History through archaeology - A case study of Zimbabwean history textbooks

By

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Magister Educationis in the Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria.

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation, which I hereby submit for the degree Magister Educationis in History Education at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not been previously submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this dissertation, has obtained, for the research described in this work, the applicable research ethics approval. The author declares that she has observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's *Code of ethics for researchers and the Policy guidelines for responsible research.*

Appendix 1

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ABSTRACT

Zimbabwe is a country in southern Africa that was formerly known as Rhodesia and was established in 1890 by European settlers. Zimbabwe gained independence from the colonial regime in 1980 and has a rich historical background. This study serves to understand the use of archaeology in two selected Form 3 Zimbabwean history textbooks.

The study was a case study with embedded units of analysis situated in the interpretivist paradigm analysing how and why archaeology had been used in Zimbabwean school history textbooks. Content analysis of each unit was employed to better understand this concept and the transdisciplinary relationship between historians and archaeologists is conceptualized in the textbooks.

What emerged from the analysis was that archaeology was indeed made use of to explain the prehistory of Zimbabwe, it was just the depth of the archaeological content that differed between the two textbooks sampled. Archaeology was used in a nationalistic manner to show that prior to the arrival of Europeans, Zimbabwe did indeed have a thriving culture with city states, craftsmen and international trade contrary to the Eurocentric views that native Zimbabweans were primitive.

In this study, it was shown that without archaeology the prehistory of Zimbabwe would remain fragmented and mixed up in romanticised versions of Great Zimbabwe being built by the Queen of Sheba or being connected to the mines of King Solomon and never really giving credit to the native inhabitants of Zimbabwe who were the true architects of a nation as great as that of Great Zimbabwe. In the light of the recent political transformations in Zimbabwe, it was however evident that the history textbooks have changed, relying less on archaeology and more on a patriotic form of history filled with oral traditions and earlier historical writings of the Arabs and Portuguese traders and explorers of old.

Keywords: archaeology and history education, educational archaeology, historical archaeology, archaeology and history textbooks, archaeology in Zimbabwe

LANGUAGE EDITOR DISCLAIMER

Disclaimer Language Editor

This is to certify that the dissertation titled *History through Archaeology: A case study of Zimbabwean history textbooks*, has been proofread and edited for English language, grammar, punctuation and spelling by myself Dolores Gomes. The author was free to accept or reject my changes in the document after my editing.

D. Gomes	DGomes	14.11.19
Name of Editor	**Signature of Editor**	**Date**

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ACRONYMS

AD	Anno Domini
BAAS	British Association for the Advancement of Science
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CE	Common Era
CDU	Curriculum Development Unit
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

Chapter 1

Foreword to the Study

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation, with the title "History through archaeology: a case study of Zimbabwean history textbooks", looked closely at the relationship between the two sister disciplines of history and archaeology, and how archaeology assisted history in the writing of Zimbabwean prehistory, before the arrival of the European settlers.

This chapter starts by examining Zimbabwe's historical background from the arrival of the European settlers and how this history was understood and taught under British colonial rule. The chapter explains the myths and legends surrounding the great stone ruins known as Great Zimbabwe in order for the reader to understand the importance of archaeology in lending scientific evidence to the romanticised history of this region. In addition, the chapter explains my rationale and motivation in conducting this study as well as the purpose and focus of the study. Thereafter, the conceptual and theoretical framework is presented as was the research design and methodology I made use of. Finally, an overview of the entire dissertation is laid out.

1.2 The setting

Zimbabwe is a country in Southern Africa, bordering South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. Zimbabwe was formerly known as Rhodesia and it was established in 1890, making it a relatively new colonial construct in the region. The occupation of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe since 1980) by Europeans was a direct result of the gold rush that had occurred on the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in 1886. The Europeans at the time, minds awash with traditions of the "*Monomotapa*" and rumours of ruined cities, were anxious to explore further north, hoping to reach the gold deposits that had previously reached coastal towns through indirect trade (Hall, 1995: 184). These same Europeans legitimsed their occupation by stating the lands they occupied were "virginal tracts of land" which were only sparsely populated by groups

of "primitives" (Kaarsholm, 1992: 152). These "primitives" were the Shona[1] people who had inhabited this region since the second millennium AD, long before the arrival of the Ndebele in the 19th century[2] (Pikirayi & Pwiti, 1999). Mazarire (2013), mentions that the Shona people, whom the Europeans may have come into contact with, were the "*vaKaranga*, a branch of Shona speakers who speak a dialect that is commonly found in south-central Zimbabwe" (342). Along with this notion of being in virginal lands came the perception that as primitives the indigenous people had no social structure, form of civilisation or culture (Kaarsholm, 1992), let alone the ability to write their own histories. These misconceptions soon spread with the writings and opinions of early settlers. Yet, in their search for gold these very Europeans came across archaeological remnants[3] in southeast Zimbabwe, now called Great Zimbabwe. "*Madzimbabwe* or *Zimbabwe*", according to Pikirayi (2013), means "houses of stone," and these remnants were central to Zimbabwean history and tradition (26).

The earliest historical written sources for Great Zimbabwe other than the oral traditions came from the Arabs in the 12th century and the Portuguese a few centuries later. The Portuguese at the time were searching for the lost empire of Prester John during the 16th century. Prester John was an extremely powerful and wealthy Christian king whose true location was unknown. He was sought after by the Portuguese as a source of support in an unknown territory (the heart of Africa) filled with unfamiliar terrain, people and diseases. Prester John according to Hall (1995), was a pious king in contrast to the Queen of Sheba, a legendary African queen said to have resided in the ancient land of Punt (Carroll, 1988; Hall, 1995). The story of Prester John, who was running parallel to the legend of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, was to be

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[1] The name Shona is a collective name to describe the peoples that occupy the central, north and eastern parts of Zimbabwe, and were the original inhabitants of the land. The historiography of the Shona, according to Mazarire (2013), "is in its infancy and there is still much to be learned about these autochthonous groups" (340). Zimbabwean history textbooks portray the Shona and Ndebele as being in constant conflict with one another, the latter being portrayed as the aggressors attacking the defenceless Shona (Barnes, 2007: 141-3)

[2] The Ndebele are a Bantu-speaking people of southwestern Zimbabwe who originated in the early 19th century as an offshoot of the *Nguni* of Natal. Their leader *Mzilikazi* was forced to flee *Shaka* in 1823 due to a conflict. They migrated slowly northwards coming into conflict with settler Europeans (Voortrekkers) before finally settling in Matabeleland (Zimbabwe) *c.*1840. His successor, *Lobengula*, extended the tribe's power by absorbing Sotho and Shona peoples into the clan ("Ndebele Zimbabwean People", 1998). Much more was known of the history of the Ndebele due to the more numerous forms of contact between the British and Ndebele and the many conflicts that occurred between them.

[3] These "ruins" shall be referred to as Great Zimbabwe throughout the rest of the dissertation.

found in the "immensely popular *Mandeville's Travels*4, which by the end of the fourteenth century, was available in every major European language" (Hall, 1996b: 105). The Portuguese author João de Barros, in his book *Da Asia* published in 1552, gave one of the earliest detailed descriptions of the stone walled structures found in Great Zimbabwe (Hall, 1995; Pikirayi, 2013). Barros told of abandoned gold mines and stone buildings known as "*Symbaoe*" belonging to a local king but did not indicate who the original builders of these walls were (Hall, 1995: 184). During this time, the Eurocentric perspective on Africans, or any autochthonous people for that matter, was that they were uncivilised, had no technology, religion, or any form of writing. As we know today, because Europeans had rapidly reached an advanced industrialised state, they developed an attitude of superiority over nations that had not yet reached this potential and were thus considered "primitive". Yet, the archaeological evidence in the form of the stone ruins and the artefacts discovered in the stratigraphic layers from years of occupation became a thorn in the side of historians who sought answers to this phenomenon at a time where they would have been influenced by politics and ideologies related to White supremacy. Western ideology, therefore, led to Europeans believing that "primitive" Africans could not have built something such as Great Zimbabwe, on such a grand scale, especially when the majority of the people were still living in "primitive" mud dwellings with thatched roofs. Historically speaking, in order to answer the many questions surrounding Great Zimbabwe, a myth developed, a "Solomonic" legend, that Great Zimbabwe was built by a civilised race from the land of gold called "Ophir" (Carroll, 1988: 235) as mentioned in the first Book of Kings in the *Bible*:

> Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence, gold, four hundred and twenty talents and brought it to King Solomon (1 Kings 9:27-8 King James Version 1611).

Joao dos Santos' *Ethiopia Oriental*, published in 1609, was a later retelling of de Barros' earlier works and also gave reference to the land of Ophir via a suggestion

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4 Prester John himself was not described in any detail, but the opulence of his lands and the vassals he had beneath him were described in great detail. Prester John was also described as a pious and dutiful king for example: his bed was "for to make him sleep well and to refrain him from lechery … he will not lie with his wives, but four sithes in the year, after the four seasons, and that is only to engender children" (Pollard, 1915: 182). "Sir John Mandeville", according to Hall (1995), probably did not exist as a single author and the *Travels* was most likely a compilation of popular mythologies (120).

that Africa was the location of Ophir where the above-mentioned Hiram, the Phoenician king, sent gold to Solomon (Hall, 1995).

In September 1871, Carl Mauch, a self-educated German geologist, was credited as the first European to encounter the structures of Great Zimbabwe since the Portuguese in the 16th century of the Common Era (CE) (Carroll, 1988; Mazarire, 2013). He believed, based on the interpretations he made from quotations in the *Bible* and possibly from works such as *Mandeville's Travels*, that the structures found at Great Zimbabwe were indeed Phoenician in type, and he argued that the buildings had been "modelled upon King Solomon's temple and palace, and that they had been the residence of the Queen of Sheba" (Kaarsholm, 1992: 157). In an article on *The Legend of the Lost City,* Hall gave an example of Mauch's chain of reasoning when coming up with the above-mentioned point. He stated that "Mauch noted that splinters of wood from a cross-beam were very similar to the wood of his pencil, indicating that both were cedar" (Hall, 1995: 185). Mauch, therefore, made the assumption that the builders could not have been African because this wood was the very same as the wood used in King Solomon's palaces and would have been brought south from Lebanon. This thinking corroborated Carroll's version of Ophir mentioned above and showed how the *Bible* was used as a powerful source of evidence to support the theory that the builders of Great Zimbabwe could not have been the indigenous inhabitants. Furthermore, H.M. Walmsley, in his book *The ruined cities of Zululand,* published in 1869, described many of the Zulu inhabitants further inland from Delagoa Bay as being "mixed with Egyptian bloodlines"; this would only reinforce the perceptions of those Europeans who romanticised and propagated the idea that Africans could not be the constructers of significant structures (Walmsley, 2010: 40).

Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*, published in 1885, was, in turn, no doubt influenced by Mauch's discovery of Great Zimbabwe and the land now known as *Mashonaland* (Hall, 1996b). Walmsley and Haggard, who may have borrowed heavily from Walmsley, wrote romanticised stories of Africa and gave vivid descriptions of their hunting experiences on the plains of Africa "undulated, dotted with clumps of trees", and their encounters with wild beasts, such as lionesses, and savages like the Zulu or the "Hottentots" (Walmsley, 2010: 37-41). Naturally, this type of writing would appeal to the many Europeans that they reached and would have created quite vivid images

in the minds of the readers. These romanticised versions of Africa connected with what Hall believed: "that the image of Africa as the 'dark continent' predates the beginning of colonial penetration by many centuries" (Hall, 1995: 179). This "dark continent" has been used as a creation myth for many adventure seekers. Hall (1995), further argued that such "myths" consisted of a three-part structure. The first part began with the existence of an "ancient civilization" that would have naturally built the cities to be discovered by later explorers. The second part consisted of a "dark destruction" whereby this impressive civilisation was somehow destroyed and was finally re-discovered by explorers (Hall, 1995: 179). Readers would believe all of this after all, as the authors had been to Africa and had witnessed first-hand these magnificent structures that supposedly bore similarities to Solomon's palace.
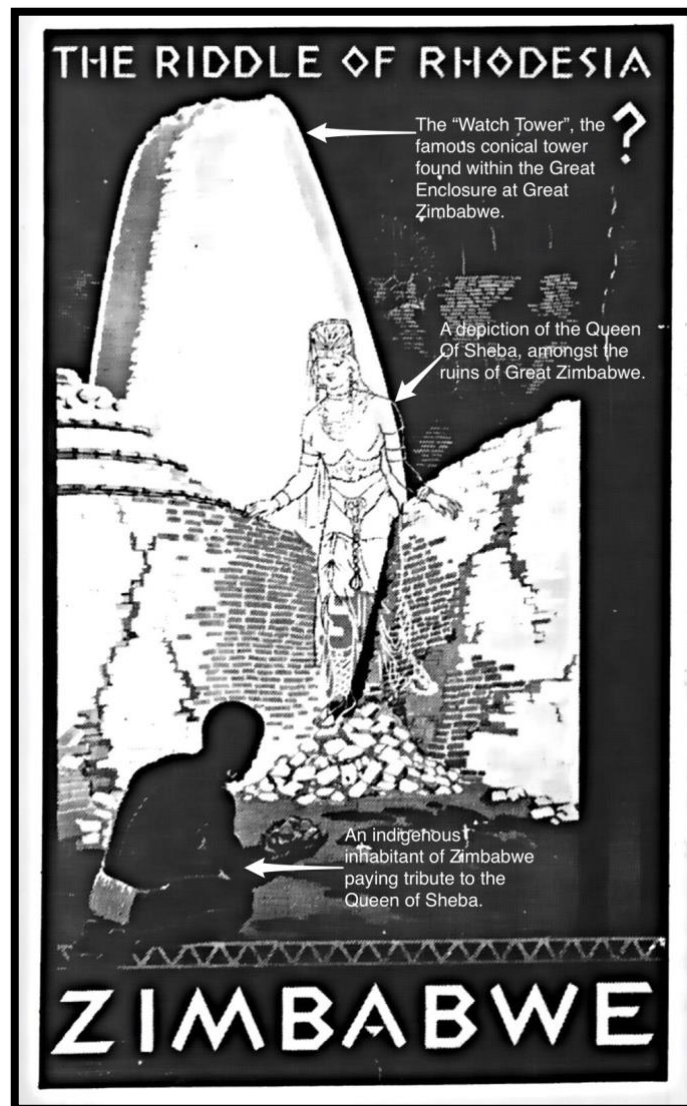
Figure 1: An image of a picture from colonial Zimbabwean history showing the Queen of Sheba amidst Great Zimbabwe and an indigenous man, possibly a Shona person, paying homage to her. Image taken from People Making History Book 1 (2001: 9). The same image is also seen in Hall (1996: 242).

The idea that Great Zimbabwe must have been created by the Queen of Sheba and her people soon spread. The reality was that such constructions were accepted as fact and many of these assumptions entered textbooks and were being taught as factual evidence. This type of history was known as colonial history and it was published to show colonialism as a virtuous system. This history only described the achievements of the white "explorers," "missionaries," and "pioneers" who wrote of the African peoples as "backward" and "uninventive" (Garlake & Proctor, 2001: 9). I have included an image on the previous page (fig. 1) from the *People Making History Book 1* (2001), which gave learners an example of the colonial histories that were previously published. By accepting and teaching these beliefs about Great Zimbabwe's supposed connection to King Solomon and his mines, and the Queen of Sheba, the colonists were able to justify their imperialistic intentions in Africa (Carroll, 1988). Consequently, Raymond Dart, a leading anthropologist and anatomist in the 1920s, was one of many scholars who did not believe that cultural achievements such as Great Zimbabwe could have been built by a local African community (Kuljian, 2016).

After Mauch, Walmsley and Haggard's romanticised versions of Great Zimbabwe had circulated within academic circles in Europe, the Royal Geographical Society, the British Chartered Company of South Africa, and the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS), funded an archaeological expedition for Great Zimbabwe in January 1891 (Hall, 1996b: 108). This expedition was led by archaeologist Theodore Bent. Bent, who had been plagued by the Solomon and Sheba myths, concluded that Great Zimbabwe was not built by "Africans" but rather "it was built by Arabians and Semites in the lands of Ham" (Hall, 1996b: 109). Cecil John Rhodes, the chief imperialist after which Rhodesia was named, and who had personally sponsored Bent, was of the opinion that Great Zimbabwe was indeed evidence of a lost civilisation and the discoveries of artefacts by Mauch and Bent led to "the formation, in 1895, of Rhodesia Ancient Ruins Ltd." (Hall, 1996b:109). What followed was little more than pillaging. Richard Nicklin Hall, a local journalist, added to the need to discover just who built Great Zimbabwe. He became curator of Great Zimbabwe in 1902, but was sacked two years later due to his prolific damage to the site. Hall managed to publish his works; they were nonetheless, very much like the romanticised writings of Haggard, infused with some academic jargon to add weight to his academic background (Hall, 1996b). Because Hall's work was not clear cut and

definite about the exact origins of the builders of Great Zimbabwe, the BAAS sent an "experienced archaeologist David Randall-MacIver" to re-excavate Great Zimbabwe (Hall, 1996b: 111). Although Randall-MacIver squashed all the popular opinions and romanticist versions, he contested the view that the builders of Great Zimbabwe were not the indigenous people. Gertrude Caton-Thompson was the third archaeologist commissioned by the BAAS to conduct research on the origins of Great Zimbabwe. This research was important, at the time, to those who were studying the development of race in Southern Africa and around the world. Her findings were to trouble the debate on who the true builders of Great Zimbabwe were (Kuljian, 2016). Caton-Thompson, in 1929, was in favour of Great Zimbabwe having an indigenous origin (Carroll, 1988). According to Renfrew and Bahn (2000), Caton-Thompson's "excavations of 1929 unearthed datable artefacts from a stratified context, and confirmed that the site represented a major culture of African origin, but due to the violent reaction of Dart, and the Rhodesian white community towards her findings, she refused to accept any further research in the area" (36). Renfrew and Bahn (2000) went on to mention that Caton-Thomson's theory challenged the migrationist theory of Bent who located the builders in the Arabian Peninsula and the diffusionist theory of Summers who stated that the craftwork came from a travelling Portuguese stonemason or Arabs. Hence, it was argued that this craftsmanship originated from Portuguese and Arabic cultures and thus, influenced the local rulers of the time, to which these foreigners were in service (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000). Caton-Thompson's work, though, did not necessarily elevate African society in the eyes of the European community as some of her works gave mention to the architecture being built by someone with an "infantile mind" thereby "reducing the architecture to that of barbaric" and not showing its worth as a part of a large civilised state (Hall, 1996b: 112).

Archaeology was not a form of professional research prior to the arrival of Randall-MacIver and Caton-Thompson. The excavations that were conducted were amateurish, without proper excavation procedures and techniques put into place. Summers made mention of Bent as an "English traveller and antiquarian" rather than an archaeologist, who was asked by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and the BAAS to examine Great Zimbabwe in 1891, which by then had already been vandalised (Summers, 1958: 52).

There were two types of Europeans who were intensely curious about the past. Both found antiquities to be of great interest and aesthetically pleasing. This fondness for the exotic led to many forms of excavations in a very primitive, almost bullish manner, at Great Zimbabwe. There were those Europeans who genuinely, and for academic reasons, had personal collections leaning more towards scientific and historical purposes. Then there were those Europeans who kept cabinets of curiosities in their homes to display their findings in an aesthetically pleasing manner and quite possibly to enhance their social standing. Nevertheless, the excavations, to obtain the artefacts for these collections, were conducted without proper archaeological excavation techniques put into place and so their methods were in reality rather "intrusive and destroyed sites and sacred places" (Shepherd, 2002: 10).

Great Zimbabwe, as a monumental site, experienced these intrusive or rather invasive techniques and much of the buildings were damaged by early Europeans in search of gold, their need being fuelled by the myths that Great Zimbabwe was the fabled mine of King Solomon. The myths surrounding Great Zimbabwe were just one facet in the entirety of Zimbabwean history that needed to be redressed, and archaeology, although a relatively new discipline, had become an important source of information in the reconstruction of Zimbabwean history post-independence in 1980. The early work of Randall-MacIver, and especially of Caton-Thompson (Pwiti, 1994), was of utmost importance in the linking of historical events through archaeology. It was the only tangible way to enhance the more acceptable Afrocentric perspective to Zimbabwe's history and thereby combated the myths and Eurocentric views encompassing many of Zimbabwe's monuments. Modern archaeology has since disputed histories, such as the myth of King Solomon's mines, which were written about Great Zimbabwe. Archaeology in relation to history played a significant role in that it investigated "cultural practices and products protected by rites, cultural values of secrecy and intimacy" (Shepherd, 2002: 10), that early colonial historians were never allowed to observe, let alone understand enough to write about. And so, archaeology played, and still plays, a very important role in the writing of Zimbabwean history, correcting the errors of the colonial past and bringing to light new information about the societies that predated the arrival of European settlers.

Archaeology became the tangible, unchanging and physical facts of a historical period that either verified the written histories or challenged them. Pikirayi (2013), referred to the 14th and 15th centuries as "protohistory," as the archaeological findings at the site of Great Zimbabwe were cross-referenced with written historical accounts through extracting information from datable ceramics and beads (30). Archaeology, therefore, shows us how people once lived, as evidenced by the physical remains: a window into a time that is not affected at present by a country's issues over historical texts and social politics. Although the results of the archaeological findings, can at a later stage be used to politicize writings, the physical remains will always remain invariably the same; they cannot be altered and even though the history surrounding the remains may be rewritten these texts can be corrected through new research on the same remains which in themselves remain unaltered. There will always be new advancements in science and history that will re-examine previous results and conclusions. My chosen textbook sample from third year high school history, *Focus on History Book 3* (1991) and *Step Ahead History Learner Book 3* (2008) made use of archaeological findings such as those mentioned above in the form of illustrations and photographs as a primary source of evidence for the prehistory of Zimbabwe. It was by learning the history through archaeology that learners got an accurate feeling for the real-life struggles of past societies and got to develop a sense of empathy to connect with these societies. It was with the help of archaeology that the simplest forms of modes-of-production were seen to develop over time from a "communal mode-of-production to that of a tributary mode-of-production" (Parsons, 1991: 16). The mode-of-production according to Hall (1996a), consisted of two important parts: "the 'forces of production' (…resources available to a given community) and to the 'relations of production' (the way people organise themselves in order to use the force of production) (67). The learners did not just have written information to absorb and struggle to understand when they physically saw the changes through the forces of production and relations of production presented, and through this the developments of a society. Archaeology and history merged together where written history could not explain past events, or in the example of Great Zimbabwe, there was a wondrous human achievement that was constructed and there was no written evidence as to who the original builders were. Furthermore, there was little to no literature on the early way of life of southern Africans and the written history that was available was from a European perspective and tended to be biased for the purpose of legitimisation.

In the light of all these colonial interpretations of early African societies, and later the migration of the Ndebele into Zimbabwe, the focus of my study was on Zimbabwean history textbooks, in particular the third-year secondary school textbooks mentioned above, looking at their use and explanations and representations of archaeology. Since the arrival of Europeans up until Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, Zimbabwean history had been plagued with myths and assumptions. The history textbooks used in Zimbabwean schools after independence, with a very strong archaeological influence, played an important role in rewriting a new history for a new Zimbabwe by setting the records straight on early Zimbabwean history.

More specifically, I investigated the manner in which archaeology was employed in Zimbabwean history textbooks, not just as historical evidence but also as something more substantial. The first-year and third-year secondary school textbooks, as per the Zimbabwean syllabus 2166 primarily focused on the origins of early African societies and showed in an incremental manner the different stages of development from evolution until they formed the societies that the first European settlers came into contact with.

1.3 Rationale and motivation for the study

I am a Zimbabwean and a member of the country's diaspora currently living and teaching history in South Africa. I completed my first degree in archaeology and ancient history, never seeming to be able to choose between the two as my heart was set on both. I could also never understand how history and archaeology could work independently of one another because it made more sense for them to work together. To me, history and archaeology have investigative skills and techniques that complement each other as methods of enquiry into the past. The understanding of past societies in terms of history, that is sometimes subject to bias or textual politics, can be grounded by archaeology which provides history with tangible evidence.

My main incentive in doing this study was to obtain a degree in history education in order to strengthen my position as a history educator. By embarking on this journey of research I attempted to gain a sense of self-actualization, thus enabling me to share my newfound knowledge with skill and confidence. My skills as a researcher were enhanced by this study. I was able to apply my newfound skills in the classroom and

I felt better prepared for future endeavours in the field of research, should I wish to study further.

When I taught history in Zimbabwe from 2006 to 2007, I felt that my lessons were a lot more fun and experimental than in South Africa. This was because I was able to bring in some of my own collection of archaeological artefacts in relation to, for example, the topic of evolution presented in the Form One history textbooks. At the time I was completing my first degree with a major in archaeology and thus I had a rather large collection of bone specimens that allowed me to explain, for example, the *robustus hominids* in comparison to the *gracilis* as well as showing the learners the differences in the structure of dentition. This made the lessons practical and the learners grasped the concept of evolution visually and tangibly rather than in an abstract form. I also noted a greater interest towards the subject of history, and through these practical lessons a better understanding of earlier cultures and how they evolved over time came about. Changing perceptions and deeper cognitive levels emerged, observed through the many pertinent questions the learners asked of me.

Currently, I am teaching history in South Africa and it was through my experiences in a different context that I really noticed the differences in approach to the position of archaeology in the South African history textbooks and the Zimbabwean ones. My curiosity regarding the relationship between history and archaeology got the better of me and I started to notice that the learners I was working with at the time had numerous questions asking, for example, where the Zulu came from or how they came to be Zulu. This was where I began to reflect on my previous experiences in Zimbabwe and my current experience here in South Africa. I began to study the Zimbabwean history textbooks I had worked with previously, and noticed that archaeology was not just a source of primary evidence but rather an equal academic discipline used to explain historical concepts. Both countries had similar colonial histories although they differed in length. Zimbabwe, however, seemed to have approached the topic regarding the development of African societies from an archaeological explanation rather than just a historical one. The concept of history textbooks using archaeology as a discipline and not just as a source of evidence was something I had never thought about before and I therefore felt the need to read more extensively into the literature of textbook and syllabus development in Zimbabwe.

The topic I chose was worded as "History through Archaeology" because it was really archaeology that formed the basis of African history before the arrival of Europeans. I researched this phenomenon primarily to satisfy my curiosity and understanding of it and because I felt that the two disciplines, history and archaeology, collaborating together was a misunderstood concept. It was an underexplored topic and I felt that not only will I benefit from its understanding as a scholar but so too would the academic community I wished to share my research with. The literature I have read on Zimbabwean history education spoke mainly of the many syllabi revisions that Zimbabwean education had undergone and these revisions usually had a socialist, political or economic agenda. In further readings on archaeology and history, as well as in history education, archaeology was only mentioned as an academic discipline in its own right with very little mention on how it could collaborate successfully with history textbooks, and history education. The literature, especially on the collaboration with archaeology in history textbooks, was silent, and I wished to add my voice to the academic community on how to use archaeology successfully to elucidate history in school history textbooks.

Archaeology was acknowledged in history textbooks as a valid source of evidence relating to the past, but the actual use of it in collaboration with historical concepts and ideologies was not very common. It was through my research that I achieved a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of this concept and thus got to know the shared relationship between history and archaeology better.

1.4 Purpose and focus of the study

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of the use of archaeology in Zimbabwean history textbooks. History textbooks were especially important to the restructuring and Africanising of Zimbabwean history after independence in 1980. Therefore, in this study, I hoped to be able to understand how archaeology was used to explain Zimbabwean history, from an Afrocentric perspective, from pre-colonial times right up to the European occupation of Zimbabwe, and why archaeology was employed to assist historical explanations of the above-mentioned period. It would be interesting to see if archaeology was used to correct previous Eurocentric perspectives taught to learners during the colonial occupation. Furthermore, the study aimed to fill the gap and add to the research being done on Zimbabwean textbooks in

general. The focus was on Form Three history textbooks as well as the nature of archaeology and how it came to be used in the selected sample. The possible reasons behind the use of archaeology were also analysed.

