′ (1)<br>3′, 14′, 2′ (2)<br>9′, 3′, 2′ (3)<br>10′, 2′, 2′ (4)<br>2′, 20′, 2′ (5)<br>3′, 19′, 2′ (6) | Small pot with lid. (1)<br>Small model pot. (2)<br>Decorated beaker. (3)<br>Deep cup. (4) | | | | | | | Hammer-stone. (5) | Horn cores of sheep. (6) | L.<br>No. 4 (3)<br>LII.<br>No. 50 (4) |
| | B.3.S.6. | 2′, 20′, 2′ (1)<br>8′, 21′, 2′ (2)<br>14′, 18′, 2′ (3)<br>4′, 14′, 2′ (4) | Large shallow bowl. Decorated rim. (2)<br>Portion of beaker. (3)<br>Well-made small pot. Hght. 4½″. (4) | Portion of G.R. bead, light type and 1 greenish-blue cane (1) | | | | | | | | |
| | B.3.S.7. | 9′, 25′, 2′ (1)<br>3′, 1′, 2′ (2)<br>5′, 13′, 2 (3) | Rough spherical bowl. (1) | | | | Bone awl. (3) | | | | Horn core of ungulate. (2) | |
| | B.3.S.8. | 12′, 30′, 2′ (1)<br>8′, 20′, 2′ (2) | Tubular spouted dish, Class C. (1) | | | | | Portion small figurine. (2) | | | | |
| | B.3.S.9. | 4′, 12′, 2′ (1)<br>10′, 20′, 2′ (2)<br>2′, 3′, 2′ (3) | | Portions of G.R. beads. (3) | | | | | Hollow pottery cone. (1)<br>Pottery burnisher. (2) | | | |
| | B.3.S.10. | 10′, 15′, 2′ (1)<br>4′, 15′, 2′ (2)<br>4′, 15′, 2′ (3)<br>6′, 3′, 2′ (4)<br>12′, 6′, 2′ (5)<br>11′, 15′, 2′ (6) | Small decorated pot. Hght. 5″. (5) | Portion G.R. bead, light type. (4) | Broken G.R. moulds. (1) | | | Pottery phallus. (2) | Portion of pottery spoon. (3) | Arrow-grinding stone. (6) | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.3.S.11. | 13′, 15′, 2′ (1)<br>13′, 12′, 2′ (2)<br>6′, 15′, 2′ (3)<br>10′, 26′, 2′ (4)<br>7′, 16′, 2′ (5)<br>11′, 16′, 2′ (6) | Small pot. Hght. 6″. (1)<br>Portion small bowl. (2)<br>Portion large decorated pot. (5) | | | | | Steatopygous figurine. (3)<br>Torso figurine. (4)<br>Torso female figurine. (6) | | | | |
| | B.3.S.13. | 3′, 18′, 2′ (1)<br>8′, 28′, 2′ (2)<br>5′, 24′, 2′ (3)<br>6′, 15′, 2′ (4)<br>10′, 4′, 2′ (5)<br>12′, 18′, 2′ (6) | Portion of spouted bowl, Class B. (4)<br>Coarse bowl, plain. Hght. 5″. (6) | | Broken G.R. moulds. (2) | Portion of iron bangle. (3) | | Portion of figurine. (1) | Pottery leg of animal. (5) | | | |
| | B.3.S.14. | 1′, 24′, 2′ (1)<br>3′, 7′, 2′ (2)<br>9′, 22′, 2′ (3)<br>8′, 12′, 2′ (4)<br>7′, 11′, 2′ (5)<br>8′, 14′, 2′ (6)<br>0′, 15′, 2′ (7)<br>9′, 20′, 2′ (8)<br>9′, 29′, 2′ (9) | Small pot. Hght. 6¼″. (1)<br>Portion spouted bowl, Class B. (3)<br>Bowl with two pierced lugs. (7)<br>Portion spouted bowl, Class B. (8) | | | | | Figurine with head and hole for mouth. (4)<br>Pottery bovine with hump on back. (5)<br>Pottery bovine (6) | Pottery leg. (9) | | Horn core of ungulate. (2) | LII. No. 49 (7) |
| | B.3.S.15. | 4′, 5′, 2′ (1)<br>4′, 28′, 2′ (2) | | | | | | Lower portion of figurine. (1)<br>Torso of figurine. (2) | | | | |
| | B.3.S.2. | 14′, 7′, 3′ | Oval dish with handle stumps. | | | | | | | | | LIII. No. 77 |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.3.S.4. | 11′, 15′, 3′ (1)<br>2′, 14′, 3′ (2)<br>14′, 1′, 3′ (3)<br>1′, 14′, 3′ (4)<br>11′, 10′, 3′ (5)<br>13′6″, 19′, 3′ (6)<br>7′, 10′, 3′ (7) | Long beaker. (5)<br>Pyramid beaker. (6)<br>Cylindrical beaker. (7) | 1 blue bead and 1 opaque blue. 1 ostrich disc. (3)<br>Portion G.R. (4) bead, dark type. | | | Rough bone arrows 34″ long. Many double-ended and many broken points. (1)<br>Bone burnisher. (2) | | | | | L. No. 5 (5)<br>L. No. 9 (6)<br>LI. No. 27 (7) |
| | B.3.S.6. | 4′, 15′, 3′ | | 11 greenish-blue canes. 1 yellow oblate. Unfinished ostrich discs. | | | | | | | | |
| | B.3.S.8. | 10′-15′, 20′, 3′ (1)<br>16′, 15′, 3′ (2) | | Small midden with 9 greenish-blue canes, 1 Indian red, 1 G.R. bead, light type, 8 ostrich discs. (1) | | Lump corroded copper and portions of copper bangles. (1) | Bone needle with eye. (2) | | | | Much ash. (1) | |
| | B.3.S.9. | 1′, 23′, 3′ (1)<br>4′, 27′, 3′ (2)<br>3′, 26′, 3′ (3)<br>4′, 26′, 3′ (4)<br>3′, 22′, 3′ (5) | Portions of large pot with moulding on shoulder. (4)<br>Decorated beaker. (5) | Red pottery bead, macaroni type. (2) | | Solid copper bangle. (1) | | | Pottery object like double-ended stopper. (3) | | | LI. No. 23 (5) |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.3.S.10. | 2′, 26′, 3′ (1)<br>0′, 11′, 3′ (2)<br>4′, 11′, 3′ (3)<br>4′, 11′, 3′ (4) | | 2 greenish-blue canes and portions of G.R. beads. (4) | | Solid copper bangle. (1)<br>Pieces corroded iron. (2) | | | | Long hammer-stone. (3) | Many pounding stones in this section. | |
| | B.3.S.11. | 4′, 9′, 3′ (1)<br>3′, 12′, 3′ (2)<br>1′, 10′, 3′ (3)<br>8′, 29′, 3′ (4) | Broken cooking pot set in hearth-stones. (4) | | | | | Torso of figurine. (3) | | Waisted mace. (1)<br>Worn polishing pebble. (2) | | |
| | B.3.S.13. | 10′, 21′, 3′ (1)<br>12′, 22′, 3′ (2)<br>4′, 8′, 3′ (3) | Amphora-like pot. (3) | Black pottery bead, macaroni type. (1) | Broken G.R. moulds. (2) | | | | | | | LIV. No. 80 (3) |
| | B.3.S.14. | 4′, 11′, 3′ | Portion of spouted bowl, Class B. | ½ G.R. bead, light type. | | | | | | | | |
| | B.3.S.1. | 6′, 20,′ 4′ (1)<br>7′, 14′, 4′ (2) | Portion of spouted bowl, Class B (1) | | | | Tip of elephant's tusk, exfoliating. (2) | | | | | |
| | B.3.S.2. | 3′, 29′, 3′ (1)<br>14′, 26′, 4′ (2)<br>9′, 19′, 4′ (3)<br>3′, 18′, 4′ (4)<br>2′, 27′, 4′ (5) | Portion of spouted bowl, Class B. (2) | ½ G.R. bead, dark type. (4) | | | Portion of human mandible. (1)<br>Portion of ivory with 2 holes one end. (3) | | | | Cowrie shell. (5) | |



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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.3.S.3. | 1′, 2′, 4′ (1)<br>2′, 28′, 4′ (2)<br>4′, 24′, 4′ (3) | | ½ G.R. bead, dark type. (1) | | | Canine tooth of some carnivora. (3) | | | | Cowrie shell. (2) | |
| | B.3.S.4. | 15′, 16′, 4′ (1)<br>15′, 16′, 4′ (2) | Large beaker. Hght. 5½″, diam. 8⅝″. (1)<br>Portion of decorated flared beaker. (2) | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.3.S.7. | 12′, 24′, 4′ (1)<br>15′, 25′, 4′ (2) | Large bowl with pointed bottom. (1) | | Broken G.R. bead moulds. (2) | | | | | | | LIII. No. 66 (1) |
| | B.3.S.9. | 14′, 29′, 4′ (1)<br>14′, 19′, 4′ (2) | Zoned beaker. (2) | | | Small iron tool with rough edge. (1) | | | | | | L. No. 11 (2) |
| | B.3.S.12. | 7′, 11′, 4′ (1)<br>7′, 11′, 4′ (2) | Portion of large bowl. (1) | | | | | | | Flat rubbing stone. (2) | | |
| | B.3.S.13. | 13′, 2′, 4′ | Small bowl with unpierced base. | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.3.S.14. | 2′, 19′, 4′ (1)<br>10′, 18′, 4′ (2) | Well-made bowl, slightly flared. (1) | | | | Bone needle with eye and notch. (2) | | | | | |
| | B.3.S.15. | 14′, 28′, 4′ | Portion spouted bowl, Class B. | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.3.S.4. | 4′, 12′, 5′ (1) | Large cooking pot, lugs at base contained beads. (1) | 3 greenish-blue canes. (1) | | | | | | | | LII. No. 36 (1) |
| | B.3.S.7. | 2′, 3′, 5′ | Beaker bowl. | | | | | | | | | L. No. 15 |
| | B.3.S.8. | 5′, 25′, 5′ (1)<br>8′, 26′, 5′ (2) | Portion of spouted bowl. Class A. (1) | | Broken G.R. bead moulds. (2) | | | | | | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.3.S.10. | 1′, 29′, 5′ | Large pot. Hght. 15½″. | | | | | | | | | LIV. No. 87 |
| 1937 | B.4.S.1. | 9′, 17′, 1′ | Portion spouted bowl, Class B. | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.2. | 4′, 6′, 1′ (1)<br>5′, 7′, 1′ (2) | Portion spouted bowl, Class A. (2) | | | | Portion of trimmed bone. (1) | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.4. | 14′, 12′, 1′ (1)<br>7′, 19′, 1′ (2)<br>14′, 16′, 1′ (3) | Portion of beaker. (2)<br>Portions of coarse pot. (3) | | | | | | | Worn pounding stone. (1) | | |
| | B.4.S.5. | 10′, 16′, 1′ (1)<br>2′, 15′, 1′ (2)<br>10′, 16′, 1′ (3)<br>2′, 15′, 1′ (4)<br>7′, 12′, 1′ (5) | Portion large beaker, decorated. (3)<br>Portion large bowl. (4)<br>Portion spouted pot, Class B. (5) | | | | | | | Grooved arrow-sharpening stone. (1)<br>Squared sandstone rubber. (2) | | |
| | B.4.S.6. | 5′, 12′, 1 (1)<br>2′, 14′, 1′ (2)<br>10′, 15′, 1′ (3)<br>14′, 17′, 1′ (4)<br>6′, 24′, 1′ (5) | | | | Fragments rusty iron. (3)<br>Portions of spiral copper bangle. (4) | | | | Hollowed sandstone pebble. (1)<br>Waisted mace. (2) | Hard cement floor. Diam. 7′. Charred posts. (5) | |
| | B.4.S.8. | 9′, 15′, 1′ | | | Broken G.R. bead moulds. | | | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.9. | 2′, 18′, 1′ (1)<br>4′, 6′, 1′ (2)<br>3′, 23′, 1′ (3) | Portion spouted bowl, Class B. (1)<br>Leg of pedestal pot. (3) | | | | | | | Hind portion of steatopygous figurine. (2) | | |



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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.4.S.10. | 7′, 24′, 1′ (1)<br>7′, 24′, 1′ (2)<br>5′, 25′, 1′ (3) | Rough model pot. (1)<br>Small crucible. (2)<br>Small bowl. (3) | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.13. | 5′, 28′, 1′ (1)<br>2′, 2′, 1′ (2)<br>13′, 2′, 1′ (3)<br>12′, 6′, 1′ (4) | Portion spouted bowl, Class B. (2) | | | | | Pottery phallus. (4) | Pottery spoon. (1)<br>Pottery foot. (3) | | | |
| | B.4.S.14. | 8′, 13′, 1′ (1)<br>9′, 9′, 1′ (2)<br>6′, 10′, 1′ (3)<br>13′, 10′, 1′ (4) | Portion of large spouted bowl, Class B. (1) | Portion of G.R. bead, light type. (3) | | Portion of spiral copper bangle. (4) | | | Long pottery tongue-like object. Perhaps a lug. (2) | | | |
| | B.4.S.15. | 6′, 27′, 1′ (1)<br>10′, 27′, 1′ (2)<br>8′, 23′, 1′ (3) | Small beaker. (1)<br>Beaker. (3) | | | | | | Portion of tuyère. (2) | | | L. No. 17 (1)<br>LI. No. 24 (3) |
| 1937 | B.4.S.1. | 1′, 10′, 2′ (1)<br>7′, 28′, 2′ (2)<br>6′, 24′, 2′ (3) | Portion large beaker bowl. (3) | | | | Half human mandible. (2) | | | Ovate polishing pebble. (1) | | |
| | B.4.S.2. | 10′, 4′, 2′ (1)<br>10′, 6′, 2′ (2)<br>8′, 16′, 2′ (3)<br>6′, 9′, 2′ (4)<br>9′, 18′, 2′ (5)<br>1′, 15′, 2′ (6)<br>3′, 29′, 2′ (7) | Portion large spouted bowl, Class B. (5)<br>Portion of plain bowl. (6) | Blue hexagonal bead. (1)<br>1 greenish-blue cane, much worn. Both in ant-bear hole. (2) | | | Portion of skull of ungulate. (7) | | | Well-squared hammer-stone. (3) | *Unio* shell. (4) | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.4.S.5. | 2′, 1′, 2′ (1) | | | | | | | Pottery spoon. (1) | | | |
| | | 2′, 16′, 2′ (2) | | | | | Portions of thick human skull. (2) | | | | | |
| | | 1′, 14′, 2′ (3) | Deep bowl. (3) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 15′, 2′ (4) | ½ rough pot. (4) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 7′, 21′, 2′ (5) | | | | | Fragments of immature skull. (5) | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 3′, 2′ (6) | Small crucible. (6) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 26′, 2′ (7) | | 4 fragments of G.R. beads, dark type. (7) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 18′, 2′ (8) | Large beaker. (8) | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.6. | 9′, 7′, 2′ (1) | | | | | | | | Hollowed sandstone pebble. (1) | | |
| | | 7′, 3′, 2′ (2) | | | | | Fine bone skin-scraper. (2) | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 27′, 2′ (3) | | | | | | | | | Lumps of slag and white limey substance. (3) | |
| | B.4.S.7. | 3′, 12′, 2′ (1) | | | Broken G.R. bead moulds. (2) | | | | | | Large cowrie. (1) | |
| | | 7′, 6′, 2′ (2) | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 11′, 9′, 2′ (3) | | Portion G.R. bead. (3) | | Fragments of corroded iron. (3) | | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 28′, 2′ (4) | | Brown pottery bead, macaroni type. (4) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 11′, 2′ (5) | | *Achatina* discs and 2 greenish-blue canes. (5) | | | Bone linkshaft. (5) | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.8. | 4′, 3′, 2′ (1) | Portion of rough cup. (1) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 12′, 2′ (2) | | Devitrified G.R. bead. (2) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 2′, 7′, 2′ (3) | | 5 black pottery beads, macaroni type, 1 brown. (3) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 8′, 9′, 2′ (4) | | 1 opaque blue. (4) | | Flat, wire, copper bangles. Very corroded. (4) | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 8′, 2′ (5) | | Fragments G.R. beads. (5) | | | | | | | | |



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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.4.S.9. | 8′, 22′, 2′ (1) | Portion of beaker, pierced. (1) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 2′, 16′, 2′ (2) | Model pot. (2) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 19′, 2′ (3) | | | | | | Torso of figurine. (3) | | | | |
| | | 7′, 12′, 2′ (4) | | | | | | | | Sandstone rubber. (4) | | |
| | | 14′, 26′, 2′ (5) | | | | Corroded iron chisel. (5) | | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 14′, 2′ (6) | | | | Small piece of iron. (6) | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 4′, 2′ (7) | | Greenish-blue cane bead. (7) | | | | | | | | |
| 1938 | B.4.S.10. | 9′, 28′, 2′ (1) | | | | Portion solid copper bangle. (1) | | | | | | |
| | | 8′, 15′, 2′ (2) | | | | | Long bone tool. One end worn flat. (2) | | | | | |
| | | 2′, 15′, 2′ (3) | Portion large spouted bowl, Class B. (3) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 11′, 18′, 2′ (4) | | | | | | | Pottery leg. (4) | | | |
| | | 7′, 12′, 2′ (5) | | | | | | | Portion of pottery spoon. (5) | | | |
| | | 3′, 26′, 2′ (6) | | | | | | | | Chipped stone pick. (6) | | XXIX. (6) |
| | B.4.S.11. | 3′, 14′, 2′ (1) | Portion of spouted bowl, Class B. (1) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 7′, 3′, 2′ (2) | | | | | | Pottery phallus. (2) | | | | |
| | B.4.S.12. | 10′, 4′, 2′ (1) | | | | Solid copper bangle. (1) | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 18′, 2′ (2) | Portion small pot. (2) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 13′, 2′ (3) | | | | | | | Curved pottery handle. (3) | | | |
| | | 10′, 19′, 2′ (4) | | | | | | | Small stopper or pedestal. (4) | | | XXIX. (4) |
| | | 8′, 12′, 2′ (5) | | | | | | Steatopygous female posterior. (5) | | | | XXIX. (5) |
| | | 13′, 24′, 2′ (6) | Portion spouted bowl, Class B. (6) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 7′, 2′ (7) | | | | | | Head of figurine. (7) | | | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.4.S.13. | 6′, 15′, 2′ (1) | | | | | | Portion steato-pygous figurine. (1) | | | | |
| | | 0′, 12′, 2′ (2) | | Pottery bead, G.R. type. (2) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 2′, 2′ (3) | | | | | | | | Polishing stone. (3) | | |
| | | 4′, 1′, 2′ (4) | | | | | Worked bone. (4) | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 8′, 2′ (5) | Rough cup. (5) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 23′, 2′ (6) | | | | | | Long figurine. (6) | | | | |
| | | 14′, 25′, 2′ (7) | Portion of beaker. (7) | | | | | | | | | LI. No. 25 (7) |
| | | 1′, 10′, 2′ (8) | Decorated bowl. (8) | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.14. | 4′, 16′, 2′ (1) | | | | | | | | Burnishing stones. (1) | | |
| | | 3′, 15′, 2′ (2) | Portion spouted bowl, Class B. (2) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 21′, 2′ (3) | Model pot. (3) | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.15. | 11′, 15′, 2′ (1) | Cooking pot. No. 34. (1) | | | | | | | | | LIV. No. 83 (1) |
| | | 15′, 25′, 2′ (2) | | | | | | | | Long whetstone. (2) | | |
| | | 11′, 26′, 2′ (3) | Lugged beaker. (3) | | | | | | | | | LII. No. 47 (3) |
| 1937 | B.4.S.2. | 6′, 22′, 3′ (1) | | | | | Fossil bone or ivory. (1) | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 25′, 3′ (2) | | | | | Large pelvic bone, animal? (2) | | | | | |
| | | 1′, 17′, 3′ (3) | | | | Lumps oxidised iron. (3) | | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.3. | 12′, 28′, 3′ (1) | | | | | Large bone skin-scraper. (1) | | | | | XXVII (1) |
| | | 6′, 28′, 3′ (2) | | | | | | | | | Horn core of sheep. (2) | |
| | | 8′, 21′, 3′ (3) | Small waisted pot. (3) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 2′, 11′, 3′ (4) | Rough flat dish. (4) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 15′, 3′ (5) | | | | | Drilled elephant's tusk. Armguard. (5) | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 26′, 3′ (6) | | ½ G.R. bead, dark type. (6) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 16′, 3′ (7) | Large shouldered pot. Hght. 14″. (7) | | | | | | | | | LIV. No. 81 (7) |
| | B.4.S.6. | 1′, 20′, 3′ | Large pot. Hght. 11″. | | | | | | | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.4.S.7. | 4′, 12′, 3′ (1)<br>2′, 27′, 3′ (2)<br>7′, 27′, 3′ (3)<br>6′, 11′, 3′ (4)<br>13′, 2′, 3′ (5)<br>14′, 6′, 3′ (6)<br>3′, 10′, 3′ (7) | Small beaker. (6)<br>Large shouldered, decorated pot. (7) | Pottery bead, G.R. type. (5) | ½ G.R. mould with globules of glass. (2)<br>½ large G.R. bead mould. (4) | | Small awl. (1)<br>Portion of ivory armlet. (3) | | | | | LIV.<br>No. 82 (7) |
| | B.4.S.9. | 4′, 3′, 3′ (1)<br>3′, 5′, 3′ (2)<br>2′, 15′, 3′ (3)<br>10′, 14′, 3′ (4)<br>5′, 13′, 3′ (5) | Bowl with gashed lugs at rim. (4)<br>Portion spouted dish, Class C. (5) | Pottery bead, G.R. type. (1)<br>½ squat G.R. bead and fragments of green and blue canes. (2)<br>*Achatina* discs. (3) | | | | | | | | LII.<br>No. 37 (4)<br>LI.<br>No. 35 (5) |
| 1938 | B.4.S.10. | 14′, 21′, 3′ (1)<br>1′, 10′, 3′ (2)<br>7′, 15′, 3′ (3) | Portion spouted bowl, Class C. (2)<br>Flat-bottomed, tubular, spouted dish. (3) | | | Spiral copper bangle. (1) | | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.11. | 3′, 5′, 3′ | | 11 greenish-blue canes. | | | | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.12. | 2′, 6′, 3′ (1)<br>9′, 15′, 3′ (2) | Small spouted dish. (2) | | | | | | | Worn pounding stone. (1) | | LI.<br>No. 34 (2) |
| | B.4.S.13. | 6′, 10′, 3′ (1)<br>6′, 9′, 3′ (2)<br>3′, 17′, 3′ (3)<br>5′, 4′, 3′ (4) | Small pot. (2)<br>Portion of lugged bowl. (3)<br>Large pot. (4) | | | | | | Long pottery lug. (1) | | | LIV.<br>No. 84 (4) |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.4.S.14. | 1′, 13′, 3′ (1)<br>1′, 15′, 3′ (2)<br>4′, 15′, 3′ (3) | Portion of beaker. (1)<br>Portion of pot. (2) | | | | | | Portion of tuyère. (3) | | | |
| 1937 | B.4.S.2. | 6′, 22′, 4′ (1)<br>2′, 12′, 4′ (2) | Cooking pot. (2) | Large number of ostrich discs. (1) | | | | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.4. | 4′, 24′, 4′ (1)<br>3′, 2′, 4′ (2)<br>9′, 7′, 4′ (3)<br>3′, 2′, 4′ (4) | Spouted bowl, Class B. (1) | | | | Decomposed ivory. (4) | Torso of figurine with scarification. (2)<br>Torso of figurine. (3) | | | | LI.<br>No. 32 (1) |
| | B.4.S.6. | 9′, 15′, 4′ (1)<br>12′, 20′, 4′ (2)<br>10′, 11′, 4′ (3)<br>12′, 20′, 4′ (4)<br>14′, 19′, 4′ (5) | Beaker with base. (1)<br>Rough pottery bottle (bulging). (3)<br>Gourd-shaped pot. (5) | 45 greenish-blue canes, 1 yellow oblate, 1 greyish-blue cane, 1 bone bead. Ostrich and *Achatina* discs, 24. (4) | | | | Pottery object, perhaps phallus. (2) | | | | L.<br>No. 10 (1) |
| | B.4.S.7. | 12′, 24′, 4′ (1)<br>12′, 24′, 4′ (2)<br>10′, 26′, 4′ (3)<br>12′, 26′, 4′ (4)<br>14′, 27′, 4′ (5) | | 9 greenish-blue canes. Few *Achatina* discs.<br>1 ivory bead. (2) | Broken G.R. bead moulds. (5) | Very corroded assegai blade, tanged. (1) | Bone needle with notch and eye. (4) | | | Squared sandstone rubber. (3) | | |
| | B.4.S.10. | 9′, 2′, 4′ | Large pot. | | | | | | | | | LIV. No. 85 |
| | B.4.S.13. | 8′, 4′, 4′ | Half large beaker. | | | | | | | | | L.<br>No. 16 |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.4.S.2. | 1′, 20′, 5′ (1)<br>5′, 11′, 5′ (2)<br>6′, 9′, 5′ (3)<br>9′, 10′, 5′ (4) | 3 lugged bowls. (1)<br>Portion of spouted bowl, Class A. (4) | ½ G.R. bead, dark type. (2) | | | Small piece of ivory. (3) | | | | | |
| 1938 | B.4.S.6. | 11′, 25′, 5′ (1)<br>4′, 6′, 5′ (2) | Rough bowl. (1)<br>Small brown bowl. (2) | | | | | | | | | LII.<br>No. 57 (2) |
| | B.4.S.7. | 1′, 21′, 5′ | Broken pot containing→ | 3 Indian reds, 2 greenish-blue canes, portion of G.R. bead, dark type; | | 2 small copper rings; | animal bones. | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.8. | 5′, 1′, 5′ (1) | Cooking pot with → | | | | animal bones. | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.10. | 1′, 4′, 5′ | ½ model pot. | | | | | | | | | |
| 1937 | B.4.S.2. | 1′, 24′, 6′ (1)<br>7′, 15′, 6′ (2)<br>7′, 22′, 6′ (3)<br>9′, 23′, 6′ (4) | | | Broken G.R. bead moulds. (4) | | Iron tusk. (1)<br>Small piece of ivory. (2)<br>Ivory armguard. (3) | | | | | XXVIII (1) |
| | B.4.S.5. | 5′, 10′, 6′ | | | | | | | | Chalcedony flake. | | |
| | B.4.S.6. | 14′, 7′, 6′ | Pot with triangles. | | | | | | | | | L.<br>No. 14 |
| | B.4.S.2. | 10′, 15′, 7′ | Bowl, wide rim. | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.4.S.3. | 8′, 23′, 7′ | Large portion of beaker. | | | | | | | | | |
| 1938 | B.4.S.6. | 5′, 14′, 7′ | | | | Solid copper ring coiled as snake, diam. ½″. | | | | | Numerous sherds and stones in sections. | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.5.S.11. | 4′, 18′, 1′ (1)<br>7′, 2′, 1′ (2)<br>3′, 19′, 1′ (3)<br>3′, 29′, 1′ (4)<br>6′, 8′, 1′ (5)<br>12′, 28′, 1′ (6)<br>4′, 17′, 1′ (7)<br>13′, 20′, 1′ (8) | Portion flat dish. (1)<br>Crude spout, Class B. (2)<br>Model pot. (4)<br>Coarse beaker. (5)<br>Rough crucible. (6)<br>Portion spouted bowl, Class B. (8) | G.R. bead, waisted. (3)<br>½ G.R. bead, dark type. (7) | | | | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.12. | 4′, 27′, 1′ (1)<br>7′, 25′, 1′ (2)<br>9′, 12′, 1′ (3) | | | | Portion of copper bangle. (1) | Fragment of ivory, exfoliating. (3) | | | | Lumps of slag. (2) | |
| | B.5.S.13. | 4′, 29′, 1′ (1)<br>6′, 19′, 1′ (2)<br>9′, 18′, 1′ (3)<br>8′, 21′, 1′ (4)<br>11′, 24′, 1′ (5)<br>4′, 7′, 1′ (6)<br>8′, 12′, 1′ (7)<br>6′, 14′, 1′ (8)<br>4′, 12′, 1′ (9) | ½ large cup. (2)<br>Small crucible. (7) | Portion G.R. bead. (5)<br>½ G.R. bead. (8) | | Circular piece of corroded iron. (9) | Bone arrow. (1) | | Portion of tuyère. (3)<br>Pottery foot. (4)<br>Pottery handle. (6) | | | |
| | B.5.S.14. | 7′, 5′, 1′ (1)<br>3′, 6′, 1′ (2)<br>12′, 19′, 1′ (3)<br>1′, 3′, 1′ (4)<br>4′, 12′, 1′ (5)<br>10′, 17′, 1′ (6) | Portion of spout, Class C. (2)<br>Portion of pedestal pot. (5) | Long pottery bead. (3) | | | Coarse bone point. (6) | Steatopygous figurine. (1) | Pottery object, bovine head? (4) | | | |
| | B.5.S.15. | 6′, 18′, 0′–1′ | | | | | | | | | Remains of small hut with cement floor. | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.5.S.1. | 11′, 23′, 2′ | | | | | | | | Worn hammer-stone. | | |
| | B.5.S.2. | 9′, 17′, 2′ | | | | | | | | Waisted stone mace. | | |
| | B.5.S.3. | 4′, 20′, 2′ | | | | | | | | Large round pounding stone. | | |
| | B.5.S.4. | 11′, 26′, 2′ (1)<br>7′, 20′, 2′ (2)<br>9′, 18′, 2′ (3) | ½ of small beaker. (2) | ½ G.R. bead, light type. (3) | | | | | | | Horn base of ungulate. (1) | |
| | B.5.S.6. | 7′, 12′, 2′ (1)<br>9′, 21′, 2′ (2) | Portion rough pot. (1) | | | | | | | | Portion of cowrie. (2) | |
| | B.5.S.7. | 11′, 18′, 2′ (1)<br>14′, 17′, 2′ (2)<br>11′, 21′, 2′ (3)<br>4′, 24′, 2′ (4) | Decorated beaker. (2)<br>Lugged beaker. (3) | | | Portion spiral copper bangle. (4) | | | Vertically pierced lug. (1) | | | |
| | B.5.S.8. | 12′, 25′, 2′ (1)<br>10′, 21′, 2′ (2)<br>8′, 27′, 2′ (3)<br>3′, 29′, 2′ (4)<br>6′, 19′, 2′ (5)<br>11′, 17′, 2′ (6) | Plain bowl. (1)<br>Small bowl. (2)<br>Rough cup. (3) | 2 greenish-blue cane beads. (6) | | Length, coiled, flat copper wire. (4) | | | | Worn hammer-stone. (5) | | LII. No. 58 (1) |
| | B.5.S.9. | 6′, 10′, 2′ (1)<br>6′, 21′, 2′ (2)<br>2′, 15′, 2′ (3) | Oval dish. (1) | Black pottery bead, macaroni type. (2) | | 4″ piece corroded iron. (3) | | | | | | LIII. No. 76 (1) |
| | B.5.S.11. | 7′, 26′, 2′ (1)<br>7′, 15′, 2′ (2)<br>11′, 13′, 2′ (3) | Rough bowl. (1) | | | | | | | *Isifuba* stone. (2)<br>Stone pounder. (3) | | LII. No. 62 (1) |
| | B.5.S.12. | 3′, 14′, 2′ | Portion spouted bowl, Class B. | | | | | | | | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | B.5.S.13. | 6′, 9′, 2′ (1)<br>3′, 15′, 2′ (2) | | | | Portion solid copper bangle. (1) | Broken arrow point. (2) | | | | | |
| 1939 | B.5.S.1. | 6′, 7′, 3′ (1)<br>14′, 23′, 3′ (2)<br>8′, 17′, 3′ (3) | | | | | Drilled ivory armlet. (2)<br>Decorated needle with eye. (3) | | | | Teeth of bovine. (1) | |
| | B.5.S.3. | 9′, 20′, 3′ (1)<br>7′, 21′, 3′ (2) | | | | | | | Rear of pottery animal. (1)<br>Large pottery spoon. (2) | | | |
| | B.5.S.6. | 8′, 16′, 3′ (1)<br>10′, 15′, 3′ (2)<br>1′, 25′, 3′ (3)<br>12′, 24′, 3′ (4) | Lugged pot, hght. 5⅛″, vertically pierced. (1)<br>Small bowl. (4) | Portion G.R. bead, dark type. (3) | | | Bovine bones. (3) | | Rough pottery animal. (2) | | | |
| | B.5.S.7. | 15′, 19′, 3′ (1)<br>8′, 22′, 3′ (2)<br>4′, 13′, 3′ (3)<br>6′, 26′, 3′ (4)<br>10′, 17′, 3′ (5) | Small bowl. (1)<br>Spouted bowl, Class B. (2) | | | | Piece decayed elephant's tusk. (3) | | Pebble with attempted drilling. (4)<br>Chalcedony flake, secondary chipping. (5) | | | |
| | B.5.S.8. | 4′, 27′, 3′ (1)<br>9′, 28′, 3′ (2)<br>7′, 16′, 3′ (3)<br>6′, 21′, 3′ (4) | Spouted bowl, Class B. (1) | Greenish-blue cane in No. 1. (1) | | | | | | Long worn rubbing stone. (2)<br>Polishing pebble. (3) | Nacre of freshwater mussel. (4) | |
| | B.5.S.9. | 8′, 11′, 3′ | | 1 black pottery bead,<br>15 greenish-blue canes. | | | | | | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.5.S.10 | 8′, 12′, 3′ (1)<br>12′, 22′, 3′ (2)<br>14′, 29′, 3′ (3) | Portion large beaker. (2)<br>Portion plain bowl. (3) | | | | | | | Quartz polishing stone. (1) | Sections 11 to 15 bedrock. | |
| | B.5.S.1. | 13′, 3′, 4′ | | | | | Bovine frontal bones and teeth.<br>Horn cores of sheep. | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.3. | 2′, 2′, 4′ | | | | | Bovine frontal bones.<br>Horn cores of sheep. | | | | Rotted manure deposit. | |
| | B.5.S.4. | 7′, 13′, 4′ (1)<br>10′, 21′, 4′ (2)<br>3′, 25′, 4′ (3)<br>12′, 25′, 4′ (4)<br>8′, 18′, 4′ (5)<br>2′, 15′, 4′ (6) | Portion plain bowl. (4) | 1 opaque and 1 green-blue cane much worn. (1)<br>1 translucent blue cane. (2) | Broken G.R. bead moulds. (5) | | Portions of thick ivory bracelet, badly exfoliating. (3) | | | Fine green *isifuba* pebble. (6) | | |
| | B.5.S.5. | 12′, 25′, 4′ (1)<br>13′, 16′, 4′ (2)<br>9′, 18′, 4′ (3)<br>14′, 19′, 4′ (4) | | Worn opaque blue bead. (4) | | | Portion of elephant's tusk ground to scoop-like edge. (1) | | Worn pottery burnisher. (2) | Quartz *isifuba* pebble. (3) | | |
| | B.5.S.6. | 1′, 24′, 4′ (1)<br>7′, 11′, 4′ (2) | | | | | | | | Lump of red chalcedony. (1)<br>*Isifuba* pebble. (2) | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.5.S.7. | 2′, 20′, 4′ (1)<br>13′, 18′, 4′ (2)<br>3′, 14′, 4′ (3)<br>13′, 14′, 4′ (4)<br>10′, 11′, 4′ (5)<br>7′, 17′, 4′ (6)<br>6′, 21′, 4′ (7)<br>4′, 7′, 4′ (8)<br>9′, 6′, 4′ (9)<br>12′, 18′, 4′ (10)<br>13′, 5′, 4′ (11)<br>10′, 5′, 4′ (12) | Portion large decorated bowl. (6) | Small opaque green cane. (12) | | | Bone rubber or burnisher. (4)<br>Fragments of ivory. (10)<br>Pieces of exfoliating ivory. (11) | Figurine with broken legs, head missing. (1)<br>Torso of figurine. (2)<br>Torso of figurine with navel. (3) | | Squared rubbing stone. (5)<br>Marked hammerstone. (7)<br>Small ovate burnisher. (8) | Large shell genus: *Natica*. (9) | |
| | B.5.S.8. | 9′, 16′, 4′ (1)<br>14′, 20′, 4′ (2)<br>7′, 5′, 4′ (3) | | Corroded greenish-blue cane. (1) | | | Bone needle with eye. (?) | | | Long rectangular rubbing stone. (2)<br>Small cube of agate. (3) | | |
| | B.5.S.9. | 4′, 5′, 4′ | Portion of moulded base of pot. | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.1. | 6′, 9′, 5′ | | ½ G.R. bead, dark type. | | | | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.2. | 6′, 19′, 5′ (1)<br>9′, 20′, 5′ (2) | | | Broken G.R. bead moulds. (2) | | | | | Well-shaped whetstone. (1) | | |
| | B.5.S.3. | 12′, 28′, 5′ (1)<br>4′, 19′, 5′ (2) | | | | | Bone needle with eye and notch. (2) | | | | Cowrie shell. (1) | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.5.S.5. | 2′, 26′, 5′ (1)<br>8′, 18′, 5′ (2) | | ½ G.R. bead, globular, unusual. (2) | | | | | | | Shell genus: *Natica.* (1) | |
| | B.5.S.7. | 4′, 4′, 5′ (1)<br>10′, 4′, 5′ (2)<br>12′, 4′, 5′ (3)<br>9′, 5′, 5′ (4) | Cooking pot, hght. 9½″, with gashes below lip. (4) | | | | Engraved elephant's tusk. (2)<br>Slip of ivory with one edge ground. (3) | | | | Shell genus: *Cardium.* (1) | LIV. No. 86 (4) |
| | B.5.S.8. | 4′, 4′, 5′ (1)<br>4′, 4′, 5′ (2)<br>11′, 12′, 5′ (3) | Small black saucer with 4 lug feet. (1)<br>Rough model pot. (2) | ½ G.R. bead, dark type. (3) | | | | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.1. | 7′, 5′, 6′ (1)<br>6′, 24′, 6′ (2) | | ½ G.R. bead, dark type. (1) | | | Portion of hippo tusk. Lgth 4½″. (2) | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.2. | 7′, 19′, 6′ (1)<br>9′, 21′, 6′ (2) | | ½ G.R. bead, dark type. (1) | Broken G.R. bead moulds. (2) | | | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.1. | 15′, 18′, 7′ (1)<br>14′, 20′, 7′ (2)<br>16′, 21′, 7′ (3) | | | | Portion of solid copper bangle. One end round, other square. (1)<br>Fragments of wide, ribbon, copper bangles fused together by corrosion. (2) | Bone needle with eye. (3) | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.2. | 9′, 24′, 7′ | | | | | | | | Pear-shaped stone with chipping on one side. | | |

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## NO. 3 INVENTORY, K.2

| Year | Pit No. | Area | Co-ordinates | Size | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone and Other Objects | Remarks | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | No. 1 | B.1.S.4. | 8′, 27′, 4′ | diam. 24″ depth 15″ | Sherds. | 3 greenish-blue canes, 1 lemon-yellow, 1 ostrich disc. | | | Animal bones. | | | Quantity of charcoal. | Cooking pit. In friable bed-rock. | |
| | No. 2 | B.1.S.4. | 8′, 13′, 4′ | diam. 24″ depth 18″ | Sherds. | 2 greenish-blue canes, 2 opaque greens, 3 *Achatina* discs. | | Portions corroded iron bangles. | Animal bones. | Portion small figurine. | | Chalcedony flake. | Cooking pit in bedrock. | |
| | No. 3 | B.2.S.6. | 5′, 15′, 5′ | diam. 42″ depth 20″ | Many sherds. | | | | Animal bones. | | | Pounding stone. | Cooking pit in hill-wash. | |
| | No. 4 | B.2.S.8. | 4′, 28′, 5′ | diam. 60″ depth 24″ | Hundreds of sherds. Rough plain beaker. | 13 greenish-blue canes, 3 opaque greens, 11 Indian reds. Portions of G.R. beads, light type. 11 ostrich and *Achatina* discs. | ½ G.R. bead mould with globules of glass. | 2 small pieces of copper ribbon. 4 short lgths. of corroded iron rod. | | | | 2 large pieces of ostrich shell. *Achatina* and *Unio* shells. | Floored with stones. Kiln or firing pit. | |
| | No. 5 | B.2.S.9. | 1′, 13′, 5′ | diam. 48″ depth 18″ | Portion firm spouted bowl. Portion small beaker. | | | 14 fragments of copper bangles. 17 fragments of corroded iron bangles. | Animal bones. | | | 2 worn polishing pebbles. Fine charcoal. | Floor of 24 stones. Kiln or firing pit. | |
| | No. 6 | B.2.S.9. | 6′, 9′, 5′ | diam. 30″ depth 20″ | | | | | | | | | Beast Burial No. 3, which see. | Fig. 20 |
| | No. 7 | B.2.S.9. | 9′, 9′, 5′ | diam. 36″ depth 21″ | Hundreds of sherds | | | | | | Pierced pottery lug. | Charcoal. | Cooking pit. | |
| | No. 8 | B.2.S.9. | 9′, 3′, 5′ | diam. 36″ depth 23″ | Few sherds. | | Broken G.R. bead moulds. | | 5 flat pieces of bone. | | | Pounding stone. | Uncertain. | |
| | No. 9 | B.2.S.9. | 14′, 18′, 5′ | diam. 64″ depth 19″ | Many sherds. | 12 greenish-blue canes, 2 opaque greens, 6 *Achatina* discs, 4 ostrich discs. 1 pottery bead, G.R. type. | | 5 fragments of copper bangles. 2 fragments of iron bangles. | | | | *Isifuba* stone. Chalcedony flake. | Floor of 12 stones. Kiln or firing pit. | |



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| Year | Pit No. | Area | Co-ordinates | Size | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone and Other Objects | Remarks | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | No. 10 | B.2.S.10. | 6′, 15′, 5′ | diam. 40″ depth 13″ | Many sherds. | 7 greenish-blue canes, 1 Indian red, 1 *Achatina* disc. | | 1 small piece corroded iron bangle. | | | | | Cooking pit. | |
| | No. 11 | B.2.S.10. | 10′, 12′, 5′ | diam. 36″ depth 6″ | Few sherds. | | Broken G.R. bead mould. | | | | | | Cooking pit in bedrock. | |
| | No. 12 | B.2.S.11. | 15′, 13′, 5′ | diam. 72″ depth 15″ | Few sherds. | | | | | | | | Cooking pit in bedrock. | |
| | No. 13 | B.2.S.12. | 6′, 12′, 5′ | diam. 60″ depth 24″ | | | | | | | | | Beast Burial No. 4. | |
| | No. 14 | B.2.S.6. | 7′, 7′, 6′ | diam. 54″ depth 23″ | 694 sherds of various pots. | 5 greenish-blue canes. | | 3 portions of copper bangle. | Many bones. | Portion of phallus. | | Chipped flake. | Floored with stones. Kiln or firing pit. | |
| | No. 15 | B.2.S.6. | 12′, 28′, 6′ | diam. 36″ depth 24″ | Few sherds. | 23 greenish-blue canes. | | 2 sections of copper bangle. Short piece iron bangle. | | | | 1 squared rubbing stone. 2 polishing pebbles. | Uncertain. | |
| 1937 | No. 16 | B.3.S.3. | 10′, 6′, 6′ | diam. 36″ depth 16″ | Hundreds of sherds. | 5 greenish-blue canes. | | | Portions of decomposing ivory. | | | *Achatina* shells. Rubbing stone. | Floored with stones. Kiln or firing pit. | |
| | No. 17 | B.4.S.3. | 15′, 15′, 6′ | diam. 36″ depth 15″ | Many sherds. ½ rough pot. | 9 greenish-blue canes, ½ G.R. bead, light type. 1 *Achatina* disc. | | | | | | 2 polishing stones. Piece chalcedony. 1 shell, *Unio*. | Not floored but probably a kiln. | |
| | No. 18 | B.3.S.7. | 2′, 3′, 5′ | diam. 49″ depth 27″ | Many sherds. Portions cooking pot. Portions of beaker. | 2 greenish-blue canes, 1 small G.R. bead, light type. Portions of G.R. beads. 1 thick *Achatina* disc. | Broken G.R. bead moulds. | Fused copper bangle. Portion wide spiral copper bangle. Portion of wire bangle. Piece corroded iron. | Bone awl. Animal bones. | Pottery phallus. Torso of figurine. | | 2 *isifuba* stones. Slag. | Floored with stones. Kiln or firing pit. | |
| | No. 19 | B.3.S.9. | 14′, 19′, 4′ | diam. 27″ depth 16″ | ½ good beaker. ½ beaker. Nearly complete pot with pointed bottom. | 35 greenish-blue canes. 17 ostrich and *Achatina* discs. | Broken G.R. bead moulds. | | | | | 4 *isifuba* stones. | Kiln or firing pit. | |