In the light of the above, the study aimed to answer the following research questions.

1. How was archaeology used in history textbooks in Zimbabwe?

2. Why was archaeology used in the manner it was in history textbooks in Zimbabwe?

1.5 Conceptual and theoretical framework

The key disciplinary concepts of this study were history and archaeology, and how they were used together within the same history textbooks. These two separate disciplines were very distinct; they had different methodologies, classifications and epistemologies and yet they appeared comfortably together in Zimbabwean history textbooks. Theoretically, history textbooks were generally believed to be socially constructed, this theory included any representation of early Zimbabwean history in history textbooks. The theoretical framework for this study was, therefore, social constructivism. Archaeology, as mentioned before, can be free from prejudice and political influences – if used correctly, to assist historical texts and not to justify or legitimise events. Therefore, having an archaeological representation of any form of history lent more credence to events that actually took place and it most certainly corrected historical interpretations of the past that were politically or socially biased. The best way to understand the link between the two disciplines was to approach them from a transdisciplinarity point of view. The generic definition for transdisciplinarity, according to Klein (2004), was "a common system of propositions for a set of disciplines" (515), in this instance history and archaeology. In order to have an understanding between history and archaeology and how they worked together, I needed to bridge the "differences in research methods, work styles and epistemologies in order to achieve mutual understanding" of this relationship between the two disciplines (Klein, 2004: 520).

1.6 Research design and methodology

In this section I gave a brief overview of the research design and methodology which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. The research design was the plan "that is adapted by the researcher to answer the "how" and "why" questions," posed above, "accurately and economically" (Ranjit, 2011: 94). A case study was the basis of my research and is defined as the existence of something in action, in this instance it was Zimbabwean history textbooks, that were and are currently still in use. The case study involved the study of these "history textbooks" in action. I chose a case study so that I was able to collect, present and analyse my data fairly (Yin, 2003). The case study method was suitable for my study because it resulted in a fruitful in-depth description, exploration and explanation (Yin, 2003) of the case being studied. I wished to elucidate the phenomenon of history being understood through archaeology. The context of the case was Zimbabwean history textbooks from 1991 and 2008. The case study being Zimbabwean history textbooks and the embedded units of analysis were the pre-capitalist societies in southern Africa: Late Stone Age and Early Iron Age; Middle Iron Age settlements; Late Iron Age; and early contacts with Merchant Capitalism. Qualitative content analysis was the technique used to make sense of the textbook data. This approach was most suited for answering "why" type questions and allowed for a deeper understanding of social and cultural contexts (Nieuwenhuis, 2010a), both of which were the foundations of history and archaeology.

Textbooks, according to Pingel (2010), make "explicit reference to the rules, norms and patterns of behaviour that adults of a particular society believe in and wish to instil in the younger generation" (7). Therefore, the interpretive paradigm was the lens needed to give me the opportunity to experience the phenomenon under study as found in Zimbabwean history textbooks.

The research sample for my study was purposive. Purposive sampling entailed the handpicking of cases by researchers to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgement of their typicality or possession of particular characteristics (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011: 156). For the sample, I selected two Form Three history textbooks that contained the most relevant data to my research. Both textbooks contained prolific archaeological references on Zimbabwe's prehistory. The textbooks I used came from my personal and my supervisor's collection. These textbooks were

also chosen based upon their accessibility and current use within the Zimbabwean school context. The 1991 textbook was outdated in terms of the newer syllabus 2167, but given the current economic turmoil in Zimbabwe and lack of publishing the book was still in use as was the 2008 copy which was based on syllabus 2167.

The methodology used was qualitative content analysis by means of a case study. I read and reread the content of the chosen samples in order to get a feel for the work in its entirety. Upon reading the material a third time I began extracting the data that was relevant to the research questions at hand, all the while categorising the data into fewer headings. For each unit of analysis mentioned above I constantly applied the research questions to the data being read in order to select the information which was relevant to my study. The collected data was further analysed through the open-coding system. The coding system consisted in the naming or labelling of certain extracts of text that contained ideas or information relevant to the research questions posed in the study. In my analysis I used Burnard's (1996) method of colour coding the many headings and categories I had already extracted in order to identify easily the categories that emerged and this assisted greatly in the interpretive stage (Burnard, 1996). Cohen et al. (2011) concurred with the above-mentioned coding method I used stating that this helped to "collate data into similar categories for easier retrieval and to observe any patterns and themes that may emerge" (559).

This system was most suited to my research as it allowed me to adapt and change the codes as I was sifting through the data according to the numerous themes, repetitions and patterns that became apparent.

1.7 Dissertation outline
The outline of the chapters is as follows:

Chapter One
This chapter was written as a preamble into which the history and archaeology of Zimbabwe fell into. This included an explanation of the colonial perspective of Zimbabwean history and, in the light of its newfound independence in 1980, the way in which Zimbabwe set about correcting colonial histories and introducing a more

Afrocentric perspective. This chapter also gave a statement as to my purpose and focus of the study, introducing the reader to the critical research questions posed and the rationale and motivation for the study. In addition, a synopsis of my research and how I proposed to answer the questions was presented.

Chapter Two

This chapter provided an outline on the broad international and local research literature surrounding history education, archaeology in education and textbook development. The review of the literature fell into four themes, namely: school history and archaeology; archaeology and education; history education and archaeology both local and international; and textbook development local and international. This chapter also showed a reflection of the inferences of the literature review for the purpose of the study, which enabled me to distinguish the gap in the literature into which my study fitted.

Chapter Three

In this chapter, I explained how I conducted my research and analysis by explaining the research design and methodology in detail. My conceptual framework was explained through the interpretive paradigm; what it meant and how it affected my study. The next step was the explanation of my ontological and epistemological assumptions of the study and the transdisciplinary approach towards history and archaeology as independent subjects (this was explained through the use of a diagram). The case study, with embedded units of analysis, was my chosen methodology. Furthermore, the analysis of the textbooks as data was done through content analysis and a detailed description of the process of collection of data and analysis of data was documented. I then looked towards the trustworthiness, limitations and ethical considerations of my research.

Chapter Four

Here I presented the results of the first level of analysis that was conducted. Having put the chosen research methodology to use, I was able to delve into the data using the recurring themes discovered and allowed it to speak, therefore, enabling me to answer the first of my research questions, namely: How was archaeology used in history textbooks in Zimbabwe? These recurring themes that presented themselves

throughout the units of analysis allowed me to identify and consolidate how archaeology was used in the overall case study.

Chapter Five

This chapter was the second level of analysis whereby I discussed my findings from the analysis conducted based upon the second research question: Why was archaeology used in the manner it was in history textbooks in Zimbabwe? Here I looked closely at my findings and where they met with the academic literature and to what extent they aligned with the academic writings. This chapter also allowed me to point out the discrepancies between the textbooks sample themselves and the content therein. I also examined the case study within the political context of Zimbabwe and the development of new syllabi after the fall of the colonial regime. This allowed me to obtain a tentative answer to my second research question mentioned above.

This chapter also provided the conclusion to the study through an overview of my findings. I then turned to the contributions that my research had made towards academic research, following on with the limitations of my research and the implications this may have for future research on the topic. Furthermore, I deliberated on the growth I had experienced throughout the research process and what it required of me as an academic contributing to the field of study.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter served to give the reader an overview of the context in which my study fell. The chapter also served to outline the rationale and motivation, purpose and focus, as well as the research design and methodology for the research study. Overall, it provided a backdrop and a preview of the chapters that this dissertation consists of. The next chapter presents a review of the literature on textbooks in general, Zimbabwean history textbooks, the Zimbabwean curriculum, and the role of archaeology in the country and in relation to history.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

A 'literature review' is exactly that; reviewing scholarly works surrounding a chosen field of study. A literature review adds reliability and validity to the research being done and keeps up to date with key issues surrounding the topic (Mouton, 2012). The purpose for all this reviewing was to identify what research was already out there and to ensure that I was not replicating something that had already been done in my field of study. Conducting the literature review was a complex exercise and did not require a regurgitated summary of all that had been read. There was a systematic procedure to follow when carrying out a literature review, as this shows the researcher's thought processes in coming to the conclusion that there was indeed a niche within all the scholarly material where the researcher can add his/her academic perspective on the chosen topic of research. If, according to Boote and Biele (2005), the researcher can successfully create a thorough, refined literature review, then it shall become the "foundation and inspiration of significant useful research" (Boote & Beile, 2005: 4).

The literature review should therefore clearly delineate the key issues in the field to be explored, the importance and the existence, if any, of gaps or niches, in the field; how the research relates to current research and how it will make a contribution to any conceptual, practical, theoretical and methodological fields similar to this study (Cohen et al., 2011).

In order for me to get a clearer picture of the use of archaeology in Zimbabwean history textbooks, I had to do reading and reviewing to identify whether there had been some research on this topic or not. It was not surprising to note that there had indeed been interest around the subject history and its collaboration with archaeology, as far back as 1942 (Frere & Frere, 1942). The research around archaeology and history was centered either in Europe, Brazil or Nigeria, and it looked closely at archaeology as an extra-curricular activity in some instances or how it was used effectively within a

textbook and classroom education. There had not been much research done around Zimbabwean history textbooks and their inclusion of archaeology.

Closer to Zimbabwe, in neighbouring South Africa, the studies of Amanda Esterhuysen and Rachel King, to name a few, were mainly on archaeology and education and not necessarily in conjunction with the subject history (Esterhuysen, 2000; King, 2012). Recently, at the Ministerial Task Team meeting in 2018, Esterhuysen stipulated the importance of incorporating archaeology into the history curriculum in order to make South African history more Afrocentric in nature (Ndlovu, Lekgoathi, Esterhuysen, Mkhize, Weldon, Callinicos & Sithole, 2018).

Back in Zimbabwe, archaeology was seen as a subject within its own right and it did branch out into what was known as historical archaeology, but this focus was mainly at university level in the 1990s and not incorporated into school history. I was starting to realise that there was a gap in the literature regarding Zimbabwean textbooks and the use of archaeology.

The next logical step in this review of literature was to look at the development of Zimbabwean education from the colonial period into the post-colonial period. My thought process behind this was to develop a theory that there may be answers in the curriculum design leading to the use of archaeology. All I found was dissatisfaction, as yet again there was no mention of how the curriculum developers made use of archaeology. A theoretical framework was, however, taking shape in the depths of my mind. If there was a scientific socialist background, and therefore a need to promote nationalism, was archaeology used from this political perspective or was it used in a purely scientific manner to assist in the illustration and discussion of the socio-economic developments of prehistoric Zimbabwean societies prior to the arrival of Europeans, and to correct the many misconceptions that grew from the myths surrounding Great Zimbabwe? This led me to the next development of understanding in my review, and that was to look at the textbooks themselves.

The textbook is pertinent to this study and in order for me to understand exactly how the history textbook was used in Zimbabwe, I had to first understand the origin and purpose of the history textbook. Firstly, I took a look at its content and publication from

an international perspective, as Zimbabwean education did originally stem from Britain. Having gained independence from Britain in 1980, it only made sense that publishing houses and textbook authors may have looked internationally for guidance on the production of the textbooks. Not to mention that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) recommended measures on the production of textbooks in order to avoid villainizing one aspect of a nation against another and to ensure that the history written by the victors of a country remained neutral. Again, my thought process showed that relevant research must have arisen from textbook studies and that something may indeed explain why archaeology featured in history textbooks.

2.2 Education and archaeology

After World War II there was a move in Europe in particular to rebuild the education system. It was also a policy of UNESCO to ensure that all history written was fair and free from any untoward bias. Archaeology in the 1940s was still a fairly new practice and it had not reached its full potential. Frere and Frere, however, had considered that archaeology and history could indeed collaborate with one another successfully and this could be seen as a benefit to education. They believed that archaeology had a message for society in that "archaeology had a part to be played," most certainly with its involvement in education (Frere & Frere, 1942: 97).

Frere and Frere were forward thinking for their time and took into consideration that history gets written from the point of view of the victors, but archaeology remains inherently the same. This is because archaeological artefacts are physical in nature; however, you still had to deduce the historical use of this physical attribute. They believed that the study of archaeological artefacts not only brought one closer to past civilizations and took one beyond written texts; it also helped one to understand their current identity within the world and came to appreciate it:

> The study of archaeology can be of use as a contribution to the philosophic background of the citizen … Archaeology not only amplifies our book-derived knowledge of history to an incalculable extent (bringing us into touch with "the people," about whom no history is written) but also extends our knowledge beyond mere written history to those ultimate roots of human development from which spring the first

principles of our nature and of our physical construction (Frere & Frere, 1942: 108).

I included this aspect of Frere and Frere's work as it seemed that they understood that archaeology helped those in the present to understand those from the past who had no written histories but instead either had their history incorrectly written or left traces of their civilization for us to deduce the history thereof; just as "Darwin deduced the evolution of man from the apes: archaeology proves it" (Frere & Frere, 1942: 108). It was clear from my initial observations of my chosen sample that in the Zimbabwean history textbooks, the use of archaeology to explain the civilizations that had no previous written histories besides the Eurocentric ones was evident. But the explanation of why they were used was not immediately clear.

Using the keywords archaeology and history education, historical archaeology, educational archaeology, archaeology and history textbooks and archaeology in Zimbabwe, I managed to locate many articles related to the use of archaeology in education. What appeared repeatedly in the literature was the importance placed upon archaeology in its support of history from prehistory up to modern history. Another point of interest was to note how various countries implemented the use of archaeology in education, be it in the classroom, within textbooks or through the various courses offered for archaeology; not to mention the training that the various education departments felt necessary for teachers of history and archaeology. The most important aspect of the relationship between history and archaeology was repeated time and again with the collaboration of archaeology professionals reaching out to work together with historians, education departments and museums.

Funari (2000) mentioned that archaeology had been present in Brazilian school textbooks for some time, including a chapter on "the first Brazilian" due to archaeologist "Maria da Conceição Beltrão's [claim] that *homo erectus* was in Brazil as early as one million years ago…" (7). Funari, also found, that the history textbooks soon after these discoveries were made began to misuse this information to foster nationalism, which could "foster vicious nationalism" or inhibited "critical judgement" in the learners and the public (Funari, 2000: 7). He believed that when archaeology and history came together, they should search for "native culture, not nationalist myths"

(Funari, 2000: 8). As a result of this departure from the true nature of archaeology, Brazilian archaeologists were becoming more involved in the production of textbooks.

In the South Africa context, closer to Zimbabwe, Stone and Mackenzie (1990), cited in Esterhuysen (2000: 160), believed in the "application of archaeology in the classroom as a powerful means of restoring the excluded past". Esterhuysen's paper went on to explain that once South Africa had decided to implement a new curriculum after apartheid, a new curriculum development committee was established, and South African archaeologists strongly felt the need to have representation on this committee. A meeting was held with the English Heritage Foundation and the Natal University Education Department where it was decided that they would adopt policies similar to the Council for British Archaeology. This resulted in archaeology being mooted for inclusion in the curriculum, and all aspects of the archaeological past dating back to the earliest hominids could be taught (Esterhuysen, 2000). Esterhuysen's research referred to archaeological education as a subject in its own right and went on to explain some of the achievements of archaeology in the classroom context. Firstly, learners got to recognize that all South Africans made contributions to the country's past and it encouraged empathy and understanding between nations. Secondly, when learners worked with artefacts or archaeological material, they got the "opportunity to engage with the processes of interpretation" (Esterhuysen, 2000: 163). This ties in with Frere and Frere (1942) and Henson, Bodley and Heyworth (2004), who believed that through the physical contact with archaeological objects learners get the opportunity to make their own deductions or inferences of the reality in their hands. Finally, this approach revitalized history, it brought it alive for many learners particularly those who were kinaesthetic learners (Esterhuysen, 2000; Henson, Bodley, & Heyworth, 2004). However, Esterhuysen also noted many shortfalls in the progress of archaeological education and these too are repetitive throughout the literature. Many teachers do not know what archaeology is, let alone how to teach it; given South Africa's recent tumultuous past, many people are wary of "new" histories or just generally ignorant about archaeology (Esterhuysen, 2000: 164).

Archaeological education according to King (2012) is based upon "skills such as excavation, laboratory analysis, interpretation both to build knowledge and create conceptual space…to debate the past" (3). King spoke of archaeology as a separate

entity to history education; she saw it as a stand-alone subject. "Rather than integrate with formal curriculum projects" such as the Mapungubwe National Park and Western Heritage site in the Limpopo Province, King's own projects promoted "hands on learning free of classroom strictures, based upon interactions between students and archaeologists…included field trips, simulated excavations, and laboratory exercises" (King, 2012: 8).

Maropeng was a good example of all the above-mentioned activities as the museum itself was designed for activities to engage the learners' interest in the subject. These activities were connected to the subjects from Foundation Phase right up to the Further Education and Training stages of the South African curriculum. There were resource packs available for teachers and learners on the Maropeng webpage in order for teachers to prepare their learners before taking the tour (Maropeng, n.d). In addition, King (2012) noted that in order for archaeological education to work effectively it needed to be made accessible to class teachers or in the very least have teachers trained in the basics of archaeology, as she documented that, "teachers really struggle to convey the intricacies of archaeological practices as a subject and the processes of enquiry used in the subject" (14). Although King was only looking at incorporating archaeology as a subject in its own right within schools, she had noted the difficulties of getting teachers on board with the idea, an aspect that other African scholars (Agbelusi, 2015) had perceived.

Further to the north, in Nigeria, there was a call to incorporate more archaeology in the history education curriculum. Agbelusi (2015), for instance, suggested that there was a "need for archaeologists to work closely with the government, education planners and other relevant institutions in order to design appropriate curriculum and educational materials that can serve as teaching guides for teachers" (225). Agbelusi believed that archaeology and history education could work side by side in a classroom environment, together with relevant excavations; he also believed that history teachers needed to be exposed to more archaeological concepts and aids in order to explain them effectively to the learners. This need to integrate archaeology with the school curriculum fitted in neatly with Zimbabwean archaeologist Gilbert Pwiti's view on the subject: he was also the first archaeologist to collaborate with

Zimbabwean textbook authors and to produce textbooks that relied on archaeology to explain Zimbabwe's prehistory (Pwiti, 1994).

2.3 School history and archaeology

Based on my chosen title, "History through Archaeology", I had to first have a thorough understanding of what history was and what archaeology was as well as their purpose in the post-colonial context, and how the two worked together.

History is a discipline that endeavours to discover what happened in the past, "by analysing events with a view to establishing the cause and effect and the interplay of human nature and political circumstance which makes history" (ANH101-P, 1999: 1). Another definition of history by South Africa's historical and archaeological panel of 2000 referred to history as "one of the many memory systems that shape our values and morality, as it studies, records and diffuses knowledge of human failure and achievement" (Ndebele, Odendaal, Mesthrie, Jordan, Nasson, Esterhuysen, van Onselen, Callinicos, Maloka, Bashe & Kallaway, 2000). Historians, as much as they try to be unbiased, tend to be influenced by the ideologies, socio-politics and economic norms of the times, not to mention the influence of their own experiences.

History as we know it today, came from the Greek historiographer, Herodotus. He was born in Halicarnassus, Turkey and was wealthy enough to travel from place to place, recording the everyday lives of the then known world. Herodotus felt it necessary to write history, "so that human achievements may not be forgotten in time" (Marincola & de Selincourt, 2003: 3). He was also able to give valuable geographical locations of his travels, which would have been used to locate ancient buildings at later stages by archaeologists. Herodotus' works are invaluable as they are a window into a period of time that we cannot witness albeit "we have to extract what actually happened out of … the exaggerations, naïve anecdotes … [and] fictitious motive" cautions Bury on the previously mentioned works (Bury, 1951: 265). The problem though was his work was only from his perspective and therefore subject to his own judgment as in the case of Herodotus giving a "false" number of fighting troops accompanying Xerxes in the invasion of Greece (Bury, 1951: 269). Herodotus, being human, was also very susceptible to the conditioning within a society that is the norm to conform to, as shown below:

> Abducting young women, in their [the Greeks'] opinion, is not, indeed, a lawful act; but it is stupid after the event to make a fuss about avenging it. The only sensible thing is to take no notice; for it is obvious that no young woman allows herself to be abducted if she does not wish to be (Marincola & de Selincourt, 2003: 4).

So then, what is the difference between the subject history and school history? School history is designed by curriculum developers who decide which history should be included in the curriculum. This will be explained further on in the study. What I would like to discuss here, are the cognitive processes expected of learners at school level with regards to the history they are taught. Barton and Levstik (2004) mentions four key points of performance expected of history learners, these being to identify, analyse, give response morally (to injustices or show empathy) and to display what they have learned (7). These points of performance, therefore, do not expect the history learner to only memorise the events but engage with the content. When learners have to identify something in history it does not mean to simply point it out but rather to see connections between themselves and people in the past (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Through analysis the learner engages with the source material and questions where it came from, who wrote it or establishes links such as cause and effect. The point of performance on responding morally is equally important as it gives the learner the opportunity to remember, "admire and condemn" some of the people and events in the past; it gives them an opportunity to walk in the shoes of people who experienced these events (Barton & Levstik, 2004: 7). Warnasuriya (2017) saw the benefit of teaching morality in her paper *Examining the value of teaching sensitive matters in history*, stating that "students should be expected to remember and recognize the virtues and vices of historical happenings" (8) and thus formulate an opinion for themselves based on the evidence presented. There may also be some pitfalls with this stance of morality as it can lead to unnecessary prejudice towards other nations as in the case of the attack on the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001 by Al-Qaeda and a form of "paranoid nationalism" as noted by Doherty (2008: 7). The United States' response to the attack was a "justification of teaching patriotic history" (Barton & Levstik, 2004: 62). Apple (2002) also acknowledged that after this tragedy "schools [had to] participate in a complicated set of patriotic discourses" (300). The endpoint of all of the abovementioned points of performance would be a display of all

of the knowledge the learners had grasped from the point of identification to responding morally. This display is usually in the form of standardised tests or exams and class quizzes (Barton & Levstik, 2004).

Kukard (2017) took these points of performance and instead of looking at the epistemology or pedagogy of history, she asked what the purpose of school history is. In order to show the purpose of school history, Kukard, broke all this down into three elements: memory history, analytical history and critical history (Kukard, 2017: 23). The purpose of school history then, according to Kukard (2017) and Barton & Levstik (2004), is not to have a chronological narrative of events as presented above, but to also include an element whereby the learner gets to engage with different sources and is allowed the opportunity to question facts and make judgement. School history's purpose, therefore, is to create a memory base, analyse the history and to be critical. History that just focuses on memory history requires learners to memorise the narratives that are presented, which in turn leads to a form of indoctrination, excluding the thinking processes involved, that is analysing the sources presented – you are told the history and therefore it must be true.

What of the time before history? Humanity had been around for centuries before Herodotus wrote his history around 450BCE. This was where the realm of archaeology took precedence, giving a history to the many cultures and societies that never had anyone write about their achievements before. Archaeology is a fairly new discipline in comparison to history. Before archaeology, the world was only believed to have been a few thousand years old; the process of archaeology developed by asking "the right questions" and using the "right methods" in order to determine the events that took place before some of the ancient historians mentioned above (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000: 19). Archaeologists search for many of the discarded parts of civilizations as these give a picture of what everyday life was like. Archaeology as a "discipline is dynamic, ever changing in terms of its ideas, theories and methodologies" (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000: 19) and as a result there are many different fields of study related to the archaeological discipline. There are zoo archaeologists, who study the biological remains left at a site, be it animal, human or plant remains; there are biblical archaeologists, who specialize in the biblical era; underwater archaeologists, who specialize in the recovery of material left underwater for centuries. There are also

historical archaeologists, who collaborate with the physical remains as well as the written evidence that is available for a certain period of time. Hall (1996a) described archaeology as being, "above all else, the study of people through time" (6). It should be noted here that archaeology can also be politicized; in its early conception in both Rhodesia and South Africa, for example, it was used in conjunction with anthropology to justify colonial exploits (Esterhuysen, 2019). But, when archaeology is used in the correct manner, as a science, it can be useful in terms of context when correcting the wrongs of the past as mentioned previously.

Since the growth of archaeology over time, the two disciplines history and archaeology have worked hand in hand. Each one shares a lot in common with the other discipline and a lot can be learned from either perspective. Techniques developed in archaeology can assist the historian in terms of dating an era for which there are no written records. An example of such dating technique is called the "Three Age system" and was developed by C. J. Thompsen (1788-1865) whereby artefacts were divided into either the "Stone Age, Bronze Age or the Iron Age" based upon the base material the artefact consisted of (Hall, 1996a: 261; Renfrew & Bahn, 2000: 25). This Three Age system, however, was "less applicable to Southern Africa, where bronze was not used south of the Sahara" (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000: 25). Later on, the Stone Age was further subdivided into the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic ages. Stratigraphy,[5] radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology to name a few modern dating techniques, have also supported historical evidence in one way or another. If an archaeological discovery had been made and they were not entirely sure of the culture they may be studying or that may even have occurred, history sometimes filled the gap if it had been recorded. Archaeology has also uncovered many artefacts that can be used by historians to augment the historical record or assist in the translation of new

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[5] Stratigraphy begins with the archaeological excavation. As the archaeologist digs deeper, different layers within the soil are observed due to differences in colour or texture of each layer. Each of these layers serves as a chronological order of events, with the earliest event taking place at the bottom layer (Hall, 1996a). Radiocarbon dating is based upon the rate of decay of carbon in an organic sample. All living things store carbon from plants and this process stops at death, since we know the rate of carbon decay, radiocarbon dating measures the amount of carbon left in a sample which then reveals how long ago it died (Devereux, 2006: 6). Dendrochronology is another dating technique that utilises tree rings. Each concentric ring forms as a part of the trees' growth each year; these are then counted to reveal how old a tree is (Devereux, 2006: 6).

languages, such as the Rosetta Stone.[6] If this stone was not discovered by Napoleon's men between 1798 and 1900 (who were really treasure hunters) then the language of hieroglyphs would never have been deciphered by Jean François Champollion (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000: 27).

Shepherd (2002), like Esterhuysen (2019: 8), observed that archaeology was introduced in Africa by Europeans as a part of the process of colonial expansion and that many of their methods were intrusive by nature; he also claimed, however, that archaeology in the African context proved to be of "special significance to anti-colonial and post-colonial movements" (191). Shepherd stipulated that within Africa we can find three typologies of archaeology: nationalist, colonialist and imperialist archaeology. "Nationalist archaeologies", he believed, "tend to glorify a national past and encourage a spirit of unity and cooperation" (Shepherd, 2002: 191); they also provide the means by which to promote a nation through indication of its hardships and struggles to become established. "Colonialist archaeologies tend to belittle native societies by representing them as stagnant and lacking in the initiative to develop without external stimuli" (Shepherd, 2002: 191); this supported the fact mentioned in the introduction that many settlers refused to accept that archaeological features such as Great Zimbabwe could indeed have been built by the native peoples of Zimbabwe. Imperialist archaeology sought to control the development of archaeology within the colonial countries, which they arose (Shepherd, 2002), by imposing the thought processes, ideologies and European society upon the artefacts or sites which were discovered, thus providing evidence of the superiority of the European nations. Shepherd (2002) made a pertinent observation that archaeology provided a powerful form of legitimization for the process of colonialization itself. The most interesting aspect about Shepherd's views was that they strongly suggested reasons for the manner in which Zimbabwe may have made use of archaeology after independence within their history textbooks. Throughout my research, I needed to always be aware of the possibility of Eurocentric perspectives, as archaeology, after all, originally was a European discipline.

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[6] The Rosetta Stone was discovered in Egypt by Napoleon's men in 1799 and it is covered by text written in three different languages: Greek, demotic and hieroglyphs. Jean Francois Champollion, a French scholar, was able to decipher the hieroglyphs because of his understanding of Greek and demotic writing (Devereux, 2006: 12).

In order for the history textbooks to work effectively, illustrating both the historical and archaeological perspectives side by side, professionals in both fields would have needed to consult with one another regularly. But what was needed for history education at school level to learn about their nation's past? Nations want their youth to learn about their past heritage, but if archaeology supported history, especially prehistoric periods, I had to ask myself if it indeed had a place in education.

2.4 History education and archaeology in Zimbabwe
2.4.1 Syllabus development

Zimbabwe was colonised between 1890 and 1897, some 127 years ago; its written history is therefore still very recent. Oral tradition played a large role in pre-colonial societies, much of it is still passed on today, usually supported by archaeological evidence. The memories of pre-colonial histories and traditional values of the Shona and Ndebele are strong as their encounter with the European settlers was much shorter than, for instance, the occupation time of the white settlers in South Africa. When it came to education, much of the first year of Zimbabwean high school history, according to syllabus 2166, focused on the very origins of these societies, with the assistance of archaeology explaining evolution, technology (stone tools and pottery) and cultural development before the arrival of European settlers. These origins began with the "Stone Age", a term used to indicate the most commonly found artefact used as a tool in this period, when "most of the people were nomadic moving around the country with the changing seasons" (Hall, 1996a: 10). These were the hunter-gatherer folk of southern Africa; it was only in "the last ten thousand years that there was experimentation with planting of fields and domestication of wild animals" (Hall, 1996a: 10). From the Stone Age, history textbooks moved on to explain the development of ceramics – "fired clay vessels used for carrying water, storage and cooking food"; further to this the learners were then introduced to the Iron Age where all the tools needed for agriculture were now manufactured using iron methods (Hall, 1996a: 10).

Education under Rhodesian rule was unfairly represented and segregated; there was no equality in education. This education system was based upon a "19th century middle-class" system developed in Britain and adopted by Rhodesia, thus further distancing the African learners from their own history due to dominant Eurocentric

beliefs and interpretations (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011: 29). Educational policy in the colonial period comprised imperial administrators who were in charge of designing programmes of learning for the European settlers as well as programmes that were "specially suited to the needs of the native peoples under their care" (Atkinson, 1972: 11). Atkinson believed that the roots of this discrimination could be traced back to the earliest colonialists feeling threatened by the advance of Africans economically and academically (Atkinson, 1972). This fear of Africans becoming equal also stemmed from the fact that many settlers had endured hardships to get to Rhodesia and begin a new life, only to have this taken away by another group they saw as uncivilised. This would mean failure. Pwiti (1994) added that schools in this period taught that the white people were the rescuers of the African peoples from "barbarity and backwardness" (339). According to Atkinson (1972), the dilemma these imperial administrators had in designing suitable curricula was a moral one as they had to determine whether to "speed up the pace of African development or due to political obligations to safeguard the interests of the colonists" (11). In this context, colonial school textbooks "discouraged black pupils" from engaging with the past (Pwiti, 1994: 339). Thus, I saw from the literature review, a continuation of Eurocentric views of history imposed on the autochthonous people under colonial rule.

Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980 from the Rhodesians, after a bitter civil war between African liberation movements and the white regime led by Ian Smith[7]. The British negotiated a peace settlement which led to a "one-person, one-vote" election (Barnes, 2004: 140). It was Robert Mugabe's[8] political party, Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), that won the elections; it was from this moment forward that Mugabe restructured the education system. The first order of office for Mugabe was to "make education free and compulsory" (Matereke, 2011: 6) at primary school level. This was the start of creating an egalitarian society by

[7] Ian Smith was Rhodesian Prime Minister from 1964-1979. He brought about the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 which made Rhodesia independent of the British Commonwealth and instituted complete governance by a white minority. In 1978, as a member of the Transitional Executive Council, he began the process of transferring governmental power to the black people of Zimbabwe (Mckenna, n.d).

[8] Robert Gabriel Mugabe (1924-2019) was a liberation leader in the 1960s-70s against the repressive Smith regime. In 1979, Mugabe was a key negotiator in the Lancaster House Agreement to negotiate a black majority rule and allow for election ("Robert Gabirel Mugabe", 2017). Mugabe won the general elections in March 1980, and became Prime Minister in April 1980, until his forced resignation in November 2017 ("Robert Gabriel Mugabe", 2017).

"democratizing education" (Chung & Ngara, 1985: 91) in order to remove any form of class distinction and allow everyone to have access to education freely and fairly. The second order of office would be to reform the syllabus designed by the previous Smith government, with emphasis on the history syllabus. Matereke (2011) supported the stance taken by the ruling party and examined its socialist tendencies towards education. He explained the ideologies of Fay Chung, a Zimbabwean educator who was an advocate of the Freirean approach and started her work with the leading party ZANU-PF wartime bases. Chung sought to devise a curricula that would not only achieve the establishment of a socialist state, hence the Marxist[9]-Leninist approach to the syllabus, but would also reverse the colonial curricula that were "inextricably tied to an ideology of racial superiority" (Johnson, 1990: 100, cited in Matereke, 2011: 7). The old colonial system of segregating learning between the white (also encompassing Indian, Coloured and Chinese) and the indigenous black people was removed and replaced with a system to include all children regardless of their background (Zimbabwe National Commission for UNESCO, The Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture and The Ministry of Higher Education and Technology, 2001). Prior to this change there was differentiation in the syllabi and textbooks used for each group (Chung & Ngara, 1985: 97).

In order for me to fully grasp the education system in Zimbabwe and to understand the underlying structures leading up to the textbooks I was studying, I had to go to the roots of the restructuring process of education from a colonialist (imperialist) ideology to a socialist one. Zimbabweans fighting in the struggle realised early on that if they were to fully achieve their liberation goals, they had to wipe out the stamp of imperialist ideology from the people. The best way to do this was to institute a socialist form of education into the system. This meant implementing the scientific socialist approach of Marxist-Leninism into the school curriculum, university and teachers' colleges. This was going to be the most suitable vehicle for teaching the masses about the benefits of socialism and the dangers of a capitalist society similar to the one that they just gained independence from. I understood the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism from my previous historical studies but having read Chung and Ngara, I was exposed

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[9] Marxism according to Hall (1996a) is an "economic, social and political theory formulated by Karl Marx (1818-1883) (67).

to a more profound meaning that sat neatly in my theory that archaeology may have been used in school history textbooks to explain the socialist principles now being taught. In the foreword of the book written by Chung and Ngara, Dr. Ushewokunze defines Marxist-Leninism as:

> It teaches that social development is not influenced by any divine forces; that social development has no ultimate goal, no supernatural destiny inherent in it from the beginning; that there is nothing pre-ordained or authentic about historical events; that history is made by people, by the masses, and further that their thought and feelings leave an indelible imprint on the nature of socially significant events (Chung & Ngara, 1985: iii).

Furthermore, to Chung and Ngara (1985) the socialist theory of education, which was coined "polytechnic education" by Lenin, was designed to make individuals understand the world around them completely and through that understanding being enabled to change the world around them, that was, their living conditions and working conditions (89). The following were some of the principles of polytechnic education that I had chosen because of their relevance to the topic that I was studying:

- It seeks to link mental work with manual work … it emphasizes the policy of education with production and the necessity to turn all intellectuals into workers and all workers into intellectuals. It is one of the objectives of socialist education to turn all members of society into people who can use both their hands and minds to develop their country.
- Polytechnic education is meant to lead the learner to a greater appreciation of the role of art, history, science and other disciplines in education and life (Chung & Ngara, 1985: 89-90).

Chung and Ngara (1985) had shown that, to them, education was a means and a way to support the political, social and economic structure of society. This statement closely relates to the mode-of-production explained earlier, whereby, 'forces of production' and the 'relations of production' become clearer through the presence of archaeology in the textbooks, and allow learners to have a better understanding of "socio-economic conditions and the role of productive forces and technology in social development" (Chung & Ngara, 1985: 90). In conjunction with the research I wanted to cover, I was beginning to see a bigger picture in the use of archaeology in history textbooks because the Marxist approach was used for the explanation of modes-of-

production, a niche that archaeology fitted into to explain the development of pre-capitalist societies.

Zimbabwe made use of a syllabus at school level instead of the curriculum. The difference between the two is that the term curriculum encompasses the aims of a subject's pedagogy, methodology, content and assessment, and the syllabus supplements the curriculum and breaks the content down into topics, also stipulating the time frame in which to teach and to assess. This syllabus was created by the Ministry of Higher Education and Technology from whence all the targets and syllabus requirements stemmed. The Ministry of Higher Education and Technology focused on teacher education as well as technical, vocational and university education (Zimbabwe National Commission for UNESCO et al., 2001). The Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) translated government policies at primary and secondary education levels into measurable objectives, programmes and activities for the teachers in the classroom (Zimbabwe National Commission for UNESCO et al., 2001). In theory, decisions made on content and methodologies were made in conjunction with Teacher Education and Teachers' Colleges which took place at "several levels through Heads of Sections meetings and subject panels" (Zimbabwe National Commission for UNESCO et al., 2001: 13). All the syllabus development stemmed from higher education institutions such as "university specialists, education officers, teachers' colleges and teachers, and finally representatives of the ruling party" as well as from commerce and industry and other relevant ministries (Chung & Ngara, 1985: 100). The reform of Zimbabwe's school history from the previous colonial one to one for a new nation was extremely important as the CDU had to determine criteria for the history syllabus; criteria which, according to Siebörger (2000), "is as important as the first phase in the development of the curriculum," as the new curriculum becomes the representation of "liberal and radical historians alike" (2) who would want their interpretations of pre-colonial history taught as the corrected versions. The CDU's most difficult task in rewriting Zimbabwe's history for the new nation was to choose "which history [to] select and for which Zimbabwe" (Ranger, 2004: 215). Chung and Ngara (1985) believed that history most certainly had a powerful role to play within the newly established state's curriculum, as it was possibly one of the most suitable subjects to put forward the theories of Marx and Engels. Chung and Ngara (1985) saw history as effective in "sharpening the consciousness of the people … by enlightening the people about the oppression of

the masses; their role in the liberation struggle, where they came from and why they are where they are and the implications this has for children of the future" (114).

The old Rhodesian syllabus 2160, which had been in use in the country since the mid-1970s, continued to be used after independence, "sometimes with new and more Africa-centered texts" (Barnes, 2007: 635); this was the case up until the early 1990s, when the new syllabus 2166 finally came into effect. The need for reform would include the rewriting of Rhodesian history into a history that the new nation, Zimbabwe, could relate to. In other words, a voice could now be given to the many traditions silenced since the start of colonialism. The reform, introduced in 1991, attempted to move away from the colonial Eurocentric version of history to a more "nationalist, Africa-centered and Marxist-inspired history syllabus" (Barnes, 2007: 633). This syllabus tied in with the ideology of scientific socialism, which, according to Chung and Ngara (1985), "is about changing society for the better"; it follows that "therefore socialist education helps the learners to understand how societies work" (102). What better way to assist this understanding of how societies work than by teaching prehistory through archaeological principles to school learners?

Moyo and Modiba (2013) explained that Marxism and Leninism had become more "central to the teaching of history" (6). This was supported in Barnes (2004), who noted that the "examinable syllabus content consists of pre-capitalist modes-of-production" (147); archaeologically speaking, this referred to the Late Stone Age to the Early Iron Age societies. There was mention of the need in the syllabi to study pre-capitalist modes-of-production and yet there was no reference to the actual use of the discipline of archaeology to explain these concepts; instead, there was simply mention of the time periods such as the early Stone Age or Iron Age that only archaeology could explain sufficiently.

The following is a topic that was taught in Zimbabwe's schools and it was categorised under the title "Origins of Humankind" in Syllabus 2166. This particular topic was central to my research because it was very closely linked with archaeology and it was examinable in paper one of the "O" Level examinations after four years of secondary education: Comparative pre-capitalist modes-of-production in Eastern and central Africa (Late Stone Age to Early Iron Age states of *Motapa* and *Rozvi, Zulu* and *Ndebele* States) (Barnes, 2004). This was the period I was most interested in, because

I was able to analyse how they used archaeology to explain the concepts of the first societies and how they were formed before the advent of capitalism.

Ranger (2004) and Barnes (2007) both mentioned that the new history curriculum, which emerged as a nationalist historiography post 1980 and 1990s in syllabus 2166, made a surprising jump (because syllabus 2166 had only just been revised and released in 2001) to a more patriotic form of history, in syllabus 2167, which was released in 2002, only a year after 2166 had been revised. Syllabus 2167, from 2002 until 2015, left the lengthy nationalist type of history and launched into a more patriotic version, "focus[ing] student attention on the political heritage of Zimbabwean nationalism" (Barnes, 2007: 648). Syllabus 2167 was different to 2166 in that it did not go through the development process with teachers and professional historians as did 2166, and there was a reduction in non-Zimbabwean, African, and Third World history content. In relation to the presence of archaeology, nowhere in the preamble or the aims and objectives of syllabus 2167 did it mention the use of archaeology. What was mentioned was the need to "understand the various stages in the development of societies and the different forces, which interact to produce change" (Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, 2013: 3). Archaeology, then, was a valuable tool employed in the historiography of Marxism-Leninism to explain the earliest modes-of-production which would help young learners understand the various stages in the development of societies previously mentioned. This explanation tied in with my focus on how archaeology came to be employed in the history texts not only as a source of evidence. The sample textbook, from syllabus 2167, nonetheless, showed a representation of archaeology under the topic of pre-capitalist modes-of-production.

It seemed to me from the literature review, that archaeology in Zimbabwean history textbooks, came to be used as a logical inclusion in the explanation of the developments of the prehistoric societies in Zimbabwe listed in syllabi 2166 and 2167, because archaeology had the potential to fill in the gaps made by Eurocentric literature and assisted in the rebirth of a new history for a new nation. Archaeology lent a more Afrocentric perspective in terms of cultural and traditional practices not mentioned in great detail by European writers, who would have been mostly concerned with Eurocentric points of view on the development of their newfound colonies. Ranger (2004) stated that "patriotic history and academic archaeology fit well together"; he

mentioned this in relation to the declaration of the Matopos[10] as a World Heritage site, thus protecting Rhodes' grave site which was on the verge of being ripped up and returned to Britain, and the repatriation of one of the halves of the Zimbabwe bird returned from Germany (Ranger, 2004: 228).

Many historical concepts such as Marxism, Leninism, socialism, nationalism and patriotism were mentioned within the development of the various syllabi mentioned above. Yet there was silence within the syllabi themselves and later the textbook developments regarding the importance of archaeology throughout these various concepts found in Zimbabwean histories. Where did archaeology fit in? There were many niches and opportunities for archaeology to have a prominent position, yet it was barely represented in the criteria from the syllabi to the textbook authors and publishers.

2.4.2 Education and archaeology in Zimbabwe

What was understood so far, having read a number of articles on syllabus development in Zimbabwe, was that there was a definite move from the colonial form of thinking and a move towards socialist tendencies.

Zimbabwe had a very rich prehistory and, as mentioned before, Great Zimbabwe was the biggest bone of contention amongst the white settler beliefs. Great Zimbabwe was indeed a wondrous human achievement, a reflection of a society that was flourishing and wealthy, and yet the white settlers could never accept that indigenous Africans were the builders of this site. They had the notion that it was an impossible achievement for black builders and only peoples like King Solomon or the Queen of Sheba could have built this structure. Against this backdrop, how does one even begin to teach the prehistory of Zimbabwe? Archaeologists such as Garlake, were exiled under "the repressive Ian Smith government…in 1971" for sympathizing with the indigenous peoples and contradicting dominant views of the white settler community

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[10] The Matopos is an area approximately 30 kilometres south of present-day Bulawayo in Zimbabwe. The Matopos "region consists of a huge granite pluton (bubble), formed over 3000 million years ago" (Hubbard & Burrett, 2010: 1). The Matopos area is very rich in archaeological sites: "3000 archaeological sites to a national database of 14 000" (Hubbard & Burrett, 2010: 8). The burial site of Cecil John Rhodes is located on a granite kopje known as *Malindidzimu* (the Place of the Spirits) (Hubbard & Burrett, 2010).

regarding Great Zimbabwe. Textbooks focused on European history and major wars that took place in Europe; thus, black learners were unable to develop an understanding of their past.

It was only upon gaining independence that the new government came to truly appreciate the value of archaeology. Archaeology would give the newly constituted nation an opportunity to learn about and engage with their past in a way that was not Eurocentric. Pwiti (1994), noted that archaeology in education was initially only introduced as a part of the history programme at the University of Zimbabwe, not at school level. Those who exited the university Honours programme, which was developed in 1990, were better equipped to teach prehistory at school level, having had a better form of instruction in the field. Pwiti (1994) examined some of the 'O' Level textbooks that emerged after the syllabus change to 2166 in 1990; his observations related to some of my findings. He had noted that there were explanations to learners on the dating techniques used and that the textbooks were devoted to the Iron Age period from AD300 – 1700; the illustrations and activities he noted were archaeological in nature and moved away from the traditional history textbook style (Pwiti, 1994). Due to the fact that Zimbabwe was moving away from the colonial ideology into a more socialist perspective, the syllabus and textbooks were moving in much the same direction and there was an entire section on Marxism and modes-of-production. Pwiti himself, in collaboration with Barnes, Mutwira, Mvenge, Pape and Prew (1992), developed one of the first history textbooks that saw collaboration between an archaeologist, an anthropologist and historians to create a textbook that followed the new syllabus. Garlake, an archaeologist, and Proctor, a historian, (1991) co-authored *People Making History Book 1* in much the same manner. The textbooks of the new syllabus were designed to have archaeology as the main source of data for the earlier periods of Zimbabwean history.

We saw this change in direction of the use of archaeology in school history textbooks with the return of Garlake, who always supported the views that Great Zimbabwe and many other monuments were indeed produced by African people, and Pwiti, who himself was a product of the archaeology programme at the University of Zimbabwe.

2.5 Textbooks

2.5.1 What is a textbook and what is its purpose?

According to my own understanding, a textbook is a direct link in terms of getting the curriculum, in Zimbabwe's case the syllabus, directly to the learner; it is a programmatic curriculum. A textbook is "specifically written for use in schools and in support of the syllabus" (Slater, 1992: 14); these resources are described as being "physical objects, bound within covers", having gone through an expensive process of publishing and binding, and therefore not "cheaply adaptable to meet unanticipated changes in society." Textbooks are crucial elements in the process of constructing legitimized ideologies and beliefs, and therefore they are a reflection of the history, knowledge and values considered important enough by key players in society to be taught to younger generations (Crawford, 2004). These key players hold the power to determine what content and knowledge, is selected for the textbooks, and this in turn can lead to a form of textual politics. These beliefs can be seen to be both "pedagogical and political" in nature as there are social, ethical and economic aspects within a textbook, not just the element of "textual politics" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991: 215).

Having determined what a textbook is, it was clear that a textbook can have a political agenda and not just a pedagogical one. In the last century, concerned educationalists and politicians became aware of this very fact, hence the term 'textual politics'. It had been noted that school textbooks did indeed lean towards glorifying and promoting ruling groups within one nation or society and at the same time marginalised or demonised minority groups within the same nation (Pingel, 2010). Texts reproduce what a "society" has recognised as truthful and legitimate (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991) and yet "society" itself is often not a true reflection of the entire social group. Usually it is the state or "a select few intellectuals or economically privileged groups or individuals" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991: 214) those that are in power determine whose knowledge is official and who has the right to decide what is being taught and how teaching and learning should be evaluated (Adams, 2006: vii). Therefore, criteria for selection must be clear, fair and declared so as to avoid "omissions" and "sacrifices" that could be covertly done, or forgotten by chance, or by tradition or for political reasons (Slater, 1992: 17). UNESCO endeavoured to move textbooks away from these textual politics and set up guidelines or criteria by which member countries could develop unbiased or unprejudiced textbooks (Pingel, 2010). Among other things,

the textbook recommendations endorsed by UNESCO gave equal weight to knowledge, attitude and skills (Pingel, 2010) and brought real life experiences into the classroom.

Within textbook publishing, questions have to be raised when looking at the criteria for selection of content. The following keywords indicate just how important a set of criteria can be in determining content: Is it objective, scientific, impartial, neutral, ideological, or biased? to name a few. In Rhodesian history textbooks the very same trend of promoting those in power would have been noted: the glorifying of the white man's achievements in Africa over the barbaric nations and the portrayal of the Ndebele always being the aggressors, as mentioned previously in the dissertation. The above methods of textbook revision are globalised and Zimbabwe's textbook revision was no different in this regard as it went through the very same checks and balances to reproduce well rounded textbooks for the new nation. An example of this was the National Report prepared for UNESCO by the Zimbabwe National Commission for UNESCO, The Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture and the Ministry of Higher Education and Technology (2001). While the above were all notably political and social criteria of a textbook, there also had to be some consideration of the pedagogical criteria.

The arguments presented above concerning what the "official knowledge" should be, reflect overwhelming political, economic and cultural relations and histories within a society. The group that holds power in any given country, in this case Zimbabwe, always imposes its own ideas on the rest. Chung was one of the driving forces behind the expansion of socialist education in Zimbabwe in order to prepare Zimbabwe's youth for the workplace. In my context looking at how and why archaeology was being used in school history textbooks, I can only deduce that these aspects were used to support the theory of Marxism and modes-of-production, which was closely associated with a socialist policy that emphasised: "vocationalism, productive activities and self-reliance" (Jansen, 1991: 80), and were introduced into the history curriculum in preparation of the youth for the work force in later years.

2.5.2 Textbooks and publishing

Publishing is the occupation or activity of preparing and issuing books, journals, and

other material for sale. Publishing involves authors, publishers and editors who may come from vastly different backgrounds in terms of social standing, gender, race, religion and culture; these differing backgrounds inevitably tend to influence the outlook they have on life and reality as well as the type of knowledge they believe should be passed along (Apple, 1991). All of these play a role in the final publications to be produced and once again it should be noted that the question of what is considered legitimate knowledge should be posed. Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) state that because the textbook is the "major role" player behind "whose knowledge" is taught (1) we start to see all the stakeholders in history textbook production wanting to be heard one way or another; these stakeholders being authors, government and political party agents, and publishers.

That which is taught as "legitimate knowledge" is made available to learners through textbooks, which are produced by publishing houses (Apple, 1991: 28). Other criteria to consider when the textbooks are being published are the thoughts and goals of all the parties involved in developing the textbook. Publishers and authors will look at the question of "will it sell?" while teachers may ask themselves "will my learners actually learn from it?" (Slater, 1992: 18).

In the case of Zimbabwe, to those who may have considered Smith's regime oppressive and the portrayal of the 'official knowledge' incorrect, may have wanted a more Afrocentric perspective of the past come to light under the new Zimbabwe.

2.5.3 Publishing of textbooks in Zimbabwe

The publishing sector in Zimbabwe would have been affected by a number of factors upon gaining independence. Many countries that broke away from colonial oppression followed the socialist path; Zimbabwe was no different. Originally, publishing in Rhodesia was a tradition of "colonial domination", therefore "cementing inequalities within the intellectual system" of Rhodesia from a very early period (Altbach, 1991: 243). Zimbabwe, upon gaining independence, had considerable success in developing an indigenous publishing capacity as well as locally written and published textbooks.

Textbook content follows the syllabus criteria set by the CDU of the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe. If the syllabus criteria were unclear, then the publishers' and authors' assumptions of the criteria tended to remain ambiguous and thus, they "unwittingly disseminate[d] assumptions even prejudice" in their works (Slater, 1992: 17). According to Barnes (2004), the country's secondary textbooks were almost completely published in the "private sector and textbooks were authored by teachers, members of teacher training colleges and the University of Zimbabwe" (145).

The goal then of new textbook production was to correct the errors of colonial historiography by filling the silences and making use of new academic scholarship to rewrite the history of Zimbabwe (Barnes, 2004). In this context, Zimbabwe, too, would have experienced many battles regarding the inclusion or exclusion of content since independence.

After independence, Zimbabwe saw a rise in the number of publishing houses and by 1996 there was an estimated 50 companies (Barnes, 2004). This steep rise in the number of publishers was attributed to the fact that the new government's policy was to open up education to all learners regardless of their social or racial backgrounds and they implemented free primary education for the first time in history (Barnes, 2007). This was the brainchild of education minister Fay Chung, of Mugabe's ZANU-PF party, who restructured the education system to incorporate a massive inclusion of learners from all cultural backgrounds of Zimbabwe. Barnes (2007) concurred, stating that "increasing the educational opportunities for African children was one of the government's top priorities after 1980" (637). "Government announced free primary education for all children" (Barnes, 2007: 637) which only lasted until 1992, when the new history textbooks were reintroduced. As a result, non-profit private publishers, such as Mambo Press, contributed significantly to local textbook development (Altbach, 1991).

Textbooks were not a cheap resource that was readily changed when society or the politics in society changed. Syllabus 2160, which continued to be in use after independence, was used in conjunction with textbooks that were already in circulation, with a few minor adjustments to fill the gaps and silences inherent in colonial

historiography (Barnes, 2004). Zimbabwe was very successful in this regard under education minister Chung.

As mentioned above, publishing at the time in Zimbabwe was flourishing and competitive, and almost struggling to keep up with the demands. In 1990 up until 2002, the release of syllabus 2166 saw more textbooks with a strong focus on Zimbabwean monuments and pre-capitalist technologies discussed in history textbooks, with a strong archaeological perspective. The focus of nationalist history placed heavy emphasis on comparative industrialisation, progress, revolution and social history (Barnes, 2004). It was not clearly specified in the syllabus that archaeology be present in the textbooks, but under the topics presented in the history syllabi, archaeology seemed the only natural recourse to explain that which the historiography was silent on, or could not explain entirely on its own. Syllabus 2167, the most recent in use, has been termed a "patriotic history" (Barnes, 2004; Maposa & Wassermann, 2014; Ranger, 2004) as it focused specifically on Zimbabwean history and politics, namely that of the Ndebele and Shona, not giving much recognition to other, minority groups living in Zimbabwe. This was clearly seen in the history textbooks that had a strong representation of archaeology alongside the history of the Shona and Ndebele, indicating each society's technological development in the form of different pottery types as one example. Another aspect was that, once syllabus 2167 came to be used, many publishers who could not afford to put out completely new publications, just revised the existing textbooks. For example, the textbook *Focus on History Book 1* by Parsons and Mudau (2011) stated on the acknowledgements page that this was a book first published in 2011 and yet on the back cover of the book it was approved in 2009.

My research perspective was the context before the patriotic history to the earliest African societies represented in Zimbabwean history textbooks and how this was portrayed in the textbooks. Archaeology, I believed, gave a holistic interpretation of pre-capitalist societies before the arrival of Europeans and their ideologies and technology. Archaeology is a 'tangible' form of history that can assist written history with concepts and not just source material that history alone cannot explain or interpret without the aid of archaeological methodologies. How much can these tangible aspects assist learners in creating a visual perspective of reality rather than an

abstract version in the textbooks? This was a question which Maposa and Wassermann also alluded to in the following; "are these learners really being taught to observe the facts and sources, as they should be?" (Maposa & Wassermann, 2014: 255).

The impact of what historical skills were being taught on my research was to identify whether archaeology did indeed assist in the explanation of historical concepts and skills through its representations or illustrations. My study hoped to identify the intentions of the state in placing topics such as evolution and stone tool technology that can only be explained carefully through the use of archaeology in the syllabi and how authors and publishers interpreted the syllabi to (successfully) use archaeology to explain these concepts.

2.6 Conclusion

The literature that was studied had thus explained that it was possible for archaeology and history to work together and indeed necessary in some instances in order to correct many of the existing Eurocentric interpretations of the past.

History is limited up to the point before the earliest historian recorded major events that took place; prior to this, written works are silent and that then become the domain of archaeology. Archaeology was important in that it indicated who may be responsible for the building of a certain site; it explained this by studying the remains of the societies that previously occupied the region, as in the case of Caton-Thompson, who was called in to identify the peoples who built Great Zimbabwe and to scientifically disprove the arguments around the buildings being the possible sites for the mines of King Solomon. Her work proved that the buildings had been built by indigenous African peoples, much to the dismay of the white settlers of the time who felt that such people were far too inferior to have built such grandeur. Although facts such as Caton-Thompsons' proved who the builders were, those that were in positions of power and disbelieved the findings, had it in them to prevent archaeological studies to progress, thus hindering the advancement of the subject. In other words, archaeology was also used to promote that knowledge which a ruling party wanted society to have.