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| Year | Pit No. | Area | Co-ordinates | Size | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone and Other Objects | Remarks | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | No. 20 | B.3.S.10. | 10′, 16′, 3′ | diam. 48″<br>depth 26″ | Many sherds. | 17 greenish-blue canes,<br>2 lemon-yellows,<br>2 portions G.R. beads.<br>4 ostrich discs. | Broken G.R. bead moulds. | | Animal bones. | | | 3 polishing stones. | Cooking pit. | |
| | No. 21 | B.3.S.13. | 4′, 8′, 3′ | diam. 39″<br>depth 24″ | Portions of bowls.<br>½ large pot. (2)<br>Portion spouted bowl, Class C.<br>Many sherds. | 8 greenish-blue canes,<br>2 lemon-yellows,<br>1 dark, stone bead,<br>1 devitrified bead. | | Portions of very corroded iron bangle. | | | | | Sunk in bed-rock<br>Kiln or firing pit. | LIV.<br>No. 80 (2) |
| | No. 22 | B.3.S.12. | 14′, 9′, 3′ | diam. 42″<br>depth 24″ | Few sherds. | | | | | | | | Cooking pit. | |
| | No. 23 | B.4.S.13. | 8′, 4′, 4′ | diam. 36″<br>depth 12″ | Hundreds of sherds.<br>Large beaker. (2)<br>Rough plain pot. | | | | | | | | In bedrock, but floored with stones.<br>Kiln or firing pit. | L.<br>No. 16 (2) |
| | No. 24 | B.4.S.13. | 9′, 16′, 4′ | diam. 42″<br>depth 15″ | Very few sherds. | | | | | | | Burnt horn of large ungulate. | Cooking pit. | |
| | No. 25 | B.4.S.14. | 7′, 16′, 4′ | Oval<br>diam. 48″ × 30″<br>depth 10″ | Pottery handle.<br>Portion model pot. | 4 greenish-blue canes,<br>1 lemon-yellow,<br>1 devitrified bead,<br>½ G.R. bead, dark type. | Broken G.R. bead moulds. | | | | | Broken cowrie shells. | Scooped from bedrock.<br>Kiln or firing pit. | |
| | No. 26 | B.4.S.15. | 14′, 16′, 4′ | Oval<br>diam. 40″ × 24″<br>depth 10″ | Many sherds. | 10 greenish-blue canes,<br>4 Indian reds. | | | Animal bones. | Portion of figurine. | | Pieces of rock crystal. | Scooped from bedrock.<br>Kiln or firing pit. | |
| | No. 27 | B.4.S.10. | 14′, 29′, 5′ | diam. 48″<br>depth 18″ | Few sherds.<br>Model dish. | 3 transparent blues. | | | Animal bones. | | | | Floored with stones. Kiln or firing pit. | |
| | No. 28 | B.4.S.10. | 14′, 18′, 5′ | diam. 36″<br>depth 12″ | Few sherds. | 6 greenish-blue canes.<br>5 delicate *Achatina* discs. | | | | | | | Cooking pit. | |



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| Year | Pit No. | Area | Co-ordinates | Size | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone and Other Objects | Remarks | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | No. 29 | B.4.S.11. | 7′, 21′, 5′ | Oval diam. 45″ × 30″ depth 14″ | Few sherds. | 7 greenish-blue canes, 1 Indian red. 5 ostrich and *Achatina* discs. | | | Animal bones. | | | | Cooking pit. | |
| | No. 30 | B.4.S.11. | 8′, 27′, 5′ | diam. 60″ depth 18″ | Few sherds. | 9 greenish-blue canes, 2 lemon-yellows, 2 Indian red, few devitrified waisted pottery beads, ½ pottery bead, G.R. type. | Broken G.R. bead moulds. | Small fragments of copper. Small fragments of iron. | | | | | Well-fitted stone floor. Kiln or firing pit. | |
| | No. 31 | B.5.S.7. | 6′, 19′, 4′ | Oval diam. 34″ × 28″ depth 18″ | Few sherds. | 14 *Achatina* shell discs. | | | Bovine teeth and bones. | | | Much charcoal. | Cooking pit. | |
| | No. 32 | B.5.S.8. | 15′, 12′, 4′ | Oval diam. 60″ × 52″ depth 36″ | Few sherds. | 65 greenish-blue canes, 6 Indian red, 4 lemon-yellows, 1 bone or ivory bead, 1 pottery bead, G.R. type, portions of G.R. beads. 21 ostrich and *Achatina* discs. | | Fragments of copper and iron bangles. | Fragment of ivory exfoliating. 2 bone points. Bovine teeth and other bones. | | | *Isifuba* stone. | Cooking pit. | |

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NO. 4 INVENTORY, MAPUNGUBWE

| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.1.S.1. | 10′, 13′, 6″ (1)<br>6′, 55′, 1′ (2)<br>6′, 55′, 1′ (3)<br>10′, 50′, 1′ (4)<br>5′, 35′, 1′ (6)<br>12′, 40′, 1′ (7)<br>0′, 55′, 1′ (8)<br>15′, 35′, 1′ (9)<br>0′, 70′, 18″ (10) | Good pot. Hght. 15½″. (1)<br>Portion large squat pot. (9)<br>Large broken pot contained→ (10) | 2 yellow oblates, 2 black oblates, 3 green oblates. (1)<br>64 black oblates, 11 yellow oblates, 2 greenish canes, bead, 1 devitrified bead, 2 ostrich discs; (10) | | portions of iron bracelets. (10) | Mandible of ungulate. (7) | | Round pottery burnisher. (2) | Worn stone pestle. (6) | Large *Unio*. (1)<br>Granary foundations. (3) (4)<br>Cowrie shell. (8) | |
| | B.1.S.2. | 3′, 22′, 3″ (1)<br>5′, 67′, 1′ (2)<br>6′, 31′, 1′ (3) | | Round agate bead. Dola? (1) | | Tanged iron arrowhead. (3) | Good bone awl. (2)<br>3 broken awls. (2) | | ½ pottery spindle-whorl. (2) | | | |
| | B.1.S.3. | 3′, 26′, 1′ (1)<br>4′, 26′, 1′ (2)<br>9′, 50′, 1′ (3)<br>10′, 47′, 1′ (4)<br>10′, 47′, 1′ (5) | Large pot, hght. 17″, covered with large sherd. (1) | | | | 2 linkshafts. (3) | | Large pottery rubber. (4) | Squared sand-stone mortar. (2)<br>Worn hammer-stone. (5) | | |
| | B.1.S.4. | 11′, 50′, 1′ (1)<br>5′, 21′, 1′ (2)<br>7′, 22′, 1′ (3)<br>11′, 62′, 1′ (4) | Half small bowl. (4) | | | Portion of iron chisel. (2)<br>Twisted iron bracelet. (3) | Bone arrow. (1) | | | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.1.S.1. | 5′, 2′, 2′ (1)<br>9′, 8′, 2′ (2)<br>5′, 45′, 2′ (3)<br>4′, 50′, 2′ (4)<br>10′, 45′, 2′ (5)<br>14′, 70′, 2′ (6)<br>0′, 7′, 2′ (7) | Small decorated pot. Hght. 4″. (5)<br>Large decorated cooking pot. (7) | | | Fragments of iron bangles. (2)<br>Portion of spiral copper bangle. (6) | Linkshaft. (1)<br>Linkshaft. (3) | | | | Granary foundation. (4) | |
| | B.1.S.2. | 10′, 26′, 2′ (1)<br>12′, 11′, 2′ (2)<br>14′, 13′, 2′ (3)<br>10′, 10′, 2′ (4)<br>8′, 38′, 2′ (5)<br>7′, 17′, 2′ (6)<br>8′, 37′, 2′ (7)<br>7′, 23′, 2′ (8) | | Ostrich shell discs. (4)<br>Ostrich shell discs. (5) | | Lump of solid copper. (1)<br>Rusty iron spike. (3)<br>Portions of iron bangles. (5) | Broken arrow. (5) | | Pottery spindle-whorl. Boring started. (8) | | Small lump of slag. (1)<br>Large lump of slag. (2)<br>Granary foundations. (6) (7) | |
| | B.1.S.3. | 2′, 20′, 2′ (1)<br>2′, 28′, 2′ (2)<br>5′, 12′, 2′ (3)<br>11′, 27′, 2′ (4)<br>7′, 58′, 2′ (5)<br>14′, 71′, 2′ (6)<br>10′, 51′, 2′ (7) | | | | Portions of flat copper bangles. (5)<br>Barbed arrow-head with 4″ tang. (6) | Broken arrow. (1) | Large figurine with head and arms. (4) | Pottery lid. (2) | | *Unio* shell. (3)<br>Good cement floor. (7) | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.1.S.4. | 14′, 41′, 2′ (1)<br>11′, 35′, 2′ (2)<br>5′, 29′, 2′ (3)<br>4′, 30′, 2′ (4)<br>6′, 31′, 2′ (5)<br>6′, 34′, 2′ (6)<br>12′, 41′, 2′ (7)<br>12′, 40′, 2′ (8)<br>2′, 50′, 2′ (9)<br>3′, 23′, 2′ (10)<br>11′, 51′, 2′ (11)<br>7′, 55′, 2′ (12)<br>10′, 52′, 2′ (13)<br>13′, 52′, 2′ (14) | | Wound light-green glass bead. (8) | | Assegai blade. (2)<br>Thin iron awl. (3)<br>Length rusty iron. (4)<br>Large spiral copper bangle. (6) | Fine bone needle. (1)<br>Bone awl. (5)<br>Bone tool or ornament. (11) | | Foot of pot. (10)<br>Spindle-whorl. (12)<br>Large burnisher. (13)<br>Small pottery burnisher. (14) | Flat dolorite rubbing stone. (7) | Granary foundation. (9) | |
| | B.1.S.1. | 1′, 2′, 3′ (1)<br>5′, 5′, 3′ (2)<br>6′, 8′, 3′ (3)<br>1′, 70′, 3′ (4)<br>10′, 55′, 3′ (5)<br>13′, 46′, 3′ (6) | Broken pot contained → | G.R. bead, dark type. (3)<br>1 black oblate, 1 Indian red. (4) | | Heavy lump of iron ore. (1)<br>5 fragments of oxidised iron. (2)<br>Rusty iron chisel. (5)<br>Portion of corroded iron bangle. (6) | | | | | | |
| | B.1.S.2. | 10′, 41′, 3′ (1)<br>6′, 42′, 3′ (2)<br>8′, 43′, 3′ (3)<br>2′, 50′, 3′ (4)<br>12′, 50′, 3′ (5)<br>7′, 61′, 3′ (6) | | | | Pieces of iron. (3)<br>Portion of iron bangle. (6) | Linkshafts 2. (1)<br>Long bone arrow. (4)<br>Broken arrow. (5) | | Pottery spindle-whorl. (2) | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.1.S.3. | 6′, 11′, 3′ (1) | | Portion of black bead like G.R. type, but badly made. (1) | | Large spiral copper bangle. (1) | | | | Drilled quartz pebble. (1) | | |
| | | 11′, 37′, 3′ (2) | | 3 ostrich discs. (2) | | Portion iron bangle. (2) | | | | *Isifuba* stone. (1) | | |
| | | 15′, 55′, 3′ (3) | | 7 black oblates. (3) | | Piece sheet copper. (2) | | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 51′, 3′ (4) | | | | Rough iron gad. (4) | | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 52′, 3′ (5) | | | | Piece rusty bar iron. (5) | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 70′, 3′ (6) | | | | | | | | | *Achatina* shell. (6) | |
| | | 4′, 23′, 3′ (7) | | | | | | | Pottery leg. (7) | | | |
| | B.1.S.4. | 3′, 56′, 3′ (1) | | Hundreds of rough ostrich discs. (1) | | Tang of copper tool. Fragments of corroded iron. (1) | | | | | | |
| | | 10′, 60′, 3′ (2) | | | | | Bone arrow. (2) | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 58′, 3′ (3) | | | | Compressed copper ring. (3) | | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 54′, 3′ (4) | | | | | | | | | Lump of quartz with ore. (4) | |
| | B.1.S.1. | 0′, 55′, 4′ (1) | | | | | | | | | *Unio* shell. (1) | |
| | | 11′, 30′, 4′ (2) | Portion of spouted bowl. (2) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 33′, 4′ (3) | | | | | | | Pottery spindle-whorl. (3) | | | |
| | | 7′, 34′, 4′ (4) | | | | | | | | | Iron slag. (4) | |
| | | 11′, 33′, 4′ (5) | | | | Copper bar. (5) | | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 37′, 4′ (6) | | | | Copper bangles. (6) | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 44′, 4′ (7) | | Fine ostrich shell discs. (7) | | Copper bangles. (7) | | | | | | |
| | | 11′, 53′, 4′ (8) | | | | Iron bangles. (8) | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 64′, 4′ (9) | | | | Portion iron bracelet. (9) | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | Copper bangles. (9) | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 54′, 4′ (10) | | | | | | | | Polishing pebble. (10) | | |
| | | 9′, 54′, 4′ (11) | | Rough ostrich shell discs. (11) | | Iron and copper bangles. (11) | | | | | | LVI. No. 120 (12) |
| | | 11′, 50′, 4′ (12) | Cooking pot. (12) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 13′, 4′ (13) | Spherical bowl. (13) | | | | | | | | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.1.S.2. | 11′, 4′, 4′ (1)<br>5′, 16′, 4′ (2)<br>5′, 51′, 4′ (3)<br>7′, 43′, 4′ (4)<br>2′, 70′, 4′ (5) | | | | Lump rusty iron. (1)<br>Fragments wide copper bangles. (2)<br>2 rusty iron rings. (3) | | Torso of steatopygous figurine. (4)<br>Small pottery figurine. (5) | | | | |
| | B.1.S.3. | 4′, 33′, 4′ (1)<br>2′, 4′, 4′ (2)<br>10′, 41′, 4′ (3)<br>2′, 40′, 4′ (4)<br>14′, 45′, 4′ (5)<br>5′, 50′, 4′ (6)<br>5′, 50′, 4′ (7) | ½ small pot. (3)<br>Red spherical bowl. (5)<br>Two beaker bowls. (5)<br>2 small beakers,<br>1 pot,<br>1 saucer,<br>1 spouted bowl. (6) | Portion of G.R. bead, dark type. (1)<br>Fused G.R. beads. (7) | | Fragments of iron anklets.<br>Broken iron tool. (6)<br>Fragments of copper bangles.<br>Iron strigil.<br>Lumps fused material. (7) | | | Pottery leg. (4) | | Floor of partitioned hut on floor No. 7.<br>Lumps of ore. (2) | LVI.<br>No. 123 (5) |
| | B.1.S.4. | 14′, 46′, 4′ (1)<br>2′, 52′, 4′ (2)<br>4′, 46′, 4′ (3)<br>10′, 41′, 4′ (4)<br>5′, 47′, 4′ (5) | Decorated bowl. (2)<br>Red pot.<br>Hght. 6½″. (3)<br>½ spherical bowl. (3)<br>Portion large flat dish. (4) | Number of ostrich discs. (1) | | Solid copper ring. (5) | | | | | | LV.<br>No. 105 (2) |
| | B.1.S.1. | 15′, 42′, 5′ (1)<br>13′, 63′, 5′ (2)<br>5′, 65′, 5′ (3) | | | | Portions of copper bangles. (2) | | | | Stone mortar. (3) | Burnt millet. (1) | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.1.S.2. | 3′, 60′, 5′ (1)<br>7′, 15′, 5′ (2)<br>2′, 23′, 5′ (3) | Portion spouted bowl. (2)<br>½ small beaker. (3) | | | | | Portion of pottery bovine. (1) | | | | |
| | B.1.S.3. | 7′, 3′, 5′ (1)<br>3′, 60′, 5′ (2) | | | | | | Portion of pottery animal. (2) | Portion pottery spoon. (1) | | | |
| | B.1.S.4. | 7′, 15′, 5′ (1)<br>11′, 10′, 5′ (2)<br>4′, 12′, 5′ (3)<br>6′, 14′, 5′ (4) | Base of pot with hole through centre. (4) | | | Lump solid copper. (1)<br>Plaited copper bracelet. (2) | | | Pottery object? (3) | | | |
| | B.1.S.1. | 15′, 52′, 6′ (1)<br>15′, 49′, 6′ (2) | ½ large beaker. (1)<br>Beaker bowl. (2)<br>Small beaker bowl.<br>Deep saucer. | | | Portion iron bangle. (1) | | | | | Ruins of hut. (1) | LV. No. 102 (1) |
| | BLOCKS 3 AND 4 DUG BY VAN TONDER 1934. NO RECORD KEPT. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.3. | 10′, 58′, 1′ (1)<br>12′, 59′, 1′ (2)<br>2′, 30′, 1′ (3) | Fine globular pot. (3) | | | | | | Broken spindle-whorl. (1) | Good hammer-stone. (2) | | |
| | B.2.S.1. | 11′, 10′, 2′ (1)<br>4′, 27′, 2′ (2)<br>2′, 13′, 2′ (3)<br>2′, 8′, 2′ (4) | | | | Corroded iron awl. (2) | | Pottery phallus? (3) | | Flat sandstone rubber. (4) | Cowrie shell. (1) | |
| | B.2.S.2. | 9′, 7′, 2′ | | | | | | | | | Granary foundation. | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.2.S.3. | 11′, 70′, 2′ (1)<br>2′, 30′, 2′ (2)<br>12′, 42′, 2′ (3)<br>13′, 38′, 2′ (4)<br>13′, 38′, 2′ (5)<br>2′, 50′, 2′ (6)<br>13′, 35′, 2′ (7)<br>9′, 59′, 2′ (8) | Carinated pot. (8) | | | | 2 bone pins. (1)<br>2 bone ornaments. (2)<br>1 bone tool. (3)<br>2 bone ornaments. (4) | | Worn pottery spindle-whorl. (5) | | Portion of floor. (6)<br>Granary foundation. (7) | LV. No. 101 (8) |
| | B.2.S.1. | 8′, 2′, 3′ (1)<br>13′, 42′, 3′ (2)<br>12′, 42′, 3′ (3)<br>10′, 5′, 3′ (4)<br>8′, 27′, 3′ (5)<br>14′, 27′, 3′ (6)<br>9′, 33′, 3′ (7)<br>12′, 43′, 3′ (8)<br>10′, 53′, 3′ (9)<br>12′, 56′, 3′ (10)<br>12′, 43′, 3′ (11)<br>12′, 56′, 3′ (12)<br>12′, 46′, 3′ (13)<br>11′, 60′, 3′ (14)<br>7′, 61′, 3′ (15)<br>11′, 71′, 3′ (16)<br>11′, 60′, 3′ (17) | Large broken pot containing → (13) | 84 ostrich discs, 1 turquoise-blue. (13)<br>1 Indian red, 1 black oblate, 1 ostrich disc. (14)<br>Distorted G.R. bead, dark type. (17) | | Lump of rusty iron. (1)<br>Portions iron and copper bangles. (4)<br>Iron bangles on fibre. (6)<br>Flat spiral copper bangle.(7)<br>Portions copper bangles. (11)<br>Twisted copper bangles. (12)<br>Fragments of copper bangles. (16) | Bone arrow. (2)<br>Worn bone awl. (5)<br>Fine bone awl. (9)<br>Linkshaft. (10)<br>Linkshaft. (15) | Portion of figurine. (3) | | | Cowrie shell. (8) | |
| | B.2.S.2. | 5″, 16′, 3′ (1)<br>9′, 7′, 3′ (2)<br>3′, 9′, 3′ (3) | Shallow bowl. (1)<br>Small broken saucer. (2) | Opaque green, cane bead. (1) | | Portion copper bangle. (1) | Broken bone arrow. (3) | | | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.2.S.3. | 10′, 58′, 3′ (1)<br>9′, 41′, 3′ (2)<br>10′, 58′, 3′ (3)<br>12′, 44′, 3′ (4)<br>9′, 41′, 3′ (5)<br>10′, 58′, 3′ (6)<br>14′, 59′, 3′ (7)<br>7′, 60′, 3′ (8)<br>14′, 16′, 3′ (9) | | 10 ostrich discs. (1) | | Rusty iron awl. (2)<br>Portion iron chisel. (2)<br>Rusty iron strigil. (3)<br>Copper and iron bangles. (5)<br>Copper and iron bangles. (6) | Broken bone arrow. (4) | Phallus-like object, counter-triangles on butt. (8) | | | *Achatina* shell. (7)<br>Ruined hut floor. (9) | |
| | B.2.S.1. | 0′, 14′, 4′ (1)<br>11′, 68′, 4′ (2)<br>10′, 69′, 4′ (3)<br>9′, 61′, 4′ (4)<br>8′, 60′, 4′ (5) | Small pot. Hght. 4¾″. (1)<br>Small, flat, sub-spherical bowl. (3) | 31 ostrich discs, 6 Indian reds. (5) | | Mass of iron bangles corroded together. (2)<br>Quantity of copper bangles. (5) | | | Pottery burnisher. (4) | | Tilted floor on which were: forementioned items. (5) | |
| | B.2.S.2. | 7′, 56′, 4′ (1)<br>13′, 74′, 4′ (2) | | | | Rusty iron anklets. (1)<br>Copper bangles on fibre. (2) | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.3. | 8′, 33′, 4′ (1)<br>10′, 18′, 4′ (2)<br>12′, 60′, 4′ (3)<br>9′, 63′, 4′ (4)<br>7′, 65′, 4′ (5) | Sherd as terra-cotta dish but black burnish.(3)<br>Black pot with high neck. (4) | Wound, light-green glass bead. (1) | | Portion of copper bangle. (1)<br>Length solid round copper. (5) | | | Hollow pottery cone. (2) | | Ruined floor. (1) | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | B.2.S.1. | 9′, 45′, 5′ (1) | | | | | | | Pottery knob or handle. (1) | | Many mortar holes in bed-rock. | |
| | | 9′, 58′, 5′ (2) | | | | | | Pottery phallus? (2) | | | | |
| | | 14′, 56′, 5′ (3) | | 4 distorted G.R. beads, dark type. (3) | | Portions of large spiral copper bangles. (3) | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 52′, 5′ (4) | Sub-spherical bowl. (4) | | | | | | | | | LVI. No. 122 (4) |
| | | 13′, 58′, 5′ (5) | | 1 distorted G.R. bead, dark type. (5) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 8′, 66′, 5′ (6) | Portion spouted bowl, Class A. (6) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 7′, 73′, 5′ (7) | | 1 distorted G.R. bead, dark type. (7) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 69′, 5′ (8) | | | | Rusty, barbed, small assegai. (8) | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 51′, 5′ (9) | Decorated bowls. (9) | | | | | | | | | LV. No. 104 (9) |
| | B.2.S.2. | 2′, 47′, 5′ | | | | Copper bangles on fibre. | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.1. | 3′, 38′, 6′ | | | | | Bone arrow. | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.2. | 3′, 54′, 6′ | | | | Length badly corroded iron. | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.1. | 2′, 68′, 7′ | Rough pot on bedrock. | | | | | | | | | |
| BLOCKS 3 AND 4 DUG BY VAN TONDER 1934. NO RECORD KEPT. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1939 | B.2.S.4. | 13′, 31′, 1′ (1) | | 5 ostrich discs. (1) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 59′, 1′ (2) 4′, 20′, 1′ (3) | Shallow dish. (2) | | | | Mandible of ungulate. (3) | | | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.2.S.4. | 1′, 70′, 2′ (1) | | | | Corroded iron rod, 3½″, spatulate end. (1) | | | | | | |
| | | 2′, 73′, 2′ (2) | | | | Fragments of copper bangles. (2) | | | | | Burnt millet. (2) | |
| | | 8′, 48′, 2′ (3) | | | | | | | | | Red cement floor. (3) | |
| | | 9′, 15′, 2′ (4) | | | | | | | | | Ash pit No. 1. (4) | |
| | | 5′, 65′, 2′ (5) | | | | | | | | | Granary foundation. (5) | |
| | | 5′, 5′, 2′ (6) | | | | | | | | | Burnt millet. (6) | |
| | | 9′, 24′, 2′ (7) | | | | | | | | Worn hammer-stone. (7) | | |
| | | 8′, 43′, 2′ (8) | Many sherds of M.1. type. (8) | | | | Split, bone, arrow point. (8) | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 63′, 2′ (9) | | 8 ostrich discs. (9) | | | Many animal bones. (8) | | | | | |
| | | 13′, 24′, 2′ (10) | | | | Portion of iron bangle. (10) | | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 63′, 2′ (11) | | | | | | | | | Ash pit No. 2. (11) | |
| | | 7′, 44′, 2′ (12) | | | | | | | | Squared rubbing stone. (12) | Ash pit No. 3. (12) | |
| | B.2.S.4. | 13′, 6′, 3′ (1) | | 9 ostrich discs. (1) | | Portion of copper bangle. (1) | | | | | Plastered court-yard. (1) | |
| | | 11′, 9′, 3′ (2) | | | | Copper rod, ¼″ × 3¾″. (2) | | | | | | |
| | | 13′, 19′, 3′ (3) | | 7 ostrich discs. (3) | | Portions of copper and iron bangles. (3) | | | | | | |
| | | | | 3 greenish-blue canes, 1 black, 1 orange, 1 Indian red, 2 indeterminate. (3) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 46′, 3′ (4) | | 4 ostrich discs, 3 Indian red. (4) | | Copper and iron bangles. (4) | | | | Small quartz point. (4) | | |
| | | 14′, 33′, 3′ (5) | | | | Flat ribbon-type copper bangle. (5) | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 24′, 3′ (6) | | | | Lump corroded iron. (6) | | | | | | |
| | | 7′, 56′, 3′ (7) | | | | | | | | *Isifuba* stones. (7) | | |
| | | 3′, 58′, 3′ (8) | | | | Corroded copper bangles. (8) | | | | | | |
| | | 11′, 52′, 3′ (9) | | | | Copper pin with curled wings. (9) | | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 9′, 3′ (10) | Fine shallow dish. (10) | | | | | | | | Piece of ostrich shell. (10) | |
| | | 5′, 67′, 3′ (11) | Many sherds, M.1. (11) | 21 ostrich discs. (11) | | Thick copper bar, 2½″ × ⅜″ × ½″. (11) | | | | | Hard cement floor of hut. (11) | |
| | | 12′, 72′, 3′ (12) | Shallow flat dish. (12) | | | | | | | Burnishing pebble. (12) | | |
| | | 8′, 11′, 3′ (13) | | | | | | | | Lump of agate. (13) | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.2.S.4. | 14′, 33′, 4′ (1) | Sherd of shallow dish with long horizontal handle. (1) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 7′, 4′ (2) | | | | | | | | Quartzite point. (2) | | |
| | | 10′, 6′, 4′ (3) | | | | | | | | Quartzite scraper. (3) | | |
| | | 14′, 40′, 4′ (4) | | | | | | | | | 2 lumps of ore in quartz. (4) | |
| | | 3′, 8′, 4′ (5) | | | | Double-strand copper bangle. (5) | | | | | | |
| | | 10′, 44′, 4′ (6) | | | | Almost complete iron bangle on fibre. (6) | | | | | | |
| | | 2′, 45′, 4′ (7) | Portion of bowl. (7) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 10′, 18′, 4′ (8) | | | | | | | | | Pieces of ostrich shell. (8) | |
| | | 4′, 19′, 4′ (9) | | | | | | | | Small quartz rubber. (9) | | |
| | | 7′, 21′, 4′ (10) | | 8 ostrich discs. (10) | | | | | | | | |
| | B.2.S.4. | 11′, 64′, 5′ (1) | | 5 ostrich discs. (1) | | Corroded iron bangle on fibre. (1) | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 50′, 5′ (2) | | | | | | | | Green *isifuba* stone. (2) | | |
| | | 14′, 60′, 5′ (3) | | | | | | | | Squared rock crystal, 1⅛″. (3) | | |
| | | 14′, 63′, 5′ (4) | | | | Portions of copper bangles. (4) | | | | | | |
| | | 8′, 64′, 5′ (5) | | | | | | | | | Fused slag. (5) | |
| | | 9′, 42′, 5′ (6) | | | | | | | Pottery spindle-whorl. (6) | | | |
| | | 7′, 60′, 5′ (7) | Many sherds, M.1. (7) | | | Iron bangles. (7) | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 30′, 5′ (8) | | | | Portions of copper bangles. (8) | | | | | | |
| | | 8′, 21′, 5′ (9) | | 9 ostrich discs. (9) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 25′, 5′ (10) | | | | | | | | | Quantity of charcoal. (10) | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.5.S.1. | 11′, 67′, 1′ (1) | | | | | | | Red spindle-whorl. (1) | | | |
| | | 13′, 64′, 1′ (2) | | | | | | | Black spindle-whorl, broken. (2) | | | |
| | | 11′, 60′, 1′ (3) | ½ small model bowl. (3) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 2′, 73′, 1′ (4) | | | | Corroded iron point, 2⅛″. (4) | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 73′, 1′ (5) | | | | Corroded iron bangles. (5) | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 70′, 1′ (6) | | 3 ostrich discs, 7 black oblates, 2 pale-greens, 1 royal-blue. (6) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 70′, 1′ (7) | | | | | Bone needle with eye. (7) | | | | | |
| | | 10′, 62′, 1′ (8) | | | | | | | Pottery cone. (8) | | | |
| | | 3′, 63′, 1′ (9) | | | | | Fine bone point. (9) | | | | | |
| | | 10′, 54′, 1′ (10) | | | | | | | Large distorted spindle-whorl. (10) | | | |
| | | 6′, 65′, 1′ (11) | | | | | | | | | Inside zebra hoof. (11) | |
| | | 9′, 65′, 1′ (12) | | | | | | | | Burnishing pebble. (12) | | |
| | | 11′, 54′, 1′ (13) | | | | Corroded iron spike, 3¼″. (13) | | | | | | |
| | | 11′, 46′, 1′ (14) | | | | | Fine bone needle. (14) | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 25′, 1′ (15) | | 1 opaque green bead. (15) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 2′, 43′, 1′ (16) | | | | | | | Large spindle-whorl. (16) | | | |
| | | 7′, 46′, 1′ (17) | | | | | | | Large undrilled spindle-whorl. (17) | | | |
| | | 11′, 63′, 1′<br>2′, 53′, 1′<br>15′, 63′, 1′ (18) | | | | | | | | | Grinding mortars in bed-rock. (18) | |
| | | Arrows (19) | | | | | Many arrows and their link-shafts. (19) | | | | | LXII (19) |
| | | 2′, 60′, 1′ (20) | Flat shallow dish. (20) | | | | | | | | | LIX. No. 134 (20) |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.5.S.1. | 7′, 54′, 2′ (1) | | 1 royal-blue oblate, 1 red oblate, 2 green oblates, 2 orange oblates, 7 black oblates. 5 ostrich discs. (1) | | Copper and iron bangles. (1) | | | | *Isifuba* stone. (1) | Ash pit No. 4 Ash pit No. 5 with small pieces of mica and shell of *Venus*. | |
| | | 3′, 54′, 2′ (2) | | 12 black oblates, 2 Indian reds, 1 orange oblate, 2 yellow oblates, 1 royal-blue oblate, 4 opaque greens, 1 plum oblate. (2) | | | | Unbaked clay torso. (2) | Pottery object of unknown use. (2) | Burnishing pebble. (2) | | |
| | | 3′, 40′, 2′ (3) | | | | Copper bar, 1½″, 1 end flat. (3) | Triangular bone point, 2⅛″. (3) | | | | | |
| | | 13′, 38′, 2′ (4) | | | | Iron spike, 1½″. (4) | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 51′, 2′ (5) | | | | | | | | | Shell genus: *Venus*. (5) | |
| | | 1′, 16′, 2′ (6) | | | | | Rough bone point. (6) | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 11′, 2′ (7) | Flat dish. (7) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 15′, 16′, 2′ (8) | | | | Length round iron. (8) | | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 10′, 2′ (9) | | | | Portion solid copper ring, 4½″. (9) | | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 11′, 2′ (10) | | | | Thin copper ring, 4½″. (10) | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 22′, 2′ (11) | | | | Ribbon-type copper bracelet wound on fibre. (11) | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 31′, 2′ (12) | Sherd with boss. (12) | 2 opaque greens, 1 greenish-yellow oblate. (12) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 26′, 2′ (13) | | | | | Fine needle with eye and notch. (13) | | | | | |
| | | 13′, 25′, 2′ (14) | | | | | Fine bone needle. (14) | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 9′, 2′ (15) | Large, flat, shallow dish, rose-bowl type. (15) | | | | | | | | | LIX. No. 140 (15) |
| | | 4′, 29′, 2′ (16) | Flat shallow dish. (16) | | | | | | | | | LIX. No. 139 (16) |
| | | Arrows (17) | | | | | Many arrows and their link-shafts. (17) | | | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.5.S.1. | 1′, 65′, 3′ (1) | | | | | | Conventionalised human torso with navel and vaginal apertures; kneeling figure. (1) | | | | |
| | | 4′, 54′, 3′ (2) | | | | | | Broken pottery phallus. (2) | | | | |
| | | 14′, 32′, 3′ (3) | | 1 opaque blue, 1 opaque green, 1 blue oblate, 4 Indian reds, 1 red oblate. (3) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 28′, 3′ (4) | | | | | Rough bone point, much worn. (4) | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 30′, 3′ (5) | | 4 ostrich discs, 1 green oblate, 1 opaque light-blue oblate. (5) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 8′, 70′, 3′ (6) | | | | | | | | Stone grinding mortar. (6) | | |
| | | 9′, 61′, 3′ (7) | | | | | | | | | Small granary foundation. (7) | |
| | | 11′, 21′, 3′ (8) | | | | | | | | | Large granary foundation on fine floor. (8) | |
| | | 9′, 14′, 3′ (9) | | | | | | | | Small parallel passage of stones, anvil stone in centre. (9) | | |
| | | Arrows (10) | | | | | Arrows and link-shafts diminishing in numbers. (10) | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 9′, 3′ (11) | Long, flat, shallow dish. (11) | | | | | | | | | LIX. No. 133 (11) |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.5.S.1. | 6′, 63′, 4′ (1) | | Large, worn, opaque greenish-blue oblate. (1) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 64′, 4′ (2) | | Opaque greenish-blue oblate. (2) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 70′, 4′ (3) | | | | | | Questionable pottery phallus. (3) | | | | |
| | | 12′, 64′, 4′ (4) | | Large blue opaque oblate. (4) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 1′, 50′, 4′ (5) | | | | | Nearly entire hippo tusk exfoliating. (5) | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 50′, 4′ (6) | | | | | Wide bone needle with notch and eye. (6) | | | | | |
| | | 10′, 51′, 4′<br>12′, 44′, 4′<br>11′, 47′, 4′ (7) | | | | | 3 bone arrows. (7) | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 24′, 4′ (8) | | | | Thin chisel-like corroded iron, $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times \frac{9}{16}''$. (8) | | | | | | |
| | | 8′, 16′, 4′ (9) | Bottom of small model pot. (9) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 10′, 20′, 4′ (10) | | | | | | | | | Polishing *Unio* shell. (10) | |
| | | 7′, 30′, 4′ (11) | | | | Fragments of copper bangles. (11) | | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 62′, 4′ (12) | Flat shallow dish. (12) | | | | | | | | | LIX. No. 143 (12) |
| | | 7′, 49′, 4′ (13) | Flat shallow dish. (13) | | | | | | | | | LIX. No. 144 (13) |
| | B.5.S.5. | 40′, 3′, 4′ (1) | | | | | Bone scraper with rounded end. (1) | | | | | |
| | | 69′, 9′, 4′ (2) | | | | | | | Pottery stopper. (2) | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.5.S.1. | 14′, 45′, 5′ (1) | Deep plain bowl. (1) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 7′, 45′, 5′ (2) | | | | | | | | Dressed sandstone brick. (2) | | |
| | | 6′, 47′, 5′ (3) | Good plain bowl. (3) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 14′, 5′<br>4′, 64′, 5′<br>7′, 65′, 5′ (4) | 3 broken shallow dishes. (4) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 58′, 5′ (5) | Large coarse pot. Hght. 25″. (5) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 74′, 5′ (6) | Portion of beaker. (6) | | | | Linkshafts. (6) | | | | | |
| | | 11′, 32′, 5′ (7) | | | | | | | | Small agate point. (7) | | |
| | | 4′, 46′, 5′ (8) | | | | | | | | | Burnt millet. No. 9 beads in small hole. (8) | |
| | | 12′, 70′, 5′ (9) | | 8 ostrich discs, 1 black oblate, 1 Indian red, 2 green oblates, 1 greenish-blue. (9) | | | Teeth of some animal. (9) | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 56′, 5′ (10) | | | | | Bone arrow. (10) | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 53′, 5′ (11) | | | | | Linkshaft. (11) | | | | | |
| | | 11′, 20′, 5′ (12) | | 1 biconal, large, wound greenish-blue, 3 ostrich discs. (12) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 54′, 5′ (13) | | | | | | | | | *Unio* shell. (13) | |
| | | 6′, 43′, 5′ (14) | | | | Iron 1¾″ with spatulate ends. (14) | | | | | | |
| | | 7′, 44′, 5′ (15) | | | | Short iron bar, 2½″ × ⅜″. (15) | | | | | | |
| | | 1′, 52′, 5′ (16) | Portion of shouldered pot, decorated. (16) | 2 black canes, 1 greenish-blue, 11 Indian red, 1 lemon-yellow. | | | | | | | Ash pit No. 7. (16) | |
| | | 0′, 48′, 5′ (17) | | Portions of G.R. beads, 3 greenish-blue, 4 Indian red. (17) | | Fragments of copper bangles, small lumps of copper. (17) | | | | | Ash pit No. 8. (17) | |
| | | 0′, 30′, 5′ (18) | | 21 ostrich discs, 31 black oblates, 2 greenish-blues, 5 Indian reds, 1 dark-brown opaque oblate. (18) | | 16 copper beads of quatrefoil pattern. Fragments of flat copper bangles. (18) | Bones of small rodent. (18) | | | 2 quartz flakes. (18) | Ash pit No. 9. (18) | |
| | | 60′, 75′, 5′ (19) | | | | | | | | | Copper and iron slag. (19) | |
| | | 5′, 17′, 5′ (20) | | | | | | | | | Granary foundation. (20) | |
| | | 2′, 35′, 5′ (21) | | | | | | | | | Large cement floor. (21) | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.5.S.2. | 60′, 1′, 5′ | | | | Copper bangle with overlapping ends. | | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.4. | 74′, 8′, 5′ | | | | | | | | | Cowrie shell. | |
| | B.5.S.5. | 44′, 6′, 5′ (1)<br>40′, 2′, 5′ (2)<br>40′, 3′, 5′ (3)<br>45′, 4′, 5′ (4)<br>50′, 60′, 5′ (5)<br>35′, 1′, 5′ (6)<br>55′, 2′, 5′ (7)<br>71′, 3′, 5′ (8) | | G.R. bead, light type. (6)<br>6 ostrich discs, 3 black oblates, 9 Indian reds, 2 opaque greens. (7) | | Ribbon bangle with ends overlapped. (2)<br>Portion copper bangle on fibre. (4)<br>Copper ring of twisted wire strands. (5) | Linkshaft. (3) | | Portion of pottery tuyère. (1) | | Ash pit No. 10. (7)<br>1 cowrie shell, *Cimoneta* 1. *C. annulus*. (8) | |
| | B.5.S.1. | 1′, 16′, 6′ (1)<br>7′, 15′, 6′ (2)<br>8′, 46′, 6′ (3)<br>10′, 45′, 6′ (4)<br>1′, 51′, 6′ (5)<br>0′, 60′, 6′ (6)<br>13′, 16′, 6′ (7)<br>4′, 17′, 6′ (8)<br>9′, 74′, 6′ (9)<br>1′, 52′, 6′ (10) | Large cooking pot. Hght. 13½″. (1)<br>Decorated shouldered pot. (10) | | | Rusty chisel, ground both edges. (3)<br>Bracelet of twisted copper. (4)<br>2 iron spikes, very corroded, 4¼″×4¾″. (5)<br>Portions copper and iron, rough. (6)<br>Twisted copper bangle. (8)<br>Broken assegai, 3⅞″. (9) | | | | Stone grinding mortar. (7) | Cowrie shell. (2)<br>Lumps of slag. (6) | LVI. No. 111 (10) |
| | B.5.S.2. | 15′, 49′, 6′ | Plain bowl. | | | | | | | | | LV. No. 106 |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.5.S.5. | 8′, 1′, 6′ (1)<br>8′, 4′, 6′ (2)<br>8′, 6′, 6′ (3)<br>8′, 10′, 6′ (4)<br>9′, 11′, 6′ (5) | | | | 6 portions of copper armlets. (1)<br>Bangle with overlapping ends. (2)<br>Bangle with butted ends. (3)<br>Copper object? (4)<br>Copper rods, 6½″. (5) | | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.1. | 8′, 35′, 7′ (1)<br>8′, 36′, 7′ (2)<br>4′, 24′, 7′ (3)<br>3′, 52′, 7′ (4)<br>7′, 44′, 7′ (5)<br>12′, 50′, 7′ (6)<br>4′, 60′, 7′ (7)<br>6′, 64′, 7 (8)<br>12′, 20′, 7′ (9)<br>1′, 25′, 7′ (10)<br>13′, 18′, 7′ (11)<br>8′, 28′, 7′ (12)<br>8′, 54′, 7′ (13)<br>11′, 26′, 7′ (14)<br>3′, 35′, 7′ (15) | 2 fine bowls.<br>Fine plain bowl.<br>Portion of spouted pot, Class B. (9)<br>Large spouted bowl, fine red. (11)<br>Portion red bowl. (12)<br>Portion of beaker. (14)<br>Small cooking pot distorted by pressure. (15) | 1 ostrich shell disc. (8) | | Assegai blade with broken tang. (1)<br>Portion copper bangle. (2)<br>Small iron hoe. (3)<br>Portion ribbon-type copper bangle (4)<br>Rusty iron and spike, 4½″. (5)<br>Iron spike, 4½″. (6)<br>Portion copper bangles on fibre. (9)<br>Mass of rusty twisted anklets. (10)<br>Iron spike, 3⅜″. (13) | | Perhaps rough pottery phallus. (7) | | | Seashells. Genera *Natica*, *Cypraea*, *Nerita*, *Cardium*.<br>Hut complex. (9) | VIII. (9)<br>IX. (9) |
| | B.5.S.2. | 25′, 4′, 7′ (1)<br>21′, 6′, 7′ (2) | | | | Solid iron bangle, ends butted, 2¾″. (1)<br>Corroded iron rod, 5¼″. (2) | | | | | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | B.5.S.3. | 63′, 14′, 7′ (1)<br>18′, 5′, 7′ (2)<br>30′, 12′, 7′ (3)<br>74′, 8′, 7′ (4)<br>74′, 9′, 7′ (5) | | | | Broken assegai. (1)<br>Tanged assegai, 3 rusty iron rods. (2)<br>Portion large iron bangle. (3)<br>Rusty iron rods. (4)<br>Small nail-like iron, 1¾″. (5) | | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.5. | 20′, 5′, 7′ (1)<br>8′, 3′, 7′ (2)<br>8′, 2′, 7′ (3) | | | | Spatulate strigil with tang, 5½″. (1)<br>Small spearhead with tang, 5½″. (2)<br>Corroded copper ring, 1¼″. (3) | | | | | | |
| 1939 | B.5.S.1. | 11′, 38′, 8′ (1)<br>12′, 41′, 8′ (2)<br>14′, 42′, 8′ (3)<br>13′, 35′, 8′ (4)<br>6′, 61′, 8′ (5)<br>4′, 35′, 8′ (6)<br>7′, 51′, 8′ (7)<br>10′, 32′, 8′ (8)<br>13′, 32′, 8′ (9) | Portion small pot. (2)<br>Fine deep bowl. (3)<br>Portion of bell beaker. (4)<br>Portion of very wide decorated rim. (5)<br>Small cooking pot. (8) | Long, devitrified G.R. bead. (6) | | Flat copper wire plus fragments of copper bangles. (1)<br>Corroded iron bangles. (7) | | | | | Portion of carved wooden door, badly charred. (9) | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | B.5.S.3. | 18′, 5′, 8′ (1)<br>45′, 12′, 8′ (2)<br>55′, 4′, 8′ (3)<br>39′, 2′, 8′ (4)<br>10′, 9′, 8′ (5)<br>7′, 12′, 8′ (6)<br>40′, 14′, 8′ (7)<br>35′, 15′, 8′ (8)<br>19′, 4′, 8′ (9)<br>40′, 1′, 8′ (10)<br>10′, 14′, 8′ / 5′, 10′, 8′ (11) | | | | Broken assegai mounted in bone or ivory socket. (1)<br>Iron chisel, both edges ground. (2)<br>Barbed and tanged spear-head. (3)<br>Barbed and tanged spear-head. (4)<br>Tanged assegai. (5)<br>Iron strigil with curled terminal. (6)<br>Long assegai blade. (7)<br>Tapered iron punch, 3¾″. (8)<br>Iron strigil with curled end. (9)<br>Tanged assegai blade. (10)<br>2 corroded iron pins, 5¾″ & 5½″. (11) | | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.4. | 51′, 1′, 8′ (1)<br>75′, 10′, 8′ (2)<br>33′, 7′, 8′ (3)<br>44′, 5′, 8′ (4)<br>42′, 4′, 8′ (5)<br>42′, 7′, 8′ (6)<br>50′, 1′, 8′ (7)<br>35′, 6′, 8′ (8)<br>30′, 10′, 8′ (9) | | | | Fine tanged assegai. (1)<br>Spatulate iron strigil. (2)<br>Iron rod, 7″ × ¼″. (3)<br>Corroded iron rods. (4)<br>Iron pin, 2″. (5)<br>2 iron pins, 2″ and 2½″. (6)<br>Tanged assegai. (7)<br>Rusty iron pin, 1¾″. (8)<br>Iron chisel, ground both edges, with tang for handle. (9) | | | | | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | B.5.S.5. | 29′, 4′, 8′ (1)<br>17′, 3′, 8′ (2)<br>8′, 9′, 8′ (3)<br>35′, 1′, 8′ (4)<br>20′, 1′, 8′ (5)<br>10′, 10′, 8′ (6) | | G.R. bead, dark type.<br>1 ostrich disc. (4) | | Rusty iron strigil. (1)<br>Iron pin with curled end. (2)<br>Portions of iron bangles. (3)<br>Broken assegai. (5)<br>Portions of copper bangles. (6) | | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.2. | 35′, 6′, 9′ (1)<br>45′, 12′, 9′ (2)<br>40′, 8′, 9′ (3)<br>14′, 10′, 9′ (4) | | | | Large iron bangle, 3½″. (1)<br>Tanged assegai. (2)<br>Wedge-shaped iron chisel. (3)<br>Corroded iron rods. (4) | | | | | | |
| | B.5.S.3. | 28′, 3′, 9′ (1)<br>4′, 7′, 9′ (2)<br>7′, 7′, 9′ (3)<br>24′, 10′, 9′ (4)<br>21′, 4′, 9′ (5)<br>29′, 5′, 9′ (6)<br>45′, 15′, 9′ (7)<br>31′, 10′, 9′ (8) | | G.R. bead, dark type. (2)<br>G.R. bead, light type. (3) | | 2 copper bangles interlocked. (1)<br>Rusty iron pin, 3¾″. (4)<br>Broken iron bangle. (5)<br>Large piece of iron. (6)<br>Iron punch, 2½″. (7)<br>Small assegai. (8) | | | | M.S.A. factory site.<br>1000's of flakes, spalls and implements on bedrock at 11′. | | |