Archaeology in education is not new and the idea has been around since 1942. Its notions improved gradually over the years and were adopted by countries such as Brazil, Britain, the United States and South Africa. Brazil acknowledged that archaeology can indeed be used to promote focus on a certain period of time as in the promotion of Brazil's first man, which put the Brazil on the map, to the detriment of all other Brazilian history. Some of these countries however have only introduced archaeology as an extra-curricular programme or a separate subject in the classroom, which would require teachers working closely with archaeological centres, or at least preparing teachers in the field so they can relate it to their learners. Within the literature on these cases there was no mention of incorporating archaeology in the history classes and teaching the learners archaeological principles through history textbooks, except for the mention of Zimbabwean history textbooks by Pwiti (1994).

Pwiti, himself an archaeologist, collaborated with an anthropologist and historians to write a new history textbook in line with the requirements stipulated by the Department of Education's syllabus. This textbook focused mainly on the prehistory of Zimbabwe and relied heavily on archaeological methods of dating and excavation in order to explain the development of Stone Age and Iron Age communities. Furthermore, what was pertinent was that these societies were also explained by making use of the socialist principles of modes-of-production, in line with the nation's change in politics and ideology, which involved moving away from the capitalist modes-of-production of the colonial era into a socialist state.

Although Pwiti had touched upon the question of why archaeology was used the way it was in history textbooks, he did not explain in detail the way the textbooks were constructed; whether they did indeed follow the syllabus in detail or how the authors managed to collaborate together. His methodology of textbook analysis stemmed mainly from a content and discourse analysis but did not elaborate on how this was conducted or how each discipline managed to communicate what was required, balancing the principles of history and archaeology. This was the silence that my research intended to lend a voice to.

This study therefore attempted to address this silence within a Zimbabwean context by investigating why this kind of archaeological literacy was adopted in the textbooks

and how the authors and publishers of Zimbabwean history textbooks collaborated and made use of archaeology.

Chapter 3

Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter was to illustrate my research design and methodology. Moreover, it gave an explanation of the research process whereby I tried to explain how and why archaeology was represented the way it was in selected Zimbabwean history textbooks. This chapter began by explaining the research design and the paradigmatic framework. From there, an explanation was given of the approach to the study, in this case explaining what a qualitative approach is and why it was most suitable for this research. Following on from this were the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the study, followed by the research methodology. The methodology itself, which was a case study, was explained in terms of the choice of research methods, including how the content was analysed and my choice of the sample and sampling technique. Finally, the chapter took into consideration the trustworthiness aspects; the limitations and ethical applications to make sure that the strengths and weaknesses of my methodology were thoroughly explored.

3.2 Research Design

At the outset of a proposed research project, the researcher already has a vision or concept in mind based on what they would like to research. This concept is ideally the end piece to the research that needs to be conducted. In order to get to this end result the researcher needs to devise a plan of action. The design should lead them to achieving this vision. You have this grand image of your dream house in mind and you need to get the idea down on paper. Who do you go to, to do it? An architect would be the answer to getting that dream house down on plan. On paper it will be easier to see if the design could indeed be a reality or left to the fairies to magically create. Once this reality and vision is on paper and all the things that could go wrong in the building process have been smoothed out, then the actual building of the dream house begins but this is the next stage of the building process to be discussed later.

The dream house design mentioned above was a research design. According to Ranjit (2011), it is a "routine plan that is adapted by the researcher to answer the questions"

posed above, "validly, objectively, accurately and economically" (Ranjit, 2011: 94). Mouton (2001) similarly stated that a research design is a "plan or a blueprint of how you intend to conduct the research" (55). The research design is the process of getting all the ideas of an end result in mind and put down on paper. In other words what the researcher's idea should look like once completed. The design also indicates the steps that were taken by the researcher to conduct the study and get to the final result.

The type of qualitative design that guided my research was a case study with embedded units of analysis. The data I wished to collect could not be quantifiable and so a qualitative design was necessary. In the event of my research I had to ensure that I followed a set of steps to help keep my design and vision on track. I had to ensure that I had the right tools for the job and iron out any unrealistic methods that may creep in unintentionally.

The purpose of the research was not only to show that the researcher knew how to apply the technical aspects of a theory or of a research methodology in order to get possible answers. It was about how the researcher viewed their world, what he or she may take understanding to be and what he or she saw as the purpose of understanding (Cohen et al., 2011: 3).

3.2.1 Research Paradigm

When researchers talk about a paradigm, the reader needs to understand that this is a type of lens on how the world is viewed. When going on a game drive and you see a lion kill some distance away, you would naturally pick up a pair of binoculars (your lens) to have a better view of the lions eating their kill. This is an analogy for how we view the world around us on a day to day basis. Now, the theoretical lens, according to Creswell (2009), is used by researchers to "view their studies" from the angle of the "concept of culture, central to ethnography, or gendered, racial or class differences" (176). Sometimes the view to the study may be constructed around identifying the "social, political, or historical context of the problem under study" (Creswell, 2009: 176). Simply put, a world-view is how a human being perceives the world around them. This view of the world is also known as a paradigm. A paradigm is then a set of assumptions or beliefs about foundational aspects of reality which gives rise to a particular world-view (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Nieuwenhuis, 2010b).

There are a number of different paradigms in relation to qualitative research, namely critical theory and constructivism. The term constructivist, according to Guba and Lincoln (1989), has its roots in an enquiry paradigm that was an alternative to the scientific paradigm; this constructivist paradigm was also known by other names such as interpretive and hermeneutic, to name two. The interpretive paradigm is based on the following assumptions:

> "that human life can only be understood from within; that social life is a human product, the human mind is the purposive source or origin of meaning, human behaviour is affected by the knowledge of the social world and the social world does not exist independently of human knowledge" (Nieuwenhuis, 2010b: 59-60).

In the light of these assumptions, I realised that the interpretive paradigm was the research approach most suited to my research.

The reason for my choice of paradigm was that instead of being the researcher sitting on the outside trying to objectively observe my phenomena – imagine an observer watching a goldfish going about its goldfish life in a fishbowl – I chose to be the observer who was actually that goldfish in the fishbowl going about my life as a goldfish and looking at reality through goldfish eyes. In other words, the goldfish was constructing its own reality through gold fish eyes and I in turn interpreted this construction through my own eyes. In this way I lived and perceived the reality and world-view of that goldfish. This analogy fitted in with what Nieuwenhuis had to say on the interpretive paradigm in qualitative research, namely that

> "the ultimate aim of interpretivist research is to offer a perspective of a situation and to analyse the situation under study to provide insight into the way in which a particular group of people make sense of their situation or the phenomena they encounter" (Nieuwenhuis, 2010b: 60).

For example, consider the praise poems of Shaka[11]. They were created at a time when he was still alive and so there would be minimal negativity towards himself and his reign. Since his death however, the praises would have changed and Shaka would be viewed in a different light. Were they indeed true reflections of people's world-views of his lifetime? Did he want these praises sung of himself or did the people choose to do so of their own free will? These are the types of interpretations we need to deconstruct in order to uncover hidden meanings.

What one person perceives as reality is different to another because of vastly differing cultural and socio-economic backgrounds: "culture changes over time and varies from community to community" (Nieuwenhuis, 2010b: 64). Therefore, "multiple realities do exist" and as researchers we try to develop an understanding of the multiple realities out there and of life itself, by interpreting or "deconstructing" these realities to determine their meanings or those that are hidden (Nieuwenhuis, 2010b: 64). "The researcher's intent is to make sense of the meanings others have about the world" (Creswell, 2009: 8). This is not an objective form of observation; therefore the interpretive paradigm has been heavily criticised because of the very fact that it is so subjective in nature.

In relation to my studies the interpretive paradigm was most effective, as archaeology and history are both social constructs of human "versions of reality". Because reality originates within the human mind, in other words it is a creation of the mind, and human behaviour is affected by this knowledge of the human world, the interpretive paradigm can be further subdivided and placed into another set of assumptions, in this case namely constructivist. In other words, interpretivism is how you would interpret another's reality and constructivism would be the understanding of the construction behind that reality.

Moreover, the view of this study was constructivist; any piece of historical work, including textbooks, are an expression of the thoughts of the author or authors and

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11 Shaka was the son of a Zulu chief, named Senzangakhona, and his mother Nandi was a daughter of the Langeni chief. It is believed that Shaka was conceived illicitly and was therefore not accepted as an heir to the chiefdom, and so he grew up with the people of the Mthetwa under chief Dingiswayo. Upon his father's death he returned to his claim as rightful ruler of the Zulu. Shaka was well known for his military ingenuity was equated with Napoleon: "a kind of black Napoleon" (Peires, 2009: 159).

any interpreters of this information need to position themselves within the "author's perspective in order to reconstruct the intended meaning of the text" (Nieuwenhuis, 2010b: 59). What this meant was that in the constructivist world view there are no single truths, rather all truth is relative and constructed by human individuals or society as a whole (Hogue, 2011). Creswell (2009) explained that "social constructivists hold assumptions that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work" (8). Further to Creswell's explanation was that "the goal of research is to rely as much as possible on the participant's views of the situation being studied" (Creswell, 2009: 8).

In order for me to gain a better understanding of these human constructs I needed to use the interpretive paradigm as my research lens. Therefore, the records in history and archaeology were subjective, and I had to observe this subjectivity by putting myself in the shoes of the writers of archaeology and history in order to interpret from their perspective how they viewed their realities.

It was my understanding that the textbooks themselves were social constructs as they were designed by key players in a society who placed content (stipulated by a central curriculum development unit) into textbooks that they felt was necessary for younger generations to learn. Pingel (2010) supported this view by stating that textbooks make "explicit reference to the rules, norms and patterns of behaviour that adults of a particular society believe in and wish to instil in the younger generation" (7).

Therefore, the interpretive paradigm was the lens needed to give me the opportunity to experience the phenomenon found in Zimbabwean history textbooks, from the perspectives of the creators of the textbooks. I hoped to understand intentions and points of view of the authors; their form of reality, which lead me to the assumptions of my study below.

3.2.2 Qualitative approach

There are many aspects to consider when approaching a research project, the key word here being 'approach'. The word approach can have a number of different meanings applied to it, such as technique, method, strategy, angle and attitude, to name a few. In the same way that a person can approach life with a positive or

negative attitude, a researcher uses either a qualitative or quantitative approach in his/her studies. In conducting my literature review, I became aware that the data I wished to gather was not quantifiable. Instead I wanted to gather data that was qualitative in nature; data that would give me a deeper understanding of the research questions posed above. Merriam (1998) stated that "instead of reporting findings in numerical data the findings are recorded using literary techniques such as prose which give a more colourful description" (11). How would I begin to approach my interest in how archaeology was used in Zimbabwean history textbooks?

There are three different approaches a researcher could come across at the outset of his/her study. The researcher needs to understand what each one entails and see which approach best fits the intended study. The three approaches are quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods.

To further explain what qualitative research is Nieuwenhuis (2010b), described it as giving a rich description and depth to the phenomenon being studied. This approach, he continued, was most suited for answering "why" type questions and allows for a deeper understanding of social and cultural contexts, both of which are the foundations of history and archaeology. Nieuwenhuis (2010b), on the other hand, maintained that "qualitative research focuses on description and understanding phenomena within their naturally occurring context" (51). In my research I tried to understand the Zimbabwean curriculum within its context; from 1991 until present, approximately 10 to 30 years after independence.

Merriam (1998) pointed out that qualitative research, which is a naturalistic paradigm that falls into the postpositivist category, suggests that the world is made up of multiple realities or beliefs and the world is not an objective object but rather a "function of personal interaction and perception" (17). What is most important about qualitative research is that the researcher tries by all means to understand the process and the meaning behind how people build their social worlds (Merriam, 1998). What my literature review had shown me was that there were many perspectives on Zimbabwean history. There was the official version of the European settlers, then the more recent history of a new nation that wanted to correct the history of the past, and

most recently a patriotic form of history; added to all this was the archaeological perspective of the above-mentioned histories.

By using the qualitative approach of research, my research aimed to observe how the reality mentioned above for the European settlers and the autochthonous inhabitants of Zimbabwe was perceived in its natural environment; thus, giving me a deeper understanding rather than a broader understanding of the phenomenon being studied. Further to the above-mentioned interpretive paradigm my focus was of an interpretive design. I interpreted the nature and meanings of the relationship between history and archaeology in two textbooks.

3.2.3 Ontological assumptions

The ontological assumption guiding my research was that reality in society is perceived differently from one social group to the next and that textbooks are usually a reflection of this reality within contemporary socio-political contexts.

"The study of nature and form of reality (that which cannot be known) is called ontology" (Nieuwenhuis, 2010b: 53). The ontological question one should ask is, "What is there that can be known?" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989: 83). Ontological assumptions are based on the perceptions of reality, how people view what is considered real to them in their world view, so, in other words what is the nature of this reality?

In answer to this question, it is known that archaeology complements history. History and archaeology by extension are representations of the consciousness of a society, its past and present. Archaeology for instance can show a society's sense of reality within the contemporary socio-political context. For example, when studying the remains of a human settlement it is through human observation and experiences within their lifetime that one formulates how an artefact or communal area may have been used. This would be the observer's reality of what they are viewing.

As a researcher I had to always be aware of my own subjectivity in my observations and I needed to apply a method of observing phenomena from within that person's perspective and not mine. When I conducted readings on research methodologies and

on ontology, I was aware of this question: exactly whose perspective was I learning from right now? Surely my own logic also guided me in identifying forms of reality – could ontology just be another form of a 'schooling' method to get me to see reality as a researcher should?

These questions helped me to realise time and again that I was looking at the creation of history textbooks in Zimbabwe and that there were many different forms of reality that may have come together in the creation of these textbooks. The reality of the country at the time of the creation of these textbooks was a tumultuous time, during which there was a changeover of government from an oppressive European regime into a socialist form of government. This provided an opportunity for history to be rewritten from the perspectives of the oppressed. Furthermore, the reality was that many different authors from different social, cultural economic and even career backgrounds came together to assist in the writing of these textbooks.

The disciplines of history and archaeology are social practices that developed from human ideas and traditions (Godemann, 2011). Therefore, the developers of the curriculum and textbook authors were people with different backgrounds and different views on life and these views may subjectively come forth in their constructions of the curriculum and textbooks without them even being aware that it was occurring. Education according to Apple (2002: vii) is a "site of conflict about the kind of knowledge that is and should be taught, it is about whose knowledge is official". Epistemologically speaking, how do I know if the correct knowledge was being shared and if it was at all necessary to have archaeological knowledge alongside history?

3.2.4 Epistemological assumptions

Epistemology is the relationship between the knower and the known. A question Guba and Lincoln propose is, "how can we be sure that we know what we know?" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989: 83).

I know that archaeology complements history and answers questions history cannot possibly have documented. It is known academically, as shown in the literature review, that archaeology and history work together, and yet historical archaeology is a fairly new subject. Is it because history, the oldest form of documentation of events feels

there is no place for archaeology, which is inherently different as it follows a scientific approach? Is it that historians and archaeologists have not yet figured out a way to work together in a transdisciplinary manner? Yet what we do know is that in Zimbabwe teams of archaeologists and historians came together to create history textbooks with history and archaeology working together side by side.

The epistemological assumptions of archaeology being used not only as a source of evidence but also explaining historical concepts arose from my interpretive approach to the study.

In order to ascertain whether the knowledge of both disciplines presented together in the same textbook was at all necessary, I had to take a closer look at each discipline individually and come to an understanding of the link between the two. The concepts of history and archaeology as two separate disciplines were very distinct; they had different methodologies, classifications and epistemologies and yet they appeared comfortably together in Zimbabwean history textbooks. One of the purposes of this study being to understand how archaeology was used in Zimbabwean textbooks and to begin to understand this concept, I had to first understand the connection between the two subjects. The best way to do so was to approach the disciplines from a transdisciplinary point of view. The following was a design I used to explain the transdisciplinary relationship between the two disciplines, history and archaeology, and the role of the key players in this theory.
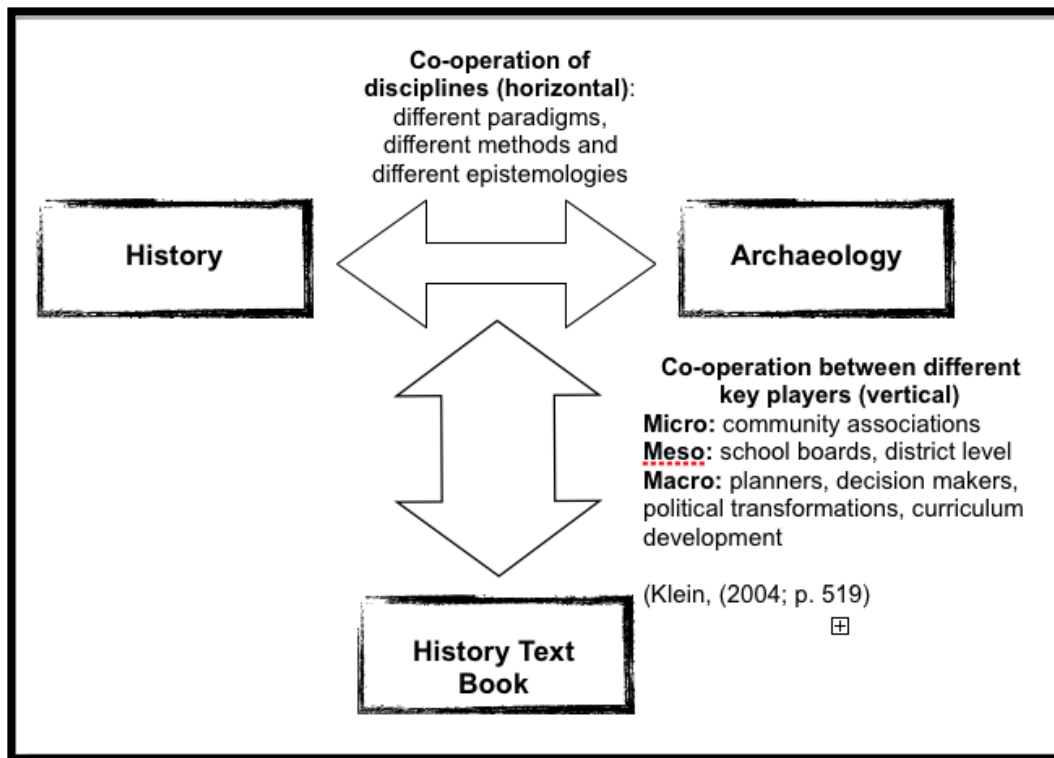
Figure 2: Diagram indicating the transdisciplinary relationship between the two disciplines history and archaeology.

The generic definition for transdisciplinarity according to Klein (2004) is "a common system of propositions for a set of disciplines" (515). In order to have an understanding between history and archaeology and how they worked together, collaborating textbook authors needed to overcome their "differences in research methods, work styles and epistemologies" (Klein, 2004: 520). There needed to be two teams of researchers in the development of the Zimbabwean history textbooks, a team of historians and a team of archaeologists, in order to draw upon their knowledge and the manner in which it may be incorporated into the history syllabus. These teams had to be able to overcome differences in concepts, research methods and approaches in other words they would have had to communicate effectively (Godemann, 2011) to get the final product.

3.3 Research Methodology

A research methodology is explained by Mouton (2012) using the analogy of a house in the process of being built. The design was used by a contractor to build the house and a number of methods such as laying foundations, bricklaying the support walls and so forth was used to achieve the end result stipulated by the design. The methodology I chose for my research process was a case study. Merriam, (1998) in

relation to case study research, said that "qualitative case studies are the ideal designs for understanding and interpreting observations of educational research" (2).

3.3.1 Case Study as a research methodology

Nieuwenhuis (2010c) describes case study research from an interpretivist perspective, which strives towards a "holistic understanding of how participants relate and interact with one another in a specific situation and how they make meaning of a phenomenon under study" (75). The resulting collection of this data was in the form of a thick, rich description of the phenomenon under study. Merriam (1988), explained this "thick description" as a term derived from anthropology and meant "complete, literal description, of the entity being investigated" (11). Additionally, according to Merriam (1998), "the case (phenomenon under observation) seeks to be explained in its context and in depth" (11).

The case study is a methodology used in many situations to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organisational, social, and political phenomena. The case study method allows "investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events – such as individual life cycles, international relations, and the maturation of industries, organisational processes" (Yin, 2003: 2).

A case is defined as the existence of something in action, in this instance Zimbabwean history textbooks currently in use. The purpose in choosing a case study was to be able to "collect, present and analyse" my data fairly (Yin, 2003: 1).

Case studies are usually heavily criticised for not being academic enough or lacking in rigour and tending to move towards biased views based on the researcher's selection of data (Yin, 2003: 10). Consequently, I needed to have a sound research design that informed how my case worked and allowed me to formulate my research methodology.

The case study qualitative method for this study was that of a single case with embedded multiple units of analysis. The context of the case was Zimbabwean history textbooks post-independence, 1980 up until the present. The case was Zimbabwean history textbooks and the embedded units of analysis were specific sections (chapters)

within the textbooks that answered the how and why questions on the use of archaeology in history textbooks. These units of analysis were based on the following chapters within the chosen sample: the Later Stone Age and Early Iron Age, the Middle Iron Age, the Later Iron Age, and the contact of Southern African kingdoms with Merchant Capitalism (European occupation).

Figure 3: A basic design of a single case, embedded study. Diagram adapted from Yin (2003: 40).

3.3.2 Sample and sampling techniques

Sampling is a process whereby the researcher selects a portion of the population to study (Nieuwenhuis, 2010c); this portion needs to be carefully considered as it needs to give an accurate representation of what exactly the researcher hopes to achieve. Purposive sampling is generally a feature of qualitative research; according to Cohen et al. (2011) and Nieuwenhuis (2010), researchers often hand pick the cases they want to include in the sample based upon a defining characteristic in the sample that is specific to their needs (Cohen et al. 2011; Nieuwenhuis, 2010c).

The choice of purposive sampling suited this case study: as my focus was researching history through archaeology, I had purposely chosen history textbooks that had clear archaeological references to assist the historical explanations. The selected history textbooks were also in accordance with Zimbabwe's Ministry of Higher Education's requirements. The syllabus 2166, mentioned in the literature review, was developed

in the 1990s and followed a nationalist form of history. The first textbook I selected fitted neatly into the nationalistic history period, being published in 1991. The second textbook that was selected was published in 2008 under the more patriotic syllabus 2167, which has been in use since 2002 until 2017. The selected textbooks have both been in use within Zimbabwean schools in the past and presently (due to the recent political shifts making publishing or the acquisition of any textbooks difficult); therefore, they present a fair representation of what has been taught in the classroom setting. "Current" history textbooks implied that they were presently being used in schools in Zimbabwe depending on which was more readily available. It was difficult to obtain newer prints of history textbooks given the current political climate in Zimbabwe and the lack of indigenous publishing houses as previously stated. Both textbooks were from the third year of high school. The selected textbooks are *Focus on History: Book 3* by N. Parsons (1991), published by The College Press, and the second book is *Step Ahead History: Student's Book Form 3* by S. Mavuru and K. Nyanhanda-Ratsauka (2008), published by Longman Zimbabwe. The relevant sections of the data sample were selected based upon their employment of archaeology to help explain historical concepts and modes-of-production in line with the socialist tendencies charactering Zimbabwean syllabi and textbooks. The main focus of the study was on development of human societies from taking a closer look at their technological and social development through the different modes-of-production as well as the formation of societal structures before and briefly after the arrival of the Europeans.

Authors	Year	Title	Publishers	Sections to be analysed
Mavuru, S. & Nyanhanda-Ratsauka, K.	2008	Step Ahead History. Student's book Form 3.	Longman Zimbabwe	1. Developments Early Societies – pp.1 2. Great Zimbabwe – pp.11 3. Mutapa State – pp.20 4. The Rozvi State – pp.34 5. The Zulu State and Nguni incursions – pp.43 6. The Ndebele Kingdom – pp.61

				7. Portuguese activities in the Zambezi Valley – pp.73
Parsons, N.	1991	Focus on History: Book 3	The College Press	1. Topic boxes and Introduction – pp.4 and 5
				2. Introduction - pp.9
				3. Later Stone Age and Early Iron Age - pp.11
				4. Middle Iron Age Villages and Early Towns – pp.27
				5. Later Iron Age Kingdoms – pp.40
				6. Southern African Contacts with Merchant Capitalism – pp.57

Figure 4: Textbook sections selected for analysis.

The selected sample had to be checked to ensure their authenticity (Merriam, 1988). *Focus on History Book 3* was approved by the Ministry of Education in July 1991, whereas *Step Ahead History* Form 3 was approved by the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture in March 2006. My concern with the second textbook was that the authors' names were aliases and I was unable to locate their original names. In addition to this, the acknowledgments section was rather sterile in that there were no real acknowledgements of actual author or illustrator contributions. The acknowledgements were referenced only to the National Archives of Zimbabwe and the Ministry of Information. In comparison, the first textbook had a section of acknowledgements that included the National Archives of Zimbabwe, the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe and a number of contributors, most relevant of which for this study was the mention of Garlake who was a resident archaeologist and art historian of Zimbabwe.

The sample size was sufficient to cover that which was and is presently taught in Zimbabwe, as both textbooks strictly followed the syllabi as set out by the Ministry of Higher Education and Technology. Importantly, while the selected textbooks follow two different syllabi from different periods, the focus on their material is largely the

same; with marginal differences in the newer model showing slightly less archaeological features than the first.

3.4 Research Methods
3.4.1 Content analysis

The data analysis instrument I chose to use was content analysis. This method was most suited to my study as it was flexible and it allowed me to study the specific selected content, including images and symbols, that were relevant to my research questions. By using content analysis I was "exploring textual data" with the intention of grouping together similar ideas, themes or concepts (Burnard, 1996: 278). Qualitative content analysis as a research method suited my study best as it "seeks to answer questions about how and why the patterns in question came to be" (Morgan, 1993: 116). These how and why questions fitted in neatly with my research questions posed earlier in Chapter 1. The aim then, in using content analysis was to gain a condensed and broader description of the phenomenon under study (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Mouton, 2012; Nieuwenhuis, 2010a).

Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use or simply looking at data from different angles in order to identify keys in the text that can help us to understand and interpret raw data (Krippendorff, 1980; Nieuwenhuis, 2010a), in the case of this research the textbooks sampled. For Hsieh and Shannon (2005), content analysis is "defined as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (1278). "Words", according to McTavish and Pirro (1990), are a basic form of data for much of social science research because they are the "usual medium for social exchange" (245). Krippendorff (1980) on the other hand believes that the content analyst views data as representations not of physical events but of texts, images and expressions that are created to be seen, read, interpreted and acted on for their meanings, and must be analysed with such uses in mind (xiii). Textbooks are a form of social exchange between those in charge of their content and the youth, the future of a country, in this case Zimbabwean school children. The case study itself was in the interpretive paradigm, due to the fact that I interpreted literary texts to ascertain the reasoning behind the use of archaeological concepts within a history textbook, and so

the study resulted in rich descriptions of the case and units of analysis that were analysed.

Burnard (1996), Moghaddam (2006) and Elo & Kyngäs (2007) have all indicated that there were three steps or stages a researcher should go through in order to collect and analyse the data. These stages are preparation, organisation and reporting. Burnard (1996) and Moghaddam (2006) give them different names but their concept is the same. Another basic decision to make when using content analysis was selection of a unit of analysis (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004).

I began with the preparation stage according to Burnard (1996) as the data collection steps, he proposed were most clear to me. Burnard's stage 1 and 2 are akin to Elo & Kyngäs' (2007) preparation stage. The first step in my data analysis process was to make photocopies of the relevant selected sections within the textbooks. My aim was to explore the data through reading to get a holistic feel for the data, including diagrams and images; this was done in order to group similar types of ideas and categories (Burnard, 1996: 278). This process allowed me to identify and make headings and categories about what I read. The next step in beginning the data collection was to read over the content I had selected in the photocopied material. According to Dey (1993), reading in qualitative data analysis is not meant to be passive but rather to comprehend and prepare for the analysis stage. The reading conducted therefore, allowed me to become familiarised with the content and to interact with the material by answering Who? What? When? Where and Why? questions (Dey, 1993). These in turn made me familiar with the content I covered and gave me familiarity with the diagrams and images relative to the study. When I began to read the content of the samples for the second and third time in its entirety, I subsequently began the initial coding process. What this meant was that I engaged deeper with the material looking for themes and categories, and started writing annotations of what I thought the data meant in the margins of the copies.