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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | B.6.S.1. | 54′, 3′, 1′ (1) | | | | Copper rod with tapered shank and hook at one end. (1) | | | | | | |
| | | 53′, 11′, 1′ (2) | | | | | | | Pottery burnisher. (2) | | | |
| | | 45′, 6′, 1′ (3) | | | | | | | | | Granary foundation. (3) | |
| | | 12′, 11′, 1′ (4) Arrows | | | | | Bone awl. (4) Quantities of arrows and link-shafts over whole section. | | | | | |
| | | 8′, 7′, 1′ (5) | | | | | | | | | Horn of ungulate. (5) | |
| | | 6′, 2′, 1′ (6) | | | | | | | | | Teeth of ungulate. (6) | |
| | | 14′, 9′, 1′ (7) | Portions of flat shallow dish-ware. (7) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 60′, 2′, 1′ (8) | Portion of small bowl. (8) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 40′, 14′, 1′ (9) | | | | | | | | Hollowed sandstone pebble. (9) | | |
| | | 10′, 3′, 1′ (10) | | | | Fragments of iron spikes. (10) | | | | | | |
| | B.6.S.2. | 40′, 1′, 1′ (1) | | | | Corroded iron flakes. (1) | | | | | | |
| | | 45′, 1′, 1′ (2) | Many sherds of shallow dish-ware. (2) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Arrows | | | | | Quantities of arrows and link-shafts. | | | | | |
| | B.6.S.3. | 10′, 8′, 1′ (1) | | | | | Broken bone awl. (1) | | | | | |
| | | 35′, 6′, 1′ } 61′, 12′, 1′ } (2) | | | | | 2 rough awls. (2) | | | | | |
| | | 53′, 12′, 1′ (3) | | | | | Bone tool with thick butt. (3) | | | | | |
| | | 34′, 3′, 1′ (4) | Fragments of shallow dish-ware. (4) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 69′, 8′, 1′ (5) | | | | Portion of copper bracelet. (5) | | | | | | |
| | | 38′, 6′, 1′ (6) | | | | | Rough bone awl. (6) | | | | | |
| | | 30′, 7′, 1′ (7) | | | | Iron awl, 5″. (7) | | | | | | |
| | | 71′, 12′, 1′ (8) | | | | Piece thin rod, $\frac{1}{8}$″. (8) | | | | | | |
| | | 71′, 5′, 1′ (9) | | | | | | | | Worn whetstone. (9) | | |
| | | Arrows | | | | | Quantities of arrows and link-shafts. | | | | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | B.6.S.4. | 45′, 7′, 1′ (1)<br>55′, 7′, 1′ (2)<br>61′, 3′, 1′ (3)<br>65′, 9′, 1′ (4)<br>Arrows | Small bowl with 2 studs 1″ below rim, hard brown. (2) | 2 ostrich discs, 4 opaque greenish oblates. (4) | | | Fine bone needle. (1)<br>Fewer arrows and linkshafts. | | Portion pottery spindle-whorl. (3) | | | |
| | B.6.S.5. | 45′, 10′, 1′ (1)<br>26′, 3′, 1′ } (2)<br>20′, 4′, 1′ }<br>65′, 5′, 1′ (3)<br>45′, 4′, 1′ (4)<br>50′, 12′, 1′ (5)<br>Arrows | Portion of small shouldered pot. (3)<br>Pottery base or pedestal. (4)<br>Portion of deep red bowl. (5) | | | Fewer bone arrows and linkshafts. | Wide blunt bone tool. (1) | | Portions of pottery spindle-whorls. (2) | | | |
| | B.6.S.1. | 7′, 4′, 2′ (1)<br>55′, 8′, 2′ (2)<br>55′, 9′, 2′ (3)<br>10′, 3′, 2′ (4)<br>46′, 7′, 2′ (5)<br>55′, 11′, 2′ (6)<br>Arrows | Portion large plain bowl. (1)<br>Half small saucer. (2)<br>Plain cooking pot. Hght. 5″. (5) | 9 ostrich discs. (4) | | Iron spike, 3½″. (3) | Quantities bone arrows and linkshafts. | | 2 pottery cows with udders. (6) | | | |



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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | B.6.S.2. | 10′, 1′, 2′ (1)<br>42′, 11′, 2′ (2)<br>43′, 14′, 2′ (3)<br>20′, 10′, 2′ (4)<br>Arrows | | | | Iron chisel-like tool with spatulate end and coiled top, 2″. (3)<br>Portions corroded iron rods. (4) | Broken bone awl with carved knob at end. (1)<br>Quantities of bone arrows and linkshafts. | | Large pottery spindle-whorl. (2) | | | |
| | B.6.S.3. | 45′, 1′, 2′ (1)<br>38′, 1′, 2′ (2)<br>40′, 1′, 2′ (3)<br>65′. 10′, 2′ (4)<br>17′, 10′, 2′ (5)<br>20′, 14′, 2′ (6)<br>25′, 15′, 2′ (7)<br>Arrows | Fragments of shallow dish-ware. (7) | | | Copper ring with butted ends. (2)<br>Spiral copper bangle. (3)<br>Copper bangle, $3\frac{1}{8}$″. (4)<br>Rusty iron hook, $2\frac{3}{8}$″. (5)<br>Rusty iron spike, 2″. (6) | Bone scraper? (1)<br>Quantities of bone arrows and linkshafts. | | | | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | B.6.S.4. | 65′, 10′, 2′ (1) | | | | | Fine bone awl. (1) | | | | | |
| | | 36′, 10′, 2′ (2) | | | | | Bone needle with eye and notch. (2) | | | | | |
| | | 35′, 8′, 2′ (3) | | Portion G.R. bead, dark type. (3) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 40′, 4′, 2′ (4) | | Large ostrich disc. (4) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 26′, 3′, 2′ (5) | | | | Corroded iron spike, $2\frac{2}{8}$″. (5) | | | | | | |
| | | 53′, 2′, 2′ (6) | Portion shouldered pot. (6) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 63′, 12′, 2′ (7) | Shallow dish. (7) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 71′, 8′, 2′ (8) | | Large, opaque, greenish-blue oblate. (8) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 74′, 5′, 2′ (9) | | | | Fragments of iron. (9) | | | | | | |
| | | 54′, 3′, 2′ (10) | | | | Fragments of copper. (10) | | | | | | |
| | | 73′, 6′, 2′ (11) | | 2 ostrich discs. (11) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 45′, 10′, 2′ (12) | Flat, shouldered dish. (12) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 40′, 7′, 2′ (13) | Portion of shallow shouldered bowl. (13) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Arrows | | | | | Fewer arrows and linkshafts. | | | | | |
| | B.6.S.5. | 52′, 1′, 2′ (1) | | | | Plaited iron ring, $\frac{3}{4}$″. (1) | | | | | | |
| | | 10′, 14′, 2′ (2) | Flat shallow dish. (2) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 15′, 10′, 2′ (3) | Portion of bowl. (3) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 20′, 11′, 2′ (4) | | | | | | Torso with breasts and dots for hair. (4) | | | | |
| | | Arrows | | | | | Few arrows. | | | | | |



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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | B.6.S.1. | 2′, 6′, 3′ (1)<br>40′, 10′, 3′ (2)<br>42′, 2′, 3′ (3)<br>7′, 3′, 3′ (4)<br>Arrows | Large decorated pot, hght. 15¼″, containing→ (4) | Portions of G.R. beads, dark type. (2)<br>In No. 4: 2 green oblates, 3 black oblates, 1 Indian red, 1 ostrich disc. | | Fragments of copper bracelets. (3)<br>2 small iron spikes. (4) | Numerous bone arrows and link-shafts. | | | | Sherds of crucible with copper and red flux. (1) | |
| | B.6.S.2. | 55′, 3′, 3′ (1)<br>55′, 6′, 3′ (2) | | 7 ostrich discs. (2) | | Small copper pin, grooved both sides, 2″. (1) | | | | | | |
| | B.6.S.3. | 25′, 2′, 3′ | | | | Twisted copper bangle on fibre. | | | | | | |
| | B.6.S.1. | 73′, 12′, 4′ (1)<br>6′, 5′, 4′ (2)<br>25′, 9′, 4′ (3) | Small plain bowl. (3) | | | Fragments corroded iron. (1)<br>Iron ring with knob at one end. (2) | | | | | | |
| | B.6.S.1. | 50′, 11′, 5′ (1)<br>20′, 6′, 5′ (2)<br>7′, 11′, 5′ (3) | Complete black bowl. (1) | | | Pieces of iron. (2)<br>Pieces of iron and copper. (3) | | | | | | |
| | B.6.S.3. | 48′, 5′, 5′ (1)<br>51′, 11′, 5′ (2)<br>50′, 10′, 5′ (3)<br>58′, 3′, 5′ (4) | | | | Solid round copper bangle. (1)<br>2 iron pins, 1½″ and 1¾″. (2)<br>Copper rod with curled end, 3⅜″. (3)<br>Portion of iron pin, 1⅛″. (4) | | | | | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | B.6.S.4. | 35′, 9′, 5′ (1)<br>54′, 7′, 5′ (2)<br>55′, 10′, 5′ (3)<br>63′, 6′, 5′ (4)<br>58′, 4′, 5′ (5)<br>60′, 3′, 5′ (6)<br>50′, 5′, 5′ (7)<br>6′, 3′, 5′ (8)<br>6′, 3′, 5′ (9) | | | | Iron ring, $1\frac{1}{2}''$. (1)<br>Portion solid copper ring. (2)<br>Twisted copper ring. (3)<br>Portion of twisted copper bracelet. (4)<br>2 corroded iron rings, $1\frac{5}{8}''$ and $1\frac{3}{16}''$. (5)<br>Copper necklace on fibre. (6)<br>Barbed and tanged spearhead. (7)<br>Assegai blade. (8)<br>Fragments of other spearheads. (9) | | | | | | |
| | B.6.S.5. | 36′, 9′, 5′ (1)<br>38′, 8′, 5′ (2)<br>44′, 6′, 5′ (3)<br>65′, 3′, 5′ (4)<br>40′, 3′, 5′ (5)<br>35′, 7′, 5′ (6)<br>36′, 9′, 5′ (7)<br>20′, 7′, 5′ (8) | | 2 ostrich discs.<br>1 Indian red,<br>1 black oblate. (5) | | Copper ring, ends overlapping. (1)<br>Assegai blade. (2)<br>Portion of ribbon-type, copper bangle. (3)<br>Corroded iron bangles. (4)<br>Corroded bangles. (6)<br>Barbed and tanged iron arrowhead. (7) | | | | | Seashell. Genus *Natica*. (8) | |
| | B.6.S.1. | 22′, 14′, 6′ | | | | Copper ferrule with hook at end. | | | | | | |
| | B.6.S.4. | 38′, 4′, 6′ | | | | | | | | | Genus *Cypraea*, *C. moneca*, *C. annulus*. | |



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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.7.S.6. | 9′, 74′, 1′ (1) | Small bowl. (1) | | | | | | | | | LVI. |
| | | 2′, 71′, 1′ (2) | ½ cooking pot. (2) | | | | | | | | | No. 119 (2) |
| | | 14′, 41′, 1′ (3) | | | | | | | | Grinding stone. (3) | | |
| | | 2′, 45′, 1′ (4) | | | | | | | | Worn hammer-stone. (4) | | |
| | | 14′, 41′, 1′ (5) | | | | | | | | Rough grinding stone. (5) | | |
| | | 14′, 74′, 1′ (6) | | | | | Bone amulets or dice. (6) | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 74′, 1′ (7) | | | | Corroded iron spike, 7″. (7) | | | | | | |
| | | 13′, 65′, 1′ (8) | | Fine red pottery bead, macaroni type. (8) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 62′, 1′ (9) | | | | Portion of iron bangle. (9) | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 62′, 1′ (10) | Portion shallow dish. (10) | | | | | | | | | LIX. |
| | | 5′, 61′, 1′ (11) | | | | | | | | | | No. 138 (10) |
| | | 6′, 48′, 1′ (12) | | | | | | | Broken spindle-whorl. (11) | | | |
| | | 3′, 54′, 1′ (13) | | | | | 3 bone awls. (12) | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 56′, 1′ (14) | | | | | | | Small undrilled spindle-whorl. (13) | | | |
| | | 10′, 58′, 1′ (15) | | | | | | | 2 portions of broken spindle-whorls. (14) | | | |
| | | 5′, 6′, 1′ (16) | | | | | | | | Hammer-stone. (15) | | |
| | | 1′, 14′, 1′ (17) | Large shallow bowl. (17) | | | | | | Portion of spindle-whorl. (16) | | | |
| | | 7′, 68′, 1′ (18) | | | | | Bone awl. (18) | | | | | |
| | | 2′, 6′, 1′ (19) | Flat shallow dish. (19) | | | | | | | | | LIX. |
| | | 4′, 73′, 1′ (20) | Flat shallow dish. (20) | | | | | | | | | No. 141 (19) |
| | | 3′, 42′, 1′ (21) | do. (21) | | | | | | | | | LIX. |
| | | Arrows. | | | | | | | | | | No. 137 (20) |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | LIX. |
| | | | | | | | Quantity bone arrows and link-shafts. | | | | | No. 135 (21) |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.7.S.6. | 2′, 74′, 2′ (1) | | | | | | | Spindle-whorl. (1) | | | |
| | | 1′, 25′, 2′ (2) | | | | | Bone awl. (2) | | | | | |
| | | 11′, 70′, 2′ (3) | Portion of rough crucible. (3) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 73′, 2′ (4) | | | | | Animal scapula. (4) | | | | | |
| | | 11′, 51′, 2′ (5) | | | | | | | | Polishing stone. (5) | | |
| | | 13′, 49′, 2′ (6) | | | | | Dassie mandible. (6) | | | | | |
| | | 10′, 49′, 2′ (7) | | 2 green oblates. 2 ostrich discs. 3 ostrich discs. 11 black oblates. 5 opaque greenish-blues. 1 dark yellow. 1 royal-blue oblate. (7) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 49′, 2′ (8) | | | | Fragments of copper and iron bangles. (8) | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 24′, 2′ (9) | | 3 Indian reds. 1 plum oblate. 1 large greenish-yellow (9) | | | | | | *Isifuba* stone. (9) Piece yellow crystal. (9) | Ash pit No. 8. (9) Pierced shell of bivalve. (9) | |
| | | 10′, 15′, 2′ (10) | Portion fine shallow dish, black burnish. (10) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 55′, 2′ (11) | | | | | | | | Squared hammer-stone. (11) | | |
| | | 15′, 40′, 2′ (12) | | | | | Bone object with knob at end. (12) | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 8′, 2′ (13) | Flat shallow dish. (13) | | | | | | | | | LIX. No. 142 (13) |
| | | Arrows | | | | | Quantity of bone arrows and link-shafts. | | | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.7.S.6. | 4′, 54′, 3′ (1) | | | | | | Broken phallus. (1) | | | | |
| | | 5′, 60′, 3′ (2) | | | | | | | Pottery elephant's foot. (2) | | | |
| | | 1′, 61′, 3′ (3) | | | | | | | | | Burnt millet. (3) | |
| | | 3′, 53′, 3′ (4) | | Large black cane bead. (4) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 1′, 58′, 3′ (5) | | | | Spiral copper bangles. (5) | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 58′, 3′ (6) | | | | | Small tusk, ground flat. (6) | | | | | |
| | | 2′, 29′, 3′ (7) | | | | Iron and copper bangles. (7) | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 66′, 3′ (8) | | | | Large pieces of iron. (8) | | | | | | |
| | | 7′, 56′, 3′ (9) | | 7 ostrich discs. (9) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 36′, 3′ (10) | | | | | Tusk of wild pig. (10) | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 65′, 3′ (11) | | | | Small coiled copper wire bangle. (11) | | | | | | |
| | | 8′, 39′, 3′ (12) | | | | Fragments of copper bangles. (12) | | | | | | |
| | | 15′, 65′, 3′ (13) | | | | | | | | | *Unio* shell. (13) | |
| | | 11′, 8′, 3′ (14) | | | | | Broken bone needle. (14) | | | | | |
| | | 7′, 8′, 3′ (15) | | | | | | | | Stone seat. (15) | | |
| | | 4′, 3′, 3′ (16) | | | | | | Possible phallus. (16) | | | | |
| | | 8′, 45′, 3′ (17) | Small decorated pot. Hght. 4½″. (17) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 7′, 42′, 3′ (18) | | | | | | | | Calcite bar. (18) | | |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.7.S.6. | 14′, 74′, 4′ (1) | | | | Length of iron with spatulate end. (1) | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 70′, 4′ (2) | | | | Fragments of copper and iron bangles. (2) | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 56′, 4′ (3) | | | | | | | | | Shells. Genera *Natica* and *Cypraea*. (3) | |
| | | 10′, 61′, 4′ (4) | | 4 ostrich discs. 1 opaque greenish-blue oblate. (4) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 48′, 4′ (5) | Large sub-spherical bowl. Hght. 5″. (5) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 49′, 4′ (6) | | | | Large lump of iron. (6) | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 75′, 4′ (7) | | | | | | | | *Isifuba* stone. (7) | | |
| | | 0′, 60′, 4′ } (8) 14′, 60′, 4′ } | | | | | | | | | Large poor-quality floor. (8) | |
| | | 0′, 47′, 4′ (9) | Large pot with model pot inside. (9) | | | | | | | | | LVI. No. 109 (10) LIX. No. 136 (11) |
| | | 10′, 70′, 4′ (10) | Carinated pot. (10) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 8′, 66′, 4′ (11) | Flat dish. (11) | | | | | | | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.7.S.6. | 6′, 56′, 5′ (1) | Part of small beaker. (1) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 67′, 5′ (2) | Cooking pot. Hght. 7″. (2) | 12 ostrich and *Achatina* discs. (2) | | Iron and copper bangles. (2) | | | | | *Unio* shell. (2) | LVIII. No. 131 (2) |
| | | 3′, 58′, 5′ (3) | | | | | | | | Hammer-stone. (3) | | |
| | | 6′, 48′, 5′ (4) | Small broken bowl. (4) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 16′, 5′ (5) | | | | | | | | | Lumps slag. (5) | |
| | | 12′, 60′, 5′ (6) | | 1 Indian red. 7 ostrich and *Achatina* discs. 1 amber-coloured long bead. (6) | | Iron and copper bangles. (6) | | | | | | |
| | | 2′, 61′, 5′ (7) | Large cooking pot. (7) | | | | | | | | | LVII. No. 126 (7) |
| | | 14′, 65′, 5′ (8) | Rough model pot. (8) | 1 Indian red. 1 black cane. 3 opaque greens. 9 ostrich discs. (8) | | Copper bangles. (8) | Bones of small rodent. (8) | | | Worn rubbing stone. (8) | Ash pit No. 9. (8) | |
| | | 14′, 25′, 5′ (9) | Decorated shouldered pot. (9) | 3 *Achatina* discs. 1 opaque green. 1 small black oblate (9) | | Ribbon-type copper bangle. (9) | Teeth of ungulate. (9) | | | | Ash pit No. 10. (9) | LVI. No. 108 (9) |
| | | 11′, 43′, 5′ (10) | Large cooking pot. (10) | | | | | | | | | LVII. No. 124 (10) |
| | | 9′, 45′, 5′ (11) | Part of large bowl. (11) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 44′, 5′ (12) | Rough cooking pot. (12) | | | | | | | | | LVIII. No. 129 (12) |
| | | 10′, 42′, 5′ (13) | Large broken beer pot. (13) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 45′, 5′ (14) | Large cooking pot. (14) | | | | | | | | | LVIII. No. 130 (14) |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.7.S.6. | 4′, 73′, 6′ (1) | | Soapstone bead. (1) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 70′, 6′ (2) | Cooking pot. (2) | | | | | | | | | LVIII. No. 128 (2) |
| | | 11′, 73′, 6′ (3) | Deep red bowl. (3) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 43′, 6′ (4) | | | | Iron rod with hook. (4) | | | | | | |
| | | 8′, 68′, 6′ (5) | | | | Thin rod with hook. (5) | | | | | | |
| | | 4′, 47′, 6′ (6) | | | | Twisted copper bangles. (6) | | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 61′, 6′ (7) | | | | Copper ferrule with hook. (7) Traces of wood inside. (7) | | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 56′, 6′ (8) | | 3 ostrich discs. 1 Indian red. 1 greenish-blue oblate. (8) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 13′, 42′, 6′ } 14′, 40′, 6′ } (9 | | | | | 2 bone link-shafts. (9) | | | | | |
| | | 10′, 46′, 6′ (10) | Cooking pot. (10) | | | | | | | | | LVIII. No. 132 (10) |
| | | 10′, 46′, 6′ (11) | Deep bowl inside No. 10. (11) | | | | | | | | | LVII. No. 127 (11) |
| | | 11′, 20′, 6′ (12) | Small red bowl. (12) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 7′, 33′, 6′ (13) | | | | Leaf-shaped assegai. (13) | | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 40′, 6′ (14) | | | | Spiral copper bracelet on fibre. (14) | | | | | | |
| | | 8′, 75′, 6′ (15) | | | | | | | Conical pottery object, grooved and ringed at large end. (15) | | | |
| | | 13′, 43′, 6′ (16) | Large pot with neck. (16) | | | | | | | | | LVII. No. 125 (16) |
| | | 1′, 15′, 6′ (17) | | | | Large lump of corroded iron. (17) | | | | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1939 | B.7.S.6. | 5′, 65′, 7′ (1) | | | | Large solid iron bangle. (1) | | | | | | |
| | | 3′, 63′, 7′ (2) | | | | Lump of solid copper. (2) | | | | | | |
| | | 5′, 61′, 7′ (3) | | | | | | | | | Slag with lumps of iron adhering. (3) | |
| | | 7′, 62′, 7′ (4) | | | | Rusty iron spike, 3″. (4) | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 72′, 7′ (5) | | | | | Bone arrow. (5) | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 64′, 7′ (6) | | | | Fragments of copper bangles. (6) | | | | | | |
| | | 10′, 25′, 7′ (7) | Shouldered pot, black burnish, Hght. 7⅞″. (7) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 9′, 22′, 7′ (8) | Part of shallow dish. (8) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 1′, 25′, 7′ (9) | | | | Lump corroded iron. (9) | | | | | | |
| | | 15′, 17′, 7′ (10) | | | | | | | | Rough curved whetstone. (10) | | |
| | | 14′, 17′, 7′ (11) | | | | Lump of furnace copper. (11) | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 25′, 7′ (12) | Fine shouldered pot with pointed base. (12) | | | | | | | | | LVI. No. 110 (12) |
| | B.7.S.6. | 11′, 68′, 8′ (1) | | | | | | | | Round pounding stone. (1) | Sherds found below 8′, then 18″ sterile, then M.S.A. factory site. | |
| | | 4′, 51′, 8′ (2) | | | | | | | | Grinding mortar. (2) | | |
| | | 8′, 56′, 8′ (3) | | | | | | | | Sandstone pounder. (3) | | |
| | | 4′, 54′, 8′ (4) | Portion of rough crucible. (4) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 60′, 8′ (5) | | | | Corroded barbed iron arrowhead. (5) | | | | | | |
| | | 10′, 55′, 8′ (6) | | 16 ostrich discs. (6) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 12′, 58′, 8′ (7) | | | | Corroded iron spike, 2½″. (7) | | | | | | |
| | | 6′, 42′, 8′ (8) | | Portion of burnt G.R. bead. (8) | | | | | | | | |
| | | 14′, 42′, 8′ (9) | Deep bowl. (9) | | | | | | | | | LVI. No. 116 (9) |

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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | B.8.S.6. | 5′, 3′, 1′ (1)<br>3′, 4′, 1′ (2)<br>24′, 9′, 1′ (3)<br>15′, 7′, 1′ (4)<br>13′, 13′, 1′ (5)<br>5′, 14′, 1′ (6)<br>50′, 9′, 1′ (7)<br>30′, 4′, 1′ (8)<br>55′, 7′, 1′ (9)<br>40′, 10′, 1′ (10)<br>Arrows | Rough model pot. Hght. $2\frac{5}{8}$″. (9)<br>$\frac{1}{2}$ shouldered pot, hght. $4\frac{1}{4}$″, black decorated. (10) | | | | Fine engraved bone awl. (1)<br>Short ear ornament. (2)<br>Animal bones. (4)<br>Bone awl. (5)<br>Point of needle. (6)<br>Numerous bone arrows and link-shafts. | Probable phallic object with circle and dots at end. (8) | Flanged pottery stopper. (7) | 3 burnishing stones. (3) | | |
| | B.8.S.6. | 75′, 9′, 2′ (1)<br>40′, 6′, 2′ (2)<br>70′, 5′, 2′ (3)<br>18′, 12′, 2′ (4)<br>19′, 11′, 2′ (5) | Rough bowl. (2)<br>Cooking pot. Small globular pot found in above. (3)<br>Part fine flat red dish. (5) | | | Corroded iron bangle. (3) | Worn bone awl. (1) | | | Well-shaped stone pounder. (4) | | |
| | B.8.S.6. | 21′, 9′, 3′ (1)<br>22′, 6′, 3′ (2)<br>4′, 9′, 3′ (3) | Black globular pot. Hght. $7\frac{1}{4}$″. (3) | | | Plaited copper ring, $1\frac{1}{8}$″. (2) | | | | | Burnt millet. (1) | |
| | B.8.S.6. | | | | | | | | | | 4, 6 and 7 strips of no particular interest. | |
| | B.8.S.6. | 15′, 7′, 5′ | Beaker bowl, decorated. Hght. $7\frac{1}{8}$″. | | | | | | | | | |



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| Year | Area | Co-ordinates | Pottery | Beads | G.R. Moulds | Metal | Bone, Ivory | Figurines, Phalli | Pottery Objects | Stone Objects | Other Objects | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | B.8.S.6. | 7′, 6′, 8′ (1)<br>4′, 10′, 8′ (2) | | | | Corroded iron spikes. (1)<br>Lumps of corroded iron. (2) | | | | | | |
| | B.8.S.6. | 9′, 7′, 9′ | Fine beaker badly broken, decorated. | | | | | | | | Further sections unfinished owing to war. | |

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# PLATES I—LXII

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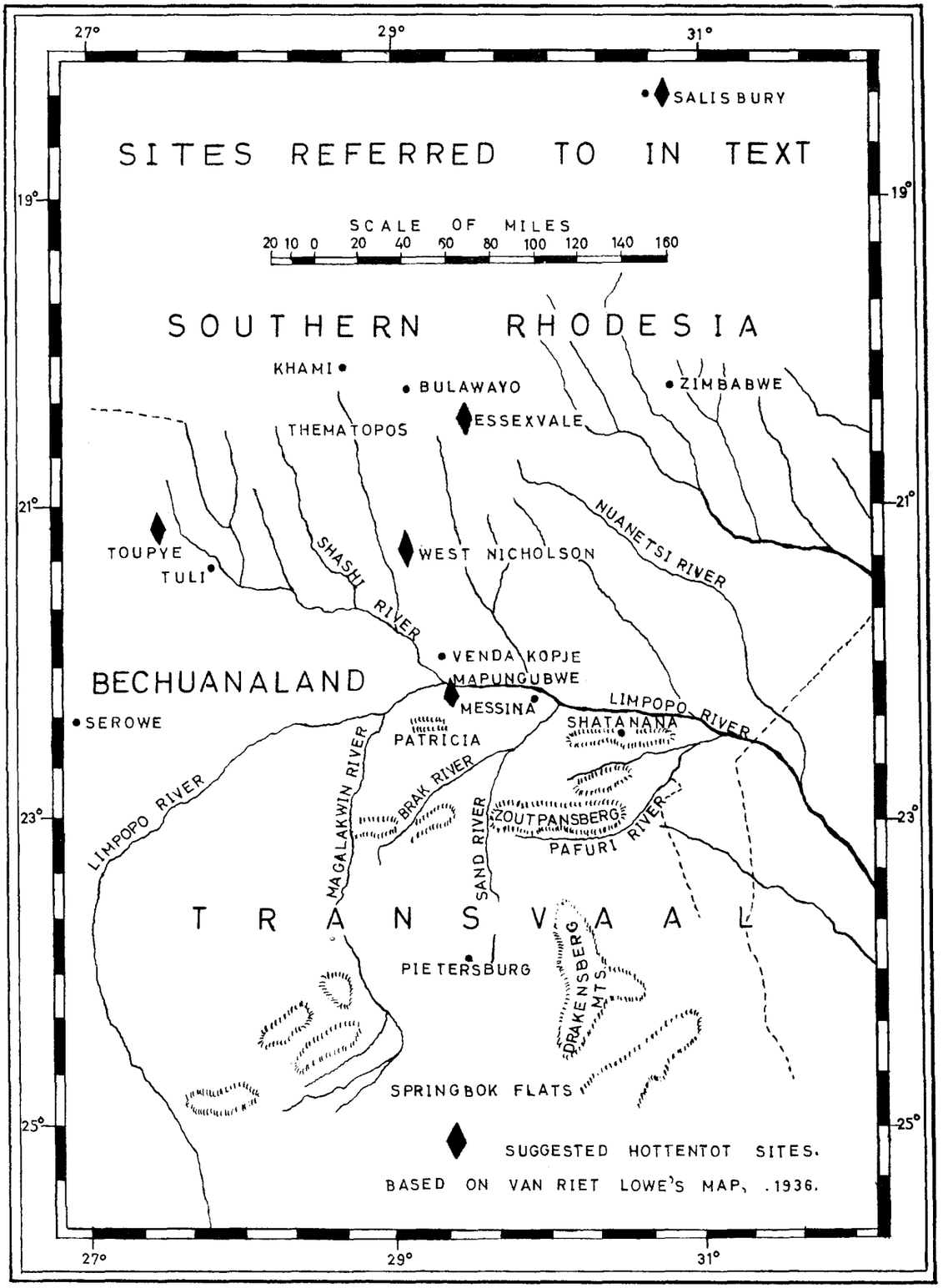


13 MAP. II

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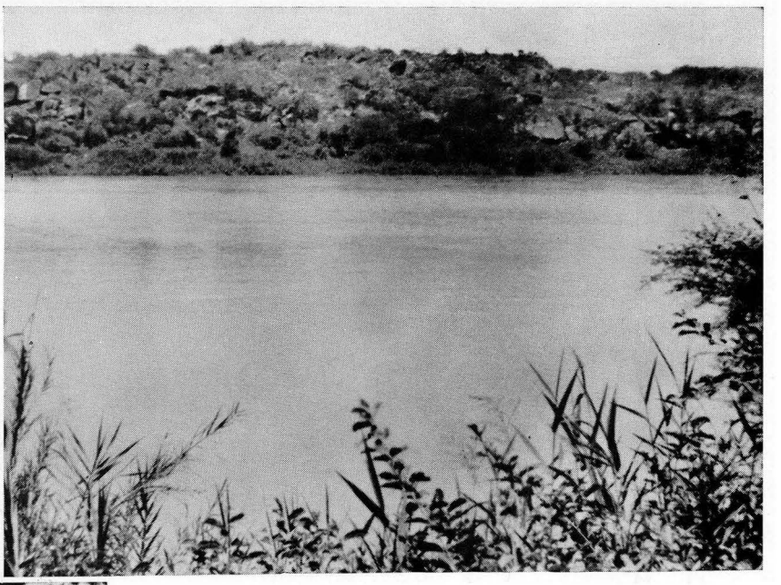
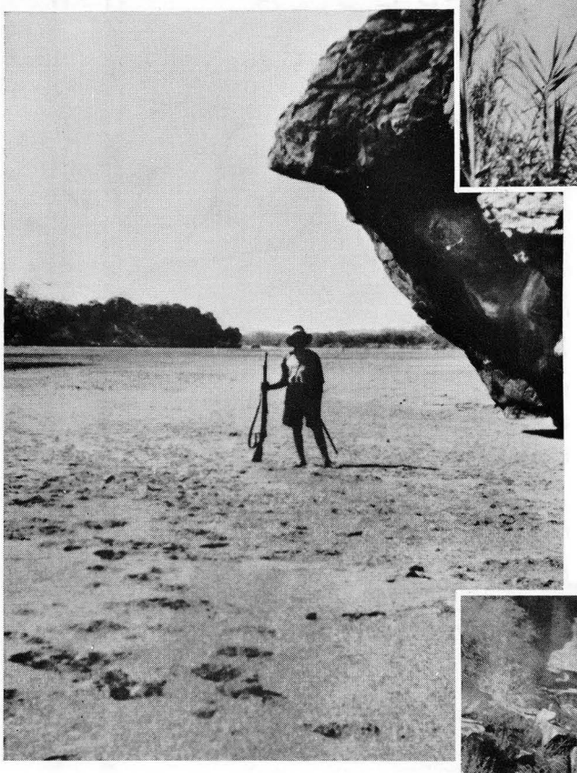


1. Limpopo in flood



2. Dry bed of Limpopo

3. Lotrie's Cave

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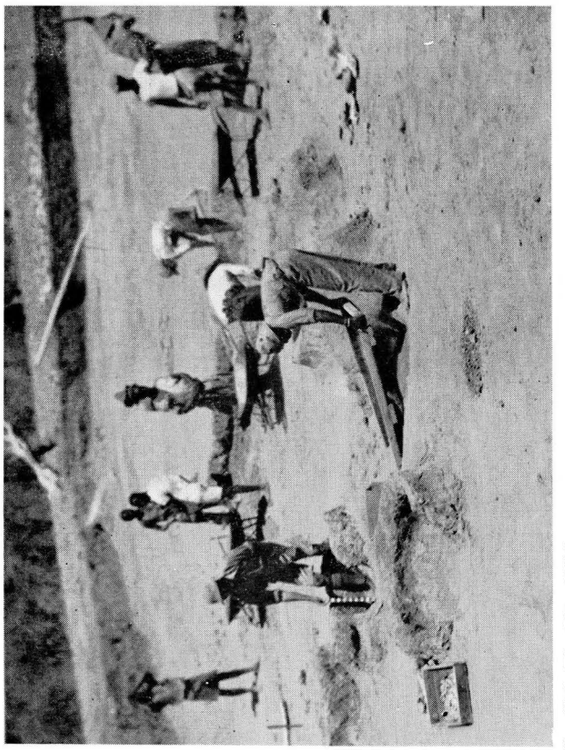
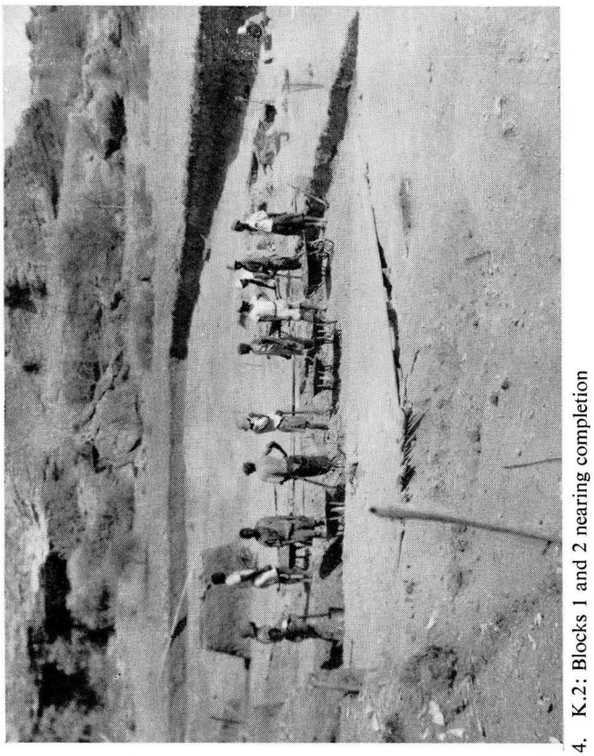
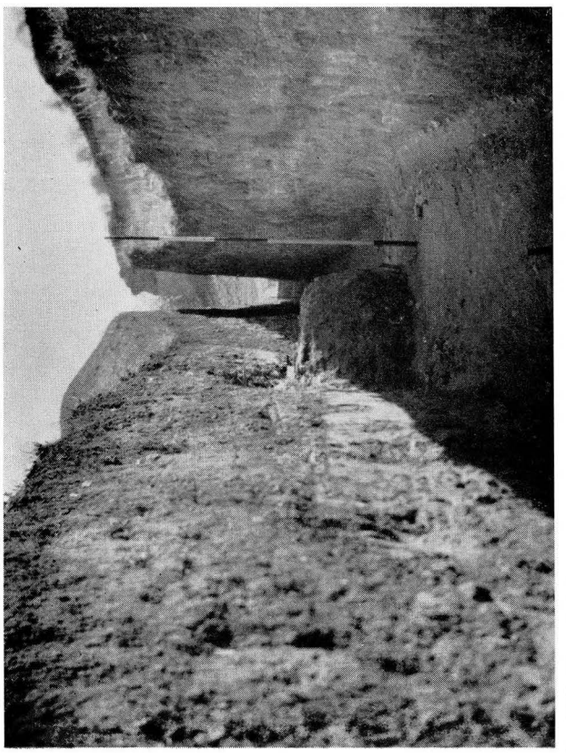


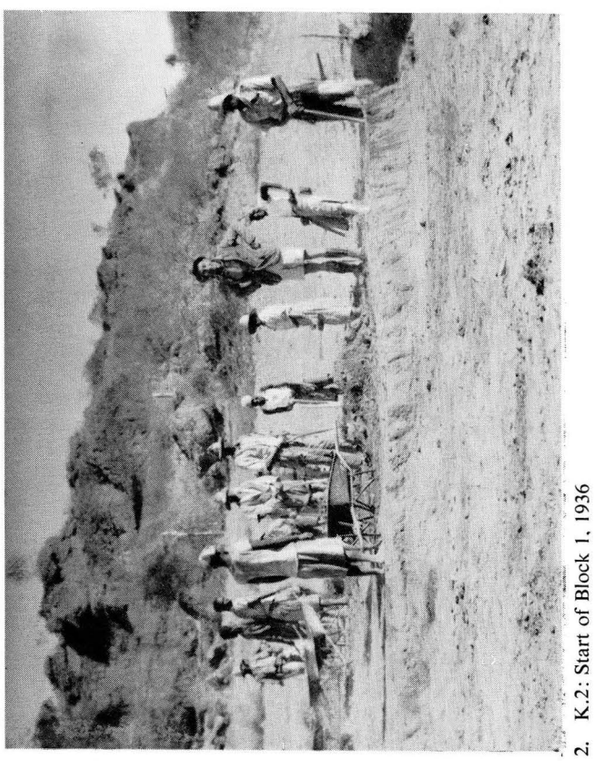
3. K.2: The Pits, 1936



4. K.2: Blocks 1 and 2 nearing completion



1. K.2: Trench 1 from south



2. K.2: Start of Block 1, 1936



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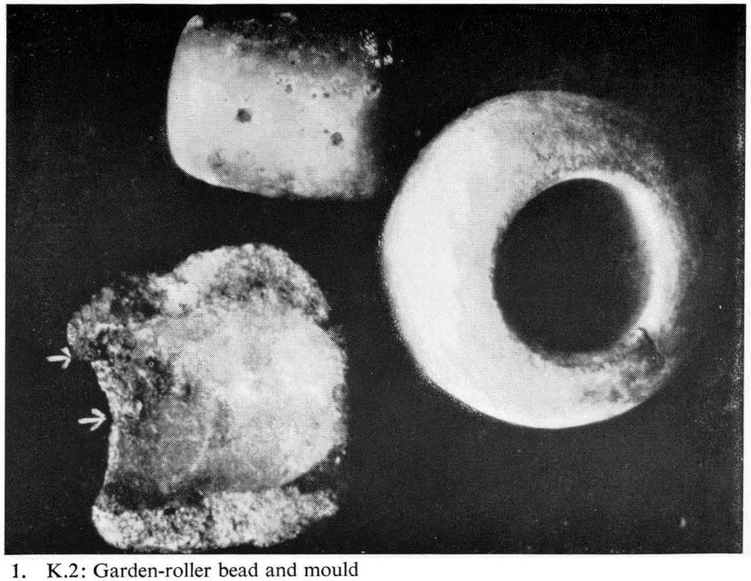
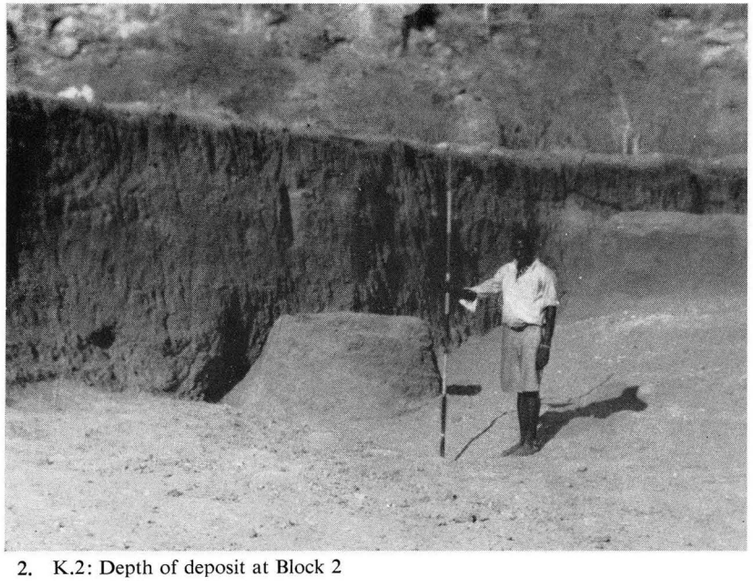
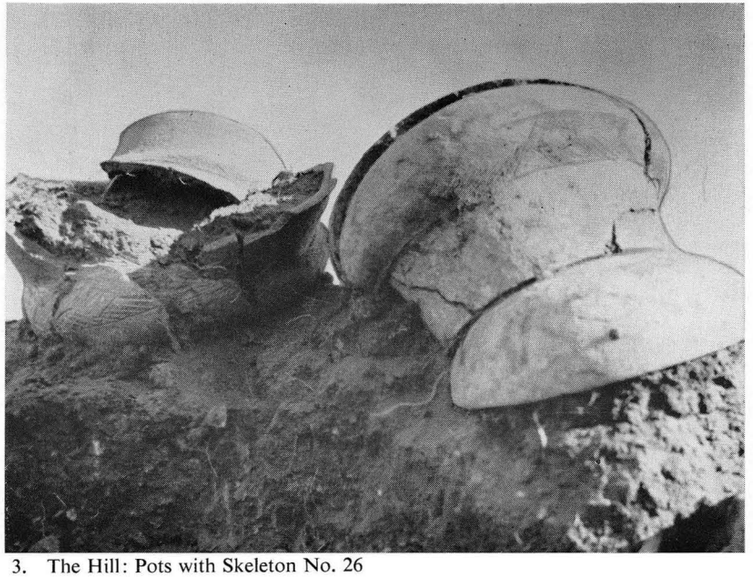


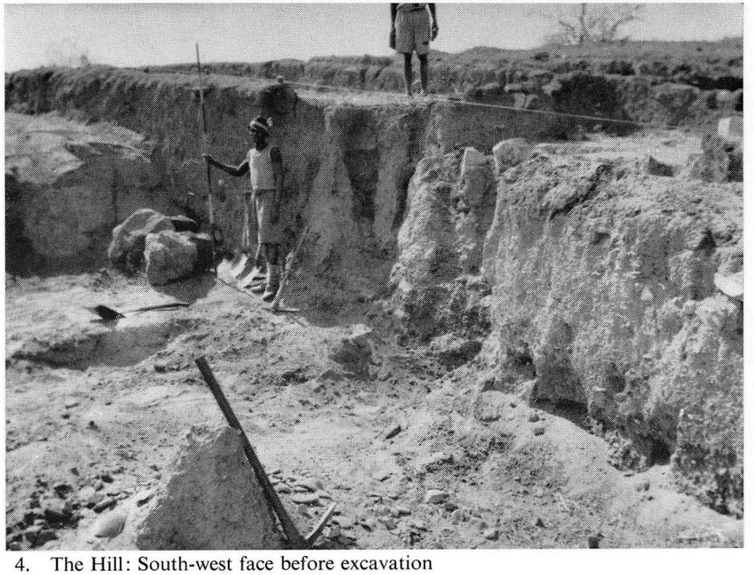
1. K.2: Garden-roller bead and mould



2. K.2: Depth of deposit at Block 2



3. The Hill: Pots with Skeleton No. 26



4. The Hill: South-west face before excavation



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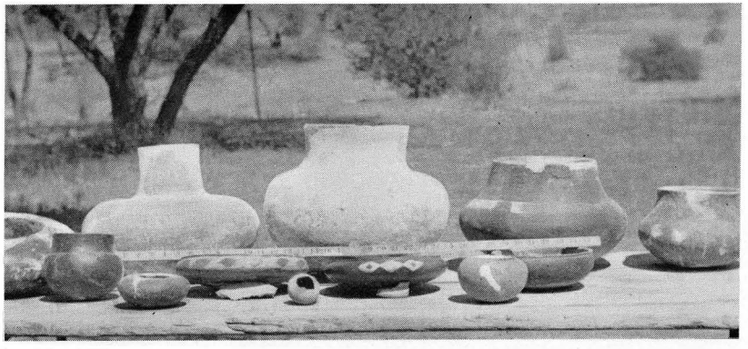
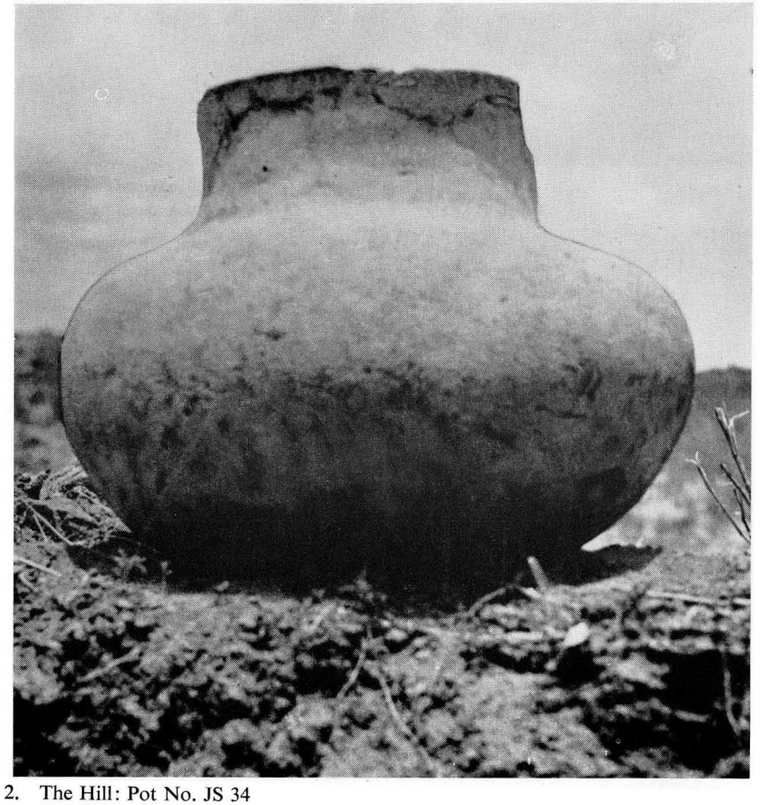


1. The Hill pots



2. The Hill: Pot No. JS 34

3. The Hill: Covered cooking pot, 1937

4. The Hill: Broken pots but no skeleton



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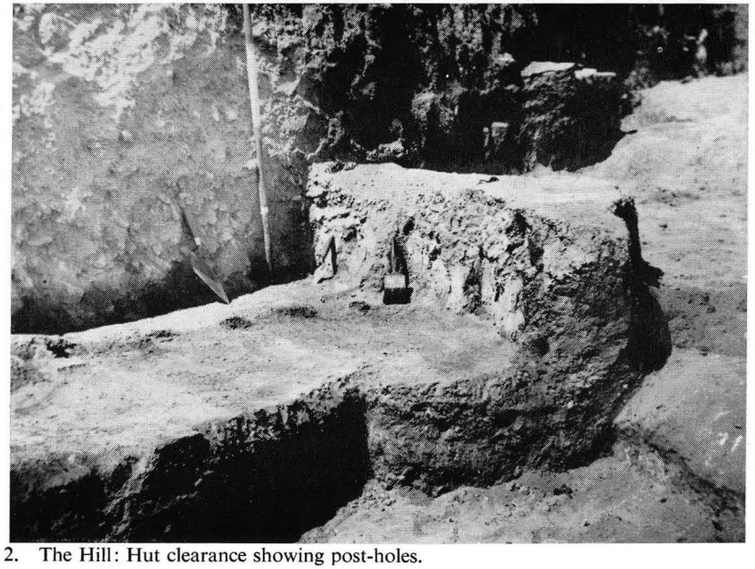
1. Walling at Venda koppie, 1937



2. The Hill: Hut clearance showing post-holes.

3. The Hill: Hut floor showing partition

The Hill: Superimposed and tilted floors



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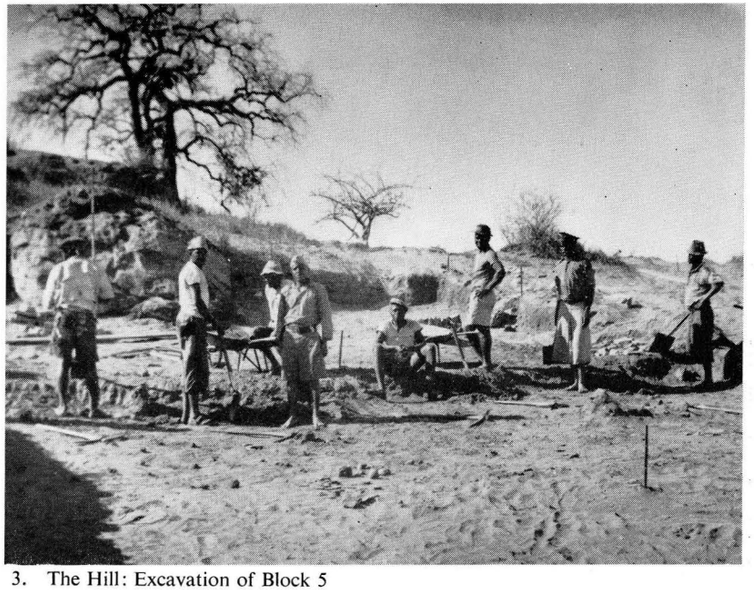
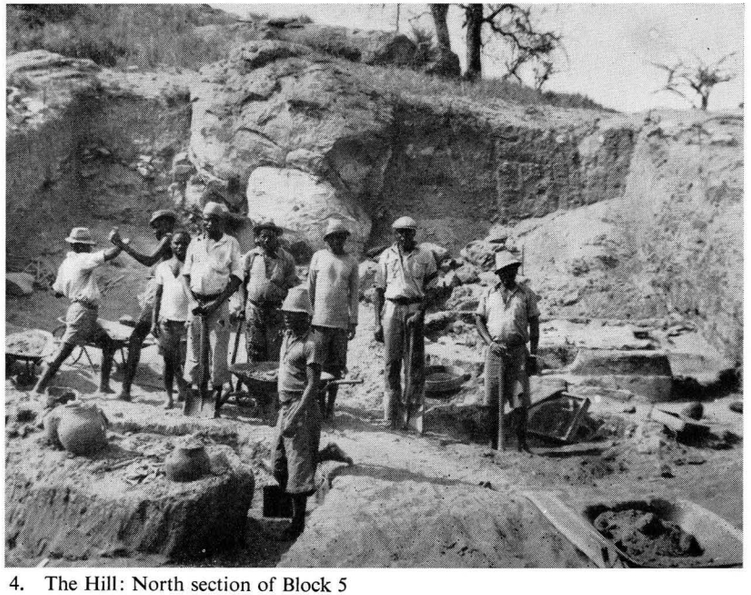
1. Meyer at G.1 smelting site, 1937

2. K.2: Small floor with crushed pot



3. The Hill: Excavation of Block 5



4. The Hill: North section of Block 5



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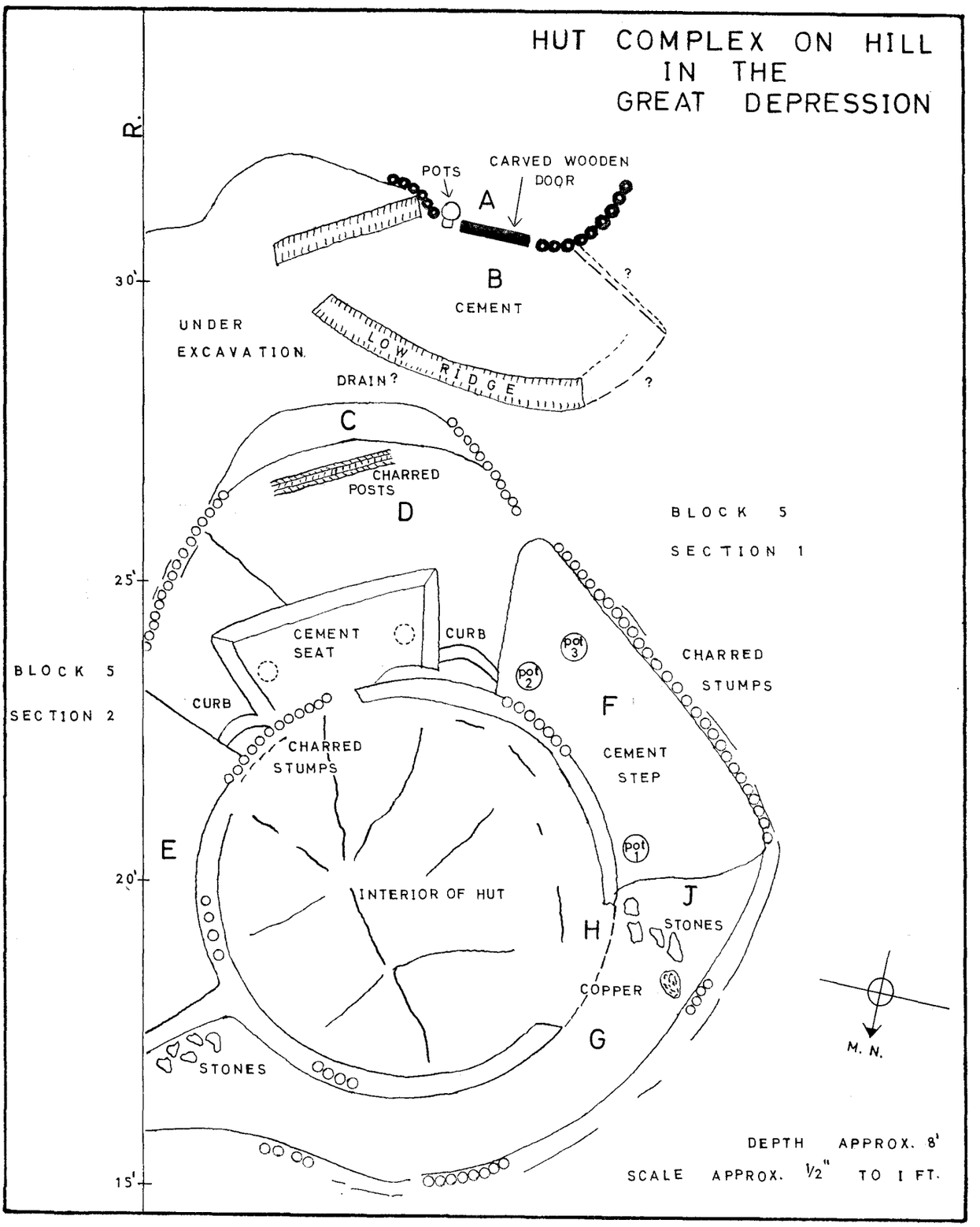


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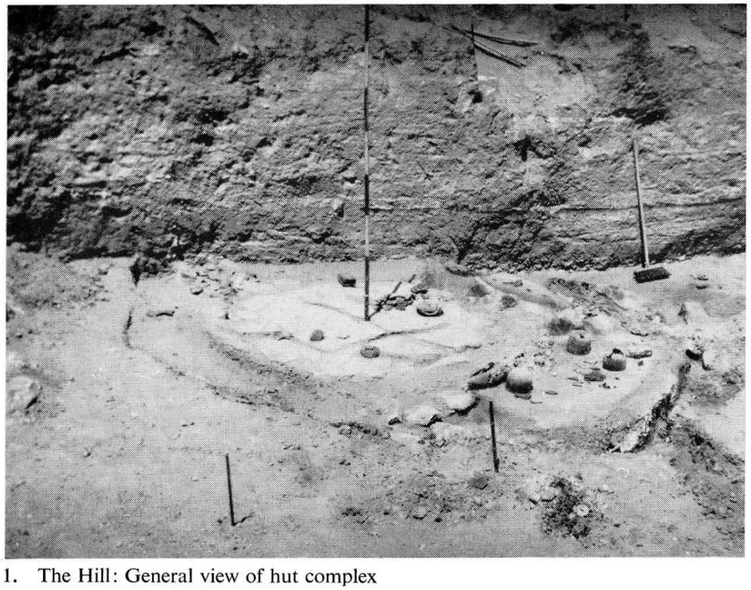
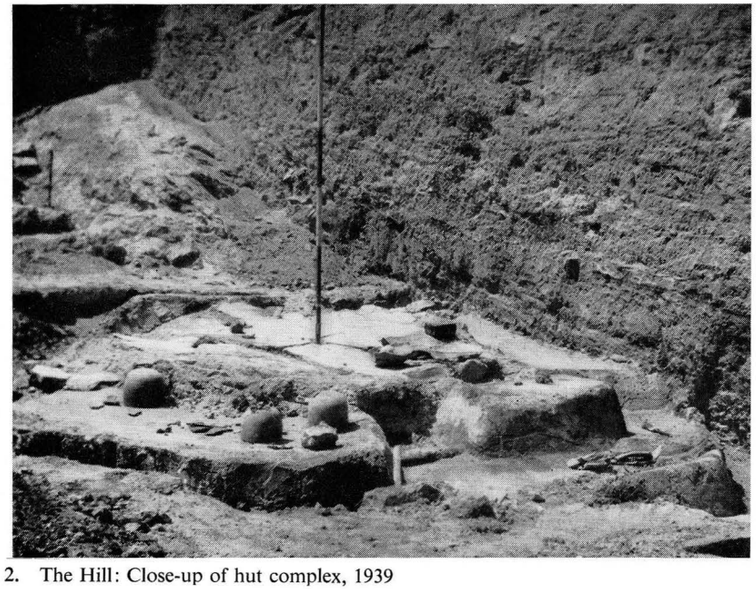
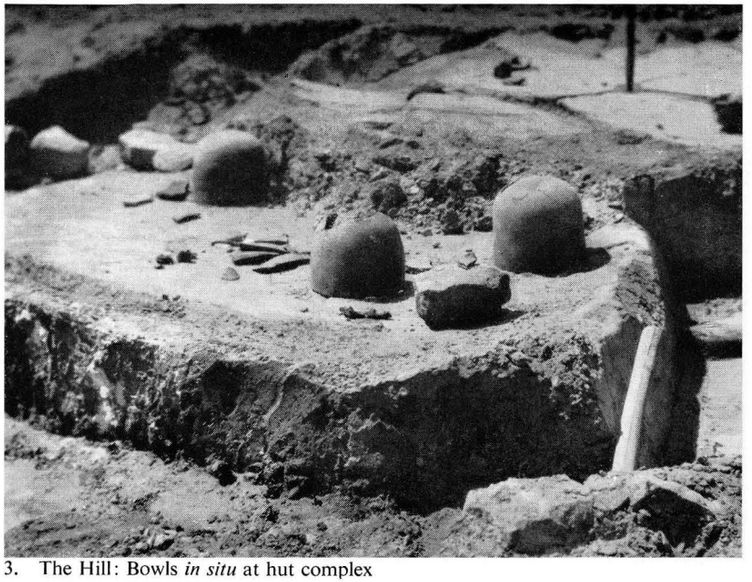


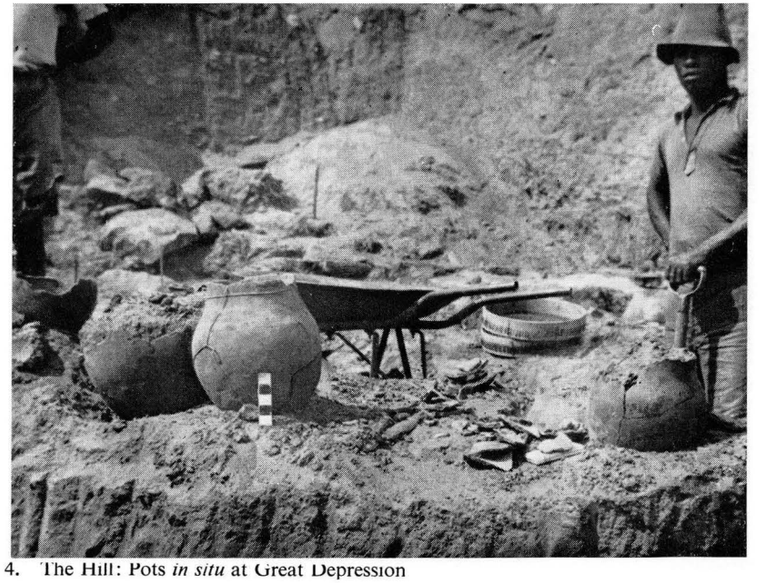
1. The Hill: General view of hut complex



2. The Hill: Close-up of hut complex, 1939



3. The Hill: Bowls *in situ* at hut complex



4. The Hill: Pots *in situ* at Great Depression



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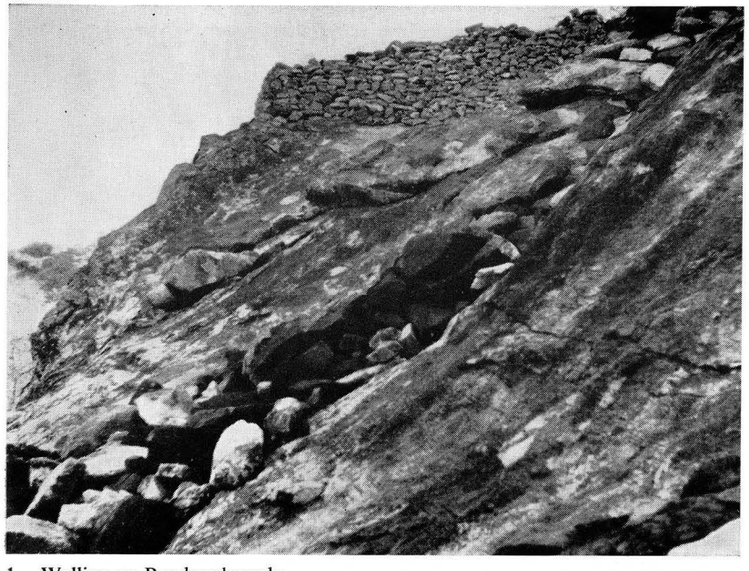
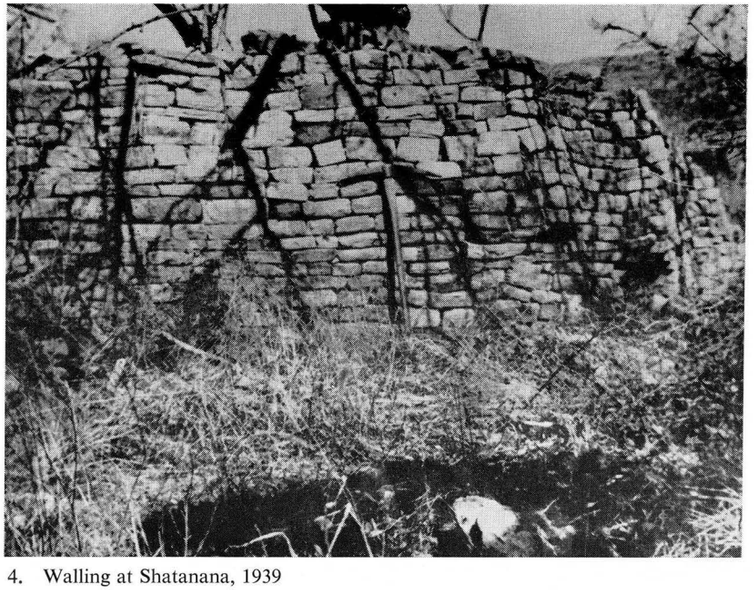


1. Walling on Bambandyanalo

3. Close-up of walling at Shatanana

2. Rounded entrance at Shatanana



4. Walling at Shatanana, 1939



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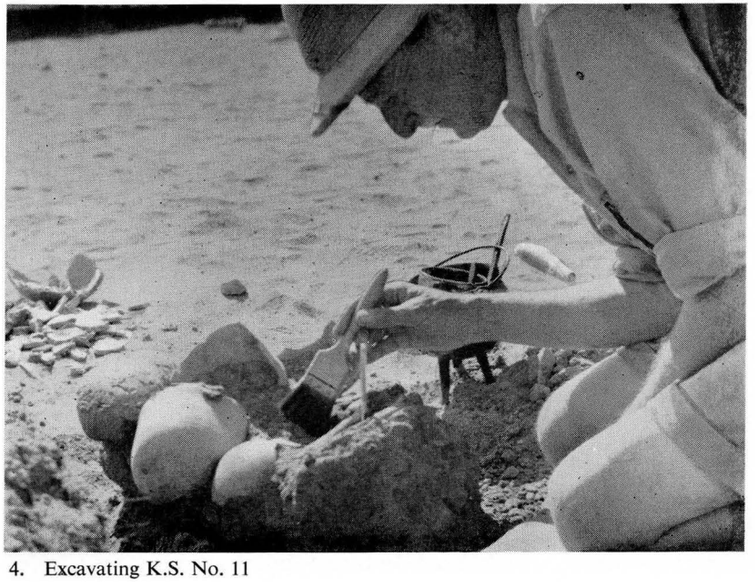
1. K.S. No. 7

2. K.S. No. 8

3. K.S. No. 10



4. Excavating K.S. No. 11



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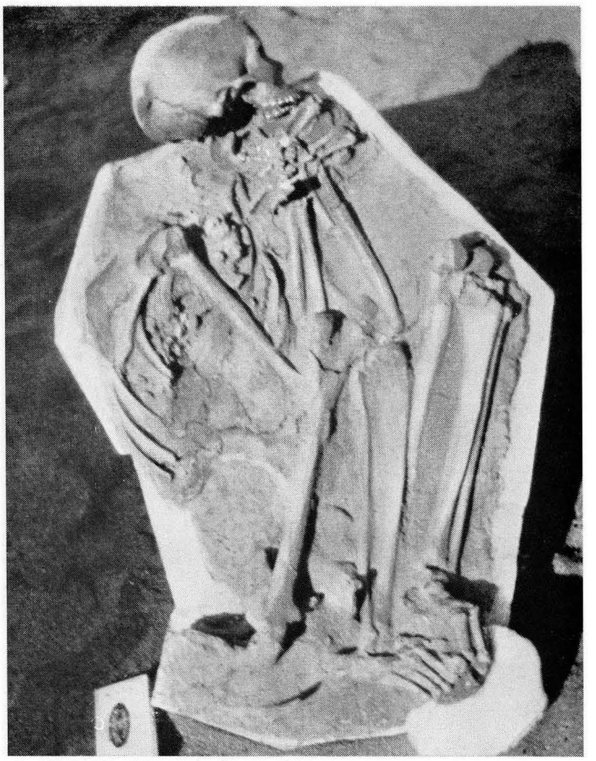
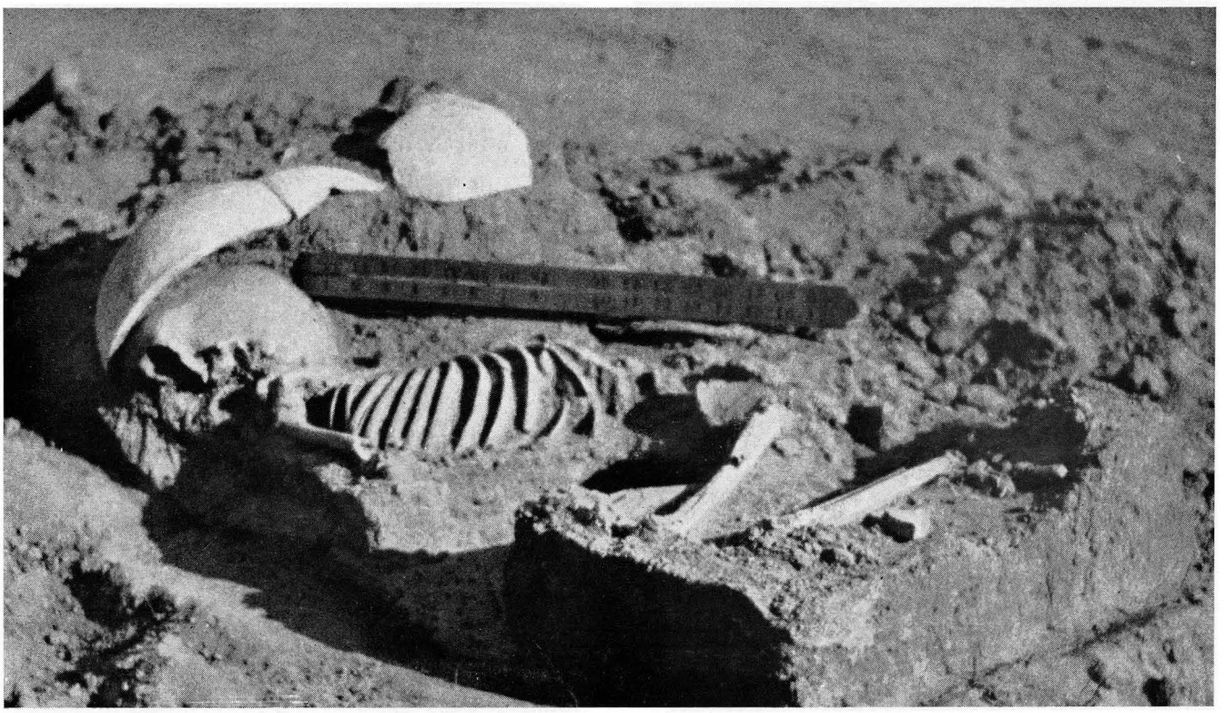
1. K.S. No. 12, after removal



2. K.S. No. 13, ready for road



3. K.S. No. 12, before removal

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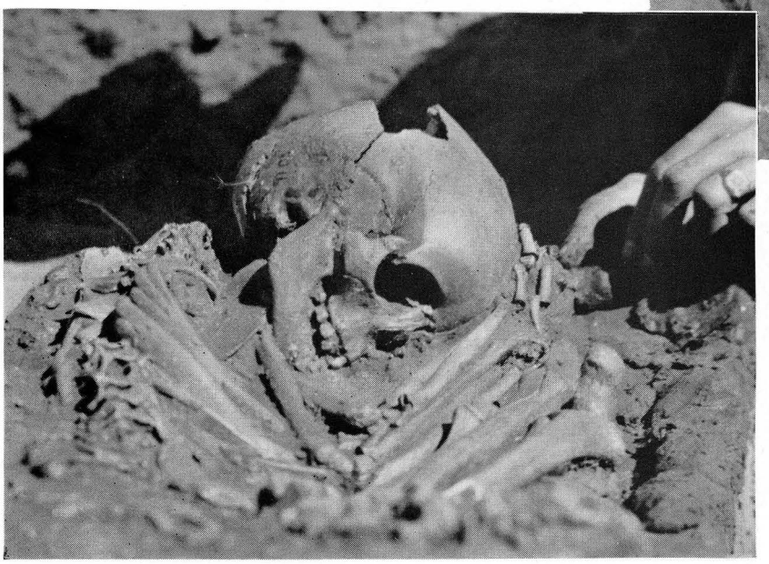
1. K.S. No. 16, with pots

2. K.S. No. 14, fingers in mouth



3. K.S. No. 16, pots removed

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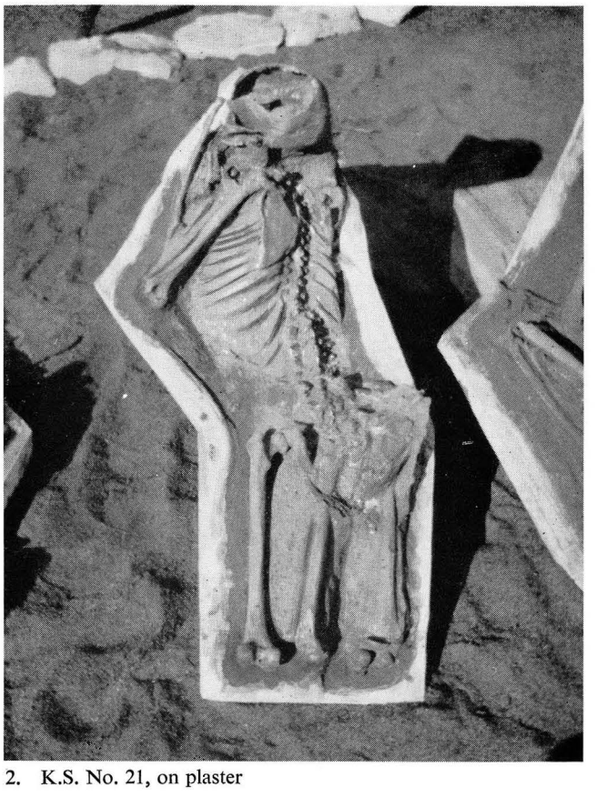
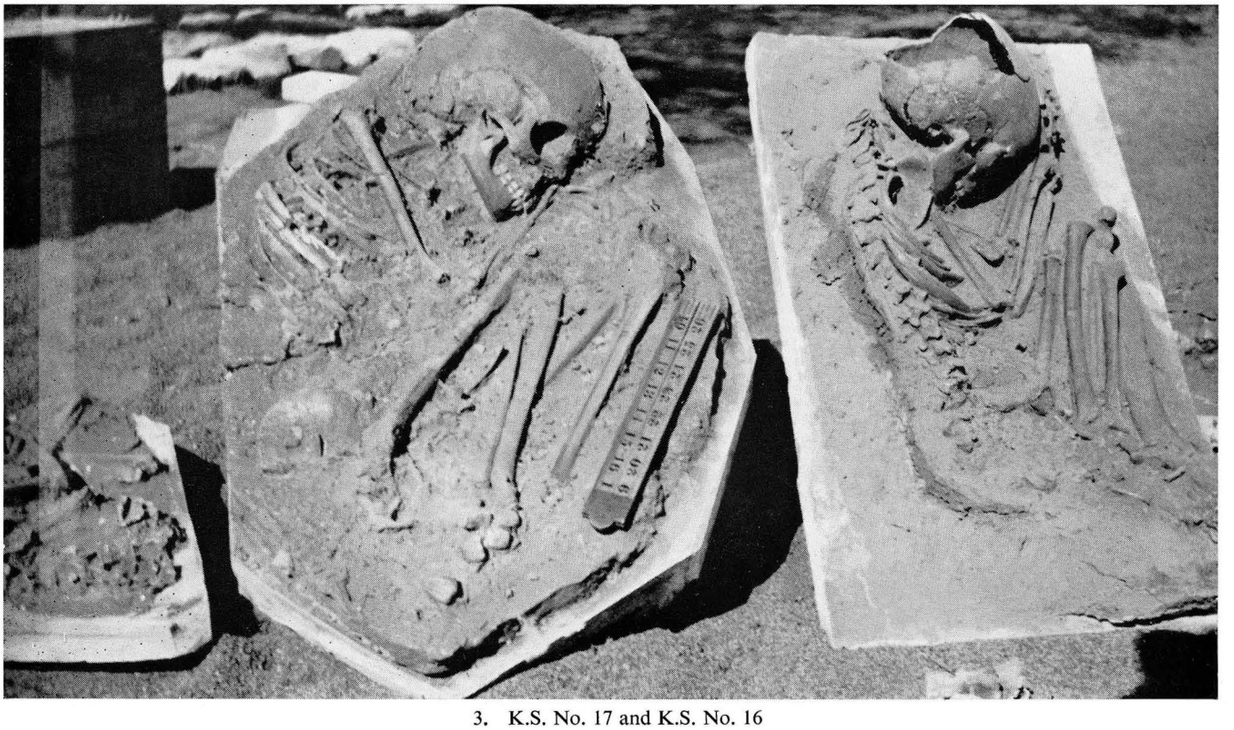
1. K.S. No. 18



2. K.S. No. 21, on plaster



3. K.S. No. 17 and K.S. No. 16

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1. K.S. No. 24

2. K.S. No. 25

3. K.S. No. 29

4. K.S. No. 30



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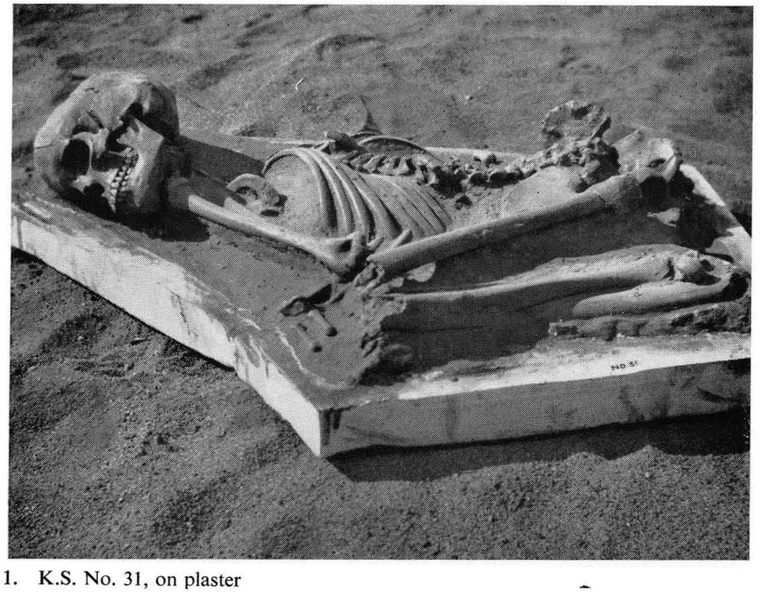
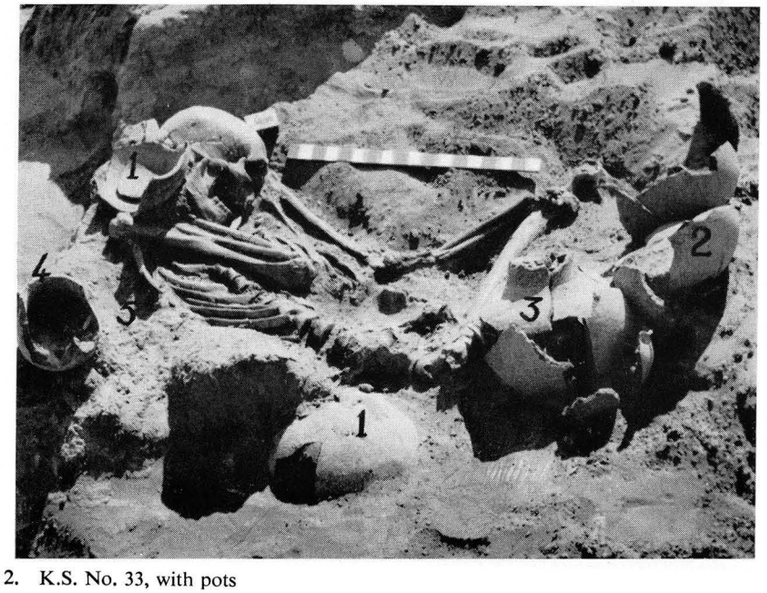
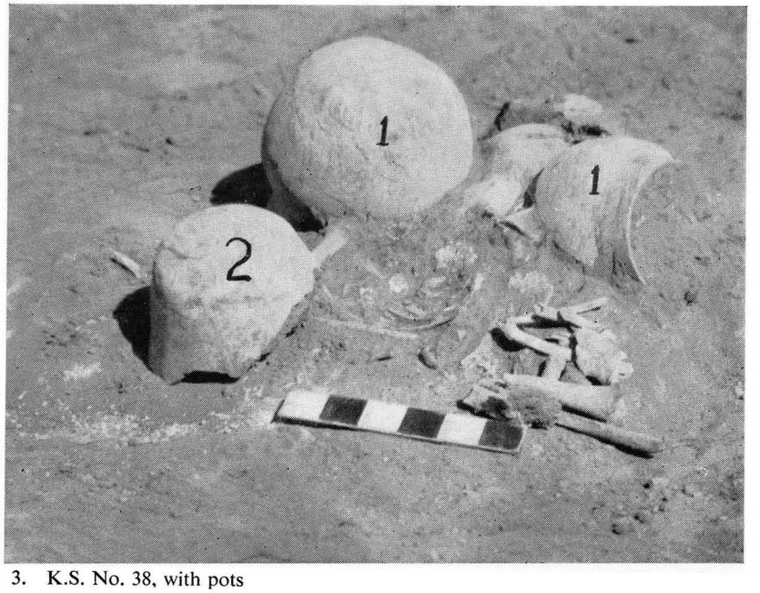