Having read the documents a couple of times, I took all the data that was captured and put it into a tabulated word system. This stage saw me trying to categorise and place the themes into relevant sections by linking the data together under headings or

categories. A sort of typology was coming together. This sequencing that I am mentioning is known as open coding.

Open coding, as defined by Goulding (1999), is the process of breaking down the data into distinct units of meaning. Jones (2007) took the above definition further by stating that "coding is where similar pieces of datum are tagged with descriptor and bundled into relevant categories for later comparison" (66). The original textual pieces were taken out of their source data and then coded. This consisted of the reader analysing the textual data that was extracted, line by line, in an attempt to identify key words or phrases which connected the data to the research questions (Goulding, 1999). The coding process was not just about collecting the data from the samples, it also required a measure of interaction by the researcher with the material. This interaction was in the form of keeping a personal journal or memo which indicated the researcher's thought process, in this instance, my thought process as I worked through and collected the data. My thought processes included observations of irregularities that I noticed or instances of data that was relevant to the study but struck me as unusual. Goulding (2009) gives mention to the importance of "mak[ing] use of memos or a journal, which are notes written immediately after data collection as a means of documenting impressions of the researcher and describing the situation, which also helps map out the theory" (9). As mentioned above, the coding process would be very erratic to begin with, taking the selected annotations and sorting them into specific codes so that much of the data that was collected and had similarities would be easier to categorise under headings or themes. At this organisational stage I was also looking to reduce the amount of data that I had collected. All the information that could be gathered was gathered and reduced into more manageable sets of headings. These headings were based on themes to better identify and categorise the different archaeological evidence across the sample. The following were the themes I broke the data down into:

Theories
Chronology and Evidence
Architecture
Economics

Society

Death Rituals

Pseudo-archaeology

By going through the collection thoroughly I was able to identify the redundant or repetitive data that had been captured. Burnard (1996)'s suggestion was to end up with no more than "12 headings or categories" (276). This step went on continually until the data was saturated, when there was no more data left to add to the codes.

Abstraction, according to Robson (1993) cited in Elo and Kyngäs (2007), meant formulating a general description of the research topic through generating categories. After the initial identification of emerging codes, categories or themes, the further analysis of the captured data began. The coding of each sentence began anew and at this stage the coding was unfocused and open (Goulding, 1999: 12). I had to look at all the data captured again in an attempt to reduce the number of headings and categories. Jones (2007) explains that qualitative data analysis uses a process of reduction to manage and classify data: meaning, the units of text are de-contextualised by stripping the textual segments away from their source documents. Burnard (1996), suggested taking all of the "final sets of categories and allocating a colour to them, such as a fluorescent marking pen. These colours are used to mark up the data collected and, in this way, the entire document is categorised" (279). I would have to print out the data and then colour code each heading, cut out each coloured section and paste them into their correct colour categories. This method allowed me to recognise the patterns that emerged and assisted me in the next stage which was to answer the "so what?" question in order to offer explanations for the groups that emerged (Burnard, 1996: 279). The process itself was also "necessarily reductionist, as it involve[d] the breaking down and reporting of parts of data sheets" (Burnard, 1996: 280). Moghaddam (2006: 10) and Yin (2003: 11) further add that with "qualitative research it is not possible to provide the full evidence in a manner that is as immediately accessible to the reader, meaning that the work has to be selective enough that when presented to the reader it is still able to create a meaningful picture".

The continued colour coding on these headings and categories broke the data down into analytical portions which were afterwards raised to a conceptual point and the following questions then needed to be addressed once all the data was captured:

So what? (Burnard, 1995)
What is the context?
What is meant?
What is happening?
Can we clarify or elaborate the data? (Burnard, 1996: 279; Dey, 1993: 94)

Dey (1993), suggested that answering these questions provided the basis for a well-grounded interpretation. By annotating the data, I was able to open up the data and prepare the groundwork for a more systematic and thorough analysis (Dey, 1993). I was able to use the collection of all the memos (journal entries or annotations) of the data progressively for mapping in order to further reduce the content (Dey, 1993). Working through the data repeatedly for reduction purposes also revealed deeper, hidden meanings that required interpretation on my part as a researcher (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Once I arrived at analysing the qualitative data I had collected, then my goal was to summarise what had been seen, such as noting common words, phrases, themes, or patterns that would aid me in the understanding and interpretation of that which was emerging (Nieuwenhuis, 2010a). The abstraction process, according to Elo & Kyngäs (2007), continued for "as long as is reasonable and possible" (111).

Content analysis does not come without its criticisms. Some objections come mainly from scholars working in the quantitative field who feel that content analysis is too simplistic in technique and it is not statistical in nature (Morgan, 1993). Yin (2003), pointed out some other criticisms of content analysis in case studies, including that it provides little basis for scientific generalisation: "*How can you generalise from a single case?"* (11). A short answer is that case studies, like experiments, are generalisable to theoretical propositions and not to phenomena or populations. With the case study I did analytic generalisations so that I could generalise theories, not enumerate frequencies. Burnard (1996) shared many of the same sentiments, namely that the process is too "mechanical and that real qualitative analysis takes time and a certain immersing in the text" (280).

Qualitative analysts are likely to use themselves as the source of codes and the researcher in any qualitative research is the primary instrument for data collection (Merriam, 1988; Morgan, 1993). Therefore, the researcher and reader need to be constantly aware that this research is subjective in nature, which is another criticism from the quantitative field. Researchers need to also be aware that excessive interpretation on the part of the researcher poses a threat to successful content analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

A challenge with any qualitative study is that it "generally lack[s] in detailed and transparent methodological approaches" (Moretti et al., 2011: 426). This was the reason for my intentions in giving a full and thorough step by step process of the data collection methods and the means of analysing the data that was captured. It was also imperative that I created categorical headings or themes that were not ambiguous in nature, as ambiguity could lead to my research lacking in trustworthiness; to be discussed further in more detail. I also needed to constantly run my headings and categories past my supervisor as a means of having a sounding board in order to ensure that my categories were realistic and not questionable. The content analysis of textual data makes a "good source for qualitative case studies" such as mine, "because they can ground an investigation in the context of the problem being investigated" (Merriam, 1988: 109).

3.4.2 Trustworthiness

I did not quantify anything in my data, and I did not use figures therefore I did not need to validate my material. However, I needed to prove to my readers that what I had observed and written down as facts was indeed trustworthy. To overcome this aspect, the work that I had done has been read and reread a number of times. I have sat in supervisory sessions and gone over yet again the entire written-out material and explained how it was obtained. The process of writing and rewriting what I found also added to some of the credibility as did the keeping of a journal and memos throughout my research.

Because the primary instrument in qualitative case study research was human, in my case all observations and analyses were filtered through my worldview, my values,

and my perspectives (Merriam, 1988). To establish trustworthiness of the data I had collected and to obtain valid inferences, I had to make sure that I stuck to the procedures mentioned under the sub-heading content analysis for arranging and processing the raw data (Moretti, F; van Vliet, L; Bensing, J; Deledda, G; Mazzi, M; Rimondini, M; Zimmermann, C; Fletcher, 2011: 421).

In order to maintain trustworthiness in my research, Yin (2003), suggested that a "case study database increases the reliability of the entire case study" (102). Yin (2003), went on to make recommendations that case study "notes should always be readily available and preferably in a categorised system, with headings of categories and sub-categories" (101). Furthermore, the documents – the sample – "should have an annotated bibliography to ensure swift retrieval" and storage (Yin, 2003: 103), in my case the colour coding mentioned in the methodology. In other words, Yin (2003), recommended documentation, annotation and memos of every step taken in the data collection process; included in this process was the sharing of information collected with my supervisor and another trusted colleague in order to verify or use them as a soundboard to state my intentions and interpretations. They saw perspectives that I overlooked and had not included in the study. Not only did diverse data provide the evidence needed for me to draw conclusions, but they provided the evidential "chain of evidence" that gave credibility, reliability and validity to the case study (Yin, 2009: 122).

In addition to the chain of evidence, Yin (2003), suggested that the analysis of data is an "interpretive process" (143) and I had to go back through the data several times to ensure that all the data fitted the interpretations given or conclusions drawn, without unexplained anomalies or contradictions. Further to this, I ensured that "all data was accounted for or that rival interpretations were considered" (Yin, 2003: 160) and that "significant features of the case were highlighted" (Yin, 2003: 161).

Crystallisation is a method used for monitoring trustworthiness. The manner in which it works is for the researcher to understand and have a self-awareness of their own world-view before attempting to understand the many constructivist perspectives surrounding them. Once this is achieved it makes it easier to obtain a much deeper understanding of the data collected. The crystallisation method mentioned in

Nieuwenhuis (2010c) was possibly the best technique in terms of monitoring trustworthiness and it was a way of following through with Yin's process of maintaining a chain of evidence. As the data was explored using the various data collection techniques mentioned previously, my interpretation of the data was fairly represented. What was discovered from these analyses were those bits of information that had formed as a crystal might, growing one on top of another, by constantly noting each stage of collection. This in itself was reliable as an emerging pattern became evident and this was what added to the trustworthiness of my research (Nieuwenhuis, 2010c).

3.4.3 Ethics

This study was in full compliance with the University of Pretoria's policy on ethical issues (see Appendix 1).

The study I conducted was purely textual as it used history textbooks which have been published and are available in the public domain. Thus, the use of textbooks as a source of data removed any contact with people in this study. The sample that I had selected was easily attainable in the public domain and accessible to anyone as they were written for the public, especially schools in Zimbabwe. As a result, I had no problem in obtaining ethical clearance to continue with my research.

To avoid any bias towards the chosen sample I differentiated between the two textbooks without seeming to approve of one more than the other. I had thought of possibly distinguishing between the two by stating the 1991 textbook as "old" and the 2008 textbook as "new". But then I realised all I would be doing is allowing myself to be biased in doing so, as I knew very well that the first textbook was founded on a nationalist syllabus and the second was founded on the patriotic syllabus. Therefore, the most neutral option in this case was to select colours to differentiate between the two and avoid any bias I had or any of my readers of this research paper may have towards the authors. The textbooks were as such referred to as Brown (1991) and Orange (2008), as illustrated in the table below:

| *Focus on History Book 3* | Brown book (1991) |
| *Step Ahead History Form 3* | Orange book (2008) |

Figure 5: Textbook differentiation to avoid bias.

In addition to the obtaining of an ethical clearance, I had not plagiarized anyone else's work and would like to stipulate that the work contained in this dissertation is my very own. In accordance with the University of Pretoria's policies regarding plagiarism, I submitted my work to Turnitin to gain verification that I had not plagiarised (see page iv).

3.4.4 Methodological Limitations

The first limitation to this study was the size of the sample as it only represented a small portion of the textbooks that have been in circulation since 1990. However, this should not prove to be too much of a limitation as all textbooks had to be approved according to the Ministry of Education's guidelines before textbook production could commence.

The second limitation related to the fact that this study was a qualitative case study and the results cannot be generalised as they would be in a quantitative study. My case study methodology depended on a single case with multiple embedded units of analysis, therefore it was incapable of providing a generalised conclusion (Creswell, 2009). However, being a study of enquiry which was inductive and focused on the process of understanding and interpretation of the data collected, unlike its quantitative cousin which is deductive and experimental requiring statistical and generalized results (Merriam, 1988), the qualitative case study resulted in a rich, deep description of the phenomenon under study.

The last limitation was that of the researcher being the primary data collector and analyst in the qualitative case study research. However, this research design allowed me as the researcher to be reflective and adaptive as there were no real specific steps to follow in the gathering of my data. Furthermore, I employed the crystallisation method and maintained a chain of evidence throughout the study, including the use of my supervisor and editor to oversee what I collected, allowing them to identify any inaccuracies that occurred in this study.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I outlined the research design and methodology that I employed to answer the research questions posed in Chapter 1 in the anticipation of gaining a better understanding of the relationship between history and archaeology in Zimbabwean history textbooks.

The theoretical framework for this study was social constructivism founded on the interpretive paradigm. The ontological and epistemological assumption of the study was that both knowledge and reality are socially constructed, in this case through the use of a transdisciplinary approach. The study made use of the qualitative case study design and the methodology used to answer the research questions was a case study employing content analysis and open coding to analyse the data. The chosen sample was comprised of two Zimbabwean history textbooks for Form 3 (third year high school), selected based on purposive sampling. Furthermore, I attempted to acknowledge any criticisms and limitations with regards to my research.

Chapter 4

Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of the chapter on methodology was to show how I conducted my research, from the gathering of data to the steps taken to analyse the data within my conceptual framework. This chapter took a closer look at the results that were taken from each unit of analysis in the hope of answering one of my research questions: How was archaeology used in Zimbabwean history textbooks? These results were broken down into workable themes in order to best identify the uses of archaeology. The data was collected from the Brown book (1991) and the Orange book (2008) samples as mentioned in the previous chapter.

The themes discussed showed how archaeology was used to explain the development of societies through basic modes-of-production. These societies were Late Stone Age (hunter-gatherer), Early Iron Age and Late Iron Age societies. Radiocarbon dating, dendrochronology and stratification were just some of the methods employed by archaeologists to determine the dates of a settlement and thus place the dates into the respective Ages mentioned above.

4.2 How archaeology was used in the analysed Zimbabwean history textbooks

The analysis of the textbook sample was categorised under four units of analysis, namely, Later Stone Age and Early Iron Age, "Middle Iron Age" Villages and Early Towns, Late Iron Age Kingdoms, and Southern African Contacts with Merchant Capitalism. Each unit of analysis was further subdivided into several themes in order to show how archaeology was presented in each of the units of analysis. What emerged from each of these units of analysis was the Marxist-Maoist component of ZANU-PF ideology through the different modes-of-production presented. An important finding was that archaeology was used as a source of evidence to correct the contradictions of the Eurocentric points of view, some of which were mentioned in the literature review. Bearing this "ideology" in mind, the themes used to show how archaeology was used in the history textbooks were as follows; theoretical terms, chronology and evidence, architecture, economics, society, death rituals and pseudo-

archaeology. Each of the themes was discussed in detail in relation to the unit of analysis within the textbook sample. The themes presented do overlap each other especially theoretical terms, chronology, evidence and death rituals which were all a form of evidence in themselves.

The first theme was how archaeology was used to explain certain theories. The basis of this was the use of words like "archaeologist explain" or the actual use of the word "theory". Sometimes, whilst analysing the textbooks, it was evident that the use of a building or artefact was based on an archaeologist's or historian's deduction as there was no conclusive evidence to state that the artefact was used in a specific manner. Then I would accept it as theory.

Chronology and evidence tended to overlap one another on occasion. For example, the discovery of pottery sherds was considered evidence, but it also served the purpose of typology. This was done by looking at the shape, size, style, thickness or patterns of the sherds to determine what era they may have come from or how they overlapped with other cultures. Under chronology and evidence, I inserted maps, because maps of certain regions were drawn based upon the archaeological evidence discovered.

4.3 Unit one: Later Stone Age and Early Iron Age
4.3.1 Theories
I encountered the theories and principles of archaeology right at the outset of the textbook sample. The Brown book (1991), was a very structured textbook beginning with an introduction to the reader, including an explanation of the purpose and focus of the textbook. The purpose and focus of the textbook were on "the growth of capitalist production and capitalist societies" (Brown book, 1991: 5). "Historical and dialectical materialism" was explained as being central to the "Zimbabwe Ordinary Level History Syllabus" 2166 as a preferred "way of understanding the world" (Brown book, 1991: 5). It was through this understanding that we can best examine "what people did and what they made; what happened and why it happened in order to prepare for the future and to be ready to learn from evidence in order to revise our ideas" (Brown book, 1991: 5). Overall, the presentation of materialism from archaeological finds throughout the textbook allowed readers to see the first-hand evidence of what people did or made

and the results of these decisions. The presentation of archaeology in the sample remained valid only if the artefacts mentioned were used as a scientific record to show the learners the evolution of earlier societies.

Throughout the Brown book (1991), I found a number of topic boxes and case study boxes. Each topic box was designed to give the reader further information regarding the content presented in each chapter. The case study boxes were examples of archaeological excavations that were conducted based on the topic of discussion within each chapter. Chapter one, for instance, was based upon the Late Stone Age and Early Iron Age; both periods of time do not have any form of written evidence for historical reference. Therefore, the evidence fell into the realm of archaeology. The first topic box in this chapter, gave the reader a full explanation of the different forms of evidence that a historian may use in order to compile the written history of the above-mentioned time periods. The very first definition that stood out in this topic box was that of archaeology itself; according to the textbook, "it is the study of material remains from the past including the places where people lived, and the things people made or ate" (Brown book, 1991: 7). The textbook (1991), then went on to explain how a primary source like archaeology was used to present new evidence and this "new evidence can greatly change our picture of the past" (Brown book, 1991: 7). Given the relatively recent independence of Zimbabwe from colonial rule, this was a significant statement as it suggested that archaeology indeed brought new evidence to light in terms of the different traditional and cultural groups that occupied Zimbabwe. The topic box further explained the different dating techniques used by archaeologists in order to date their samples. These were broken down into "absolute dating and relative dating" (7). Radiocarbon dating is a form of absolute dating as it gives us a specific time frame, for example between AD500 and AD600.[12] Relative dating, on the other, is a form of dating whereby archaeologists "deduce a date from the evidence found within different layers of the soil" (Brown book, 1991: 7). The Brown book showed clearly the transdisciplinary relationship between history and archaeology in its statement that "Dating (chronology) is necessary for historians to interpret evidence,

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[12] Relative dating is a type of dating used by archaeologists which "involves ordering things into sequences" (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000: 118). These sequences could be in the form of archaeological deposits found in a "stratigraphic (succession of layers) excavation" or they can be artefacts arranged by type in a typological sequence (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000: 118).

in order to work out causes and effects of events" and "historians are always debating on which earlier events may have caused things, and which later events may have been the effect of those things" (Brown book, 1991: 7). Archaeologists were able to give historians a timeline that is otherwise lost to them without written evidence.

In contrast, the later published Orange book (2008), did not have an introduction or note to teachers that explained the purpose and focus of the textbook. There was no extended explanation to the teacher on archaeological terms or methods used to assist history. In the textbook (2008), the introduction to the first chapter was, however, comprehensive, in that it encompassed an explanation of history from the beginning of time, touching on the domain of the evolution of the human species. The textbook referred to the earliest humans as "creatures" and stated that they "could not speak but had discovered the use of fire and made rough stone implements called ecoliths or dawnstones" (Orange book, 2008: 1). "Creatures" I found to be a rather generalised term and not scientific in nature, thus it showed a lack of correct archaeological terminology. The term "creatures" in this context was likely explaining the development of the *Homo erectus* and the *Homo habilis*, who are known to have discovered the use of fire and produce rough stone tool implements respectively. Both the terms "ecolith" and "dawnstone" were not present in scholarly textbooks on archaeology such as Renfrew and Bahn's book on archaeological techniques. The Orange book (2008), did, however, take the reader through an explanation of what "lith" means: "a derivation from Greek meaning 'stone,'" (Orange book, 2008: 1) which was archaeologically accurate.

Modes-of-production was central to the theory aspect of the first unit of analysis in the Brown book (1991). According to Crossman (2019), which corroborates with Hall (1996a)'s explanation of modes-of-production and archaeology in Chapter 2:

> "The mode-of-production is a central concept in Marxism and is defined as the way a society is organised to produce goods and services. It consists of two major aspects: the 'forces of production' and the 'relations of production'. The forces of production include all of the elements that are brought together in production – from land, raw material, and fuel to human skill and labour, to machinery, tools, and factories. The relations of production include relationships among people and people's relationships to the forces of production through which decisions are made about what to do with the results".

This definition explained the modes-of-production (see fig. 6 below) that were repeated throughout the Brown book (1991) and was the basis of the history education at the time which was centred around socialism and it was also closely related to the politics in Zimbabwe during the textbooks production in 1991. The Brown book (1991) had a strong focus on the different modes-of-production of earlier societies' progress before being influenced by capitalism; these modes-of-production were known as communal, lineage and tributary modes-of-production. The book (1991), stated that, in order to "understand the growth of states from communities, we begin to look at changes in modes-of-production" (Brown book, 1991: 7). What the Brown book was ultimately trying to say was that in order to understand capitalism the person studying history (in this case the learners) must go back to the roots of society before the advent of written literature in order to understand how it was that capitalism came into existence. Here archaeology played a crucial role as there was no written evidence to support the previous quote on the changes in modes-of-production, only illustrations based on the excavations carried out.
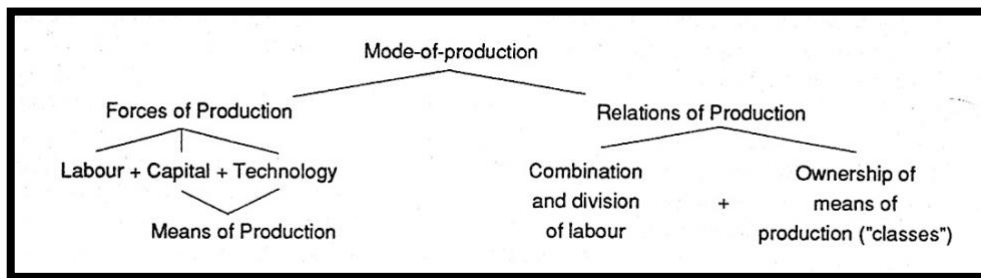
Figure 6: Image taken from Brown book (1991: 215) showing the mode-of-production.
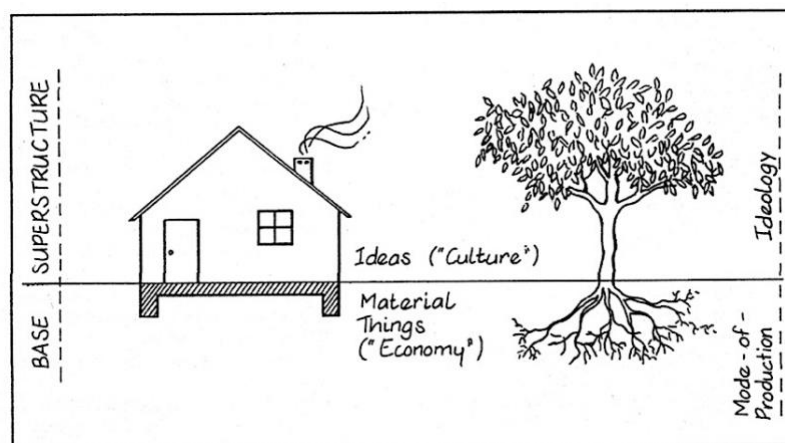
Figure 7: Image indicating in more detail the mode-of-production and the development of culture (Brown book, 1991: 217)

Thus, the understanding of modes-of-production was shown to be of great importance within syllabus 2166. I said this because there was a revision section at the end of the

Brown book (1991) that further explained in greater detail just what a mode-of-production was and how it came into being. The diagrams (see fig. 6 & 7), were extracted from the Brown book (1991) and they showed a visual indication of how modes-of-production worked within a society. The second image went a little further and used a house as an analogy to explain this concept. It showed that material things were the "economy" and that ideas were a form of "culture."
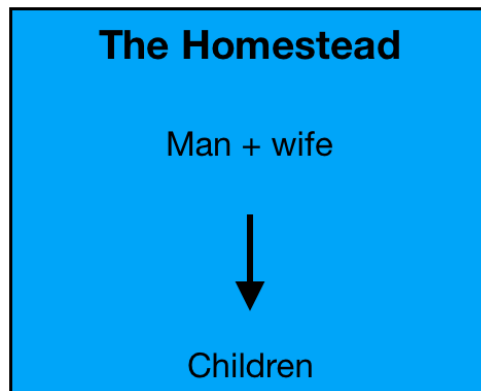
Figure 8: Diagram indicating the structure of the homestead as described in text by the Orange book (2008).
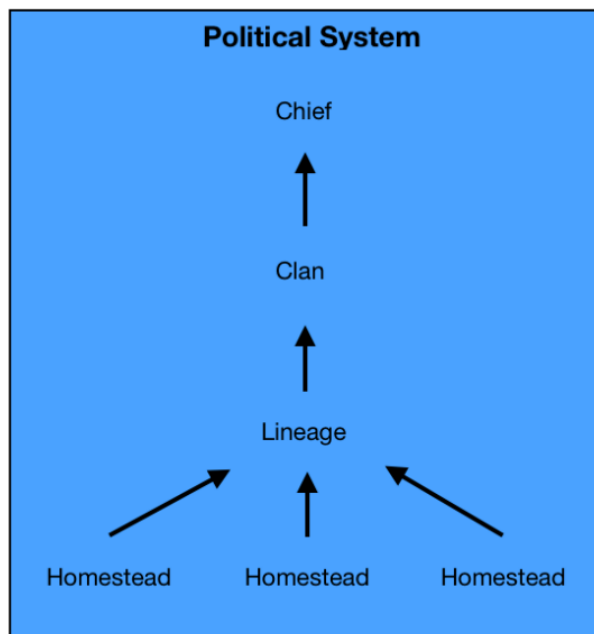
Figure 9: Diagram illustrating the political structure as it evolved over time from the homestead to the chief. This connected to the syllabus 2167 which states the learner must know these developmental stages.

An interesting finding in the Orange book (2008), in relation to the formation of different stages of the growth of a societies' cultural and traditional norms, was the mention of "class formation and political organisation" (7). I did not consider this as archaeological evidence, because unlike the Brown book (1991), there were no definitive artefacts to indicate modes-of-production that would show this development from the communal

to the tributary modes-of-production. What was evident was that this knowledge could have come from oral traditions and gave quite detailed explanations of the formations of "clan heads, lineage heads and later the emergence of chiefs supported by the surplus of food and tool production" (Orange book, 2008: 7). These all touch on the mode-of-production as shown in the Brown book (1991) but were not explained to the learners in as much detail. The unit of production mentioned earlier "consisted of a man, his wives and children" (Orange book, 2008: 8). Later the lineages developed from a number of "related homesteads claiming descendance from a common male ancestor…the lineages in turn created clans headed by elders" (Orange book, 2008: 8). This map of ruling classes is shown above, (see fig. 8 and 9), for a better understanding. The explanation of these societies' developments was in line with the requirements of syllabus 2167 which stated under the aim 2.4 "understand the various stages in the development of societies and the different forces, which interact to produce change".

The use of modes-of-production also helped to place me in context with a timeline, namely that of the earliest societies whereby the production of foods, goods and ideas were explained before the arrival of capitalism (Brown book, 1991).

Similarly, the Orange book (2008), also began with the modes-of-production of early societies by looking at their technology and the impact this had on population, environment and social relations within the groups, but it was not explained as a mode-of-production (1). From these modes-of-production, I saw the development of society, whereby groups lived in and adapted to the environment together, and thus formed social structures. These early societies were then described or classified according to their developmental stages through the use of technology beginning with wood or stone. With reference to human development, the Brown book (1991), stated that early humans "improved both their bodies and their minds producing foods and goods with stone and wooden tools over hundreds of thousands of years during the Stone Age" (11). This statement was closely linked with archaeological concepts of evolution whereby the development of cognition was indicated through the stone tool manufacture over time. The Orange book (2008: 1), further explained the developments of these societies through the different periods of the Stone Age and gave the proper archaeological terms to name each period: The "Early Stone Age (the

Palaeolithic Age), The Middle Stone Age (the Mesolithic Age) and the Late Stone Age (the Neolithic Age)". These terms were not present in the Brown book (1991).