1. K.S. No. 31, on plaster




2. K.S. No. 33, with pots




3. K.S. No. 38, with pots

4. K.S. No. 39



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1. K.S. No. 46

2. K.S. No. 47, with pots removed

3. K.S. No. 48, with pots

4. K.S. No. 50



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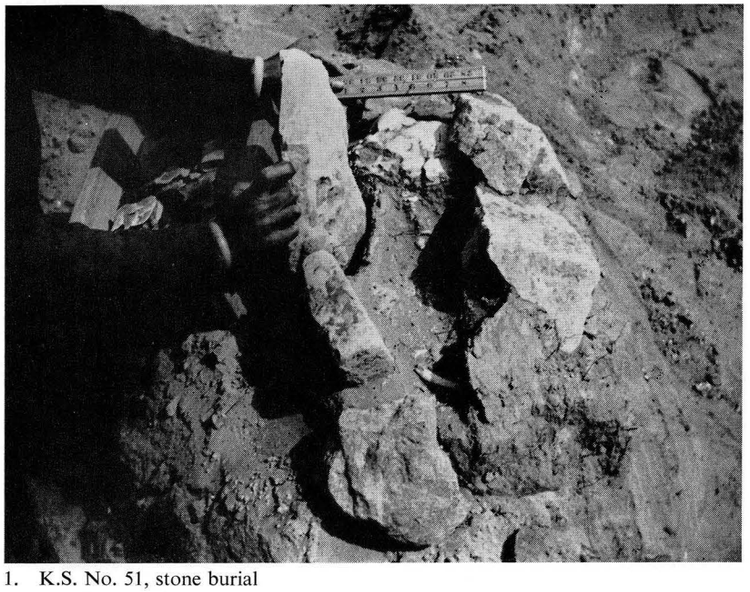
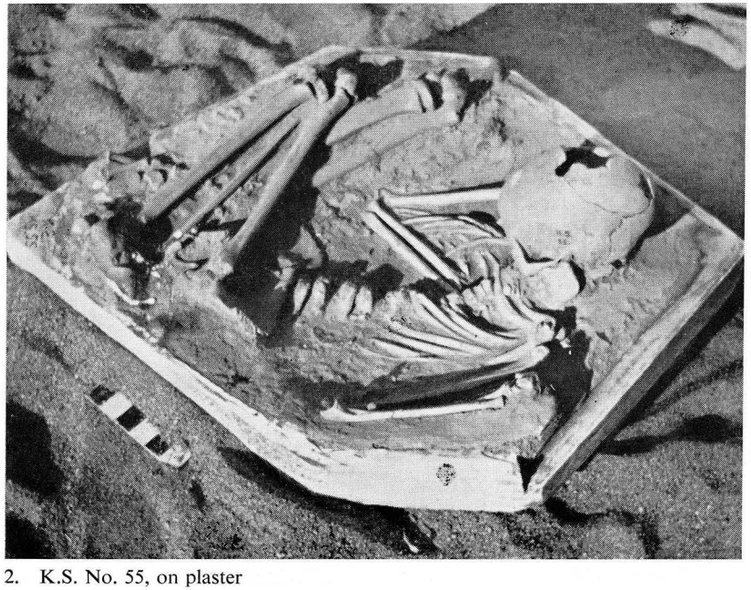
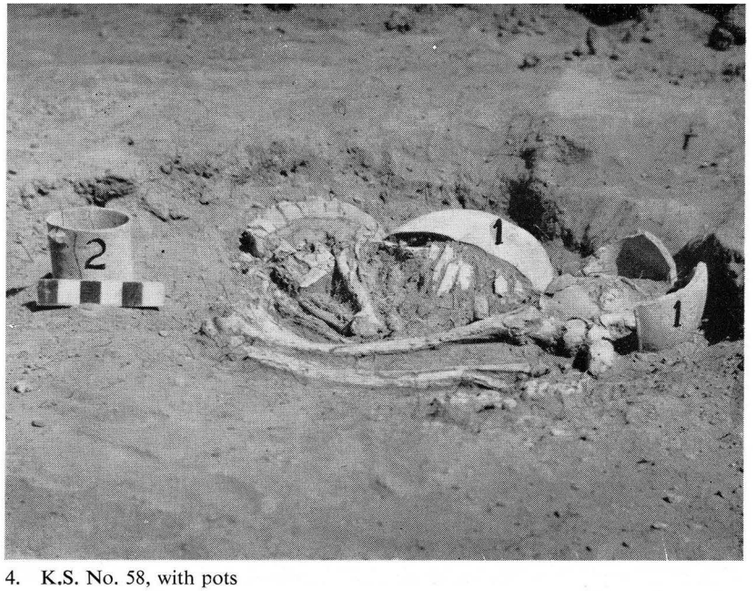


1. K.S. No. 51, stone burial



2. K.S. No. 55, on plaster

3. K.S. No. 57




4. K.S. No. 58, with pots



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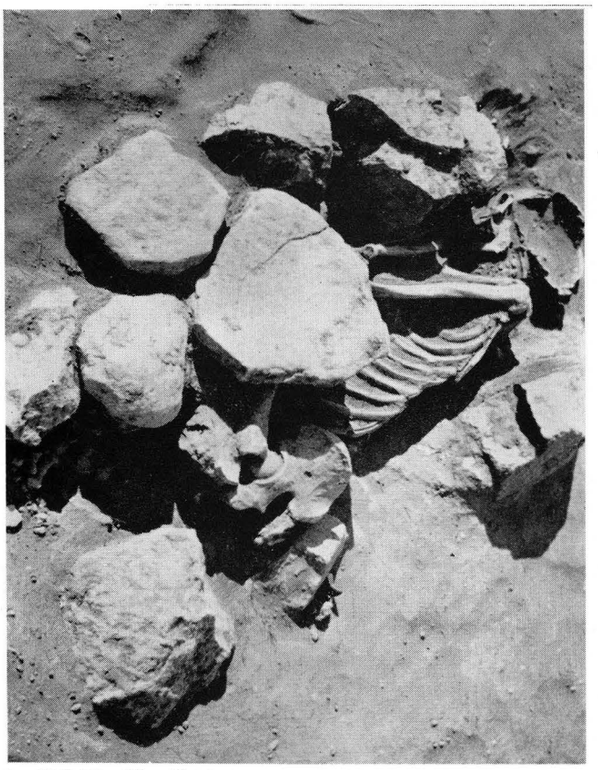
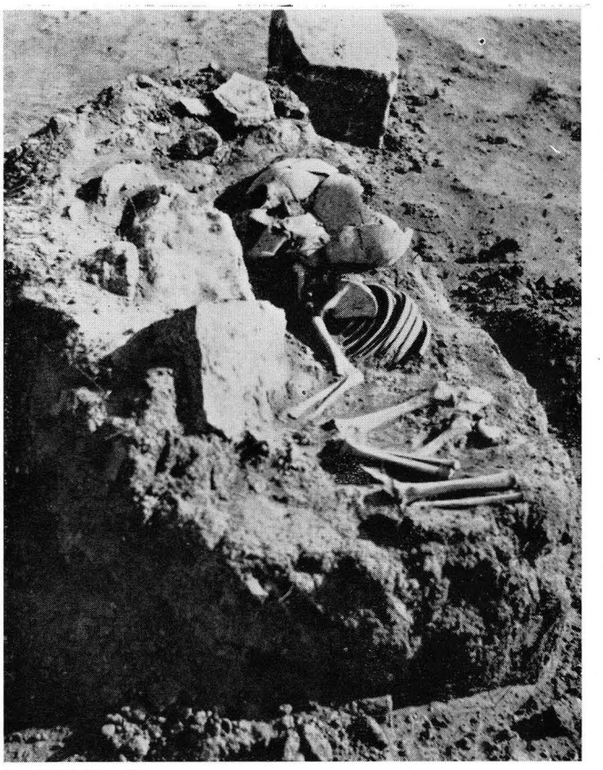


1. K.S. No. 59, with stones



2. K.S. No. 60

3. K.S. No. 59, stones removed

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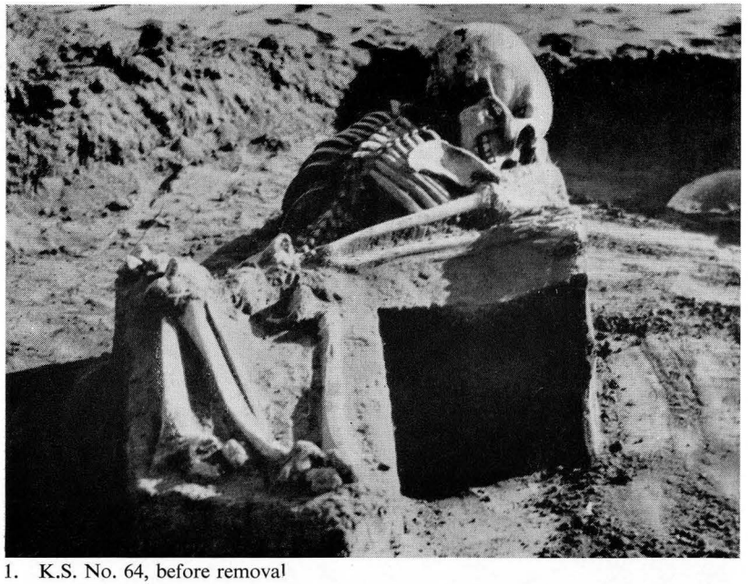
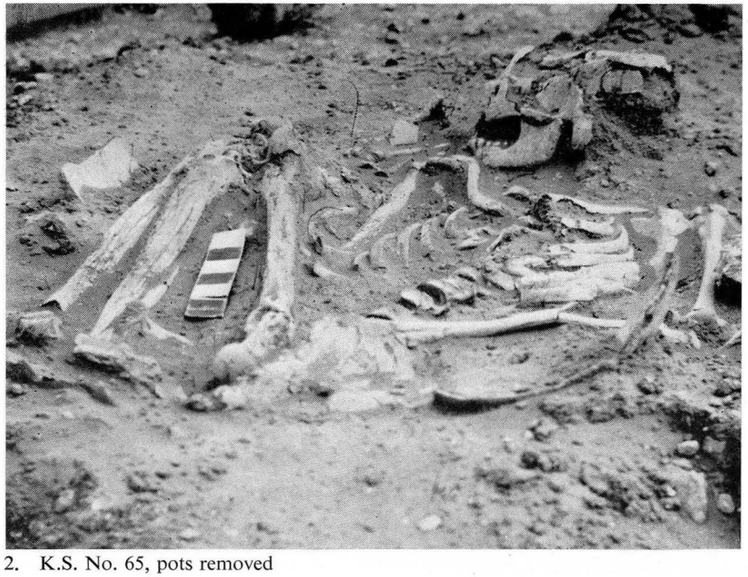


1. K.S. No. 64, before removal

3. K.S. No. 68



2. K.S. No. 65, pots removed

4. K.S. No. 70



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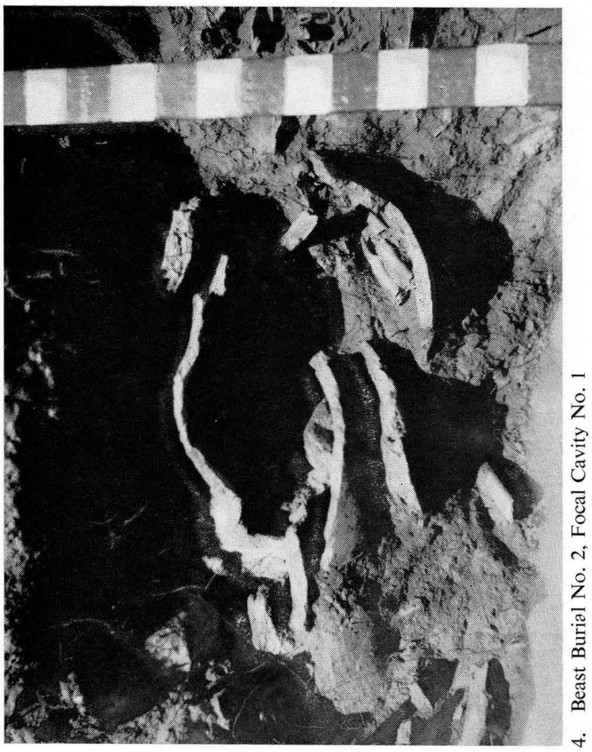
3. C.S. No. 1



4. Beast Buriel No. 2, Focal Cavity No. 1

1. M.S. No. 25

2. M.S. No. 26

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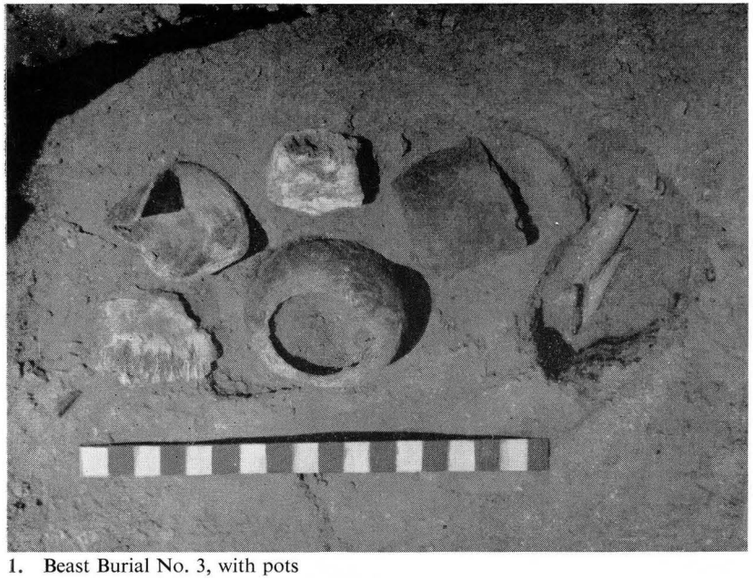
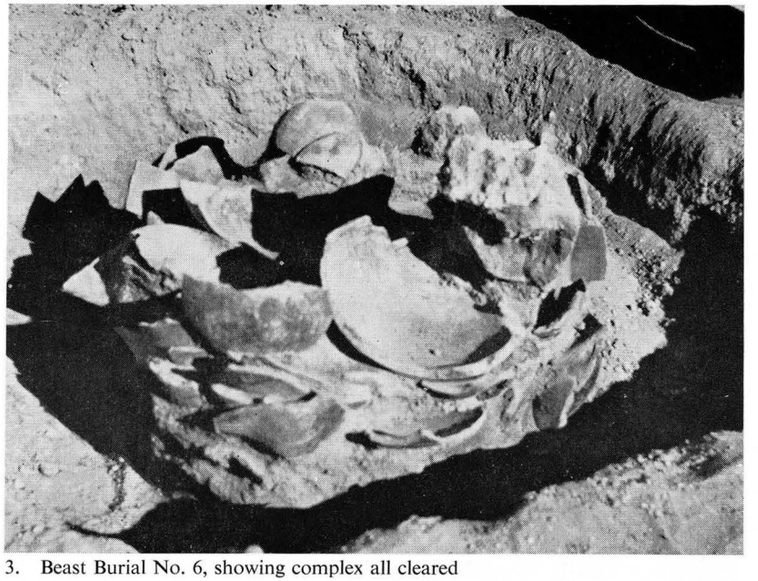
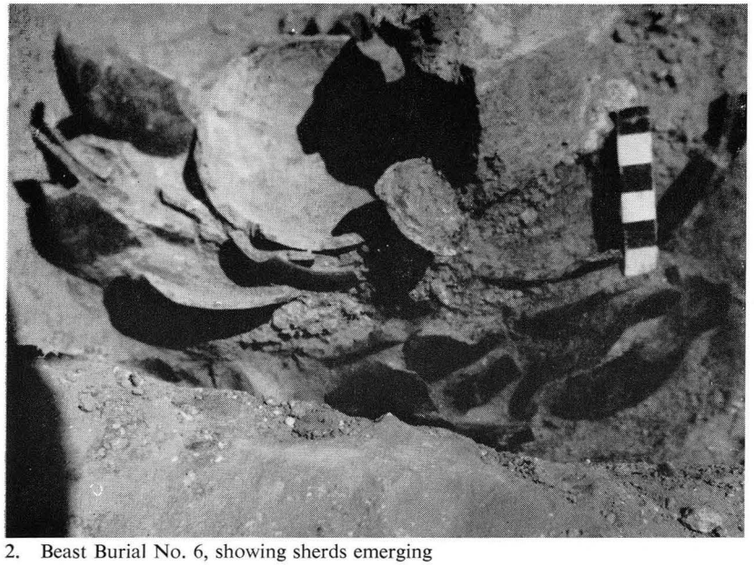


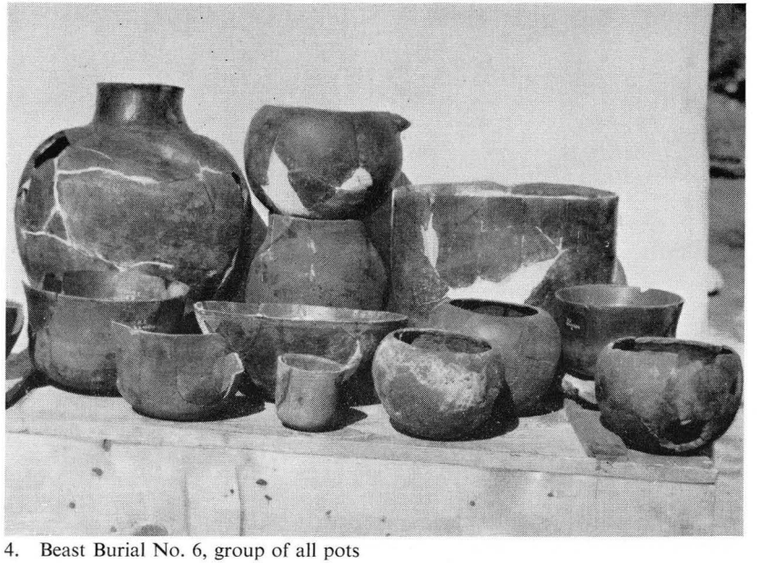
1. Beast Burial No. 3, with pots



3. Beast Burial No. 6, showing complex all cleared



2. Beast Burial No. 6, showing sherds emerging



4. Beast Burial No. 6, group of all pots



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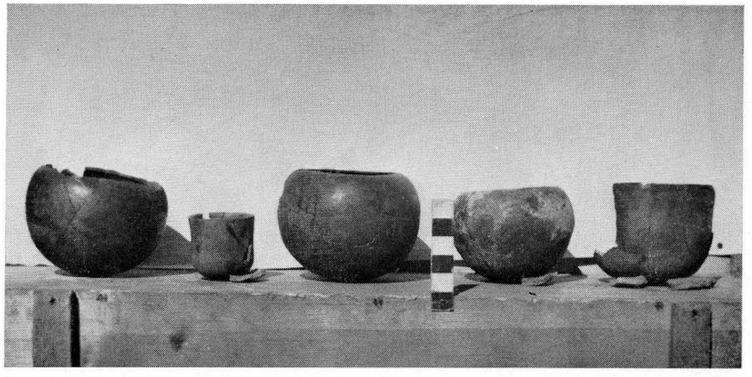
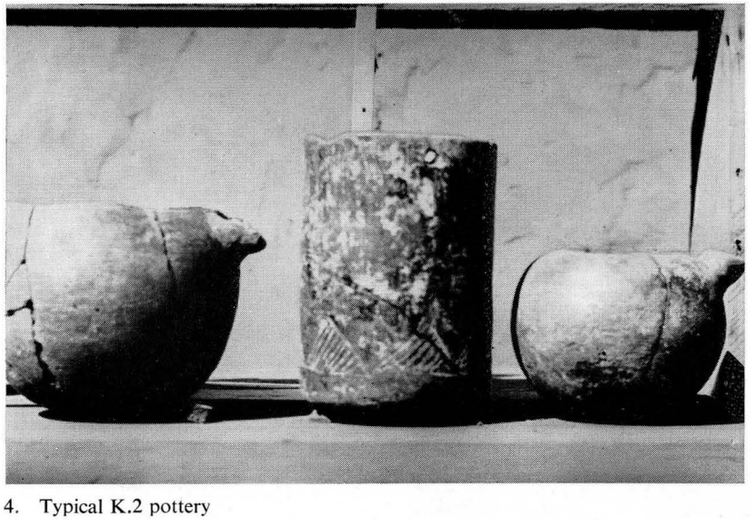
1. Beast Burial No. 6, three large pots

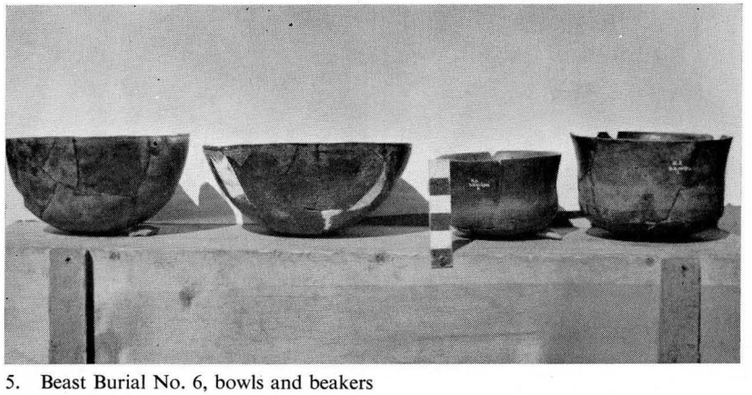


2. Beast Burial No. 6, spherical bowls and beakers

3. Funerary vessels, K.2



4. Typical K.2 pottery



5. Beast Burial No. 6, bowls and beakers



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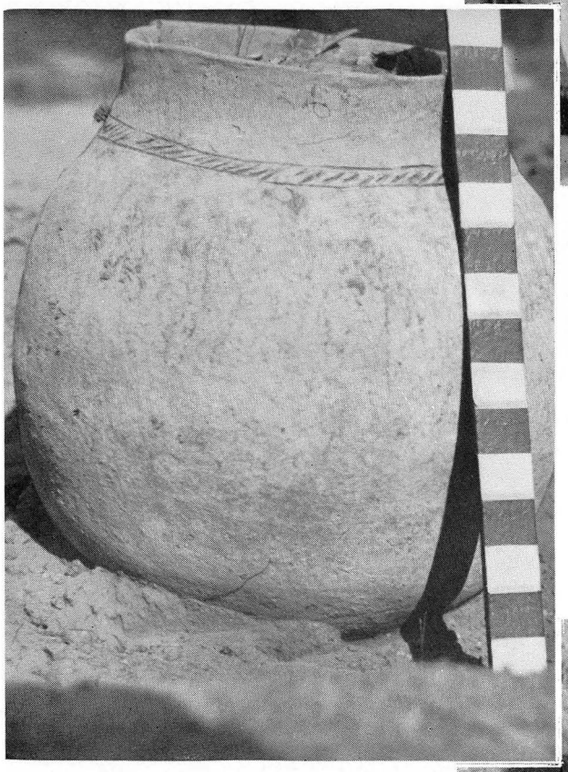
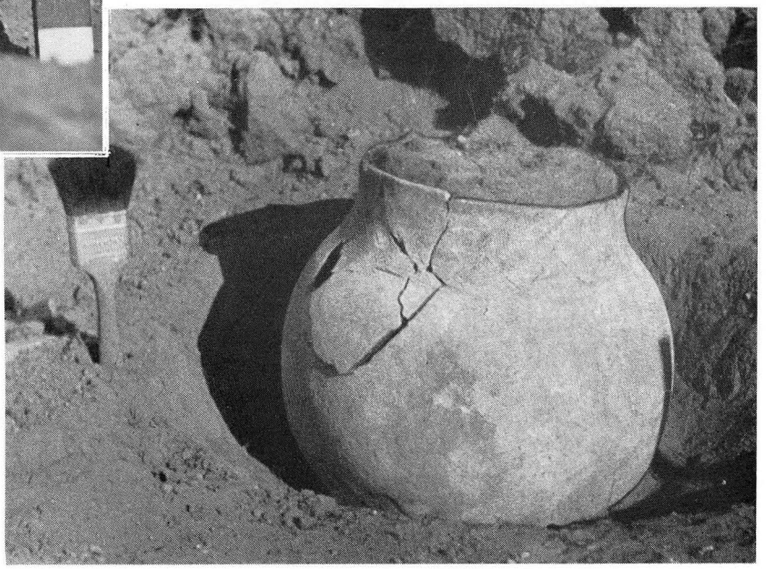
1. Pot No. 7, K.2, Blk. 1, Sec. 9, at 1′



2. Pot No. 18, K.2, Blk. 2, Sec. 5, at 2′



3. Pot No. 7, K.2, Blk. 1, Sec. 9, at 1′

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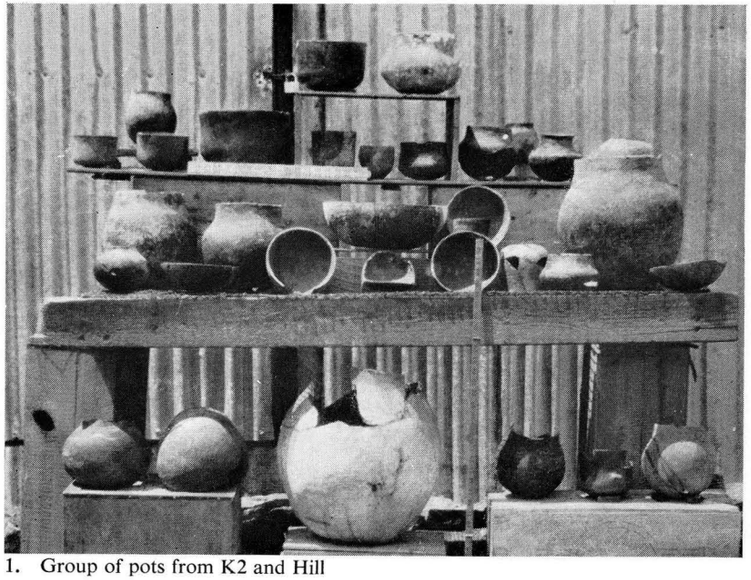
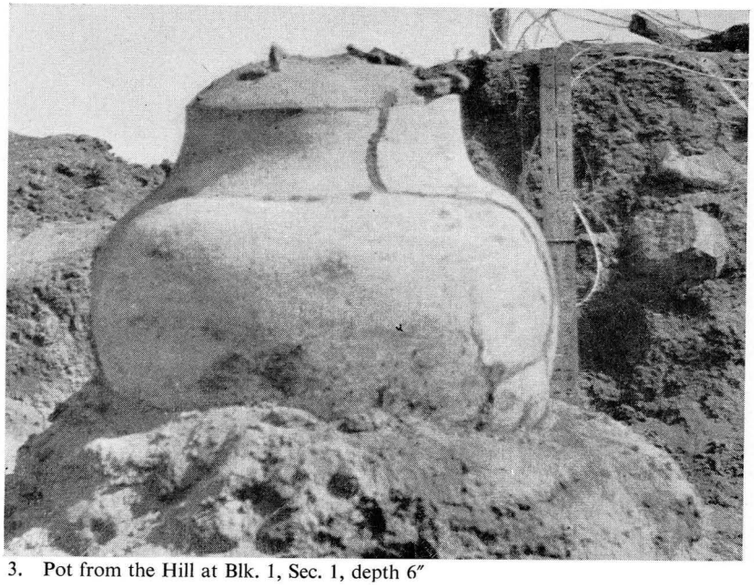


1. Group of pots from K2 and Hill

2. Typical K.2 pottery



3. Pot from the Hill at Blk. 1, Sec. 1, depth 6″

4. Typical pottery from the Hill



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1. Pottery from East K.2

2. East K.2 pottery

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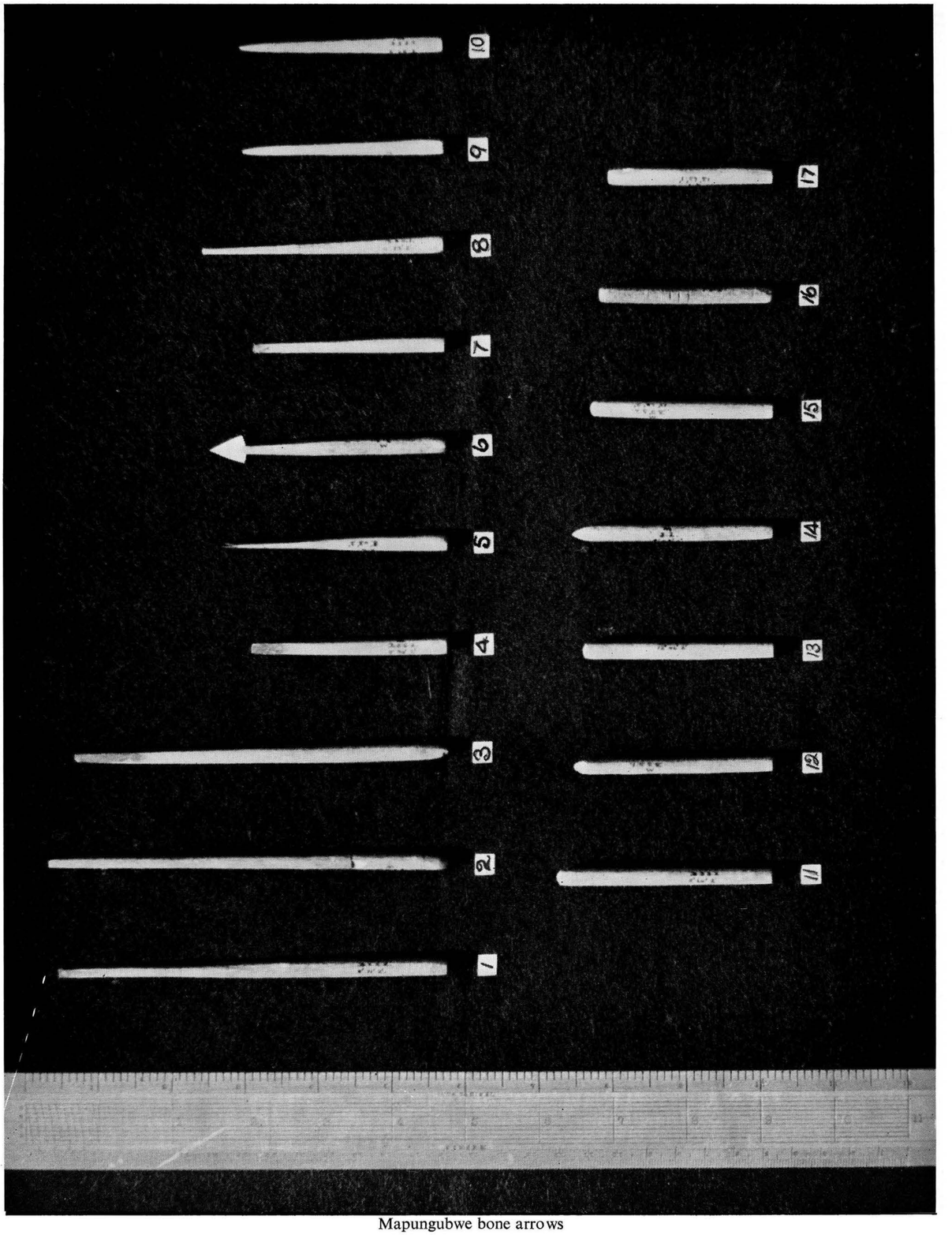


Mapungubwe bone arrows

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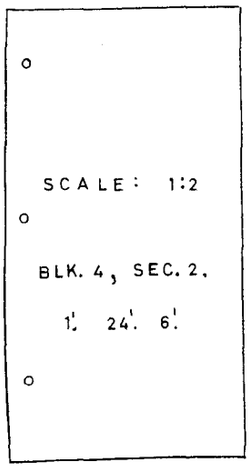
# IVORY AND BONE OBJECTS
## K. 2.

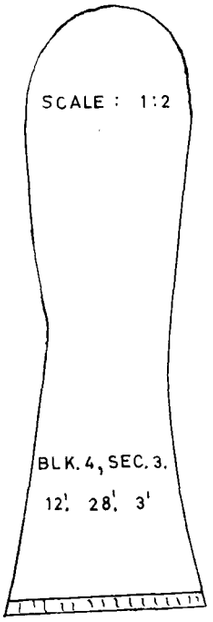
SECTION



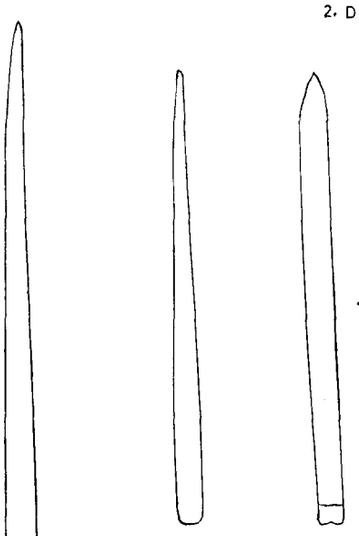

1. ARM CLASP

SCALE: 1:1

2. DOUBLE-ENDED ARROW
BUSH TYPE

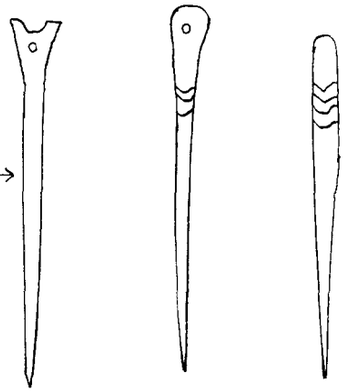



3. CHISEL EDGE BONE SCRAPER



FULL SIZE

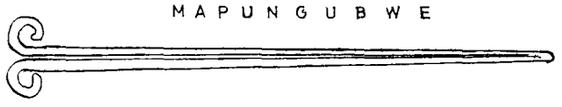
4. SHORT ARROW + LINK-SHAFT



5. BONE NEEDLES AND AWL

4. LONG BONE ARROW

MAPUNGUBWE



6. COPPER PIN

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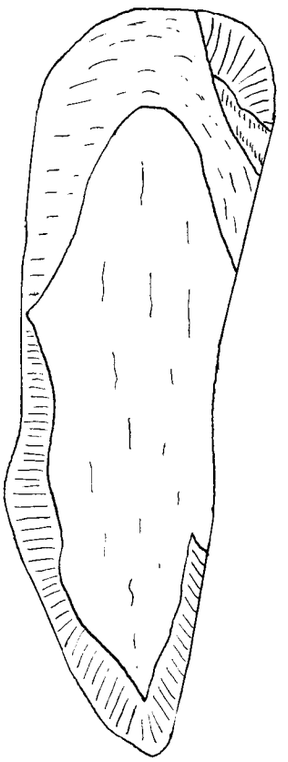
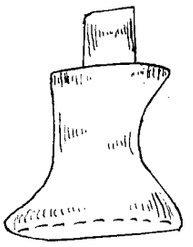
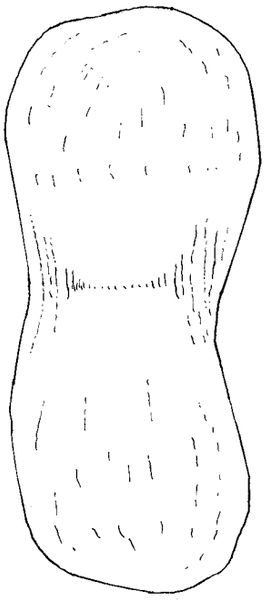
# STONE AND POTTERY OBJECTS FROM K.2.



1. FLAKED PICK
BLK. 4, SEC.10. 3'. 26'. 2'.



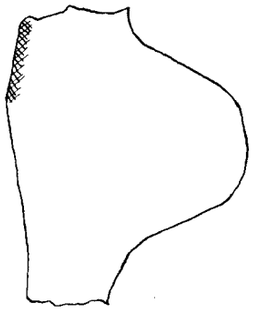
2. POTTERY STOPPER OR PESTLE
BLK. 4, SEC. 12. 10'. 19'. 2'.



3. WAISTED HAMMER STONE
BLK. 4, SEC. 6. 2'. 14'. 1'.

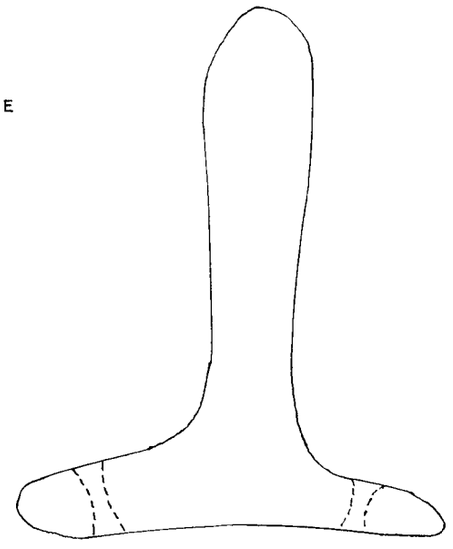
ALL OBJECTS FULL SIZE

4. NORMAL



4. STEATOPYGOUS

FIGURINES



5. ARTIFICIAL PENIS
BLK. 1, SEC.11. 7'. 6'. 1'.

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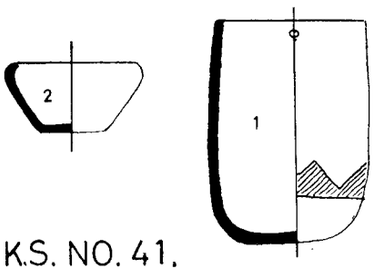
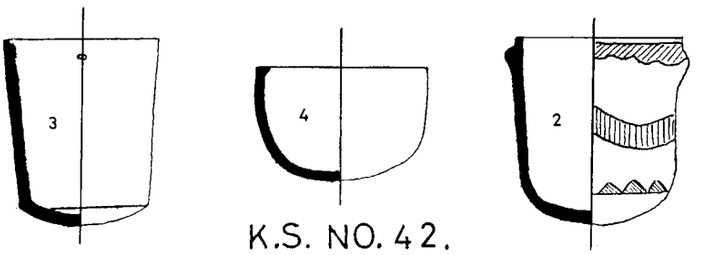



K.S. NO. 41.

BLK.3, SEC. 4. 7'6". 10'6". 3'

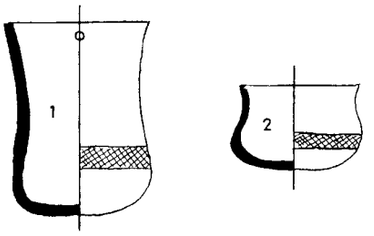
SCALE: 1:4




K.S. NO. 42.

BLK.3, SEC.4. 5'. 24'. 3'.

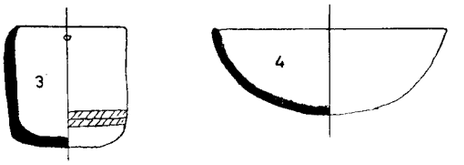
SCALE: 1:4

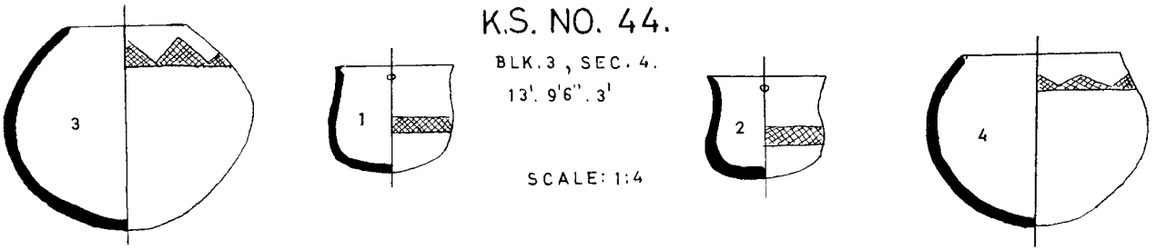



K.S. NO. 43.

BLK.3, SEC.4.
11'3". 10'. 3'

SCALE: 1:4

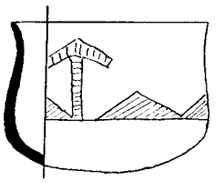



K.S. NO. 44.

BLK.3, SEC. 4.
13'. 9'6". 3'

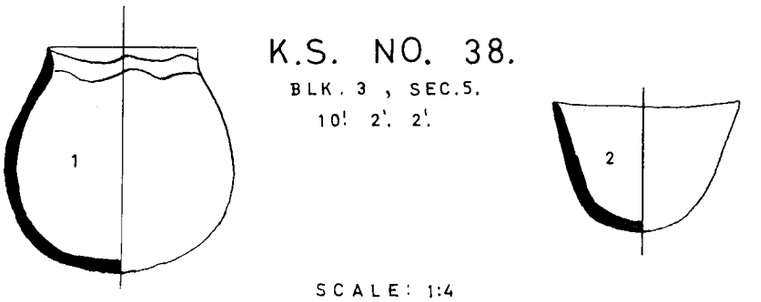
SCALE: 1:4




K.S. NO. 45.

BLK.3, SEC. 4.
13'6". 19'. 3'

SCALE: 1:4




K.S. NO. 38.

BLK. 3, SEC.5.
10'. 2'. 2'.

SCALE: 1:4

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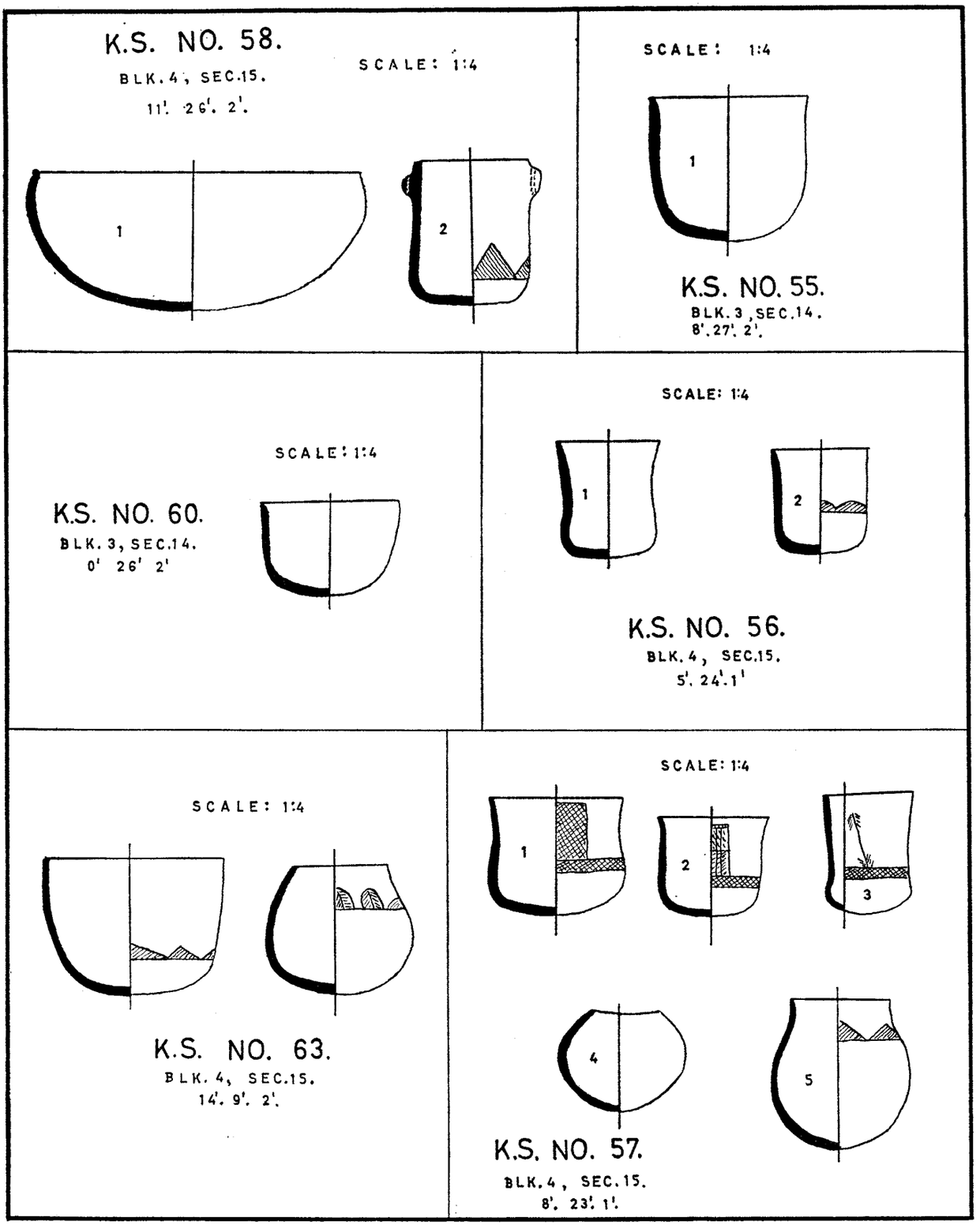




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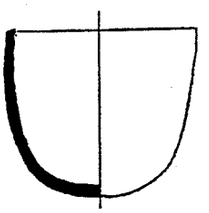
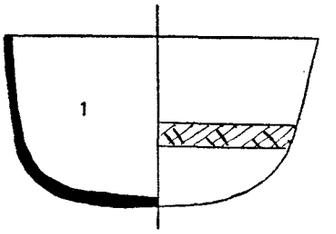
SCALE: 1:4

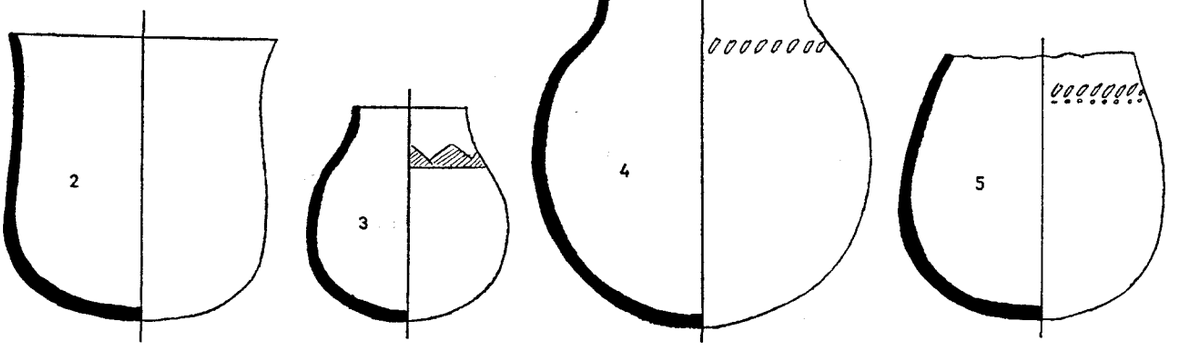


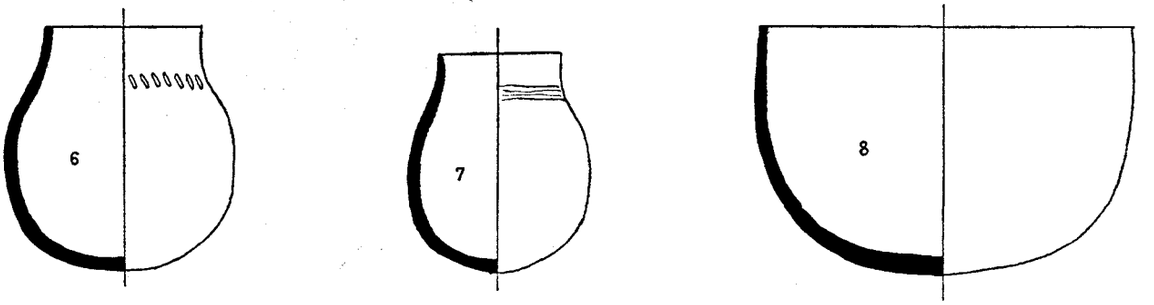
K.S. NO. 68.

BLK.5, SEC 12.
14'. 16'. 2'.

K. 2.




BEAST BURIAL NO.2.

BLK.1., SEC.4.
2'.0'. 2'.

SCALE: 1:4

SCALE: 1:4

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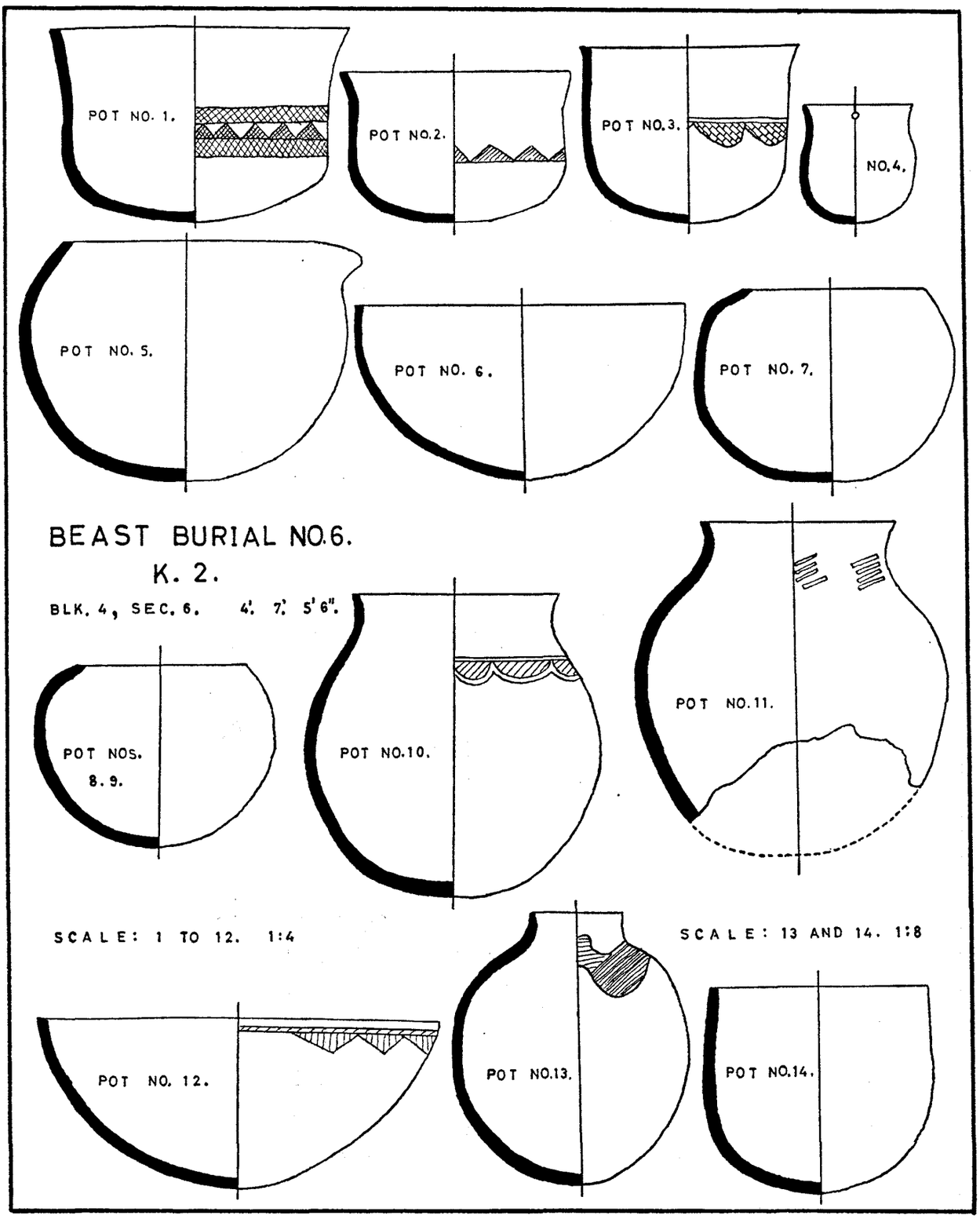


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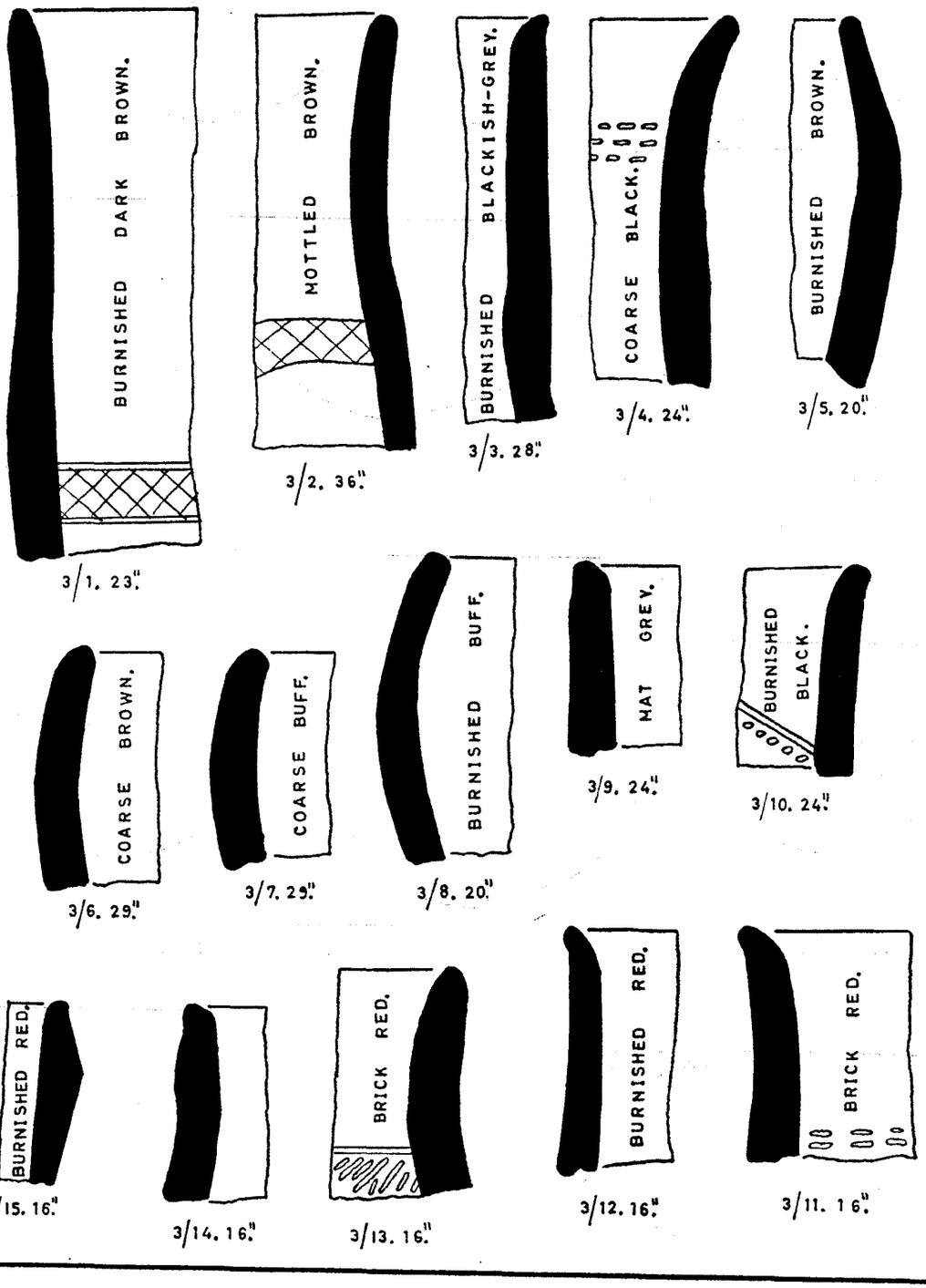
RIM SECTIONS
TRENCH I. SECTION 3
SCALE: 1:1

K. 2.

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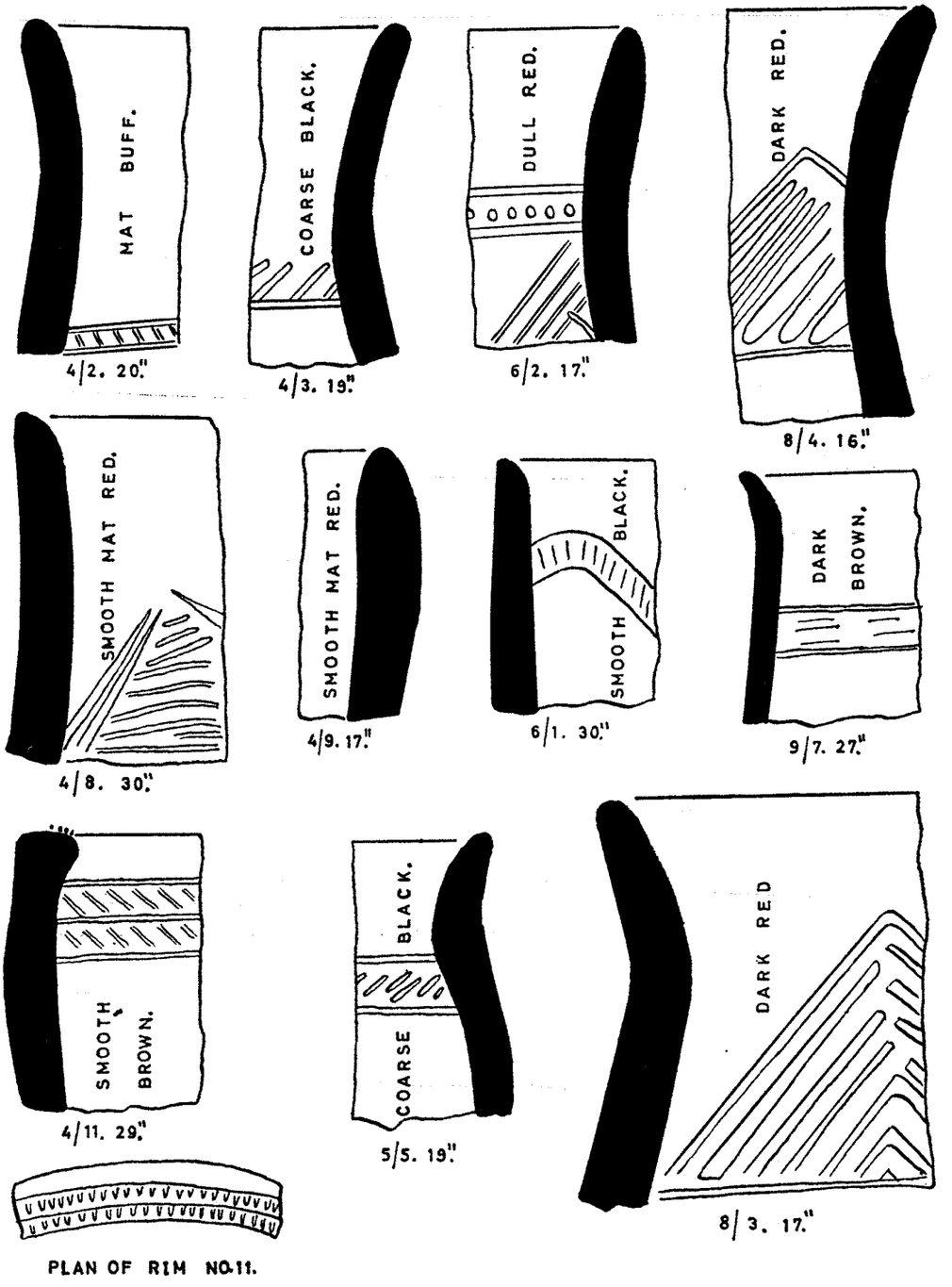
RIM SECTIONS
TRENCH 1. SECTION 4.5.8.
SCALE: 1:1

K.2.

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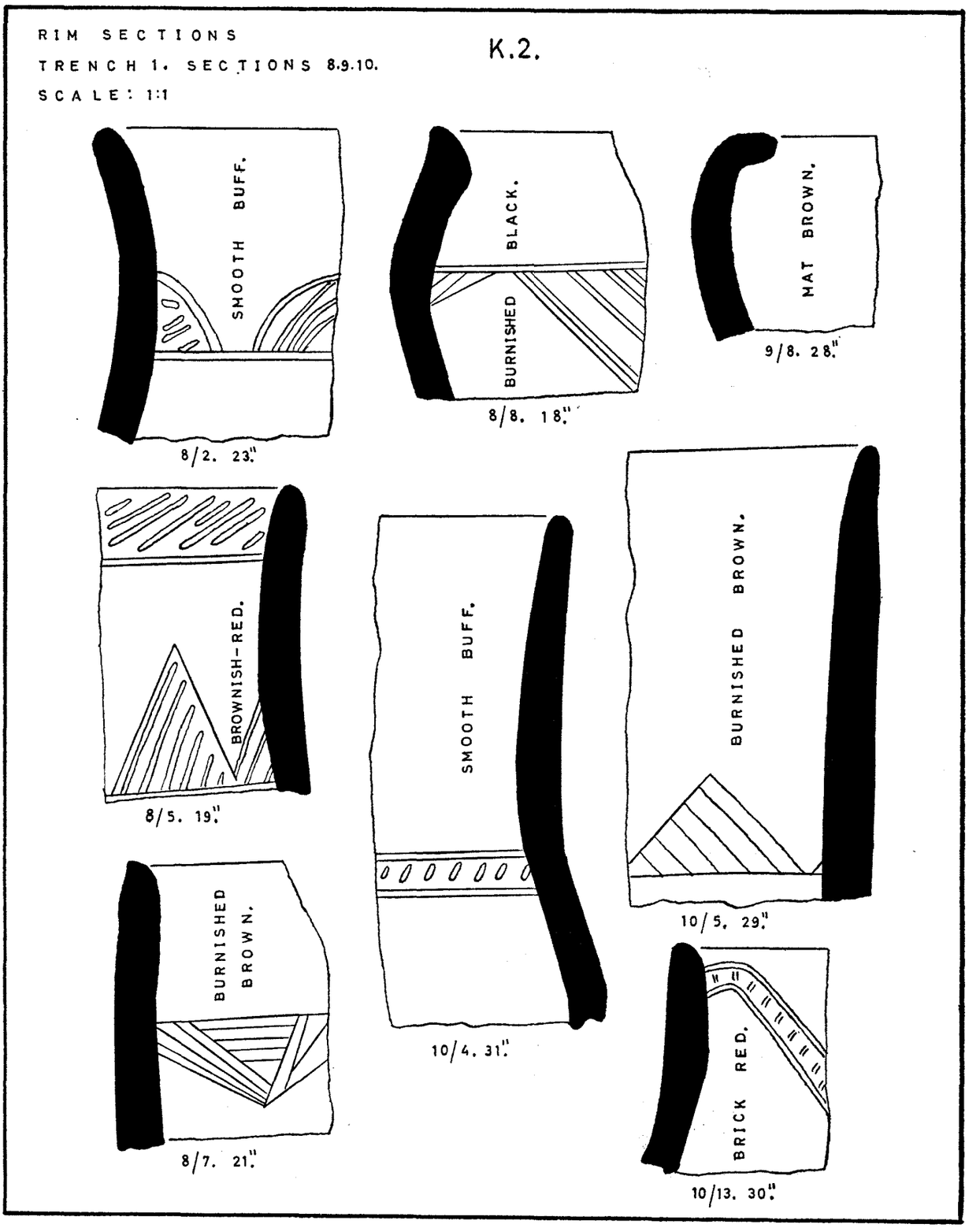


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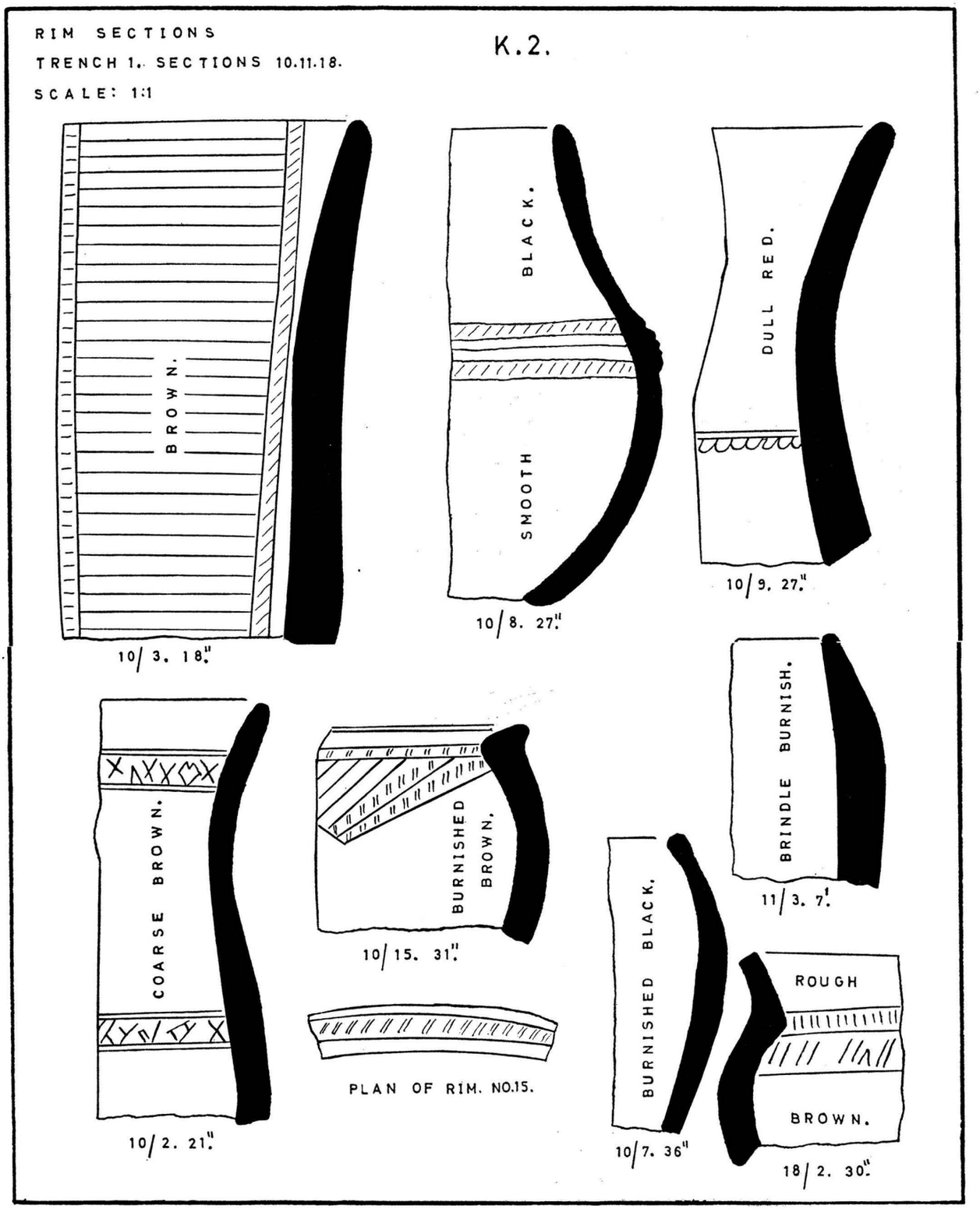


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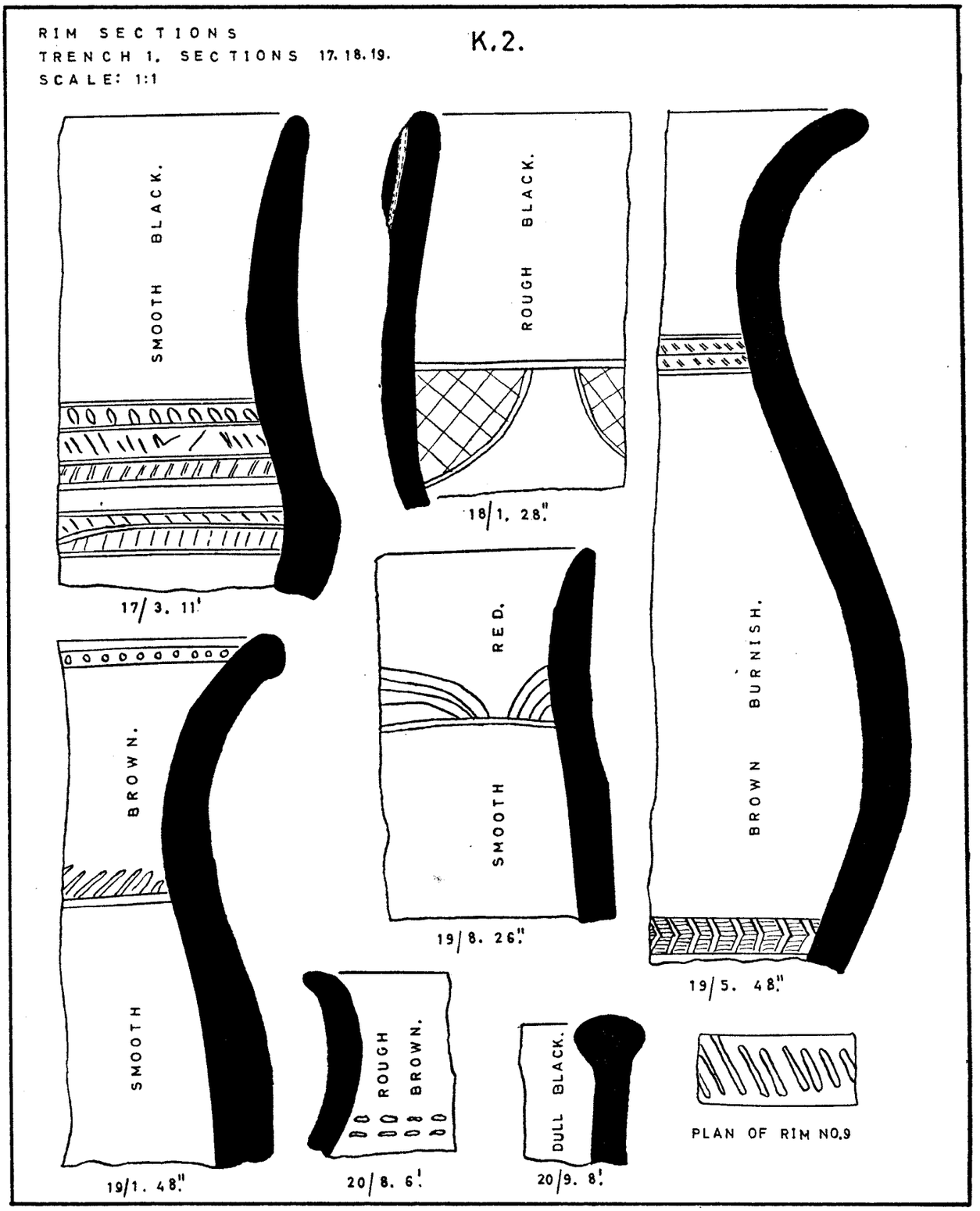


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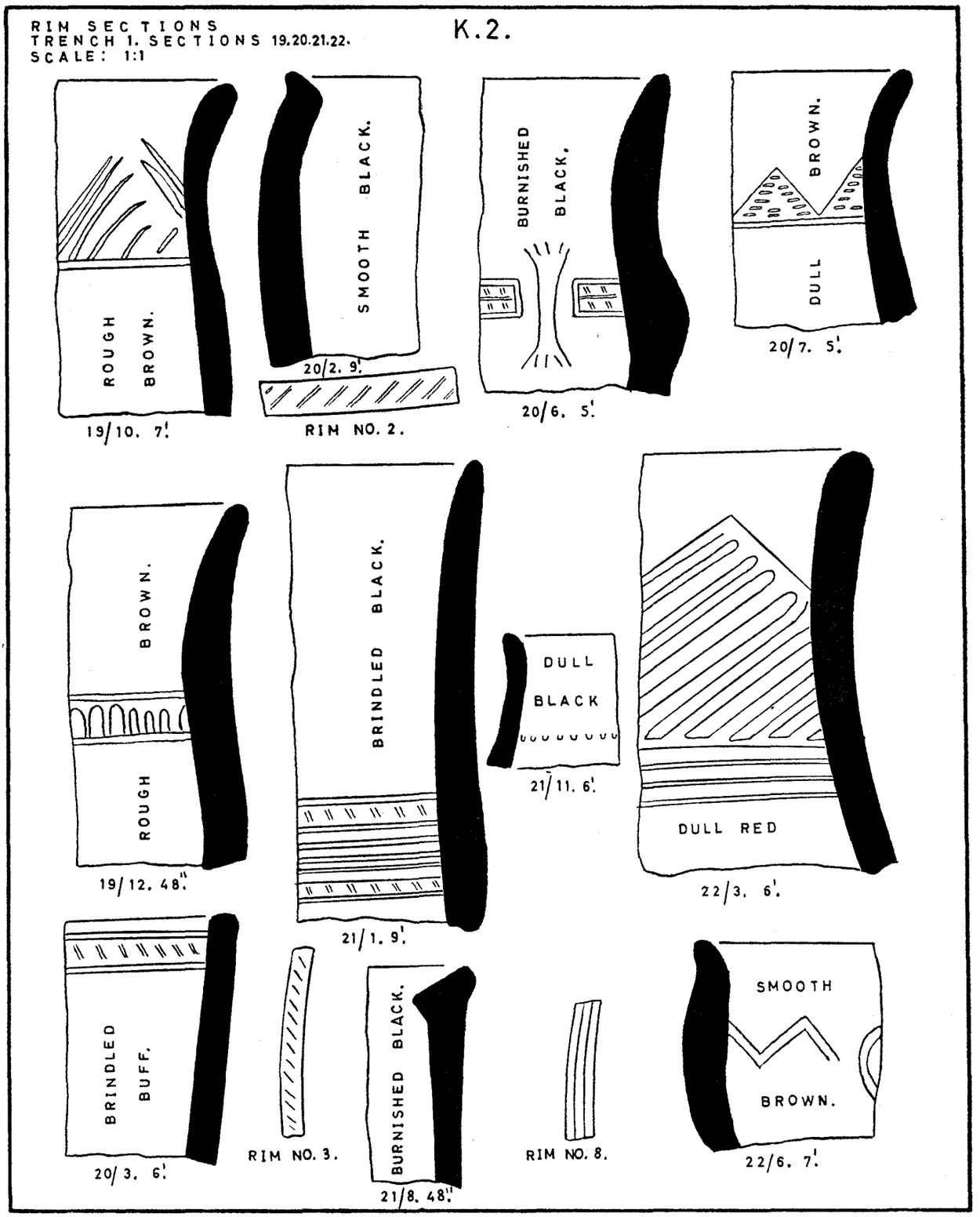


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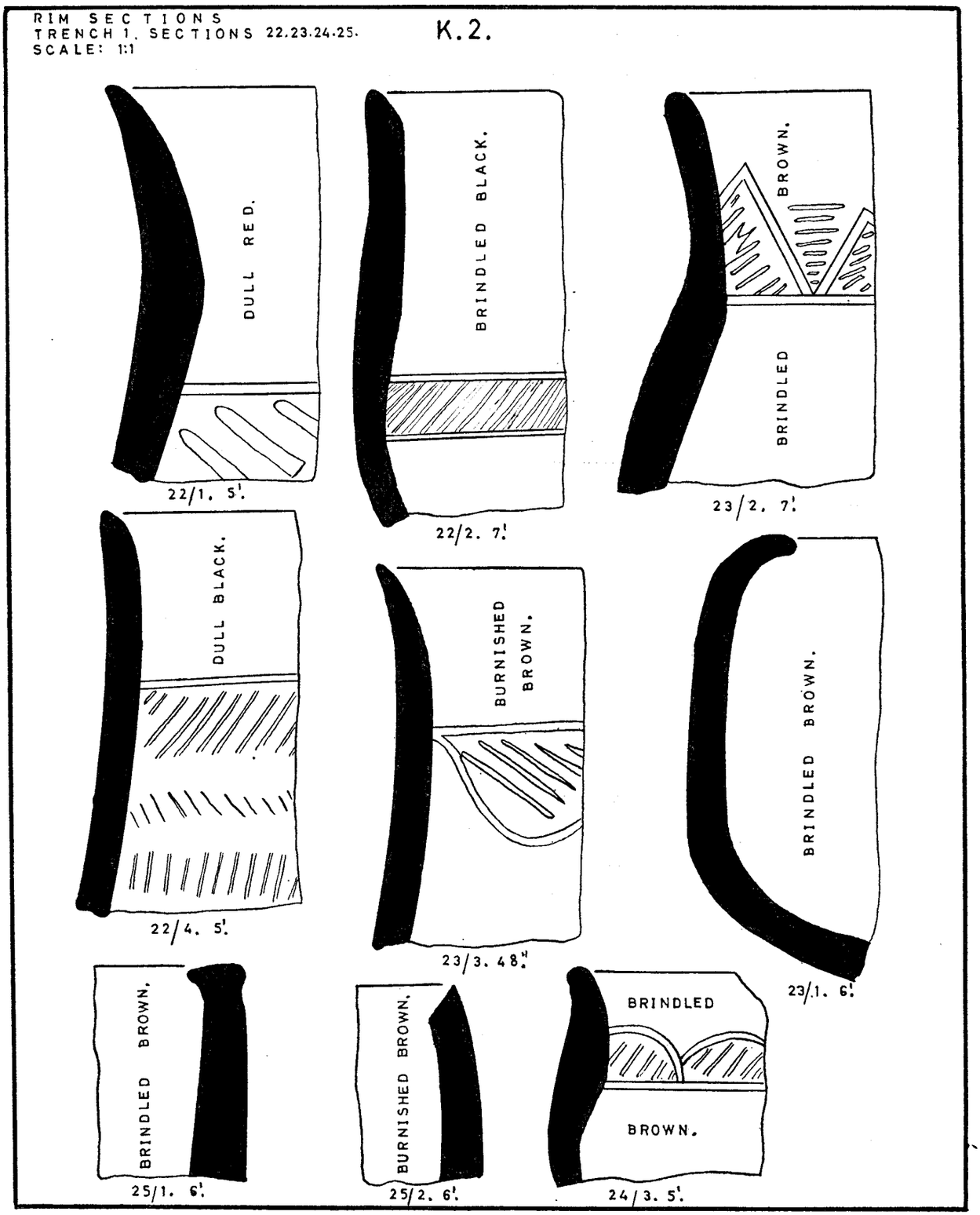


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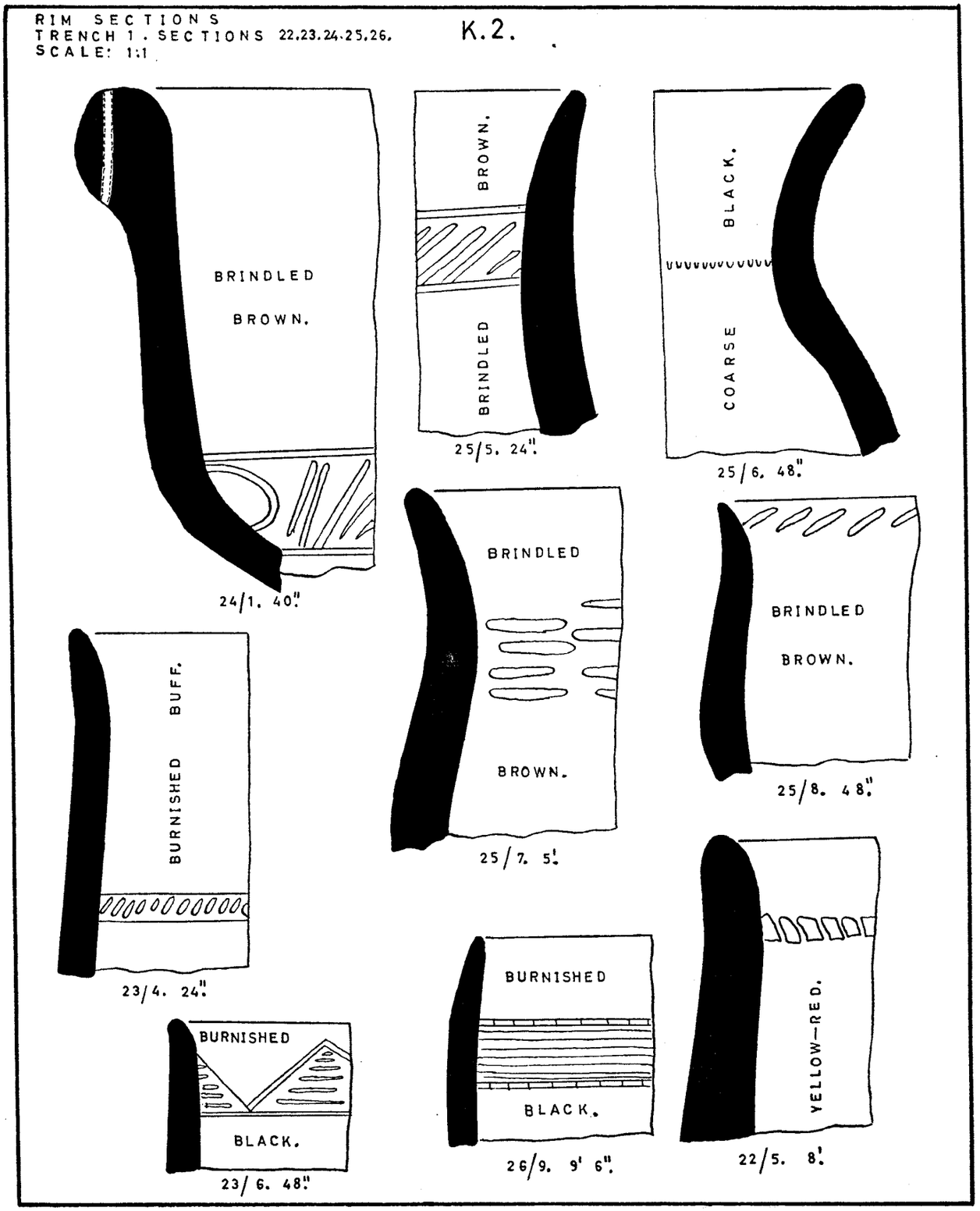


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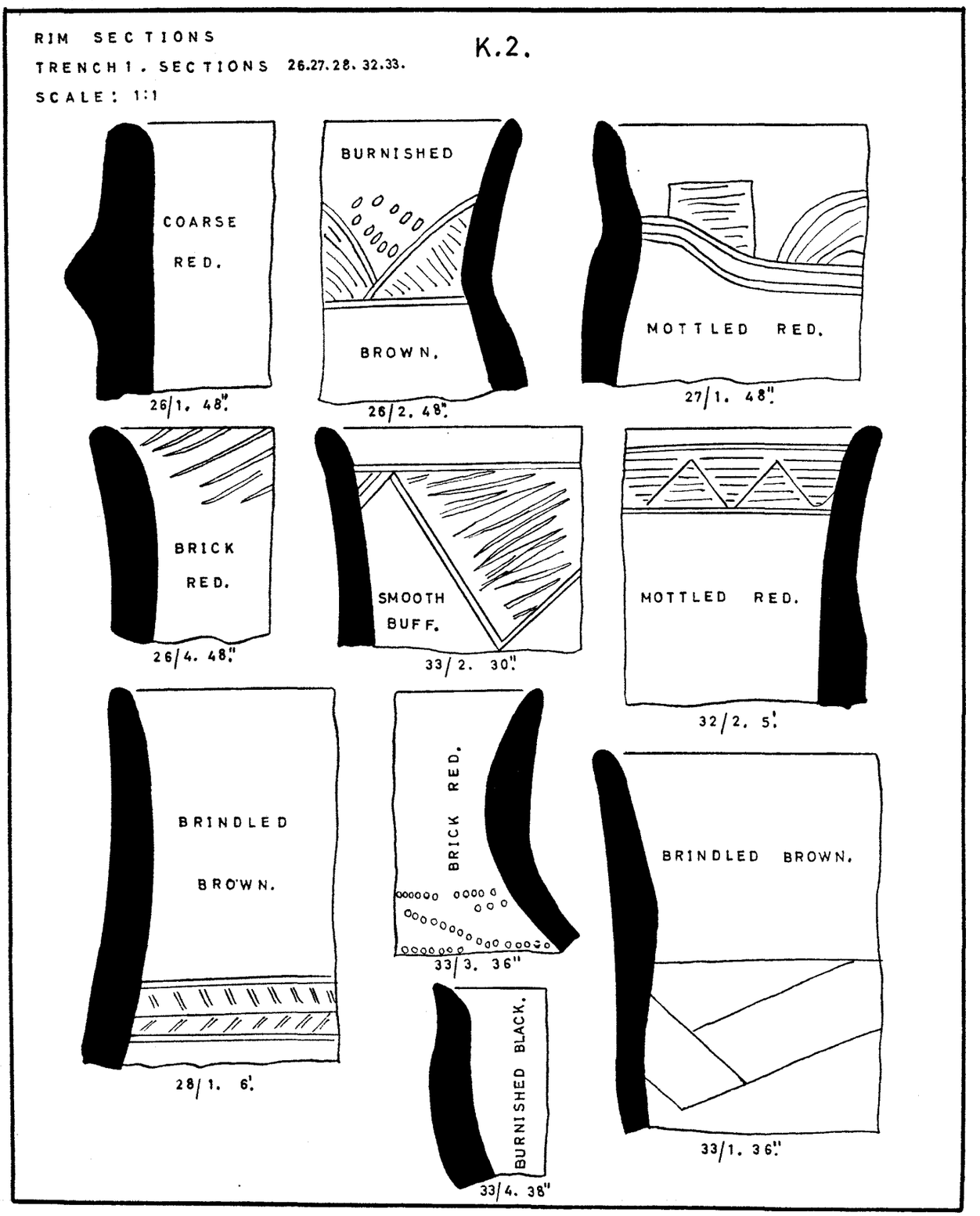


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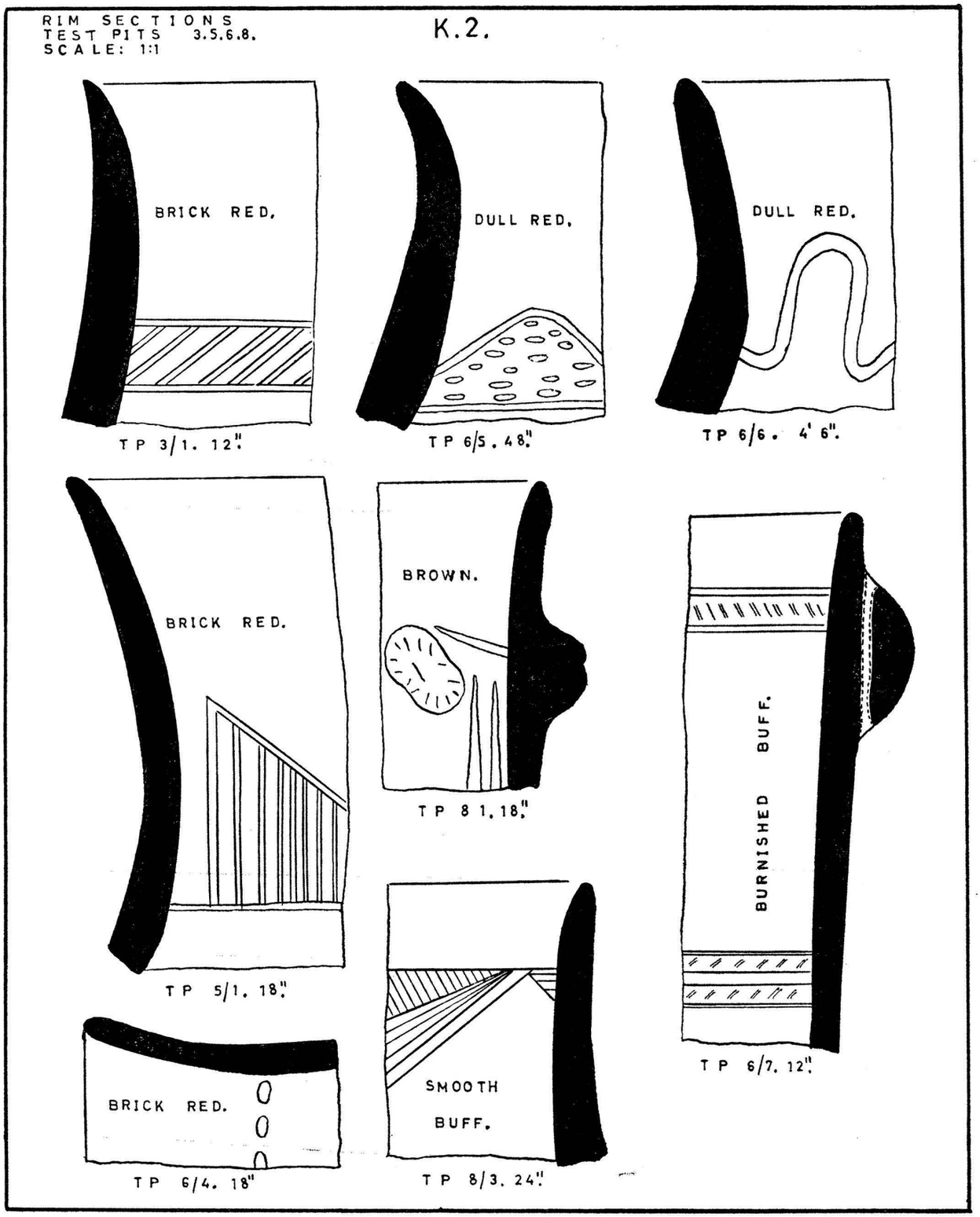