The Brown book (1991), in relation to the Late Stone Age, explained the "Late Stone Age hunter gatherer society as being based on early communalism as its mode-of-production" and it went further to explain that this was where people shared the ownership of most tools and the food they produced (11). This early mode-of-production was then replaced by the lineage mode-of-production, whereby the "senior man of the senior lineage came to control more cattle" (1991: 13). The book (1991), further explained that the senior man did not "really own the cattle but he controlled them on behalf of the family" (13). There was continued explanation that the herders continued to hunt and gather even though there was cattle ownership and it further indicated a "division of labour between richer and poorer members of the community" (1991: 13). The Orange book (2008), did not make use of modes-of-production in as much detail to explain the ownership of production; it did, however, mention "transformations from hunter-gatherer societies to a more food production economy" (8), adding that the "basic unit of production was the homestead" (8). The term "unit of production" was not explained and seemed to be used in the same manner as modes-of-production are used in the Brown book (1991), given the mention of the homestead.
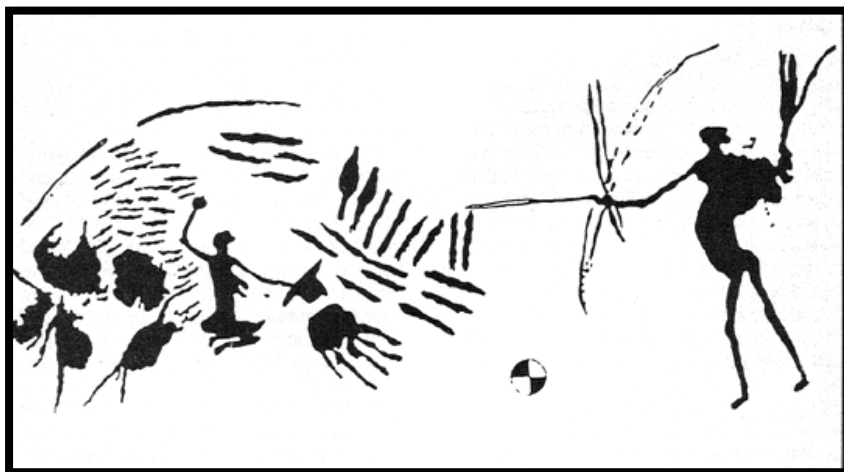
Figure 10: Illustration of a cave painting found at Mucheka cave in Zimbabwe. The image depicts a woman in a domestic role with prepared plants behind her and unprepared plants before her. The exact date of the painting is unknown (Brown book, 1991: 11).

In relation to these theories on modes-of-production, the Brown book (1991) used an image (fig. 10) representing rock art that was discovered in the *Mucheka* cave,

between modern-day Harare and Mutoko (12), to show cultural aspects and the way plants were prepared. This image related closely to the statement from the Orange book (2008), suggesting that the unit of production was the homestead. What was illustrated in the Brown book (1991), in the image above would be a homestead preparing a meal. In the caption it stated that "if the plants are wild vegetables, it is probably a picture of the Later Stone Age but, if the plants are cultivated cereals, then the picture is certainly of the Iron Age" (Brown book, 1991: 12).
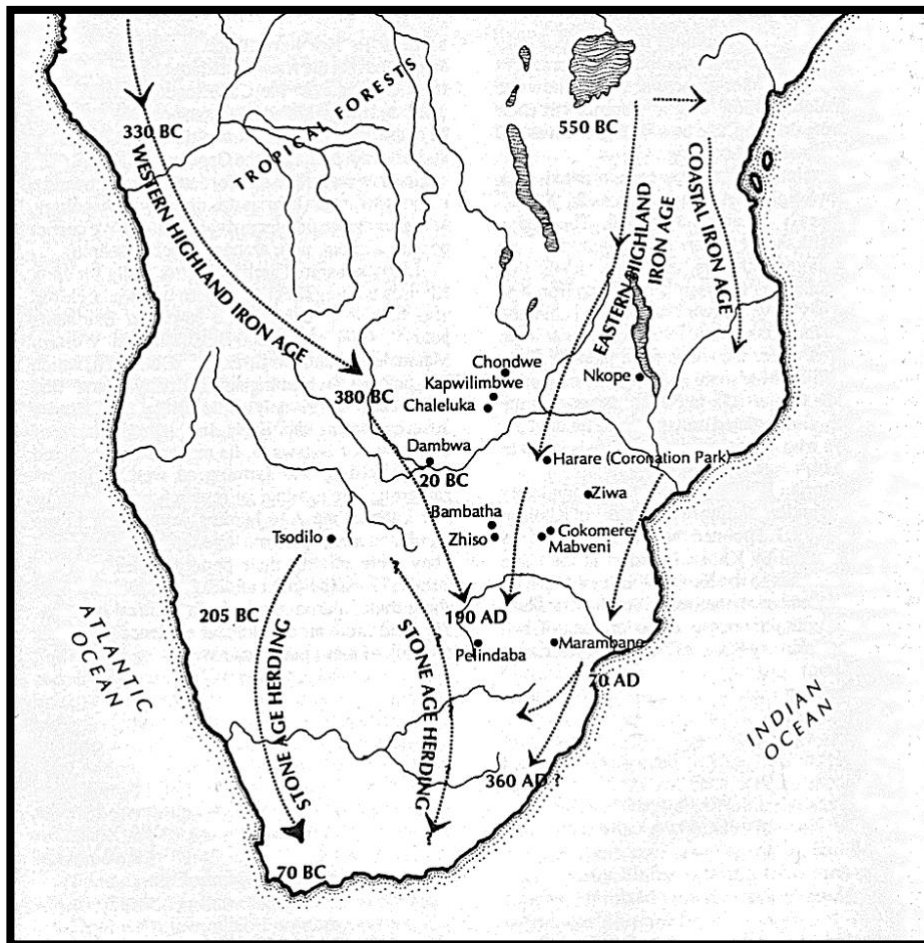
Figure 11*: A map from the Brown book (1991: 18), indicating the migrations of Early Iron Age villagers based on archaeological evidence.*

The transition from Stone Age into the Iron Age in the Brown book (1991), was described as a gradual process rather than a sudden process involving a mass movement of people from North Africa into the western, eastern and central regions of southern Africa. The Brown book (1991), described the process through a number of migrations beginning with the migrations of the West and Central African "Bantu speakers that were still using some stone tools, moving through West-Central Africa from Cameroon" (14). The next movement was also known as the western movement

and was explained as involving "Iron Age technology and the speaking of Western Bantu languages spread from Northern Angola into Western Zaire[13] and Western Zambia" (Brown book, 1991: 14). The third and final migration was the eastern movement that came from "Kenya along coastal planes of Tanzania into Mozambique and finally down to the South of Africa" (Brown book, 1991: 14). These explanations from the Brown book touched on archaeological theory but were explained in a simplified manner unlike the Orange book (2008: 3), that went into much detail explaining these migrations in scholastic archaeological terminology; the migrationist and diffusionist theories respectively. The migrationist theory was an archaeological principle from the works developed by Bent according to which "the use of iron implements such as axes, hoes and spears spread in two waves" (Orange book, 2008: 3). The textbooks both explained that the first wave originated in parts of "East Africa and the second group came from the Congo basin and reached Zambia in the 4th century AD" (Orange book, 2008: 3). This migrationist theory was used to show the movement of another group of people from the Congo basin and how they brought with them the cultivation of different cereals as well as livestock, thus introducing elements other than iron to southern Africa (see figure 11 on the previous page and 12 below for indications of the above-mentioned migrations). The first map from the Brown book (1991), showed known archaeological sites and the migration movements from North Africa in a western and eastern stream, but it did not identify these movements with Bents' migrationist theory mentioned above. The second map only mentioned cultural groups and showed the directions the groups migrated in; they were not however linked in any way to known archaeological sites on this map.

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13 Zaire is the previous name for the Democratic Republic of Congo prior to May 1997. This occurred after the publication of the Brown book (1991).

Figure 12: A map found in the Orange book (2008: 3) indicating the spread of the Bantu through migrations from North Africa.

The activities found in the Brown book (1991), required the learner to engage with the case study box's archaeological details that were presented. The learners were not simply expected to read the material then relate by memory what they had learnt. The exercises were designed to allow the learners to have an innate understanding of archaeology and how it assisted the historical process. The learners were given a map of southern Africa (fig. 11) that indicated rainfall patterns and climatic zones all relative to the Early Iron Age, herding and farming sites. These sites were located where actual excavations took place. The learners had to interact with the dates by identifying the earliest sites, which required them to have an understanding of how a linear timescale worked, referring to knowledge and analysis.

4.3.2 Chronology and evidence

The Late Stone Age was an important steppingstone in archaeology as it was the period that started to become influenced by the use of iron; moreover, we start to see the slow transition from the Stone Age into the Early Iron Age. The Orange book (2008), took the learners through the different features of the Late Stone Age, explaining the production of stone tools and their uses, for "scraping, cutting and digging" (2). This information was also portrayed visually through sketches of stone tool implements. However, the uses of the five implements that were portrayed were not explained, neither were they labelled or annotated; therefore, the reader had to

attempt to figure out which tool was used for scraping, cutting or digging (see the example in figure 13 below).
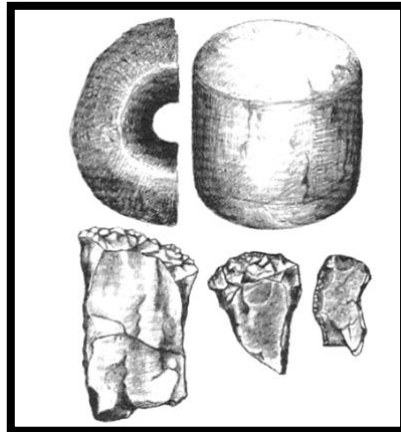
Figure 13: An image from the Orange textbook (2008: 2), indicating sketches of archaeological artefacts showing stone tools and a weight for a digging stick.

Because I had an archaeological background, I could identify each but a history teacher with no archaeological background would have struggled to explain these concepts to the learners. In contrast, the Brown book (1991), was silent in terms of stone tool production. It did not give any explanation into the excavation of stone tool implements, how they were manufactured or what they were used for but focused rather on the hunter-gatherer group structure and pottery types or sequences that developed over time.

Figure 14: This image was found in the Orange book (2008: 2). It is a scene showing humans with cattle that had markings associated with the Nguni breed. Date and location in Zimbabwe were unknown.
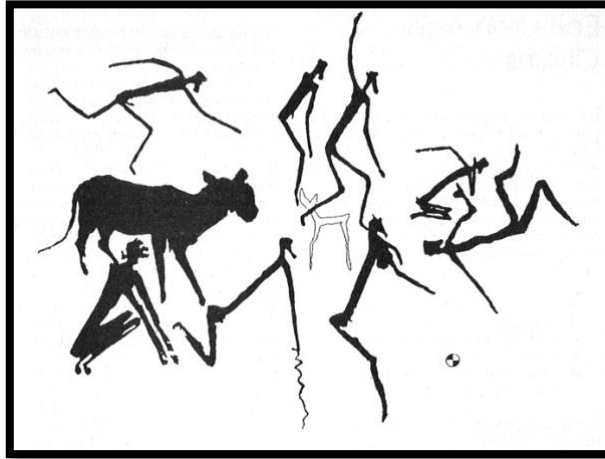
Figure 15: A cave painting from the Brown book (1991: 12), showing images of human transformations into animals known as therianthropes. This painting was more of a depiction of culture rather than domestic lifestyles.

The Brown book (1991), showed evidence of the Late Stone Age through two cave paintings that illustrated domestication (fig. 10 & 15), beginnings of civilisation, modes-of-production (in this case communal) and gender roles. Figure 14, was an image of a cave painting from the Orange book (2008); it was captioned as a "rock painting by the San during the Early Stone Age depicting the types of animals and methods of killing the game and the tools used in hunting" (2). The image, however, illustrated two different groups of people and cattle. The group to the right was larger in size and carried shields possibly made from cattle hides; the second group was in the middle of the image and portrayed smaller in size carrying sticks and stubby objects that could be shields and behind this group were the animals that looked like cattle. The animals in figure 14, had different colours; some were completely white, others completely black and some had mixed spotted colours, associated with Nguni cattle found in southern Africa. If these animals were indeed game, most likely buffalo given the shape of the images, the hide colouration did not represent any buffalo known in this region. The evidence of these images contradicted those found in the Brown book (1991): the latter showed evidence of the Late Stone Age way of life and culture whereas the Orange book (2008) was not very clear on what it was portraying or what time period it came from. The images of the cave paintings in the Brown book (1991), were also illustrated in Zimbabwean archaeologist Garlake's book titled *The Painted Caves. An Introduction to the Prehistoric Art of Zimbabwe* (1987: 13, 40). Garlake, was one of the archaeologists who assisted in the compilation of the Brown textbook.

In terms of understanding historical time, pottery was of great importance to dating a site. Archaeological sites were dug down in trenches approximately 1.5m by 1.5m wide as given in the example of an actual excavation in the Brown book (1991: 20). As the trenches were dug down vertically, different layers of soil were exposed (stratification). Each layer was of a different colour, some darker and some lighter and some layers contained artefacts such as pottery sherds or weapons that may have survived decay over time. In archaeological terms the bottom layer of a trench is older in age than the top layer. Sometimes however, these layers do get mixed up because of factors such as weather, farming or building. This is where typology steps in.[14] Typology allows the archaeologist to put the artefacts discovered into sequences to assist with dating.

Both textbooks in the sample placed their textual explanations of pottery types into the correct time context, the difference being in how they presented the information. The Brown book (1991), tended to be more factual and processual in the textual explanation of the formation of the different forms of pottery, this informative explanation was assisted visually in the form of a diagram illustrating which pottery style belonged to which category and time frame. The Orange book (2008), indicated the pottery introduced only from the Early and Late Iron Ages and did not give much information regarding the formation of the pots and how each style was identified. The pottery styles in the Orange book (2008), were presented in accordance with the migrationist theories mentioned in the literature review, showed that the *Kurale* Early Iron Age economy developed in Malawi and Zambia which in turn lead to the spread of Iron Age technology south of the Zambezi forming into the "*Ziwa*, *Zhizo* and *Gokomere* cultures" (4). The "*Bambata* pottery was mentioned as having been found with Late Stone Age tools" (5) as stated in the Orange book (2008), which coincided with the Brown book (1991) but the spelling was slightly different: "*Bambatha*" (14).

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14 Typology is a dating technique that is categorised under relative dating. The artefacts of a given time period and place usually have a recognisable style to the archaeologist, either through their shape and decoration making them unique to the society that made and used them (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000). The archaeologist will then recognise them and classify individual artefacts by their style and assign them to a typological sequence (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000). The style of artefacts change over time and this change is gradual, almost evolutionary in nature, and when an archaeologist is presented with artefacts similar in type, they arrange them in "a sequence in such a way that the most closely similar are located beside each other" (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000: 121). This allows the archaeologist to get an accurate chronological sequence. The names of pottery or stone tool assemblages get their names from type-sites, in other words the name of the site they were found at.

Bambatha pottery was a mixture of old herder pottery and Iron Age pottery because of the "Late Stone Age herders of Zimbabwe and Northern Kalahari converting to the Iron Age culture" (Brown book, 1991: 14). This "herder pottery" was further described in the Brown book (1991) as being "thick clay pottery, with a pointed bottom and pointed handles" (12). This detail was not shared in the Orange book (2008).
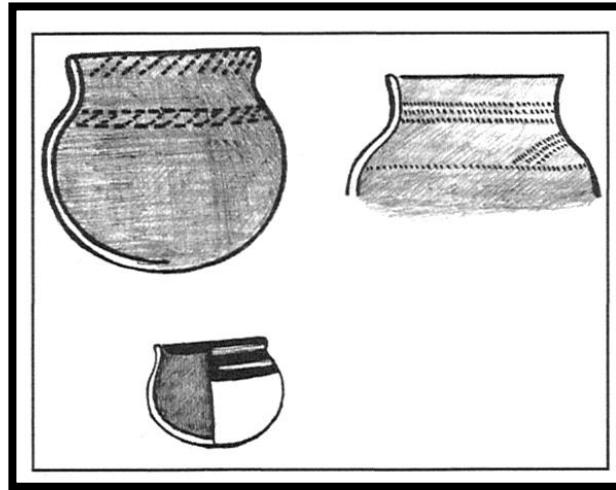
Figure 16: Image from the Orange book (2008: 9), indicating different pottery style and one cross section; note the lack of labelling accompanying the image to assist the reader in terms of what they were looking at.
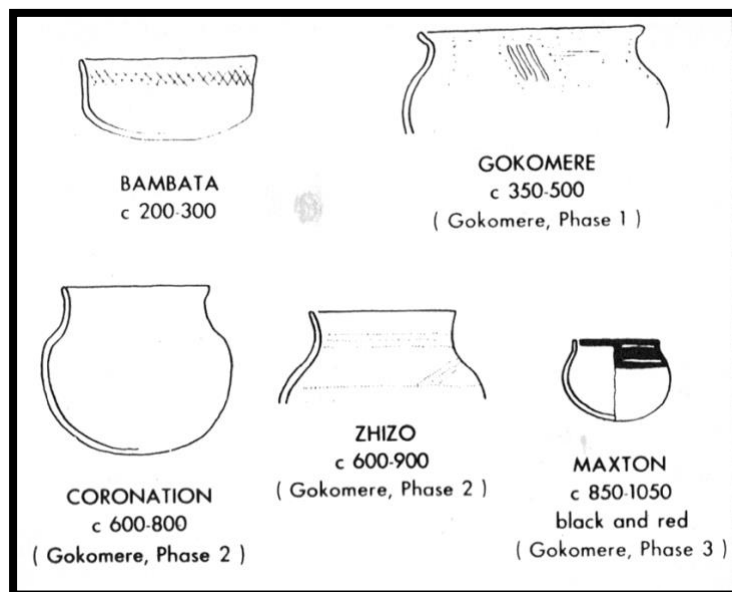
Figure 17: An image from the Brown book (1991: 15), showing different styles of pottery and their dates.

The Orange book (2008), did make mention of the locations of specific forms of pottery such as the *Ziwa* found in the Eastern Highlands, Nyanga and towards the Harare area. It further mentioned the *Zhizo* pottery (also known as Leopard's *Kopje*) found around the Bulawayo region. The Orange book (2008), went on to mention that the pottery found around the *Mabveni* area had "diagonal comb-stamped decorations on

a thickened rim band and a variety of open bowls" (5) but there were no labels or annotations on the image seen in figure 16, on the previous page, to visually indicate the differences of all these pottery styles, nor was there an indication of dates of manufacture. The image in figure 17, above, was taken from the Brown book (1991), and clearly exhibited the pottery styles mentioned in the text as well as the dates associated with them. The Brown book (1991), stated the location of *Mabveni* as being a "settlement near Chivi about 50 kilometres south-west of Masvingo and the pottery style was the *Gokomere* type dated from AD100 to 600" (22-23). In relation to pottery, both textbooks gave mention to the creation of sculptures or clay figurines, which was significant to the cultures discussed in the text. The Brown book (1991), first mentioned evidence of clay sculptures of "beautiful women's heads" then went on to describe them as being "hollow heads like masks, with holes for eyes although they are too small to fit over someone's head" (23); this archaeological evidence was an opportunity to see the evidence of cultural development. The Orange book (2008), stated that there were "clay figurines of sheep found at *Mabveni*" (6) and they were discovered alongside domestic animal bones such as the "horn core excavated of a domestic goat" (6). It was noted here that the Brown book (1991), was very specific in terms of locations of sites such as *Mabveni,* whereas the Orange book (2008), almost assumed the reader would have knowledge of *Mabveni*'s location.

In continuation with archaeological discoveries, was the description in the Brown book (1991), of exactly how an archaeological excavation was conducted. This lent credibility to the evidence that was spoken of in the text and the reader got a sense of what an excavation was all about. The learner exercises in the Brown book (1991), in relation to the archaeological excavation shown on pages 20 and 21, included the learner in the thought processes behind an actual excavation. The case study box began by explaining how an archaeologist tested the soil first by "excavating 5 feet by 5 feet (1.5 x 1.5 meters) squares" in order to determine which site would be worth exploring further based on the amount of evidence discovered (Brown book, 1991: 20). The description went into explicit detail of the process of digging deeper and describing the soil's colouration through each layer; notably the "first 10cm of the dig shows grey soil as seen on the surface and at 75cm a much richer and darker soil full of remains from the Early Iron Age is exposed" (20). Once a suitable location had been chosen for the excavation, then the process of excavation was explained: "soil from

each square was slowly excavated and shaken through a sieve to reveal either pottery, bone or carbon from hearth fires" (21). The next step was to record the "exact place and depth of each find" (21). The Orange book (2008), in contrast, did not contain in depth information on the processes of excavations; it rather used words such as "excavated" (5, 6) to refer to any artefacts discovered by archaeologists.

The rock art mentioned earlier in the chapter was also a source of archaeological evidence for how the Late Stone Age peoples lived in the past. Rock paintings were an invaluable source of evidence that offered us a window into the lives of each of these ancient cultures; they tell us a story and give us clues that linked to oral traditions, where written history could not. The evidence for rock art from the Brown book (1991), as shown in figures 10 on page 76 and 15 on page 80, were explained previously from a theoretical perspective but also served a purpose as a form of evidence into the representations of their daily lives. The first painting (fig. 10) clearly showed two figures from either the Late Stone Age or the Early Iron Age. The paintings themselves formed archaeological evidence of how these communities went about their daily routines. The painting also clearly illustrated that, although these people may have learned to cultivate plants, there was still a need for hunting to supplement their diet, as indicated by the male to the right of the image who was holding a bow and arrow, and looked to be carrying a bag and quiver for arrows. The rock art showed domestication and the emergence of the earliest mode-of-production: the communal mode-of-production. As a reader I was not expected to only look at the image and read the caption to absorb the information but rather to interact with it through the question presented at the end of the caption. The question posed required the reader to look closely at what the painting indicated and to associate it with what had already been read about the Iron Age and co-relate the two; thus, it allowed the reader to analyse and apply their knowledge and understanding. The second image (fig. 15) showed evidence that pointed to a cultural perspective, the intangible realm of theory and esoteric. The image came from the cave at *Murewa* in Zimbabwe, and showed people with "dog-shaped faces, either leaping around, squatting or lying down" (Brown book, 1991: 13). There was also an image of a leopard amongst all the people and this animal was not to be hunted as the caption stated, but rather, it was an animal to be respected because of its strength and spirit. Archaeologists interpreted this type of culture by comparing these paintings to many others in southern Africa in the hopes

of coming to a better understanding of their intended meaning. This representation of an archaeological source showed me the importance of these paintings in order to understand a culture long since gone from the region and all that they left behind to mark their presence were the paintings. The Brown book (1991) revealed the ages of some rock art sites as old as "24000BC to 1800AD" (17). They were dated using radio-carbon dating techniques and the book (1991) further showed "evidence of rock paintings in the *Tsodilo* hill indicating the life of farmers, herders and hunter-gatherers" (19). These cave paintings were used in association with the remains found during excavations; the dates would have been cross examined with the radio-carbon evidence to piece together the puzzle of how these societies transitioned from the Stone Age into the Iron Age.

The archaeological evidence of cave paintings portrayed by the Orange book (2008), consisted of only one painting, as shown in figure 14 on page 80. The image's caption stated, "rock paintings by the San during the Early Iron Age depicting the types of animals and methods of killing the game and the tools used in hunting" (2). I found the use of archaeology here was insufficient to say the least as there was no indication as to where these paintings were located, and the caption did not correlate with what the image was showing. A reader (in this case a learner or teacher), who did not have a background into the rock art of southern Africa, would be misled by the information presented. Why I said this, was because the image depicted was one of Nguni cattle on the left and to the right of the cattle it looked like herders directing the cattle away from smaller figures that had bows and arrows, almost in defence of the cattle. The images of the people with bows and arrows were significantly smaller than the people painted to the right of the image. The people to the right were much larger in size and carried shields with Nguni-like patterns on them and were armed with spears. The image did not look as if the San were hunting game as stipulated in the caption; instead it looked like a cattle raid by a culture closely resembling the Bantu or the Khoisan. Further to this, was the lack of information surrounding the true location of this painting to give it some context. The representation of the cave painting was clearly archaeological evidence in nature and would be useful to the readers of this textbook; however, the explanation as to what they were looking at and why was rather disappointing.

The use of carbon dating techniques have assisted archaeologists in giving dates to pottery and domesticated animal bones discovered. The Brown book (1991) went to great lengths in giving approximate dates of the discovery of domesticated animal remains and pottery, which resulted in the reader determining that these dates were acquired through archaeological means and that historically this would have been impossible given the lack of evidence. The chronology applied to pottery finds allowed the reader to see that the pottery named *Bambatha* pottery was made by people that lived in a "mixed society of herding and farming as well as hunting and gathering", which showed that the mixing of Late Stone Age and the Early Iron Age traditions was evidenced through the discovery of different styles of pottery. Other forms of evidence shown in the Brown book (1991), were "domesticated dogs" (11) as well as "evidence of sheep being raised but not cattle" (19) or the "rearing of goats only" (22) or "cattle bones only, at other sites" (23).

The Orange book (2008), took a slightly different approach to showing chronology and how archaeologists came to the dates presented or whether they were indeed discovered by archaeologists. This went in line with the artefacts that were mentioned such as pottery or bones. There was mention of pottery styles that lead to typology and then the sequencing of these into dates. The description of the pottery was described as an archaeological paper would, with "diagonal comb-stamped decorations on thickened rim band and a variety of open bowls" (Orange book, 2008: 5); there were, however, no further diagrams to indicate what the pottery would have looked like based on these descriptions, nor an explanation of what a rim band was or the difference between a necked vessel and an open one, and yet as mentioned before the terms were archaeological in nature. Another mention of pottery style was the explanation of transitions of pottery styles similar to the description in the Brown book (1991) mentioned above. The Orange book (2008)'s version states, "what distinguished" the transition "was the type of pottery produced" and "there was some continuity in the ceramic tradition between the '*Gokomere*' and '*Kutama*' models" (8). The finding exhibited how archaeology was used to show the transition of Early Iron Age styles of pottery into the Late Iron Age styles. One other key mention of archaeological evidence was the discovery of animal remains; "a horn core excavated of a domestic goat found at *Gokomere* Mission, north of Masvingo" (Orange book, 2008: 6) in Zimbabwe. Here there was a specification of an exact location, but exact

locations such as these were not always consistent throughout the Orange book (2008).

Figure 18: Artist's impression of an Early Iron Age village in Pelindaba, (Brown book 1991: 24).

In addition, the findings indicated that the textual content of the Brown book (1991), relative to archaeology, was not the only source of information presented. Archaeology was also used to assist an artist in recreating the lifestyles of an Early Iron Age village at *Pelindaba*, Broederstroom, South Africa. The image (see fig. 18) was "drawn carefully following the findings of an archaeologist" (Brown book, 1991: 24). This image indicated village life around the time period 300AD – 600AD (Brown book 1991: 24). The importance of this image were the physical attributes that were discovered archaeologically. The first significant image was the furnace found in the bottom left hand corner of the drawing which showed an open fire pit with coals and a flute-like tunnel extending outwards from the furnace; the knowledge of which would have presented itself in the soil colouration of the excavation and evidence of a furnace. On the bottom right hand corner was a section showing three young men organising bits of iron ore; known from the remains found in this section. Behind these men was another fire with a clay pot on top of it. Behind this fire were the huts that were domed

in shape and covered in a layer of clay, known as *daga*.[15] The images of goats and dogs were as a result of the bone remains that were discovered at the site, including that of the antelope being brought in by the hunters in the image. At the centre of the image was a round shape that had been drawn as a cross section in order to identify what was inside the shape. The pot inside the round ball contained the remains of a human skeleton. Outside the doorway of the hut on the left were vegetable remains; according to the text, these were sorghum, which could be identified by archaeologists that branched out into botany. Not only had this image been created based upon actual archaeological finds; it also brought to life a scene from the past; a scene that would have been lost were it not for the archaeological excavations that took place. This was a scene that allowed readers to see first-hand the results of an archaeological excavation and the rendering produced from remains brought to light what life may have been like in 600AD, before the advent of writing.

4.3.3 Architecture

Architecture played an important role in archaeology, as it defined the living space of past societies. It showed the different stages of development in the art of building and also defined the living quarters according to gender and wealth. Architecture indicated whether a society was affluent or of a poorer station in life, dependent on the quality of the stone used or the methods used to build a structure. Politically, architecture can allow archaeologists to determine which area may have belonged to someone of great power and wealth. With regards to the sample selection, the representation of architecture at an archaeological find was no different.