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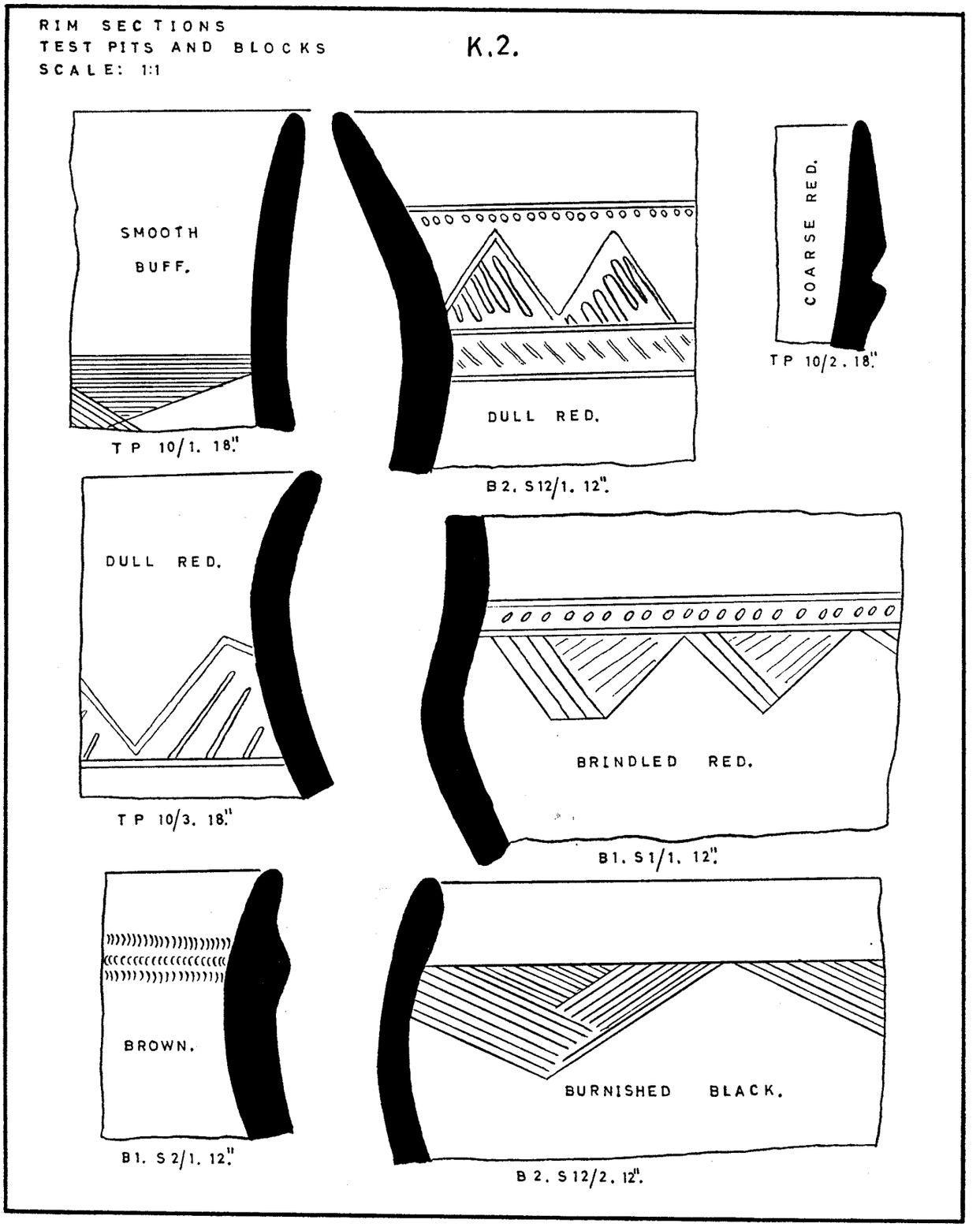


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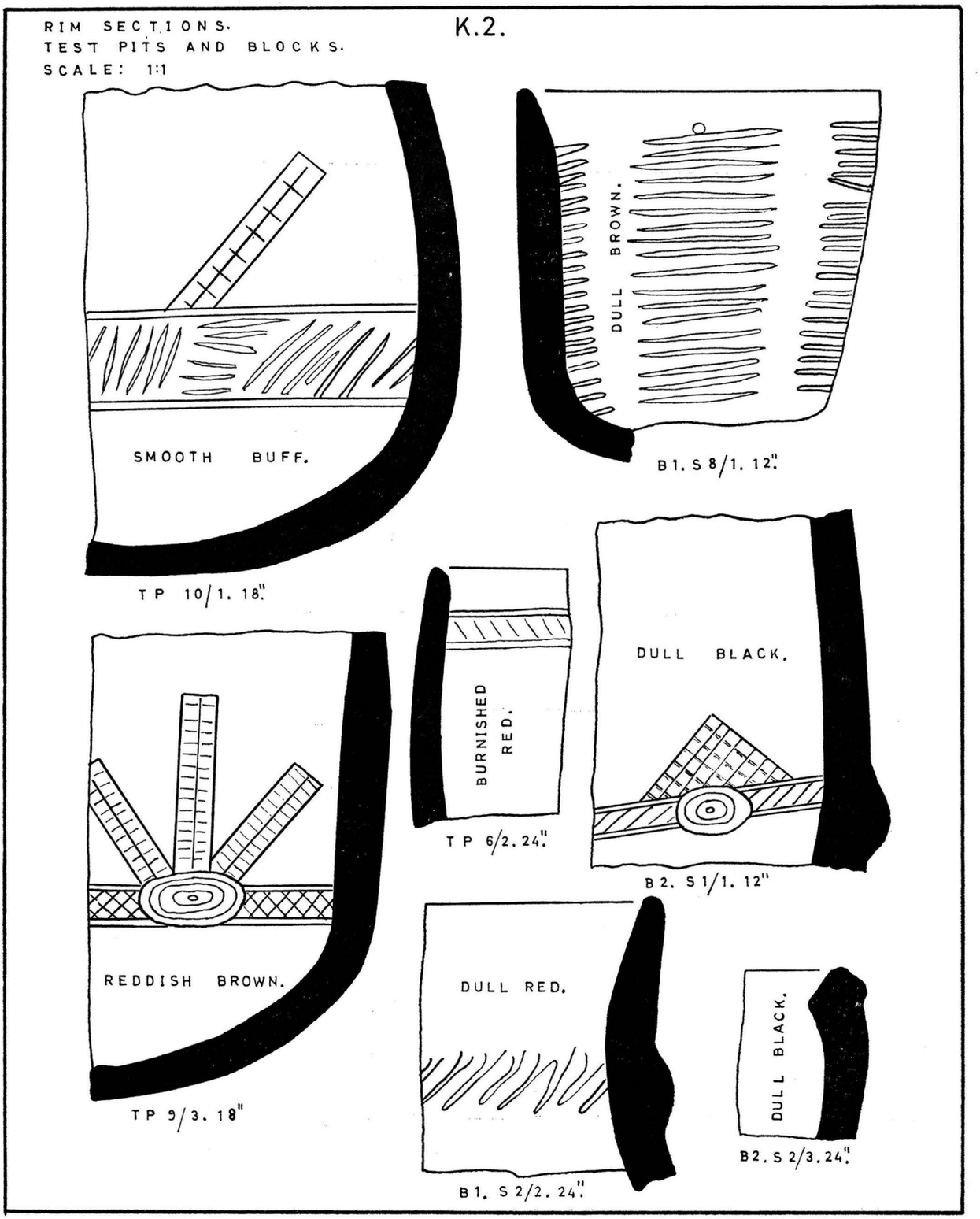


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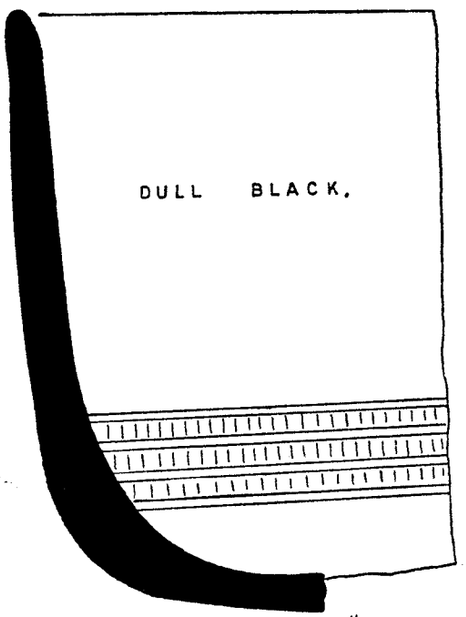
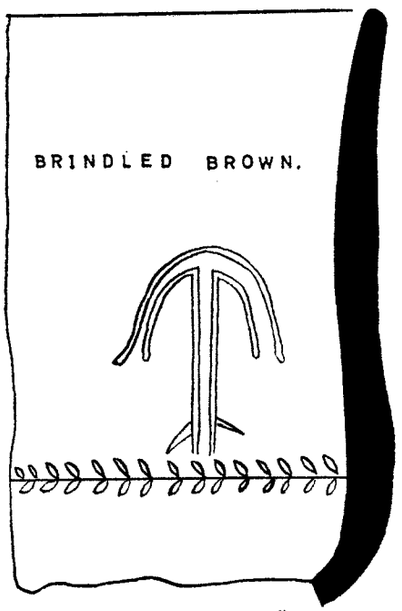
RIM SECTIONS.
BLOCKS VARIOUS.
SCALE: 1:1

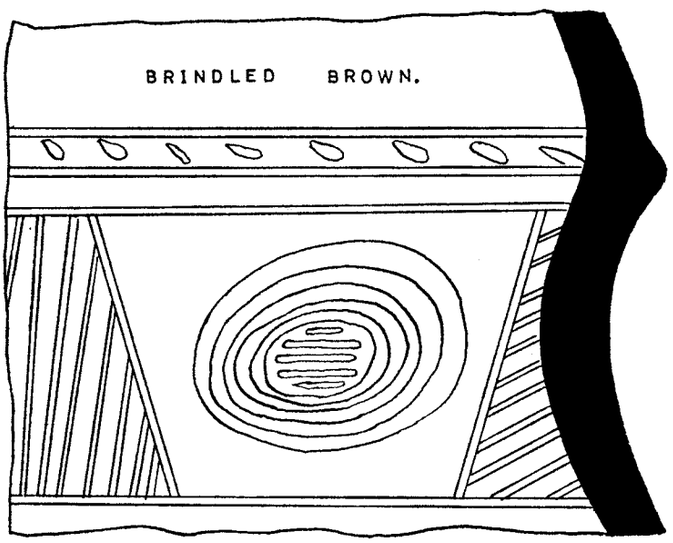
K.2.



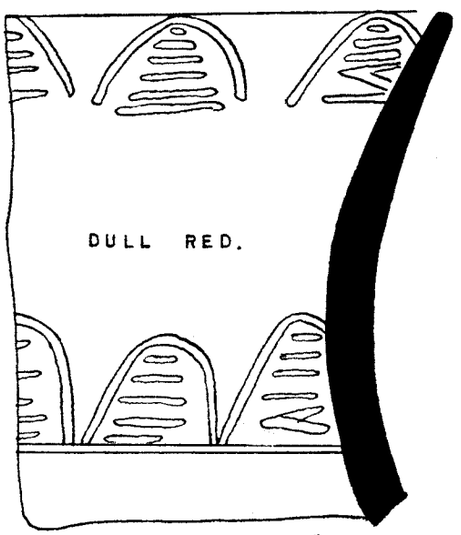

B 1. S 5/1. 24".




B 1. S 5/2. 24".




B 1. S 9/1. 24".




B 2. S 12/3. 24".

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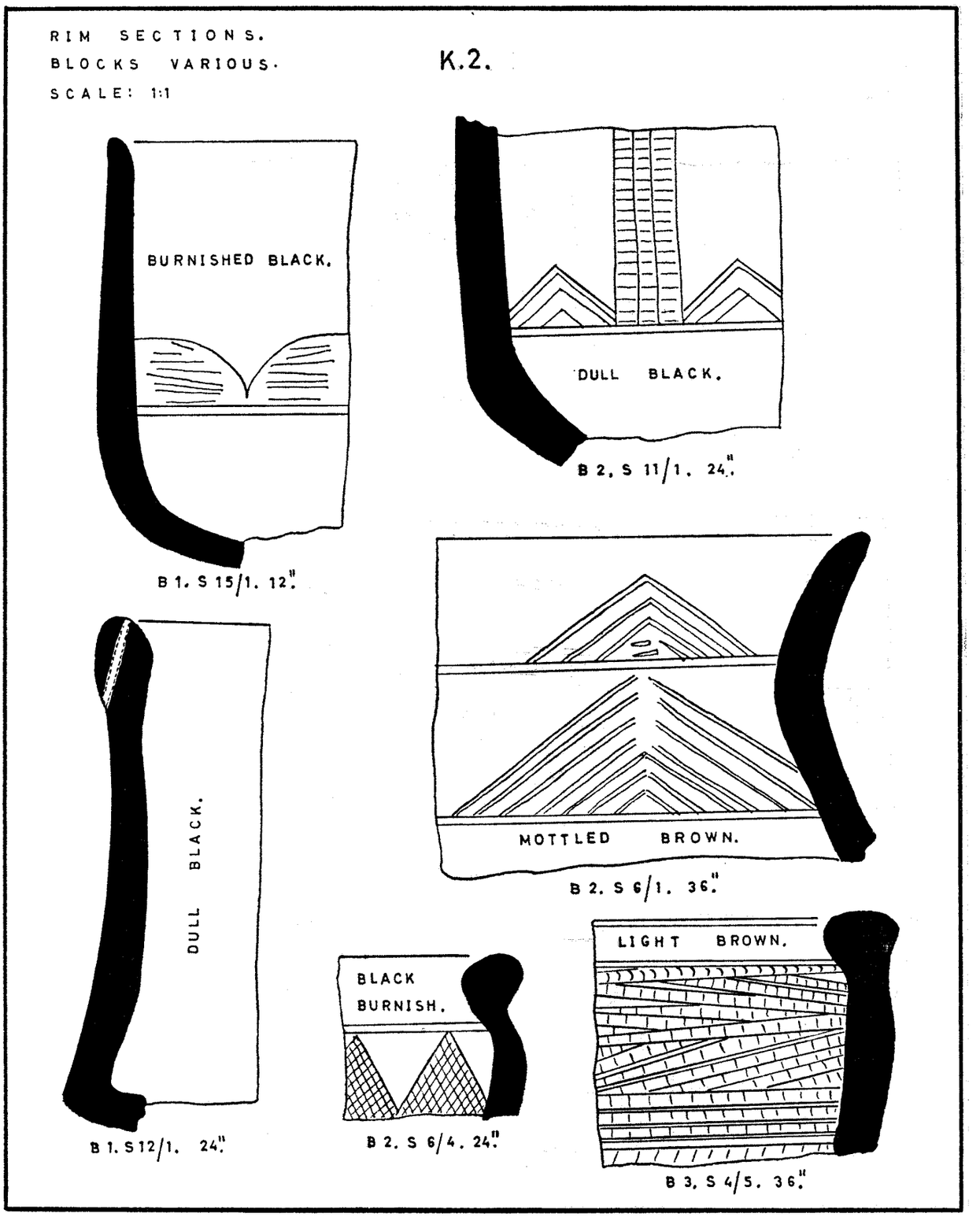




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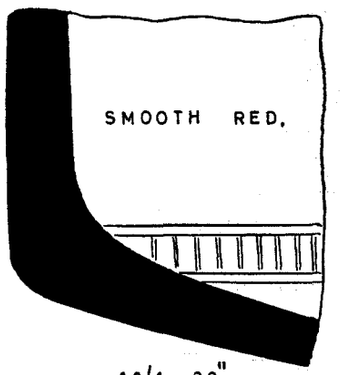
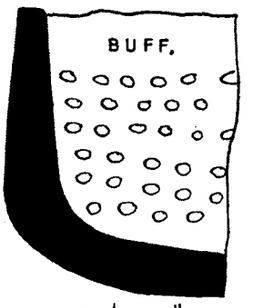
BASES SECTIONS.
VARIOUS.
SCALE: 1:1

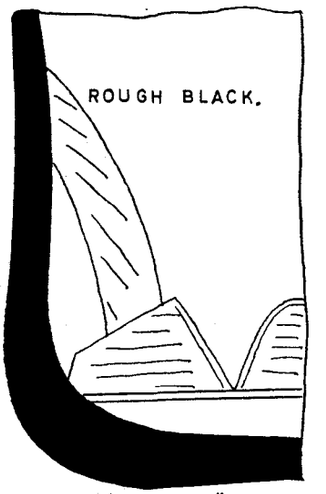
K.2.



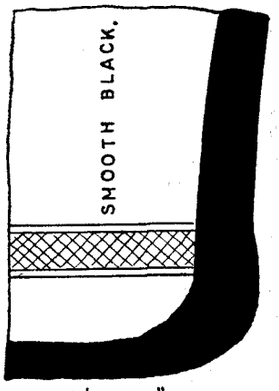
10/1. 30".



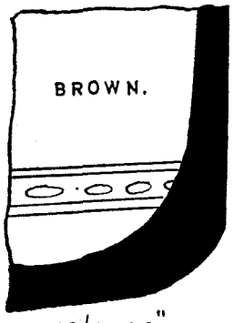
14/1. 30"



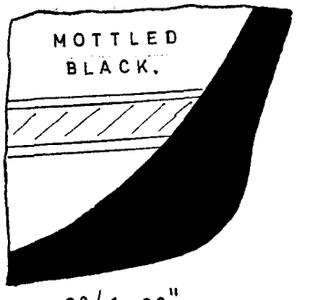
15/1. 48".



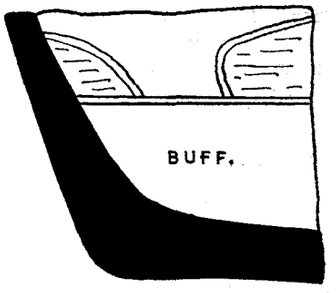
18/1. 24".



32/1. 36".



38/1. 30".



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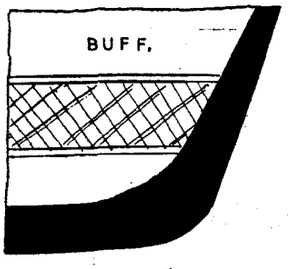

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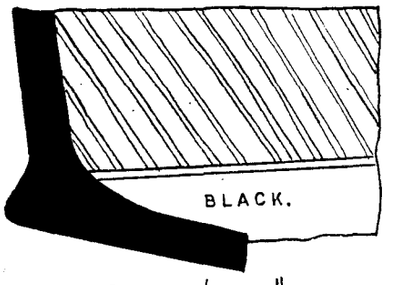

B 1. S 3/1. 24".

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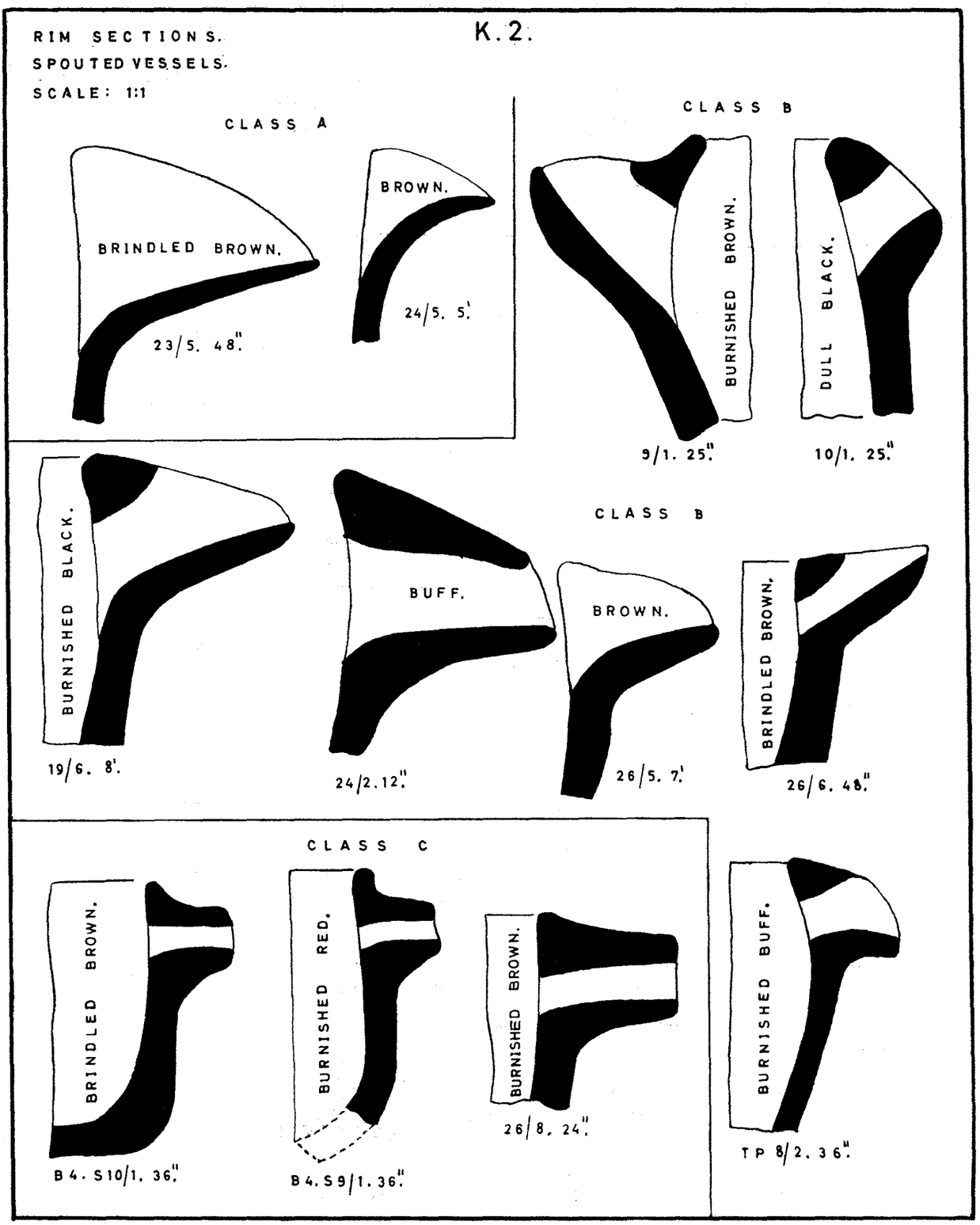


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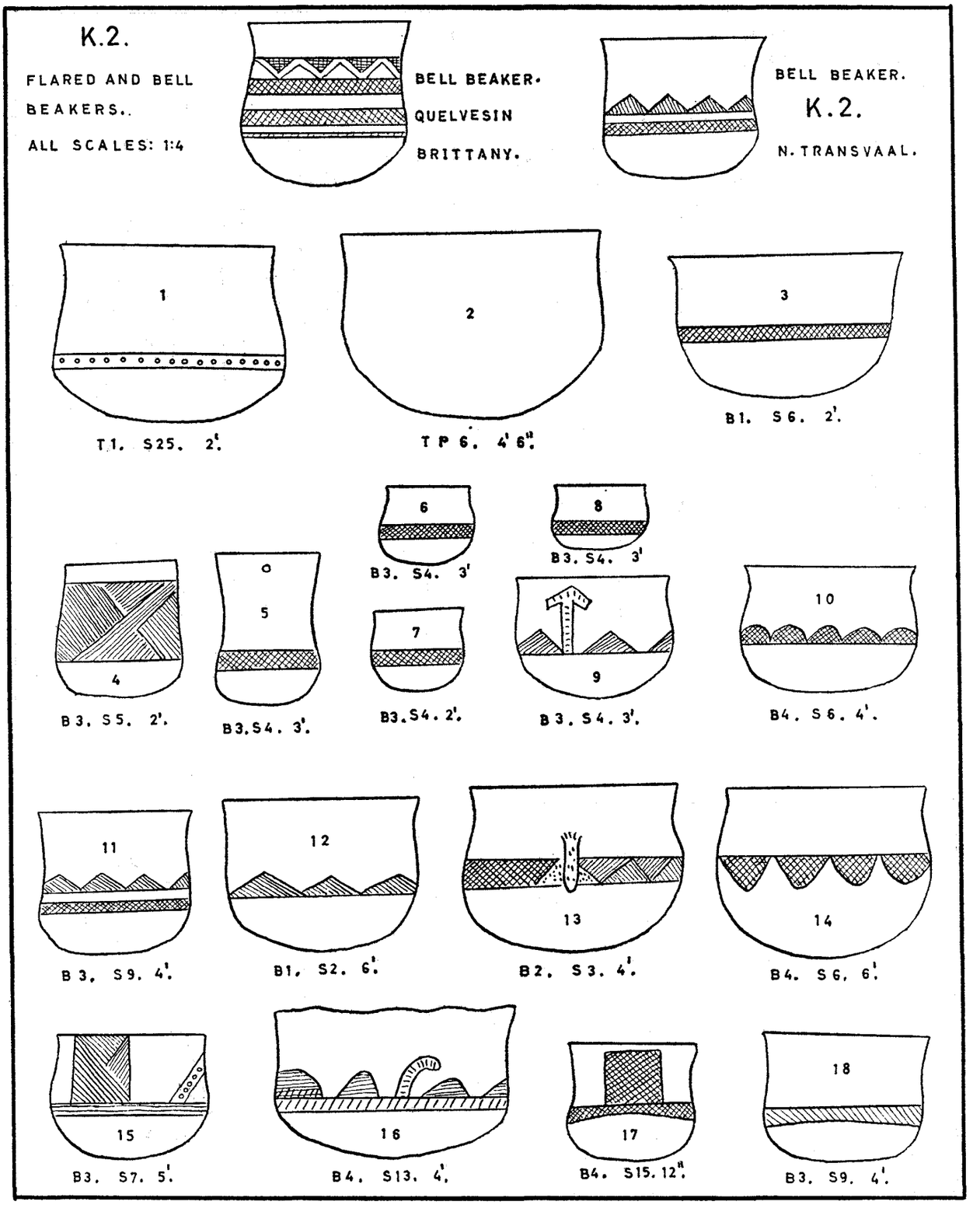


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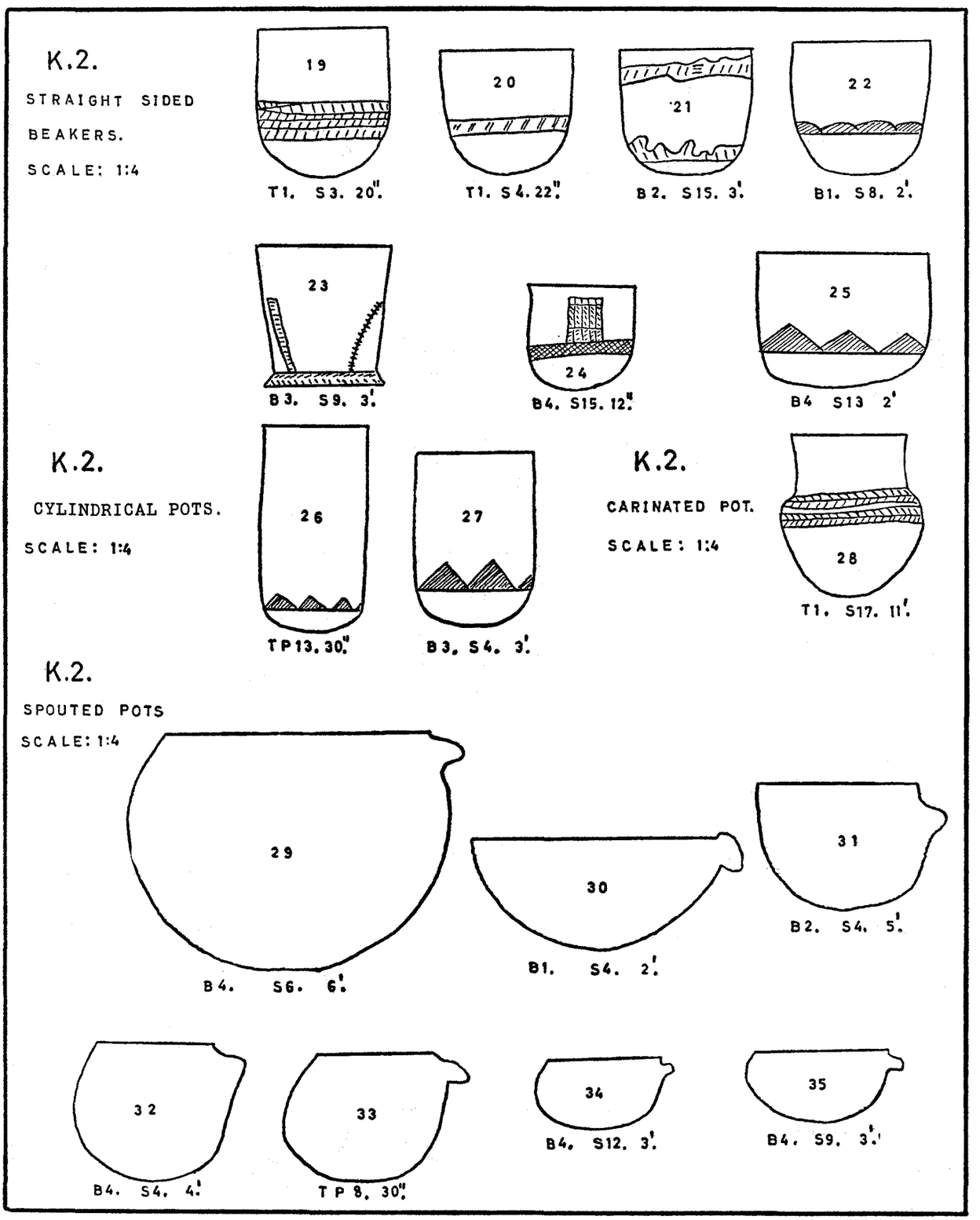


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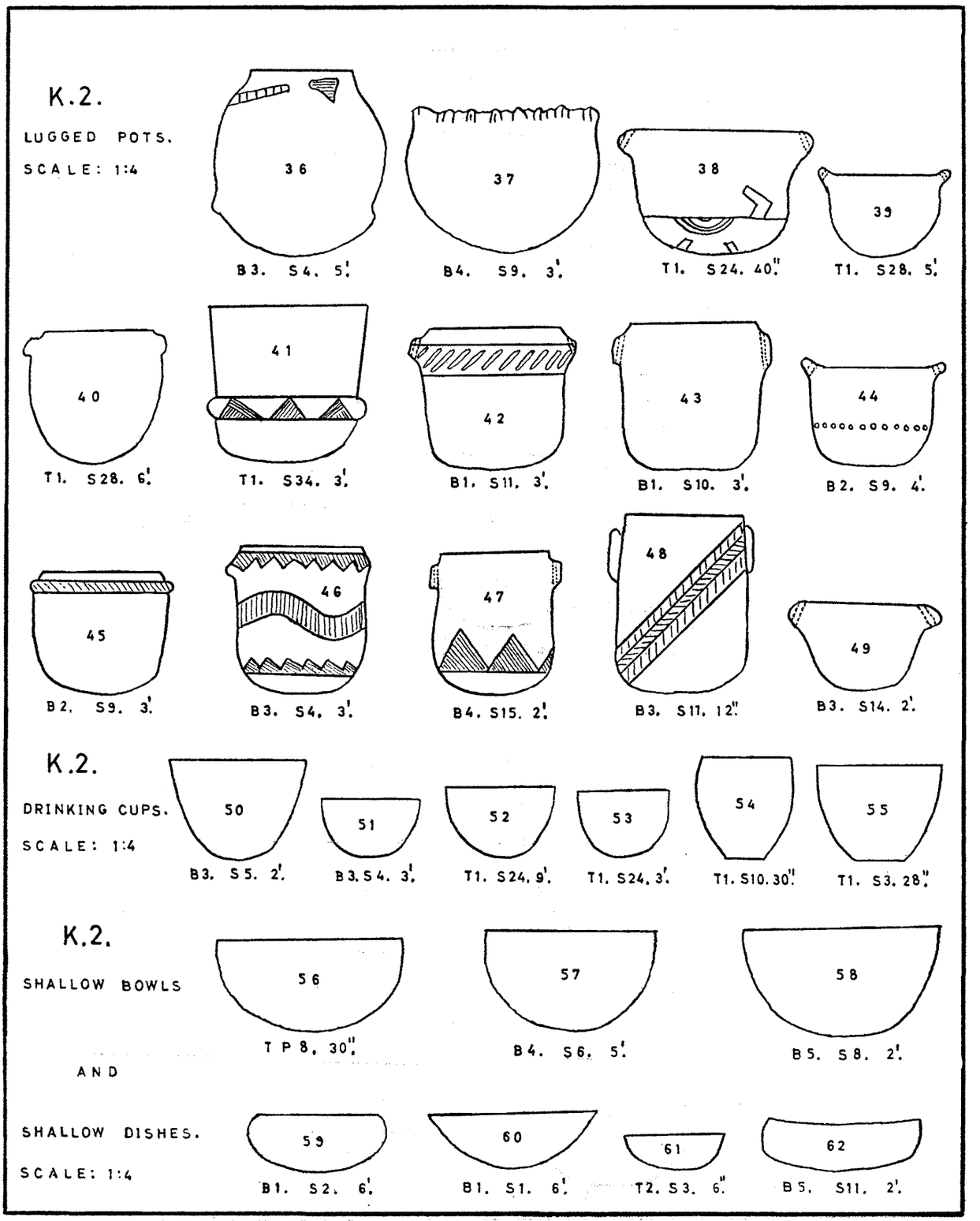


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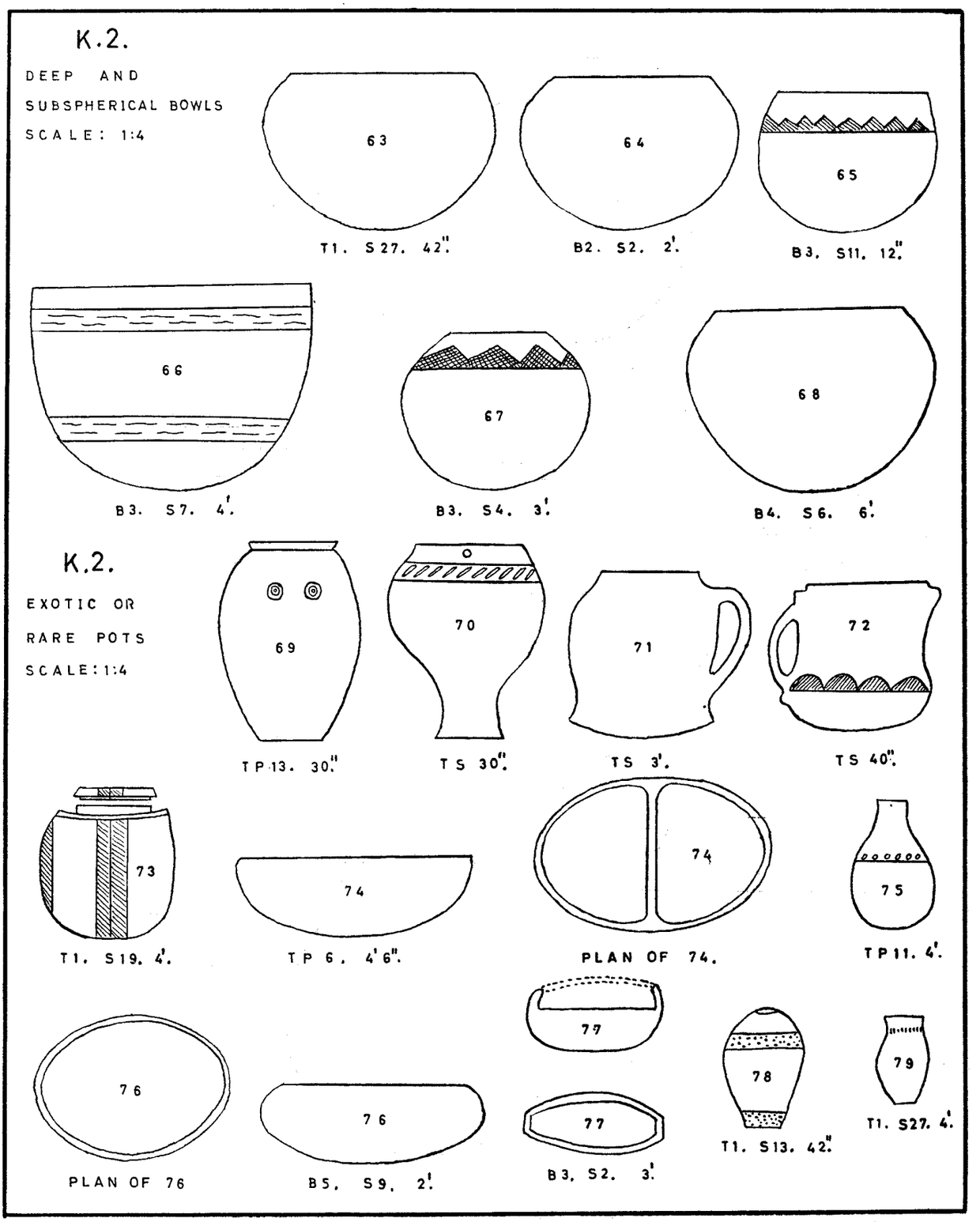


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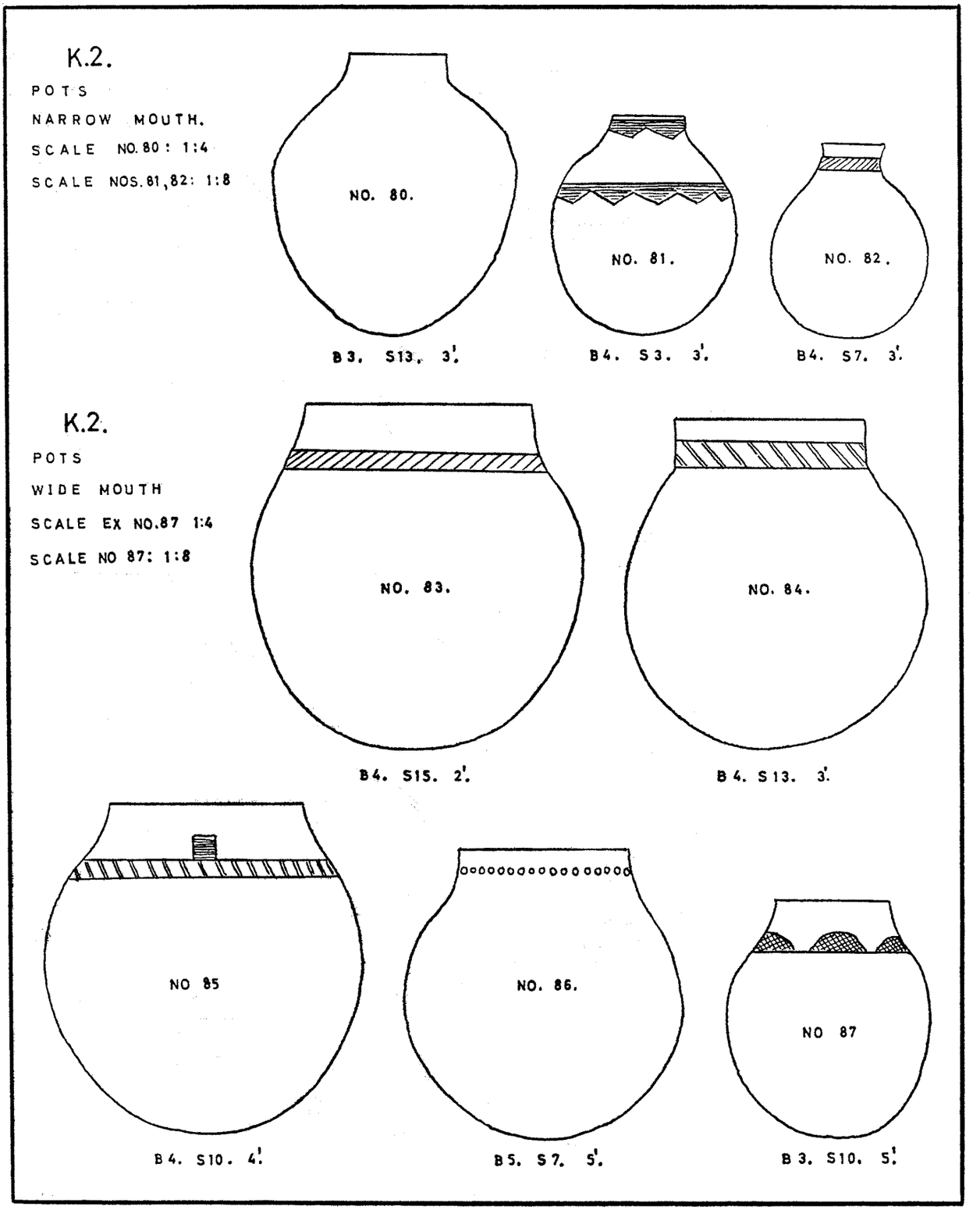


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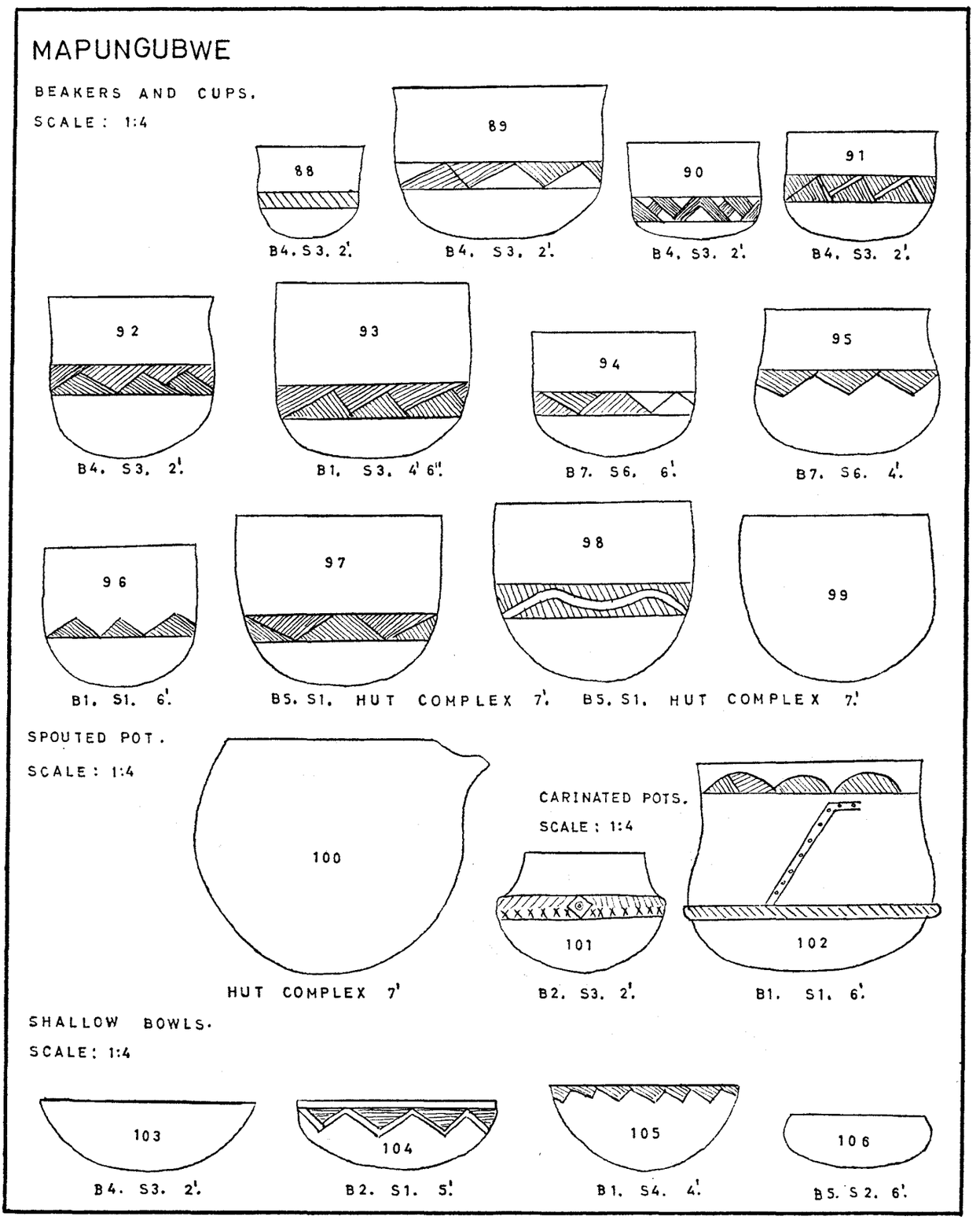