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15 *Daga* was the term used by the Brown book to describe a type of mortar used to plaster the walls and floors of huts. It is usually made of a mixture of mud and cow dung. The South African equivalent is spelled "*dagha*."
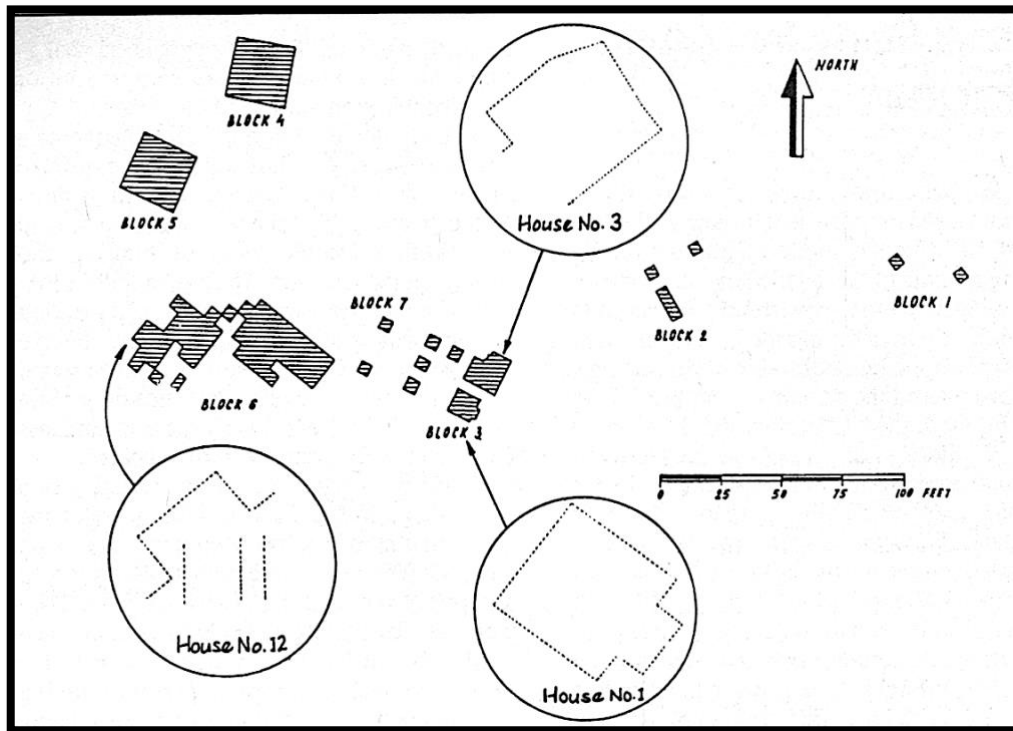
Figure 19: A zoomed out section of an archaeological excavation carried out at Kumadzulo, near Kalomo in southern Zambia. Houses 1, 3 and 12 were zoomed in. Image taken from the Brown book (1991: 20).

Kumadzulo village was one of the case studies in the Brown book (1991), used to show an excavation and what the floor plan looked like for the overall layout of the village. The visual image was drawn to scale: "1cm is to 25 feet" (Brown book, 1991: 20); this was important to understand as some of the excavations of huts 1, 12 and 3 were zoomed in to give the idea of where the wooden poles were found or where there would have been poles as well as evidence of the *daga* flooring. The actual test pits were also zoomed out, as shown above (fig. 19), in order for the reader to grasp the extent of the excavation and to see how the test pits, which were measured at 5 x 5 feet each, were laid out. Archaeology was used in this diagram to show the extent of the village location and the sizes of the huts built, possibly also to show the material used to build the huts; this proof would support historical evidence of the area possibly gained from the traditional methods.
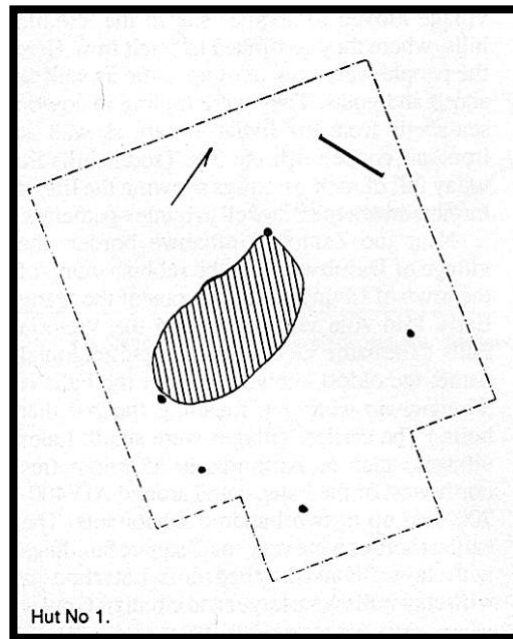
Figure 20: A zoomed in image of hut number 1. The shaded area indicated the remains of a daga wall; the dots were the wood poles; the dark line indicated a one-foot measurement and the dotted line indicates the extent of the excavation around the hut (Brown book 1991: 20-21).

The descriptions of each of these huts was very specific, giving statistical data such as the number of hut remains found, the number of burnt pole stumps that were discovered as well as the measurement and depth of each stump, either 8cm or 15cm deep. Moreover, the activities related to this case study required the reader to have knowledge of scales and engage in problem solving and demonstrate forethought towards future excavations, by placing herself/himself into the shoes of archaeologists.

Learner engagement with the sources and main content of the Brown book (1991) remained in line with what was expected under syllabus 2166, namely, to analyse, evaluate and show empathy (Brown book, 1991: 6). The questions on some of the excavations found on pages 20 and 21 of the Brown book (1991) were rather mathematical in nature and required synthesis and analysis as well as comprehension. The questions embedded in the case study boxes with the images of archaeological excavations also required the learner to engage with the learning material and deduce their own answers and not only for memory recall. There were noticeable interdisciplinary questions that related to other subjects such as geography and mathematics. The essay questions in the Brown book (1991), required a deeper understanding of the theories around the development of a patriarchal society in Early

Iron Age societies, indicating that the learner was not only required to memorise the material but to actually engage with it through analysis, synthesis, evaluation and application. They would be expected to engage with the visual source material shown to them through the case study box on the excavations done at *Kumadzulo* (Brown book, 1991: 20-21), as well as engage with the artist's impression of an Early Iron Age village at *Pelindaba* (24) in order to visually locate for themselves the gender roles and combine them with what they have learnt from the content of the textbook. This essay question also fell under the domain of evidence and chronology based upon the layout of the *Pelindaba* village, which was founded upon actual archaeological evidence.

There were further examples in the Brown book (1991), of excavations conducted at *Zhizo*, near Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, and at *Marambane* near Lydenburg, South Africa. The *Zhizo* example presented a description of a "grain bin made of grass and poles on a base of stones … evidence of iron smelting ovens and furnaces … and houses that were dome shaped with wooden frames and covered with clay mixed with thatching grass" (Brown book, 1991: 23). The other example of *Marambane* was more specific about the actual excavation, stating that the *daga* floors of huts were discovered "30cm below the surface of the ground" and the houses were similar to those found at *Zhizo* being "dome shaped, fixed with sticks and *daga* to a ring of stones and a *daga* floor inside;" in addition to these discoveries was the discovery of "open ovens for smelting iron" (Brown book, 1991: 24). The Brown book (1991)'s visual and textual content made it easier for the reader to understand the methods used by archaeologists and engage with the material visually and through reading.

In contrast, the Orange book (2008), made use of a minimal amount of architecture to explain the living spaces of past societies. The Orange book (2008), stated that in the *Mabveni* Chivi district of Masvingo, Zimbabwe, there were "archaeological remains of three pole and *daga* structures and one was interpreted as a storage bin" (5). There were descriptions of the structures; however, they were historical in nature and were not referred to as archaeological evidence or having come from such evidence.

4.3.4 Economics

Archaeological evidence regarding the fourth theme of "economics" within both textbooks allowed me to gauge the extent of economic practices from the local

production of goods to trade between local groups of people and with people from the Indian Ocean. The archaeological remains helped piece together this intricate puzzle of different societies meeting and exchanging not only goods but ideas, culture and religion.

During the Late Stone Age, the production of stone tools was the main mode-of-production. The Orange book (2008), mentioned the features of a Neolithic industry having "smaller, finer and sharper stone tools used for scraping, cutting and digging" (2). These stone tools in turn assisted with the "basis of the Late Stone Age economy; hunting and gathering" (Orange book, 2008: 2). The economy of hunting in the Late Stone Age and Iron Ages was "a male orientated activity, using bows, arrows and in some cases bone-headed spears" (Orange book, 2008: 2). The mention of such weapons and stone tools was known to have originated from the evidence found at excavations of Late Stone Age or Early Iron Age sites. What was missing from the Orange book (2008)'s description was the mention of the word "evidence" and many of the locations these sites were discovered. For the production of pottery, the Orange book (2008) went on to say that the "Late Stone Age cultures in North Africa" were "associated with the making of pottery" and explained that this was the "beginning of agriculture and pastoralism" (2). Thus, this was indicative of the Late Stone Age communities opting for a more sedentary form of living seen in the more permanent shelters and added time to make pottery. The Brown book (1991), in contrast, did not focus much on the stone tool economy; it did, however, make mention of the hunter-gatherer lifestyle and division of labour, yet with no mention of any archaeological evidence. The content in the Brown book (1991) relating to the Late Stone Age was therefore more historical in nature than archaeological.

The most important mode-of-production that became evident in this theme was the production of iron. Iron was first believed to have been smelted in "590BC in the Nigeria and Cameroon area" (Brown book, 1991: 14). Throughout the first unit of analysis in the Brown book (1991), there was mention of iron smelting and tool production in one way or another. Each mention was related to archaeological findings either in Zambia, Zimbabwe or Namibia. The first mention of the iron smelting process was: "instead of smelting iron ore in trenches they used clay ovens which achieved higher temperatures" (Brown book, 1991: 14). A clear indication of the evolution of iron

production and a process that was made evident by the many Iron Age site excavations and one that would assist in the dating of other sites. The process of iron ore extraction was also described from the Early Iron Age village of *Chondwe* in Zambia, where the evidence pointed to the "bog-iron" ore being "dug up from the *dambos* (grass pans)" (Brown book 1991: 19). At *Chakeluka*, another village in Zambia, the iron was smelted and then made into "hoe-heads and knives, the people also started to wear imported copper ornaments" (19), this being an indication of trade in "bangles, spearheads and arrow heads" (22). These items were traded near "Hwange in Zimbabwe or on the Kafue river in Zambia and in return they received cowrie shells and glass beads from the Indian Ocean" (Brown book, 1991: 22). These extractions from the text showed how iron was excavated, smelted and then used to produce farming implements, weapons or jewellery. Through these explanations the development of a trading monopoly became evident and the further development of the society from a lineage to that of a tributary mode-of-production became clearer as many of these trade items were likewise presented in tribute to local chiefs (Orange book, 2008).

Additional excavations at *Chondwe* showed that iron was not only mined and produced for the local population but extended as far as the Indian Ocean; which further indicated its worth. Iron was traded for things such as glass and cowrie shells, which were not found inland, and there was no evidence showing that the people in southern Africa had any knowledge of glassmaking. Another mineral that was mined and made into jewellery was copper. Copper smelting in and around the Early Iron Age village of *Chondwe* produced "bangles and ornaments" that were traded with the Late Stone Age people and other people from far away for "salt, beeswax and beads" (Brown book, 1991: 19). Beads not indigenous to the region would have most definitely been found in the archaeological record, but degradable substances such as salt and beeswax would not be evident and so this knowledge came from historical records rather than archaeology. There was mention of the use of "digging sticks and bone" to assist with the planting of crops and needlework respectively, and these were tools that would have been used in both the Late Stone Age and the Iron Age. Even though the Early Iron Age peoples had chosen to live a sedentary lifestyle, they still substituted their diet with products derived from hunting and gathering as seen in the archaeological evidence of buffalo, impala, wildebeest and zebra bones. The people

of *Nkope*, in Malawi, lived by hunting and fishing as evidenced by the remains of "turtle and fish" which was their main diet, as a result of the "lack of evidence for cattle or sheep" (Brown book, 1991: 19) remains. According to the archaeological records presented, the Late Stone Age and Early Iron Age people intermingled through their different meetings, shared the goods they produced and extended their trade further; this showed a thriving economic hub of activity in the region.
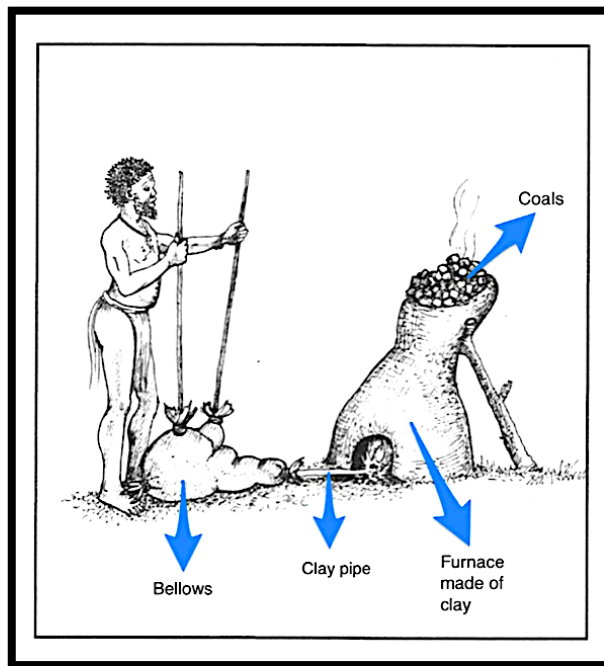
Figure 21: Image of a blacksmith at the forge producing iron during the Early Iron Age. Image taken from Orange book (2008: 5). The original had no annotations; I added them at a later stage.
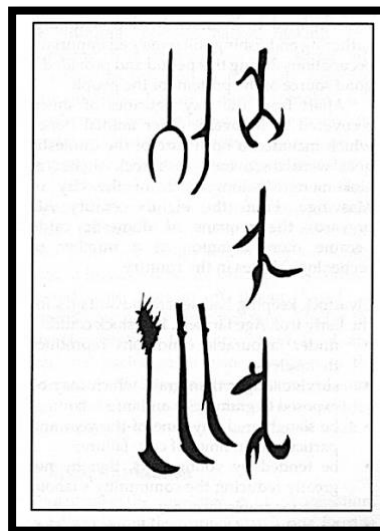
Figure 22: Image of tools from the Early Iron Age. According to the caption in the Orange book (2008: 5), they were domestic weapons and other implements. I have not annotated as I cannot decipher what was being portrayed in the image.

Iron production in the Orange book (2008) was made evident through the images portrayed (see fig. 21 & 22), and with a brief mention of the process of smelting, although it was very thin as explanations go. I found that "after the smelting of iron had been completed, the craftsmen then hammered the lump into wrought iron or shaped it into the required tools or weapons like axes, hoes, arrowheads, jewellery or knives;" this was the sum total of the smelting process. The image in figure 21 should lend more to the explanation, but there was no real explanation in the caption nor were there any annotations, the ones in this image were added by myself in order to assist in the analysis. The activity in the Orange book (2008) related to this image, asked how the iron was smelted and then manufactured into tools. This was a processual question and the likely answer would be the statement mentioned above, but this was not a sufficient enough explanation to answer this processual question. The second image (see fig. 22), was very puzzling. The caption in the Orange book (2008), specified that the image represented "tools used during the Iron Age and varied from domestic weapons and other implements" (5). The result of the observation of the image (fig. 22) was that I could not determine what was a weapon and what were farming implements; in other words, they were unclear and ambiguous. The spread of the use of iron rapidly changed the economy as shown in the Orange book (2008)'s statement that "iron tools allowed hard and heavy soils to be tilled and the introduction of metallurgy accelerated the process of transformation from a hunter gathering to a food production economy" (6). The Orange book (2008) indicated that the manufacture and distribution of iron implements brought a rapid change to the economy of the hunter-gatherers but not linked to what was actually discovered at an archaeological site. The Brown book (1991) was more detailed and indicated this change through the use of diagrams that illustrated actual excavations and made use of artist's impressions based upon the evidence retrieved from the excavations as shown previously.

At the end of each chapter the Orange book (2008) had activities relative to the topics discussed. These activities were structured in a way that suggested the answers of the questions would make up summarised notes of the entire section. For example, the activity required the learners to list the four types of pottery traditions mentioned and describe the economic activities of the Late Stone Age; activities relative to memory recall and not much interaction with the source material on the level presented

with the Brown book (1991) findings. Activities similar to the above-mentioned one were present throughout the selected units of analysis and the same question verbs, "list, what, describe, state and to what extent" (10) were utilised time and again.

4.3.5 Society

The Later Stone Age communities were egalitarian in nature and this was exhibited in both the Brown (1991) and the Orange (2008) books. In their words, the Later Stone Age people "shared ownership of most food and tools that were produced" (Brown book, 1991: 11) and "there appears to have been little or no exploitation of one sex by another" (Orange book, 2008: 7).

The Brown book (1991) discussed the division of labour based on gender and age; for example, the women, who were shown in a domestic role around the campsite, would "gather wild foods, trap small animals and prepare meals, whilst the men would go on long trips and become skilled at hunting large game" (11). The Orange book (2008), supported this by stating that women gathered "berries, roots, ants and vegetables and the men hunted" (7). According to the books and archaeological evidence, differences in class and gender became more evident in larger groups that chose to settle more permanently. These communities were ruled by men "under the leadership of senior men of the senior lineage – the line of succession passes from father to oldest son or nephew" (Brown book, 1991: 11). The difference in class structure became more apparent with the ownership of livestock which came to represent wealth: those "without livestock would be taken into families as servants or as junior wives who served the senior wives" (Brown book, 1991: 11).

During the Early Iron Age this division of labour became much more noticeable, where the women's role had little value attached to it whilst the men's skills were considered indispensable as shown in the Orange book (2008): "women were expected to cultivate and weed the fields as well as do duties that tied them to the home such as rearing the children and men herded cattle, hunted, mined or became craftsmen or traders" (7). Both books showed that in societies that grew in terms of population and settlement the "social and political organisation becomes more complex" (Orange book, 2008: 7) in order to control or organise these societies.

4.3.6 Death rituals

The excavation of burials was a form of evidence; however, I chose to keep this theme separate from evidence as it had its own story to tell. A burial shows us how communities felt about one another and how they approached death and life after death. How a person has been interred in a grave showed that person's social standing in life, how they were respected and how they intended to meet their creator in the afterlife. The Orange book (2008), strangely enough, did not mention any discovery of burials or how each society dealt with death and yet death is an integral part of archaeology for reasons mentioned above. There was extensive mention of the Shona god *Mwari* and of ancestor worship, which indicated an acknowledgement of life after death, but this was not related archaeologically, but rather in the domain of oral tradition. The Brown book (1991), on the other hand, went to great lengths to convey the importance of burials found at archaeological sites. The case study of the Early Iron Age village *Kumadzulo* did not only reveal homesteads; it also revealed grave sites containing the remains of people and grave goods such as "iron hoe-heads, iron or copper bangles, cowrie shells and shell beads, and squash or bean seeds" (Brown book, 1991: 22). Each one of these grave items revealed the life that the person who was laid to rest with these goods lived.

In addition to the *Kumadzulo* graves, this unit of analysis took a closer look at the village of *Pelindaba,* where "two pots were discovered with skull and bones inside … the first pot is most likely an ancestor's bones as they were from an older man" (Brown book, 1991: 24). Class differences were evident even in death as "richer people at *Pelindaba* were buried with cowrie shells and a conus shell" (Brown book, 1991: 24). They were seen as wealthier because the artefacts would have come from trade with people from the Indian Ocean and would immediately place those buried in a different class altogether.

4.3.7 Pseudo-archaeology

After having analysed both textbooks, specifically the sampled units of analyses, the most interesting finding was the amount of "conjecture", statements that could only have come from archaeology but were not verified as such, from the Orange book

(2008), which was why I chose the term "pseudo-archaeology[16]" as a theme. Having studied archaeology myself, I was familiar with much of the terminology and the way in which archaeologists document their findings. I was therefore intrigued by the fact that many terms in the Orange book (2008), were incorrect and I had to cross check some of the dates and terms recorded in order to ascertain whether they were correct or not. The term pseudo-archaeology was chosen to illustrate the fact that the archaeology presented was not the archaeology associated with science, it was a type of archaeology based on assumptions and inaccurate interpretations of a situation not verified by factual evidence.

Having completed the analysis, I noted that there were no pseudo-archaeological discrepancies within the Brown book (1991) and that the focus of this theme was from the units of analysis covered within the Orange book (2008). The first discrepancy that leapt out at me was the expression "thousands of millions of years ago" (Orange book, 2008: 1) used to describe when the earth itself was formed. Mathematically the term did not add up or make sense and would lead to confusion. The second anomaly that I found odd was the term "ecolith" (Orange book, 2008: 1). This was explained in the Orange book (2008), as being a "dawnstone and the suffix 'lith' derived from Greek, meaning stone" (1). The term "lith" and its explanation relating to stone was correct, however, the correct word for "ecolith" was "eolith[17]." An ecolith, according to definition-of.com, was "ecologically controlled offset printing" which was in no way related to archaeology. In addition to this was the mention of a "dawnstone" which was relative to online gaming terminology as seen on the World of Warcraft and the Dragon Age Wiki webpages. When the authors made mention of "dawnstone", they could have been attempting to refer to the very first stone tools made by *homo habilis.* These two terms were not in any way related to archaeology, but they could be very misleading to the learners or teachers reading the textbook if they did not have a formal understanding of archaeological terminology.

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16 The word 'pseudo' comes from Greek meaning false or not real and when prefixed to the word archaeology it literally means 'false archaeology' (Johnston, 2016). The reasons why it is called 'false archaeology' is because the usual scientific methods used by archaeologists are not employed by pseudo archaeologists and if there is indeed any form of physical evidence it usually has not been documented accurately and could possibly be a hoax, such as the hoax of the Piltdown Man fossil.

17 An eolith is a chipped stone thought to have been produced by humans but instead were produced by natural, non-human agencies (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000).

The caption of figure 1.1 in the Orange book (2008), read as follows: "tools and microliths that were used during the Early Stone Age …" (2). The reason for mentioning this caption was because microliths are associated with Late Stone Age tool assemblages which was indicated in the actual text of the textbook opposite the image. This was a contradiction in terms of information given to the learners and the teacher would need a background knowledge of archaeology in order to identify this contradiction.

There were some instances in the Orange book (2008), when a technique or method was described and then shown to be a part of that societies' culture, yet these techniques were never linked with an archaeological discovery and there were no archaeological records to prove such techniques. The only way these would be known was possibly through age-old traditions still in use today or oral traditions, both of which were also not mentioned in some cases. One such example was the mention of the "slash and burn" technique practised in central and southern Africa (Orange book, 2008: 4). This was described as the "cutting away of dense forests, branches and leaves which were then turned into compost allowing the same land to be used again and again" (Orange book, 2008: 4). This was a valid technique that was more historical in nature; in relation to archaeology there were silences around this method actually existing. The period of time this "technique" fell under was the Early Iron Age. My intention in mentioning this technique was because it could have been found in an archaeological sequence, yet it was not connected to such.

Further to the agricultural aspect, there was reference to "surplus grain being stored which caused population growth" (Orange book, 2008: 4). My observation here was that there was mention of storage, but no real explanation of where it was stored; a grain bin perhaps or a mini hut structure on stilts? This omission led to more questions rather than a complete understanding. What was observed was that this was a narrative about the storage of grain and population growth being attributed to excess grain, but there was no mention of it through archaeological evidence or if it was recorded historically there was no connection back to its origin. The Brown book (1991), gave an example of one made from "grass and poles on a base of stone" (23) and from my own prior knowledge, grain bins used to be made from mud or *daga* and were placed in caves or on stilts as a mini mud hut to store excess grain.
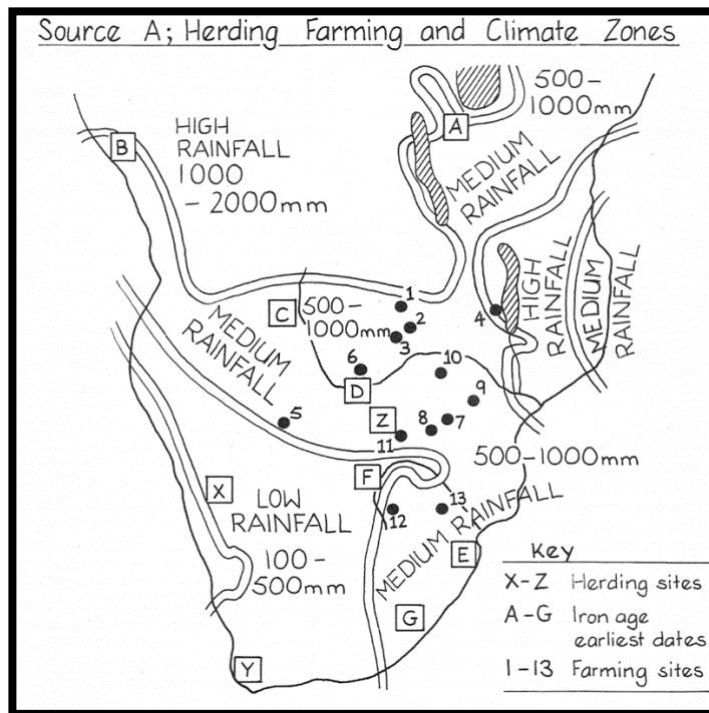
Figure 23: A map from an activity on page 26 of the Brown book (1991). Note that the rainfalls mentioned in this map were relative to actual archaeological data gathered in relation to environmental factors discovered at the sites.

As mentioned previously, under the theme evidence there was not much reference to the remains of animal bones being discovered in the Orange book (2008); however, there was much discussion of "fat-tailed sheep being raised in areas suitable for their raising" (6). Once again, there was no suggestion of the areas in particular and how the authors came to know of these "most suitable" areas; the sentences were vague at best. In the Brown book (1991), there was an activity associated with a map of southern Africa and on it, were the locations of Early Iron Age sites which were actually excavated, and the archaeologists at the time were able to piece together what the rainfall and climates were in that period relative to the archaeological discoveries at each site (26) (see figure 23 on the previous page for an example of the map used in the activity). The key on the map indicated these sites as X-Y being herding sites, A-G Iron Age sites with the earliest dates and 1-13 being the farming sites. This exercise had the learners interact with the map to get a picture for themselves of the earliest dates of the Late Stone Age herding culture at sites X and Y. They had to identify the earliest dates of the Iron Age culture at sites A-G and then name the farming villages 1-13 with approximate dates of occupation. These activities were designed for application and synthesis as well as memory and knowledge. Why I added this explanation was to show that the Brown book (1991), did not make statements such

as "raised in suitable areas" without first giving the evidence; rather the learners were immersed into a well-rounded activity that encompassed not only knowledge and memory recall but included synthesis and application of the data provided; this data was relative archaeological data. This was what I found as a silence in the Orange book (2008). There were many times where I felt that there was more to be said on a point such as the one mentioned above, and I was left with more questions than answers.

In addition to this, the Orange book (2008), made a comparison between Late Stone Age and Early Iron Age homesteads. It (2008) stated that the latter were "larger and more permanent" than earlier counterparts which were "small and scattered" (6). This was just a statement in the textbook without any proof of the existence of structures and there was a lack of evidence of the material they used in order for the reader to determine whether this was factual evidence or not.

The Late Stone Age transition into the Early Iron Age in the Orange book (2008) was described as follows: the "Late Stone Age saw the development of a diversity of skills in mining, craftsmanship, arable farming and cattle keeping" (6). The text went on to describe the different tradesmen associated with the above skills, these being "rainmakers, priests, master hunters, metal craftsmen, cattle owners, salt-pan guardians and traders" (Orange book, 2008: 6), to name a few. What was not present in the textbook was whether these different tradesmen were in existence as such in the Late Stone Age or Early Iron Age and it seemed as if the teacher was required to have knowledge of this in order to fill the gaps. I have also noted throughout this section that there was mention of mining or metal craftsmen but the actual process of mining in itself was not really explained. Mining and the craftwork produced would have then filtered into trade.