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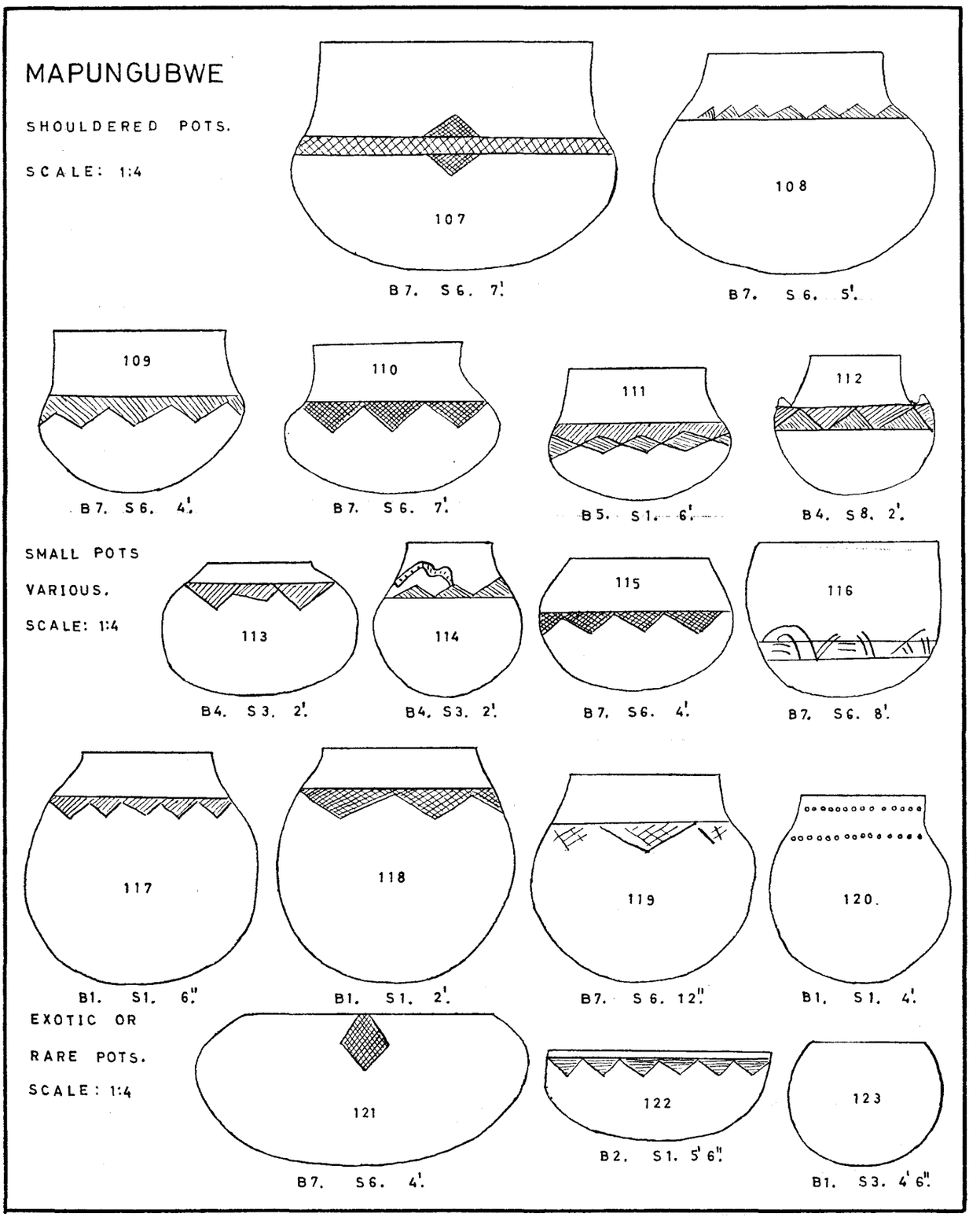


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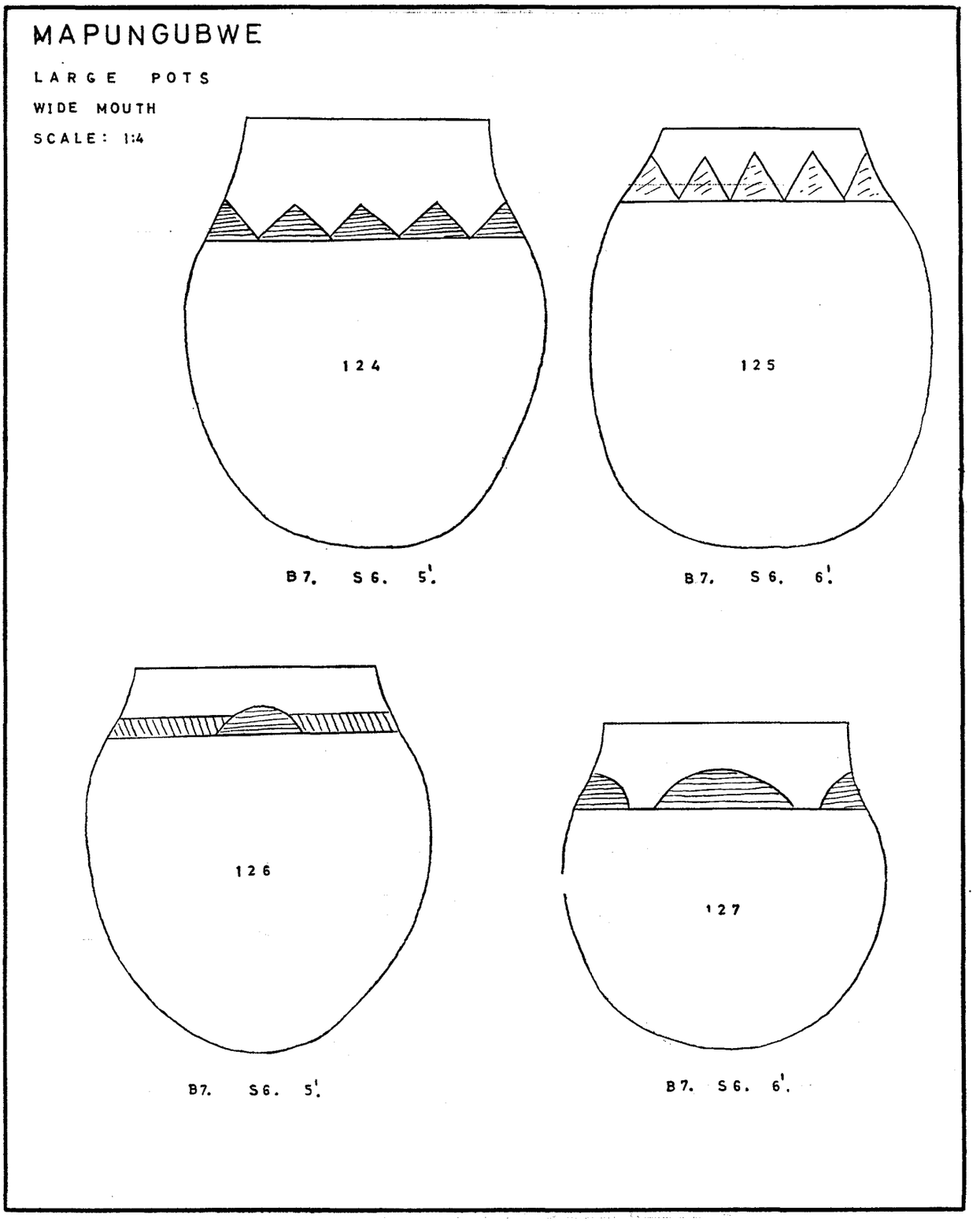


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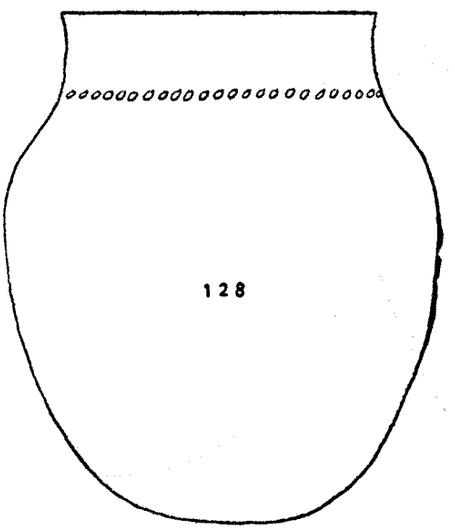
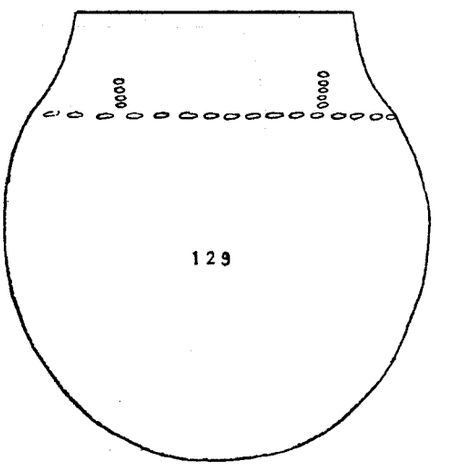
# MAPUNGUBWE

POTS LARGE AND SMALL

SCALE: 1:4




B7. S6. 6'.

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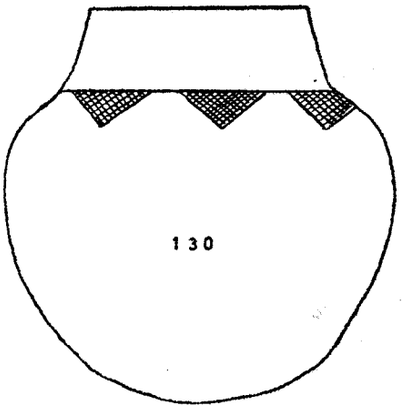


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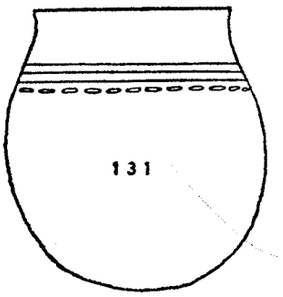


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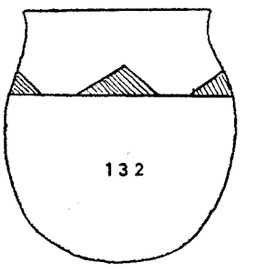


B7. S6. 6'.

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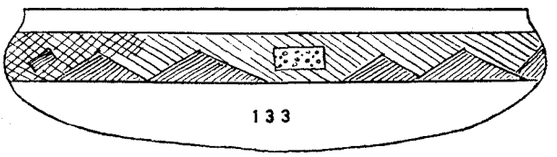
# MAPUNGUBWE

FLAT DISH WARE

SCALE : 1:4

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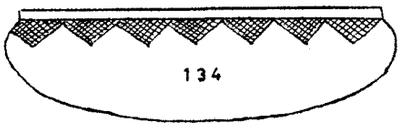
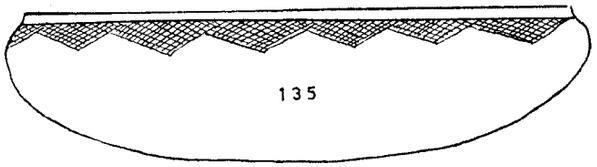
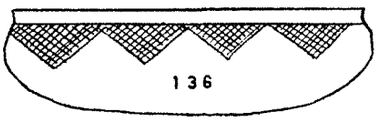



B5. S1. 6".




B7. S6. 12".

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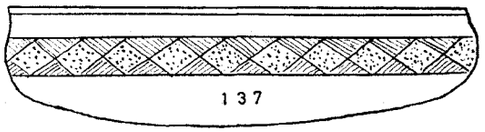


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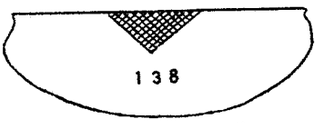


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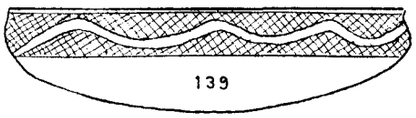


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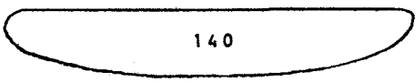


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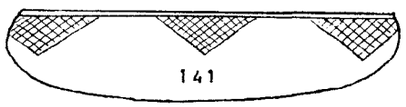


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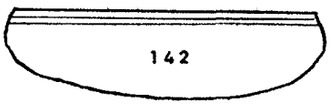


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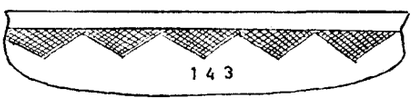


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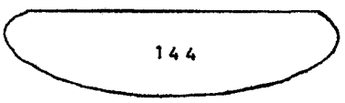


B5. S1. 4.

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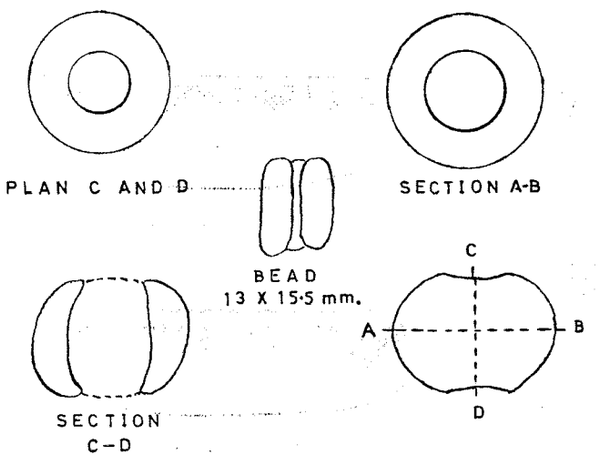
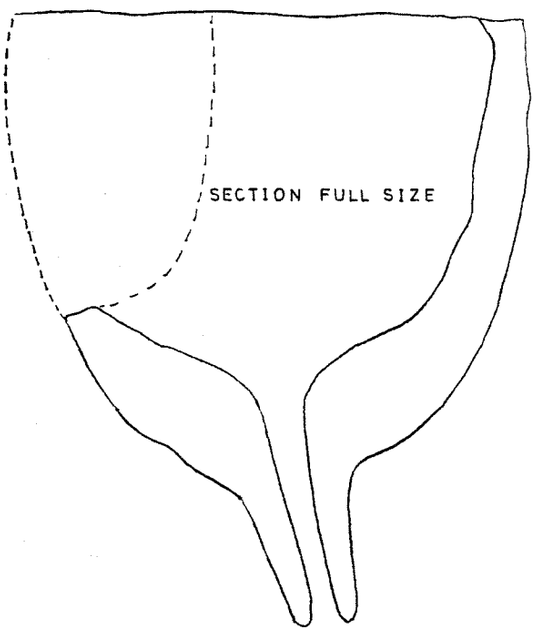
## OBJECTS FROM K.2.

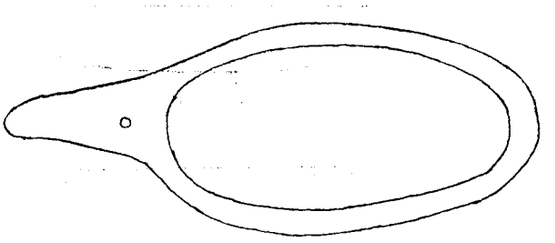



1 GARDEN ROLLER
BEAD MOULD.
SCALE: 1:1

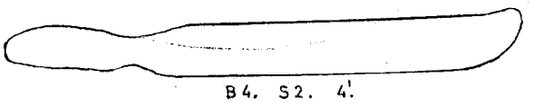



2 POTTERY FUNNEL
B4. S13. 3'.

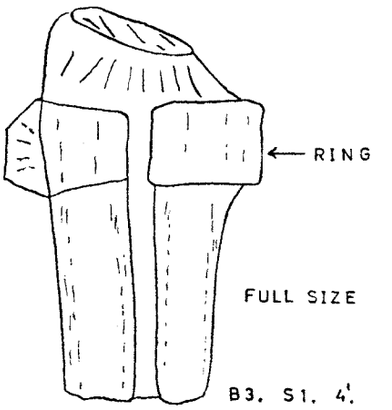
## OBJECTS FROM MAPUNGUBWE



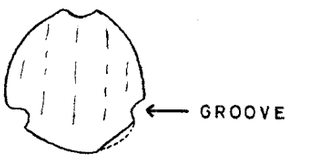
3. STONE DISH
PLAN



B4. S2. 4'.
SECTION
SCALE: 1:4




4. POTTERY OBJECT




PLAN OF END

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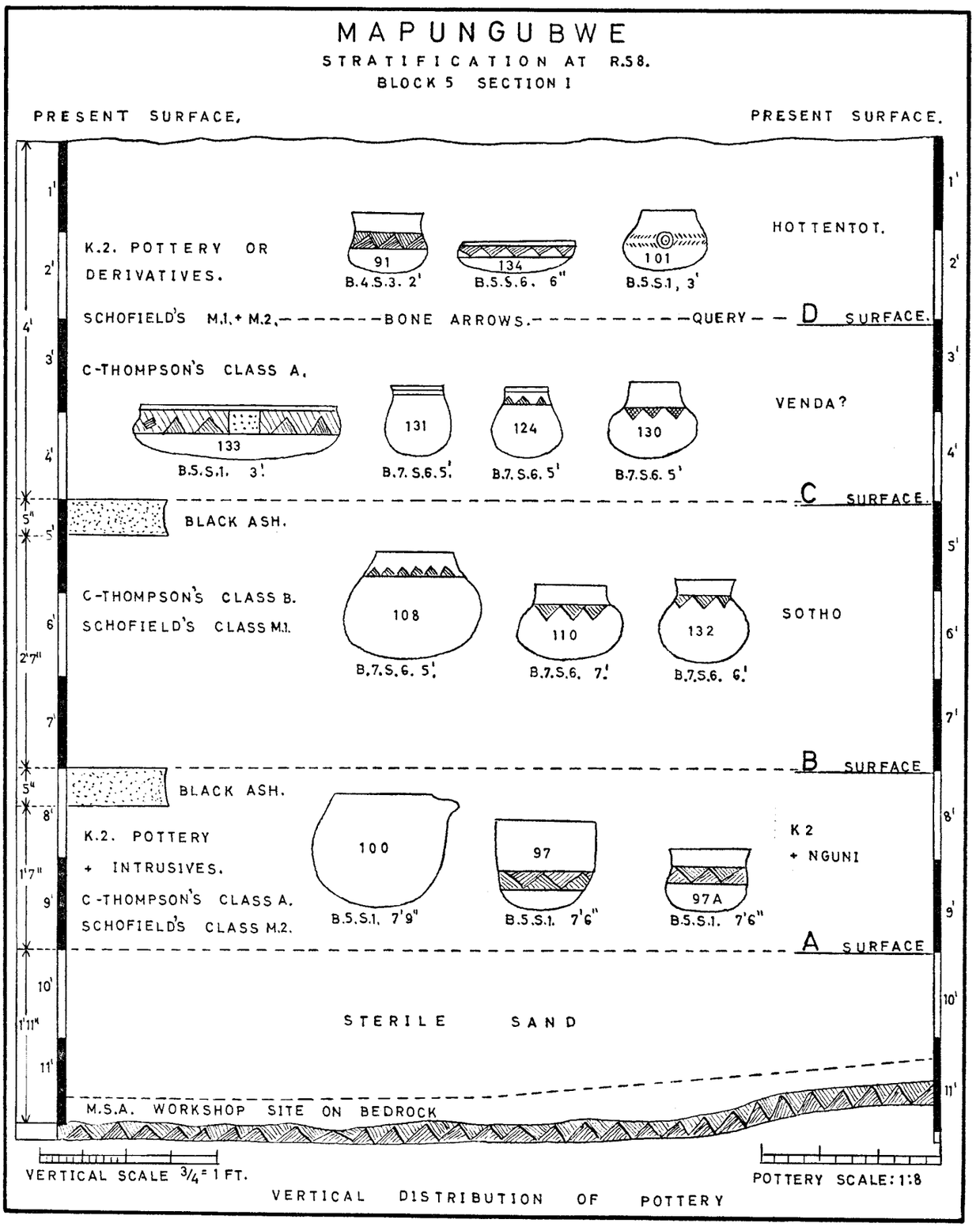


VERTICAL DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY

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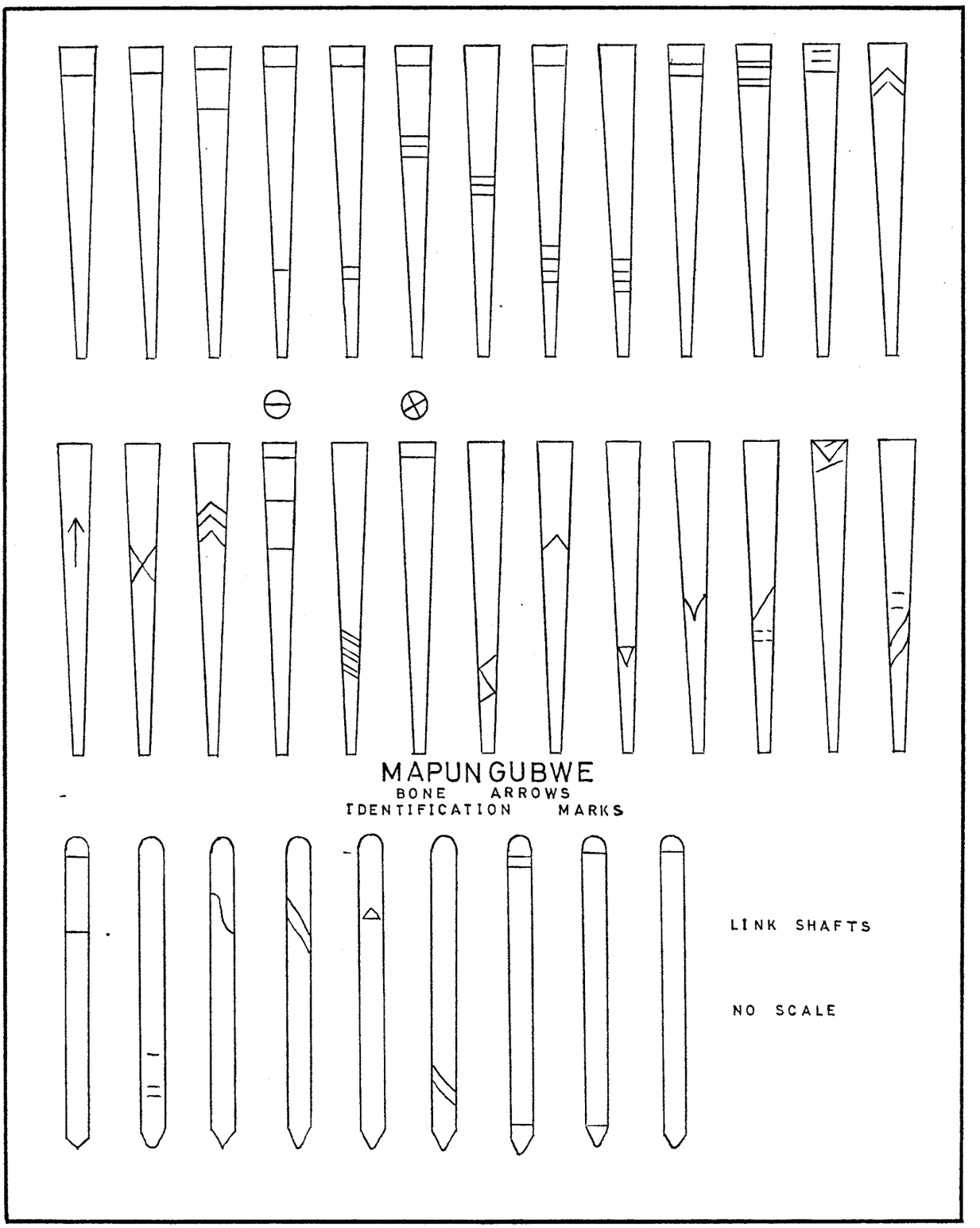


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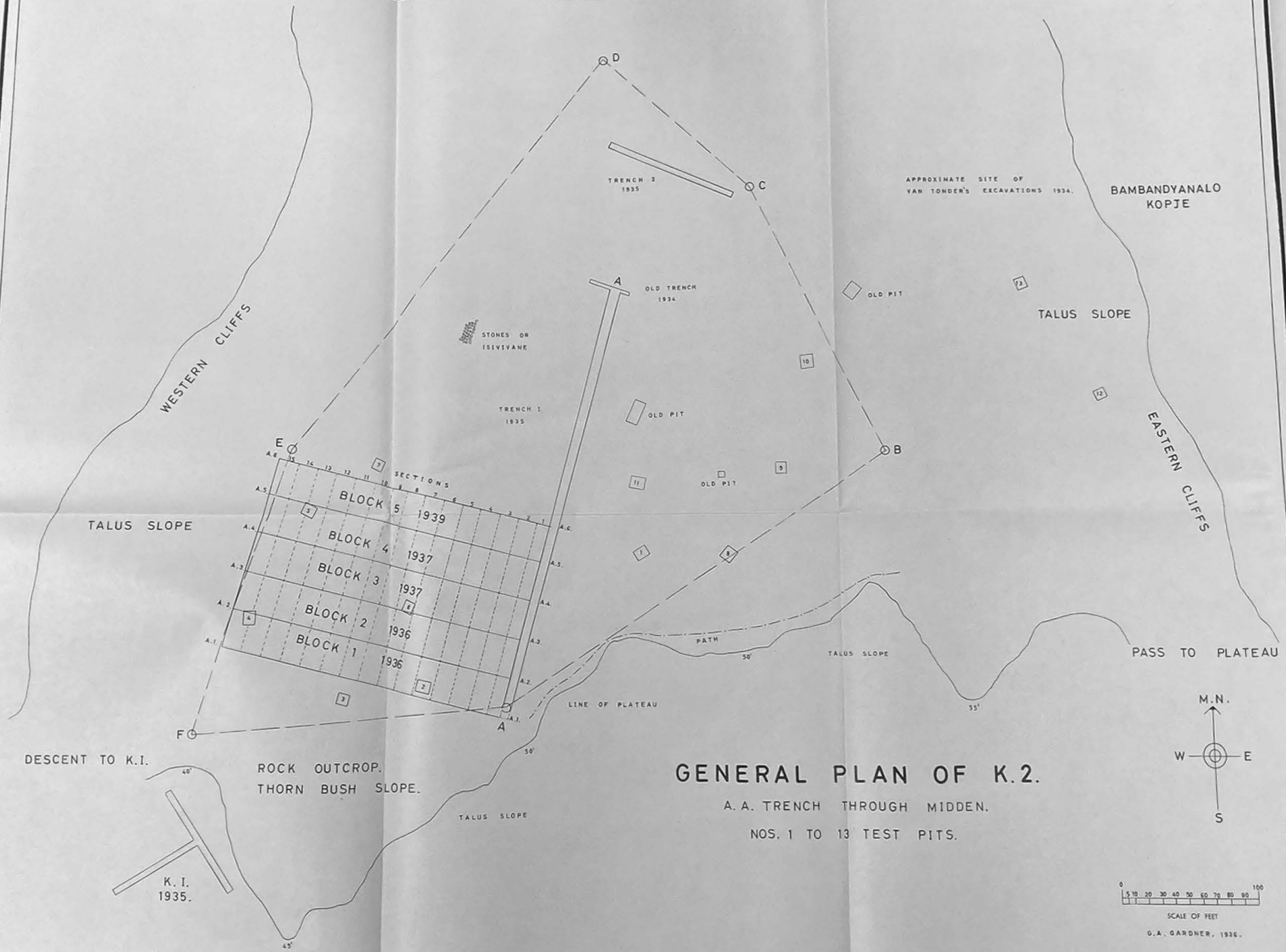


# GENERAL PLAN OF K.2.

A. A. TRENCH THROUGH MIDDEN.

NOS. 1 TO 13 TEST PITS.

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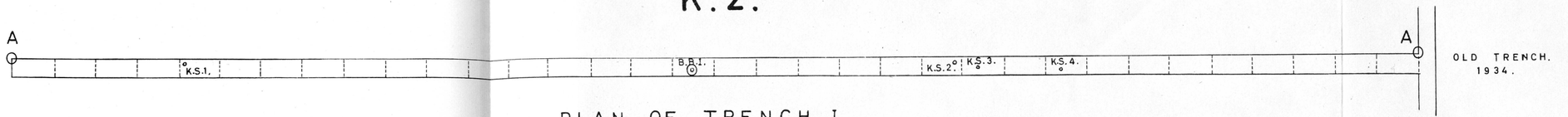
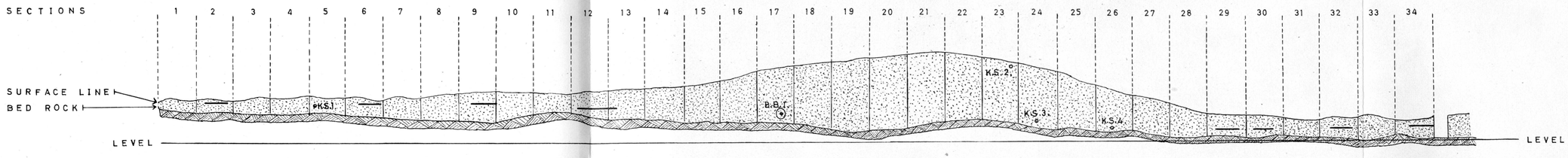
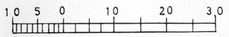
# K.2.




PLAN OF TRENCH I

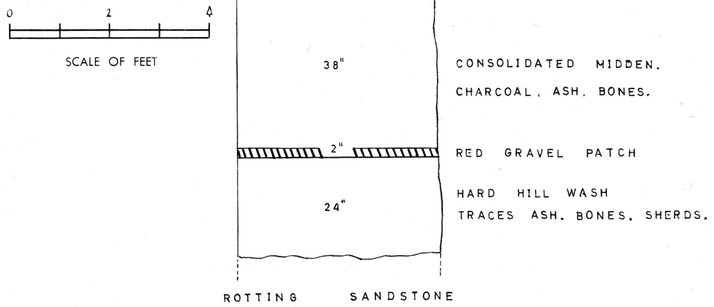



SECTION OF TRENCH ON A.A.

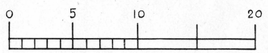



RED GRAVEL PATCHES.
K.S. HUMAN REMAINS.
B.B. BEAST BURIAL.

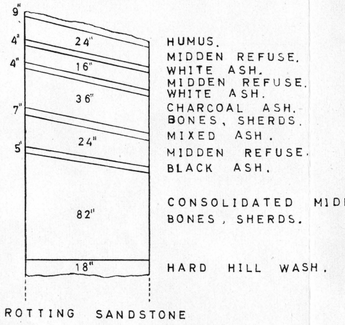
# PLAN AND SECTION OF TRENCH I AT K.2.



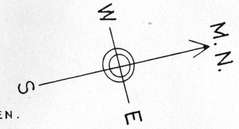

DETAIL OF DEPOSIT AT 12.13.




BEDS RISE 10° TO 15°.




DETAIL OF DEPOSIT AT 22.




G.A. GARDNER.
1935.

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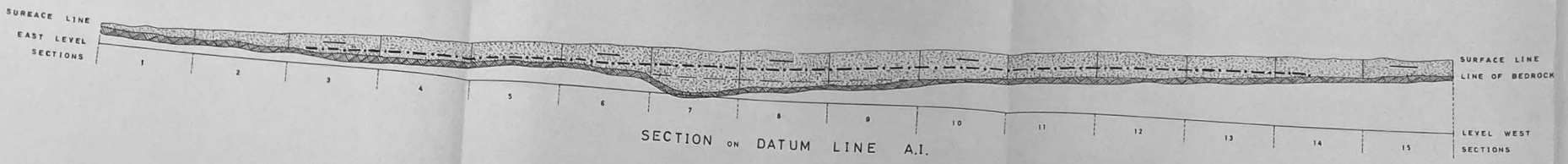
# SECTIONS. EXCAVATIONS.
## K. 2.

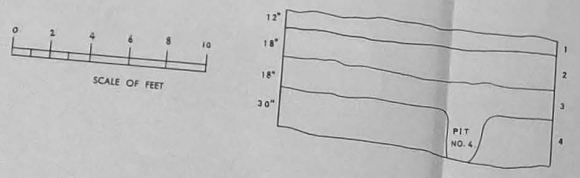



SECTION ON DATUM LINE A.I.

LOOKING SOUTH

BLOCK I

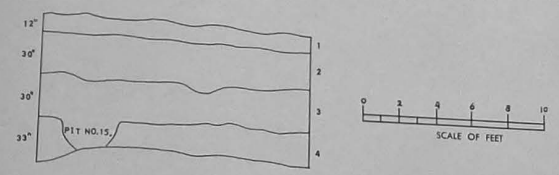
1936



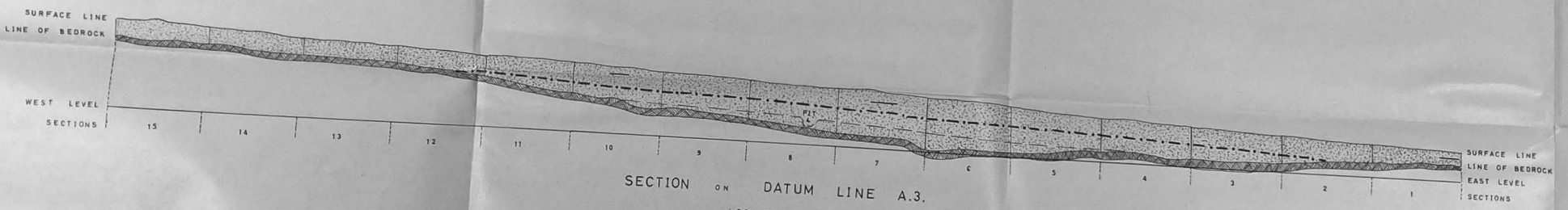

SECTION 8. BLOCK 2.

DETAIL OF STRATA IN BLOCK 2 SECTIONS 8 AND 6

1. Humus stratum approximately 10 to 12 inches in thickness; permeated by grass roots and discoloured by water action. Full of sherds, bones and other objects; probably an eroded surface of an older area.
2. Refuse stratum. Varies from 18 to 30 inches in depth. Contains traces of hut floors, red gravel patches, vast quantities of sherds, bones, charcoal and various objects. The majority of older skeletons was found in this stratum.
3. Clean hill-wash. This stratum varies from 18 to 30 inches also, and the surface appears to have been the original habitational area. Objects are found in this hill-wash though infrequently, but pits were sunk through it into bed-rock.
4. Hill-wash. This stratum is at its greatest depth about 33 inches, but tapers away to nothing as the ground rises from east to west. It is full of numberless small white flakes of sandstone, giving a mottled appearance. Nothing is found in this stratum, which was deposited in the hollows of the plateau before the advent of human beings. Pits are also sunk through this hill-wash.




SECTION 6. BLOCK 2.

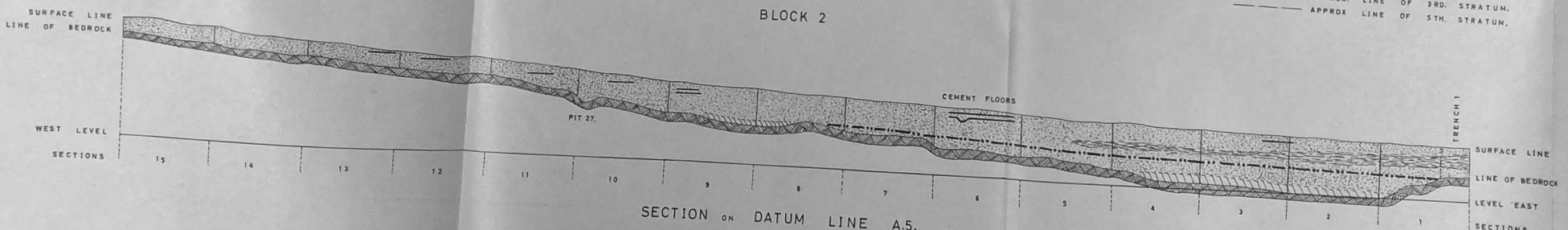



SECTION ON DATUM LINE A.3.

LOOKING NORTH

BLOCK 2

APPROX. LINE OF 3RD. STRATUM.
APPROX LINE OF 5TH. STRATUM.




SECTION ON DATUM LINE A.5.

LOOKING NORTH

BLOCK 4

1938

LINE OF 5TH. STRATUM
FLAKED SANDSTONE
OLD MANURE
RED GRAVEL PATCHES

0
5'
10'
15'
20'
30'
SCALE OF FEET

G. A. GARDNER.

1936 — 1938

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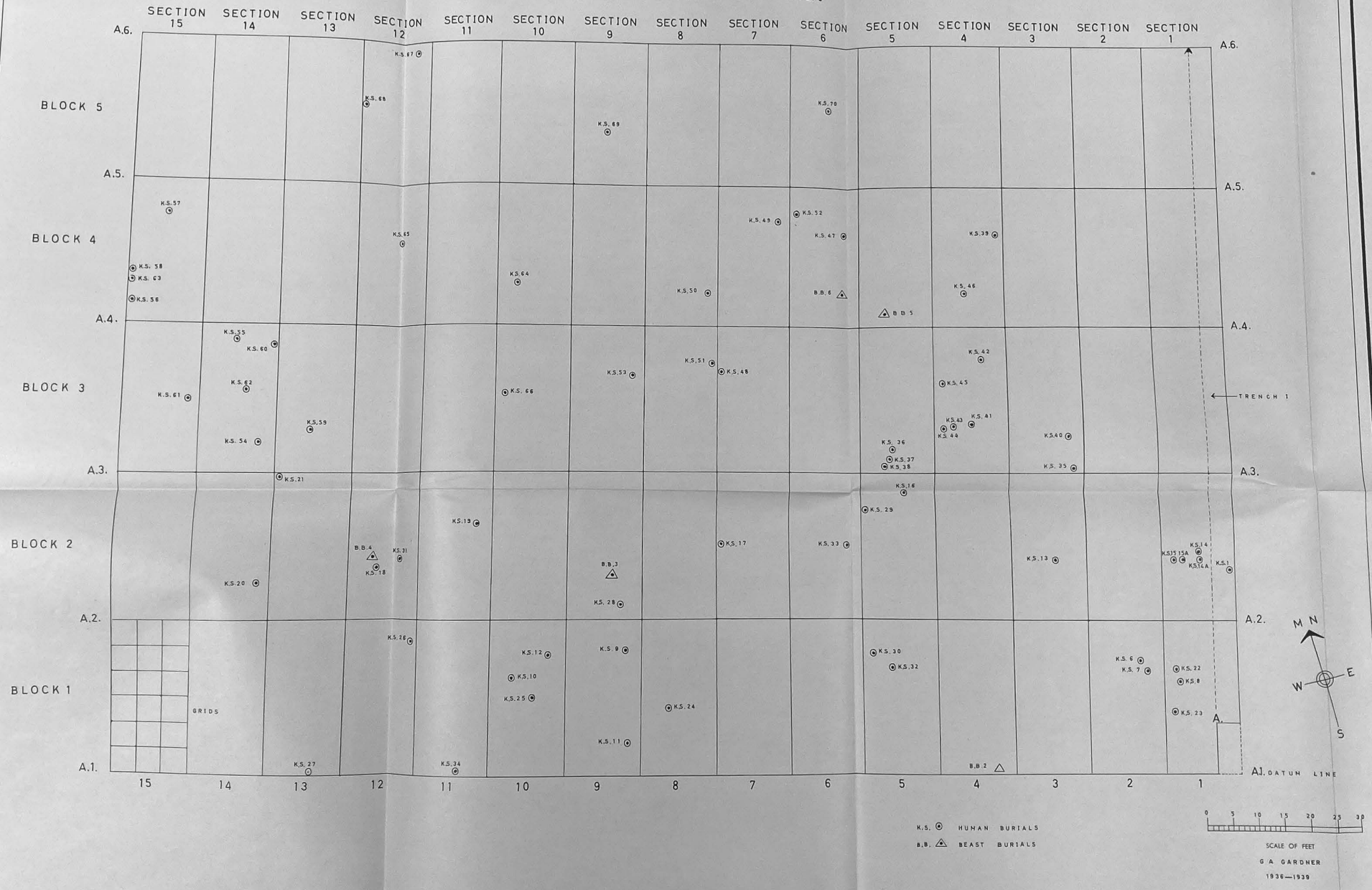
# GRID PLAN OF K.2.

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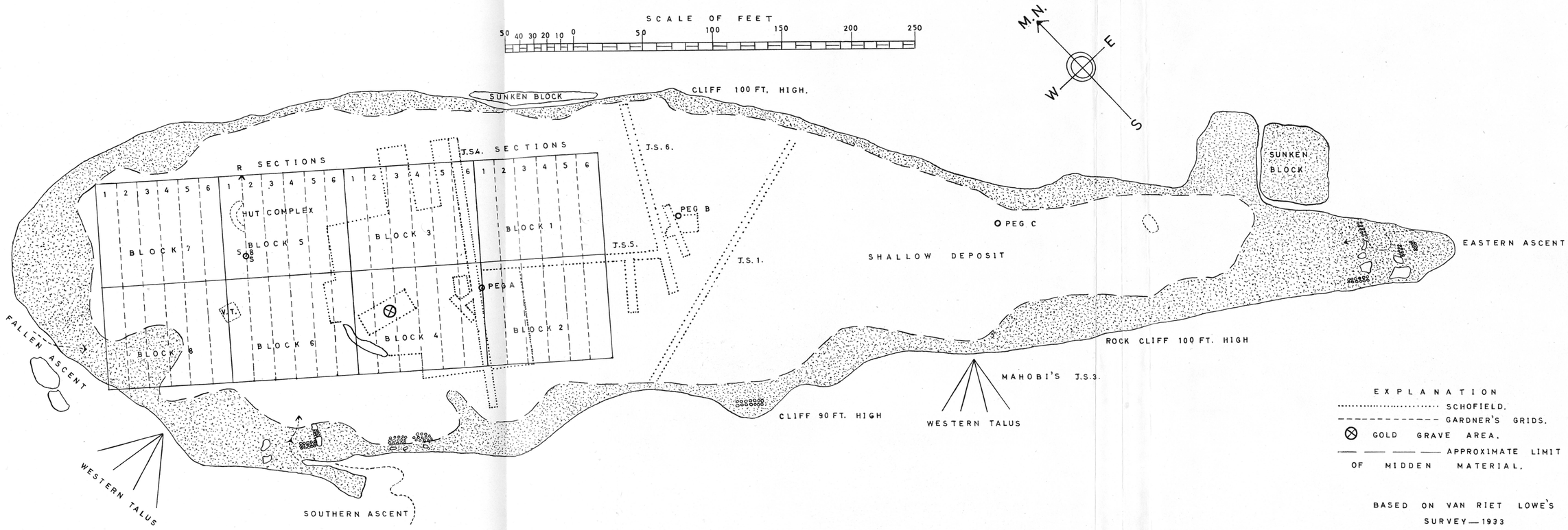
# MAPUNGUBWE

## PLAN OF SUMMIT AND GRIDS

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