The ruling classes were only mentioned when it came to the mention of the effects of trade locally and long-distance. This section in the Orange book (2008), explained that there was an "accumulation of wealth for the ruling class" who also had "access to imported luxuries" such as "distinctive and better clothing, different diet" and their "housing was constructed better" (7). There was no indication of physical evidence here of a class distinction based on diet, clothing or housing. It was probable that the

housing remains would still be intact, but clothing and food remains tend to perish in the archaeological record. Even if there were bone remains studied to ascertain a diet, these were not associated with class distinction.

Spirit mediums would usually fall into the domain of history and oral tradition, but archaeological evidence can help determine a place of spiritual reverence, worship or even the residence of a spirit medium. Spirit mediums played an important role throughout the Orange book (2008), but they were not related to archaeological evidence. According to the Orange book (2008), spirit mediums were advisors to the rulers and solved succession disputes by giving spiritual legitimacy to the ruling lineage and through their mediation between ancestors and the living descendant. I placed the notes of spirit mediums here as pseudo-archaeology because of the time frame of this history and the lack of archaeological references. The information about spirit mediums and ancestor worship showed a stronger presence of oral traditions. This information was also in the domain of a prehistorical period, a period where there was more reliance on archaeology to piece together the historical facts that have come from oral traditions. There was no mention of archaeological evidence to suggest where the spirit mediums may have resided or physical evidence to connect the spirit mediums to a certain area. The data leaned to and from the Late Stone Age and the Early Iron Age, making the information given on these periods very erratic and confusing; it would most definitely need clarification from the class teacher who would in turn need to have sound background knowledge of the Late Stone Age and Early Iron Age eras.

The evidence pointed to unit one as reliant on archaeological principle, more so in the Brown book (1991), than the Orange book (2008), as the topics covered the prehistory of Zimbabwe. The Orange book (2008) did make reference to archaeological principles but in a very erratic and unfocused manner, leaving much to the teacher to be explained in detail and only then if the teacher actually understood archaeology. The Brown book (1991) showed much planning in the presentation of the historical text alongside archaeological images and explanations.

4.4 Unit two: Middle Iron Age Villages and Early Towns

4.4.1 Theories

In this unit, the tributary mode-of-production had a very strong presence in the sample, and through this mode-of-production we start to see the "development of larger states" (Brown book, 1991: 27). The archaeological period of time in which this mode-of-production took place was named the Middle Iron Age in the Brown book (1991); this period was not stated in the Orange book (2008), which indicated a transition from Early Iron Age straight into the Late Iron Age.

The tributary mode-of-production was explained as tribute (wealth) that was collected by senior males in the form of cattle, hunting goods, metals and trade goods (Brown book, 1991). These tributes were the results of trade between local populations and other groupings further afield. The theory of a tributary mode-of-production would have been relative to what was manufactured at a particular site and at surrounding sites to determine what would have been used as tribute. What this study found was that this form of tributary system was similar to that of European feudalism which was also present in the Orange textbook (2008). In relation to the previous comment, the Orange book (2008), stipulated that "chiefs were the custodians of the land and therefore responsible for its equal distribution" (8). The textbook further elucidated that "land was never owned by an individual or family, but the people had the right to the use of a particular piece of land" (Orange book, 1991: 8). I understood this use of land to be much like European feudalism whereby, the king granted lands to his nobles in return for protection and loyalty. Furthermore, I saw this direct comparison in both books as an indication that in Africa cultural groups experienced a similar mode-of-production as in Europe; consequently, correcting the wrongs of a colonial form of history on the basis of archaeological evidence.

The Orange book (2008), went into much detail as to what was given as tribute. It suggested that "iron hoes, cattle, sheep, goats, copper, gold, ivory, grain, Indian cloth, bark cloth, jewellery, labour tribute, salt, glass beads, lion and leopard skins, and judicial fees" were all that was given as tribute (Orange book, 1991: 8). In return for this tribute the people expected the "chief to protect them against external attacks and guarantee an environment conducive to peace and prosperity" (Orange book, 2008: 8). It was all fair and well to state what was paid as tribute, but what the analysis

suggested was that items such as animal skins, Indian cloth, labour tribute, salt, bark cloth and judicial fees would not be present in the archaeological record because these were biodegradable or because there was no written evidence of judicial fees or labour tributes to verify this information.

In line with this form of tribute, the Orange book (2008), revealed that the "acquisition of wealth came from the domestication of food crops and livestock which then lead to the formation of social classes and exploitation of other groups" (9). This extract on the mode-of-production leaned heavily towards a Marxist point of view in terms of the beginnings of capitalism but was not in any way related to a mode-of-production in the text and would need to be pointed out to young learners by their teacher. Furthermore, the Brown book (1991), mentioned "chiefdoms inland becoming wealthier by breeding and controlling great herds of wealth" (27) and that "Late Iron Age states were based on power from cattle" (30). The Brown book (1991), then added that these were "types of tributary modes-of-production taking tribute from the production of their people" (30). The common basis here was the Marxist principle showed the move away from an egalitarian society to that of a social hierarchy based on wealth: the beginnings of capitalism.

The most interesting aspect in my view, of unit two, was the discovery of Great Zimbabwe and how the history of this magnificent structure was represented in the data set, given the romanticised history and eccentric theories surrounding the origins of Great Zimbabwe.

In the Brown book (1991), leading up to the discussion of Great Zimbabwe, there were explanations of the archaeological methods used to discover new sites, the first being "aerial photographs that are taken in the dry season which helps to identify the light-yellow grass that grows on the burnt dung of former cattle kraals on hilltops" (31). These photographs allowed for anomalies to be discovered and led archaeologists to locations that had potential in terms of excavations. The Brown book (1991), showed that, when burials were discovered, they "tend to show cultural ideas that are still in existence in some peasant households today" (31). This statement was useful as it supported the reality that many rural cultures in Zimbabwe still follow traditional cultures and practices from the Iron Age and this linked closely with archaeology,

anthropology and oral traditions. The other finding was the fact that archaeologically this evidence assisted in proving contrary to the belief of Europeans, that Zimbabweans were backward or uncultured; they instead, had a culture and traditions already in place and these have existed until modern times.

In addition to the modes-of-production mentioned above, the Brown book (1991), explained how different cultures were spread all over southern Africa by taking a closer look at the archaeological discoveries at different locations as seen on the map illustration (see fig. 23 page 99). According to the Brown book (1991), archaeologists thought that the "*Luangwa* metal smiths changed the pottery styles in Zaire, Eastern Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe and parts of Mozambique" (32). These metal smiths brought with them different technologies and through interaction by trade shared the new ideas with the above-mentioned groups. These smiths "insist[ed]" on specific gender-based roles, such as "only women should make pottery which may have been previously made by men in the Early Iron Age" (Brown book, 1991: 32). A shift in the modes-of-production from pastoral based to more skilled trades and moving over to gender-based roles began to emerge.

The theories surrounding the different cultures that developed, eventually led up to the Great Zimbabwe tradition. History would rely on these elements to piece together the puzzle that was Great Zimbabwe. The Brown book (1991), spoke of the "*Bambadyanalo* culture of the Leopard's *Kopje* tradition which spread from Limpopo up to the Shashe and other rivers towards the Matobo hills"; it further mentioned the "*Gumanye* culture which was the first part of what archaeologists called the Great Zimbabwe tradition" (32). By using dating techniques and typology sequences, archaeologists came up with the evidence in relation to the oral histories of the people who may have come to occupy Great Zimbabwe. The first excavations would have exposed "stone wall enclosures and Historians compared the archaeological evidence to oral traditions" (Brown book, 1991: 35). The theories that emerged based on archaeological evidence and oral traditions were that the "kings lived on the hill and wives lived in the stone walled enclosures around the Great enclosure as the Great enclosure was for initiations … the chief *svikiro* or spirit medium (priest) of the nation also lived on the hill" (Brown book, 1991: 35). In other theories it was the "king who

lived in the Great Enclosure as a divine king and he collected gold as tribute" (Brown book, 1991: 35).

The Orange book (2008), did not give mention to theories from archaeologists based upon the dwelling locations of chiefs, wives and spirit mediums but it discussed the theories behind the decline of Great Zimbabwe. The reasons for the decline of the Great Zimbabwe state were traced back to a large population of "30 000 people, which in turn taxed the environment; resources like wood deplete, grazing land decreases and soil fertility depletes resulting in crop failures" (Orange book, 2008: 16). Many of these factors could be present in an archaeological find and would be placed under environmental archaeology, which studies the microscopic remains of certain plant species and animal species to determine the climate at a certain period of time, but the Orange book (2008), did not give credit to archaeology in this instance. Further to this, the Brown book (1991), stated "drought and overgrazing lead to famine for the people and cattle" (37), corroborated the explanation in the Orange book (2008): "devastating droughts in 1420 and 1430; a locust plague and further consecutive droughts in 1465 and 1493 where the people blamed the king" (17). The Orange book (2008), gave a little more detail in terms of the dates of the droughts and how the people felt, which could have come from oral histories but the basis of these two books was that archaeology provided the proof for the environmental disasters. In addition to the environmental theories afflicting Great Zimbabwe, the other theory of decline was related to gold trade which shifted from the "Lundi and Sabi to the Zambezi due to the *Sofala* coast being swamped by the sea and the Sabi river silting up" (Brown book, 1991: 37) and shifted from "Limpopo and *Sofala* to the Zambezi, Shire and Lake Tanganyika triangle" (Orange book, 2008: 16). Both textbooks agreed on the trade locations shifting due to environmental factors, the only difference being that the Brown book (1991) made more reference to what archaeologists thought. Yet, someone who had studied archaeology would notice that the data presented in the Orange book (2008) can only come from archaeological resources and should be related as such.

4.4.2 Chronology and evidence

What stood out clearly under this theme in unit two was the abundance of archaeological material used to complete the historical records of the Middle and Late

Iron Ages, especially in the Brown book (1991), which had more archaeological depth. The Orange book (2008), covered data mostly on Great Zimbabwe, but the archaeological references began to dwindle and there was more of a historical tone to its content. There was a significant amount of dating techniques mentioned in the Brown book (1991), such as carbon dating (absolute dating) and typology (relative dating) of the different types of pottery discovered. All of these finds were crucial in terms of putting together a comprehensive history of southern Africa before the arrival of the Europeans and they greatly changed the perspectives of earlier colonial textbooks.

Chronology in the Brown book (1991) was used to show when the Early Iron Age ended and the Middle to Late Iron Ages came into existence. Here, the findings took me through a journey filled with dates and related evidence to formulate an image of the eventual development of Great Zimbabwe as a civilization. The Brown book (1991), gave the reader a time frame for the "Middle Iron Age period" which extended from about "AD700-1100" (27); a period of time not present in the Orange book (2008). Further dates within the Brown book (1991) revealed settlement of foreign groups in Africa such as the "Muslim Arabs that started settling on the coast of Tanzania around AD730-800" (27). Yet, prior to this period up to AD700, there was only archaeological evidence of Persian, Arabian and Swahili traders who made their way down the east coast of Africa towards *Sofala* (Brown book, 1991).

A clear reference to the use of archaeology was the mention that there was "no evidence of foreign sea-traders settling on the *Sofala* coast during 700-1100 Middle Iron Age period" (Brown book, 1991: 29). There was mention of a "lack of archaeology in Mozambique due to the civil war" (Brown book, 1991: 29). Having read the above-mentioned point about the lack of evidence related to foreign sea-traders settling, my first thought was that Arabian or eastern traders did not feel the need to settle in Africa because they could conduct their trade seasonally year in and year out without having to settle. In contrast, the European sailors or traders needed to settle in Africa and establish ports of trade to control trade coming in and out of certain regions. This then, led to the question of whether the non-settlement of Arabian or eastern traders, was placed in the Brown textbook (1991) to show the different attitudes towards trade by Europeans and possibly eastern traders. The second point, then, made it clear that

there was indeed a lack of archaeological evidence during this period of time that could possibly answer the question I had thought of.

The start of this journey of dates through southern Africa began in central Zambia with a mixture between "*Kapwilimbwe* pottery and the earlier mentioned *Gokomere*/*Ziwa* type of pottery" (Brown book, 1991: 28). Evidence of this pottery was discovered "in north-east Zimbabwe around Chinhoyi from about AD600" and it was a clear mixture of the *Kapwilimbwe* and earlier *Gokomere*/*Ziwa* pottery. It was believed that these pottery types mixed as a result of migrations of copper smiths from "*Kapwilimbwe* and *Chondwe* (Copperbelt) who brought their pottery style with them" (Brown book, 1991: 28). Further south, in South Africa, "copper production in Phalaborwa began in around AD700" (Brown book, 1991: 28), which coincided with the Middle Iron Age dates mentioned above, and the "pottery styles in Phalaborwa are completely different to the local Early Iron Age pottery" relating more to the "*Gokomere*/*Ziwa* style" (Brown book, 1991: 28). These differences in pottery styles continued from the "Early Iron Age cultures of Zimbabwe (the *Gokomere*/*Ziwa* culture of the northeast and *Gokomere*/*Zhizo* of the southwest) into the Later Iron Age" and archaeologists have found ways to observe this continuation (Brown book, 1991: 30). Further to this change that was observed by archaeologists, "pottery styles of Zimbabwe changed greatly around 950-1050" possibly due to the influences of pottery styles coming from "Western Zaire (Congo) down the *Luangwa* valley of Zambia to cross the Zambezi" (Brown book, 1991: 30). This formed part of the eastern and western migration theories put forward by Bent and this particular pottery style became known as the *Luangwa* tradition.

Further to these migrations of pottery styles, the Leopard's *Kopje* tradition came from Northern Transvaal[18] of South Africa and crossed over the Limpopo into Zimbabwe (Brown book, 1991). The Leopard's *Kopje* style pottery, then "distributed through migrations around the AD950 - AD1100 period" all around the Limpopo valley and is

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[18] The Transvaal was a province named after the Vaal river and lasted from 1910 until the end of Apartheid in 1994; its capital was Pretoria. Today the province has been divided into four parts and Pretoria now falls into the Gauteng province which was previously southern Transvaal. The Brown book was printed in 1991 when the Transvaal province was still in existence.

first seen in the "*Bambadyanalo* culture" (Brown book, 1991: 32). The "mixture of the two traditions would have taken place around AD1050" (Brown book, 1991: 32).

In addition to the pottery styles discovered and mentioned earlier in this theme, "archaeologists completely excavated a small village named B55 in 1983…this village is within 60 kilometres of the capital town of *Toutswe* in Botswana" (Brown book, 1991: 31). The year 1983 was also significant as it was soon after Zimbabwe gained independence and archaeological findings of such villages, which indicated a vibrant culture, could now be published free from the colonial oppression of the past. It was clear from archaeological evidence of "Middle Iron Age villages around *Toutswe* which was 60 kilometres north east of Serowe in eastern Botswana that there was no great trade of Indian Ocean goods before AD1100" (Brown book, 1991: 30). The archaeological evidence was in the form of "hundreds of villages found around *Toutswe* dating from around AD700 to AD1200" (Brown book, 1991: 30). The excavations at B55 yielded much evidence about the types of crops grown: "burnt sorghum and millet was found in two of the grain bins", in addition, evidence of economic activities in the form of ornamental goods such as "2600 glass beads and 5000 ostrich egg-shell beads … 50 centimetres of metal wire necklaces" (Brown book, 1991: 31). The exact numbers that were recorded show that a proper excavation was conducted where each artefact was meticulously recorded.

The Brown book (1991), went on to explain that both the sites, *Bambadyanalo* and *Mapungubwe,* were carbon-dated and that the pottery found at *Bambayanalo* was the earliest example of Leopard's *Kopje* tradition (33), which spread further north into Zimbabwe. Other artefacts were mentioned as having been found at *Bambadyanalo,* such as small clay figurines of cattle (Brown book, 1991: 33). *Mapungubwe* was another site in the Limpopo region and predecessor to the Great Zimbabwe traditions. The Brown book (1991) stated that excavations at *Mapungubwe* revealed "bone, iron, ivory, small stone spindle-whorls to spin cotton" (34). The spindle whorls were also mentioned in the Orange book (2008), though with less clarity than the Brown book (1991), so much so that I had to do further reading to see if cotton was indeed grown locally in order for these traditions to manufacture their own cloth; this will be discussed further in Chapter 5. These "archaeological" findings fitted in with the Brown book

(1991)'s text that was produced to show the development of different modes-of-production through the different prehistoric societies.

Other discoveries from archaeological excavations at *Mapungubwe* in the Brown book (1991's) text were the "wooden rhino, wooden staff and bowl all covered in thin sheets of gold; alongside these was the discovery of quantities of gold beads, copper wire bangles" (Brown book, 1991: 34). The Brown book (1991) further indicated that there was evidence that related to the decline of *Mapungubwe* being in the form of "overgrazing and droughts" (34). In contrast, the Orange book (2008) did not specify where this information came from, yet logically it could have been retrieved from evidence of remains related to environmental archaeology. This decline paved the way for the rise of another great city further to the north of Limpopo, known as Great Zimbabwe from about 1200AD – 1300AD, which, according to the Brown book (1991), "would have developed from the *Gumanye* tradition" (35).

Unit two data showed the rise of many cultures and traditions within the Brown book (1991), which were indicative of how the cultures of Great Zimbabwe developed. The different cultures and traditions were the building blocks that ultimately led to the development of Great Zimbabwe.

The Brown book (1991) contained a topic box 4, that treated early evidence for the existence of Great Zimbabwe separately. It (1991) spoke of the invasion of Zimbabwe in 1890 by the BSAC and the building of Fort Victoria at the current location of Masvingo. It (1991) then went on to mention that "Cecil John Rhodes ignored Frederick Selous[19] who believed the stone ruins to have been built by the African ancestors of the Shona" (35). In addition, the Brown book (1991) showed that Bent also agreed that "everything looked native" but he was later "persuaded to see the ruins as originating from Arab infrastructure" (35). Early archaeologists such as Richard Hall were said to have almost "destroyed the archaeology" of Great Zimbabwe by using "invasive digging techniques all around Great Zimbabwe" (Brown book, 1991:

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[19] Frederick Courtney Selous was a British hunter and explorer in southern Africa from 1871 to 1896 (Baldus, n.d.). He was a close friend to Cecil John Rhodes and Theodore Roosevelt. He became extremely knowledgeable of the Mashonaland and Matabeleland regions of which he explored extensively on his hunting exploits ("Frederick Selous", n.d).

35). The textbook importantly noted that Hall, being very amateur in his excavation techniques and mostly driven by the desire to search for gold and evidence of Arabian remains, "overlooked the intricate artefacts that made up the history of Great Zimbabwe and linked it to other cultures and traditions that lead to the formation of the great walled city" (Brown book, 1991: 35). Only by 1905 did a trained archaeologist excavate at Great Zimbabwe: "David Randall-MacIver conducted quick excavations at 6 sites and stated that Great Zimbabwe was indeed built by the ancestors of the *Kalanga*" (Brown book, 1991: 35). He also found evidence of "Chinese pottery and Arabian glass", which were indicators of a flourishing trade (Brown book, 1991: 35). Another archaeologist, Gertrude Caton-Thompson, conducted excavations at Great Zimbabwe in 1929. Her conclusion was that all the "evidence points to Bantu origins and not Arabic or European" (Brown book, 1991: 35). Her views that the ruins were built by Africans were not accepted and Raymond Dart, as mentioned before, attended her lecture and vehemently disagreed with her findings.

What was most significant about the extracts from the topic box 4 mentioned above, was that they were corroborated by the research in my literature review and showed that considerable research into the archaeological history of Great Zimbabwe was explored in order to have it presented accurately within the Brown book (1991).

The information, in topic box 4 additionally covered archaeology in more recent years by making mention of the formerly "exiled archaeologist Peter Garlake, who returned to Zimbabwe and continued with excavations at Great Zimbabwe" (Brown book, 1991: 35). What was discovered during the above-mentioned excavations were artefacts such as "iron hoes, axes, chisels, copper and iron wire, glass beads, Chinese and Persian pottery and an iron bell" (Brown book, 1991: 35). The bell was believed to be used by "divine kings" in Central and Western Africa and was evidence of the crossing over of the *Luangwa* tradition. The Brown book (1991), indicated that the "Great Zimbabwe tradition declined around 1450AD" (37) and "excavations linked the cultures of Great Zimbabwe and *Kame* with later Shona cultures and radio-carbon dating done at Great Zimbabwe showed that the structure was built around the 13th to 15th centuries" (Brown book, 1991: 35).

Further archaeological evidence came from a site excavated at *Ingombe Ilede* which revealed rich deposits of burials to be discussed further under the theme of burials. The artefacts discovered alongside the burials fell under this theme of evidence and chronology. The village of *Ingombe Ilede* was dated to around "AD1300-1500" (Brown book, 1991: 37). It was named by archaeologists and was a "Late Iron Age development of the Middle Iron Age *Kalomo* culture" (Brown book, 1991: 37). The artefacts discovered were "arm bangles – mostly copper, some iron and a little gold … clothing made from bark cloth and locally woven cotton as well as fine cotton cloth from India" (Brown book, 1991: 37).

The Brown book (1991), contained learner activities related to the case study of *Ingombe Ilede* and they required the learner to engage with the illustration of the burials and to identify locations of materials found using the key provided. In short, the learners were expected to engage with a sketch based on an actual archaeological excavation. Further to this activity, was a question that required the learners to recall what crafts were developed and to explain the demand for the products (Brown book, 1991). This exercise required analysis, synthesis, application and knowledge from the learners. Based on the readings of the text, the answer as to why there was a demand required extraction through the previously mentioned taxonomies.

The majority of the archaeological extractions came from the Brown book (1991). The Orange book (2008) had a much stronger historical presence in relation to Great Zimbabwe. The only real archaeological reference mentioned came from written extracts accompanying the learner activities. The extract that was analysed because of its archaeological presence was captioned with the following sentence: "a British archaeologist who studied Great Zimbabwe in the 1960s" (Orange book, 2008: 12). There was no further mention as to who this British archaeologist was. The extract itself in relation to Great Zimbabwe stated that "scientific evidence provided by carbon-14 dating [this being another variation to writing radio-carbon dating] is conclusive" and "Great Zimbabwe was being built in the 7th century AD" (Orange book, 2008: 12). It was noted here that the dates differed between the Brown book (1991) and the Orange book (2008). The Brown book (1991: 35) specified that Great Zimbabwe was built around the 13th and 15th centuries AD while the Orange book (2008: 12), stated the 7th century AD as the start date. The extract in the Orange book (2008) went on to

say that, "it was being built before the Bantu arrived [a reference to the migrations from the north-east and the north-west of Africa] … those who did <u>not</u> build it were the Bantu" (12). The activity related to this extract relied on the comprehension and memory of the learners. The question began with "how", a processual keyword that meant that the learners had to demonstrate their understanding of "how the archaeologist arrived at his or her conclusion based on the origins of Great Zimbabwe" (Orange book, 2008: 12).

The reason for my underlining the word "not" in the previous paragraph was because there was a very strong sense of opinion about the establishment of Great Zimbabwe being made in the extract from above. The only other people that could have built Great Zimbabwe would have been the original inhabitants of the Zimbabwe plateau who were related to the Shona people. The following quote used heavily loaded words which pointed to this fact: "established beyond any reasonable doubt by archaeologists [note that now the presence of archaeology takes precedence], modern historians, Shona oral traditions and Portuguese records the stone structures were built by the Shona themselves" (Orange book, 2008: 13). Here, I saw a reliance on the transdisciplinary approach between history and archaeology to show that the structures at Great Zimbabwe were built by non-other than the Shona.

Another extract, in the Orange book (2008), of archaeological roots was used in another exercise and it gave a full description of the Great Zimbabwe ruins. Again, there was no explanation to who the archaeologist was that conducted the excavations; the extraction in the Orange book (2008) did, nevertheless, carry the correct descriptions and terms an archaeologist would make use of. This section in the Orange book (2008), began by mentioning that the "houses of the elite were inside the main walls", which was supported by another quote in text about the Great Enclosure: "great walls built without any roof and … it house the ruling class" (13). The Orange book (2008) went on to further explain the social status of the ruling class: "rulers enjoyed more quality and quantity of commodities like clothing, liquor; meat and other foodstuffs, pottery, jewellery, wives and children" (13). The social status was evidenced by the commodities that would have been discovered at the site of Great Zimbabwe. The biodegradable material such as fabrics and edibles would have disintegrated in the record but would have been recorded in the histories of European

or Arab historians that had come into contact with the Great Zimbabwe inhabitants. In addition to the small artefacts discovered at the site was a description of the interior of the many houses that were discovered in and around the enclosure: "the interior was skilfully and beautifully fashioned with moulded and polished clay seats, neat entrances and storage components and shelves" (Orange book, 2008: 13). I noted that there were many more descriptive words being used such as "skilfully" and "beautifully" to describe the structures at Great Zimbabwe. Further to this evidence on the construction of the buildings, the written extract went on to describe the ceremonial aspects: "ceremonial places were built of the same material into impressive platforms and courtyards with gutters and drains and house walls were also made of *dhaka*[20] and for the decoration of connecting walls" (Orange book, 2008: 13).

The written extract was in itself archaeological in nature due to the knowledge of the layout of foundations that would have come from excavations. The mention of gutters and drains is still evident today and were recognised as architectural achievements, ahead of their time. The Orange book (2008)'s focus in unit two was mainly on Great Zimbabwe but there was a strong reliance on oral traditions and historical extracts rather than archaeology. The study did find that there was no use of archaeology to explain how the Great Zimbabwe culture and society evolved over time as detailed in the Brown book (1991). The archaeological presence in the Orange book (2008) seemed to only relate to Shona origins and did not mention other cultures in the sections chosen for analysis, that were present at the same time.

4.4.3 Architecture

Architecture in this section saw more developments as villages became more prevalent and allowed for larger populations of people and the development of larger kraals as a result of increased wealth.

Unit two on architecture was initially presented in the Brown book (1991) as "villages built around a large cattle kraal" (30) as a general description of the types of villages. The Brown book (1991) further described "smaller villages" as being built up near, "fields besides streams consisting of 12 to 20 houses" and the villages that consist of

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20 Note that the Orange book spelled "*daga*" as "*dhaka*."

"120 to 200 houses" were usually found on "hill tops above the plains" (30). These descriptions and specific numbers of houses found would have been discovered through archaeological excavations. Other archaeological excavations conducted in the area presented evidence of very large villages considered as "southern Africa's first towns with 1000 to 1500 houses" and these were found built along the "flat tops of three hills" (Brown book, 1991: 30).

These states built their wealth upon cattle as seen at the sites from *Toutswe,* which was made up of 160 villages within 60km of the *Toutswe* capital. The architectural evidence pointed to a thriving culture as a "further 70 smaller villages were discovered along the river course of the *Kgaswe* area" (Brown book, 1991: 31). In addition to these textual facts, the case study box on page 31 of the Brown book (1991), displayed a drawing drawn to scale of the actual excavation made at *Kgaswe*-B55, as it was officially recorded: one of the smaller *Toutswe* villages mentioned above. The layout of the village was clearly drawn indicating the location of the kraal which was at the centre of the drawing and looked like the "yolk" of an egg (Brown book, 1991: 31). What was most interesting were the very specific locations marked on the diagram of each *daga* structure, grain bins, post holes, burials, pits and refuse concentrations. In addition to the diagram, the text gave specific measurements of each of the houses: "the houses are three metres in diameter" (Brown book, 1991: 31). Further to this, were detailed descriptions of the house structures themselves; the houses were described as being built in a "circular manner with *daga* walls and four other structures seem to be grain bins" (Brown book, 1991: 31). The floor plan presented in the diagram was studied and it was evident that the cattle were of most importance to the *Toutswe* culture as the location of the kraal was central to the village. This was based on the confirmation of "cow dung being discovered in this area" (Brown book, 1991: 31).
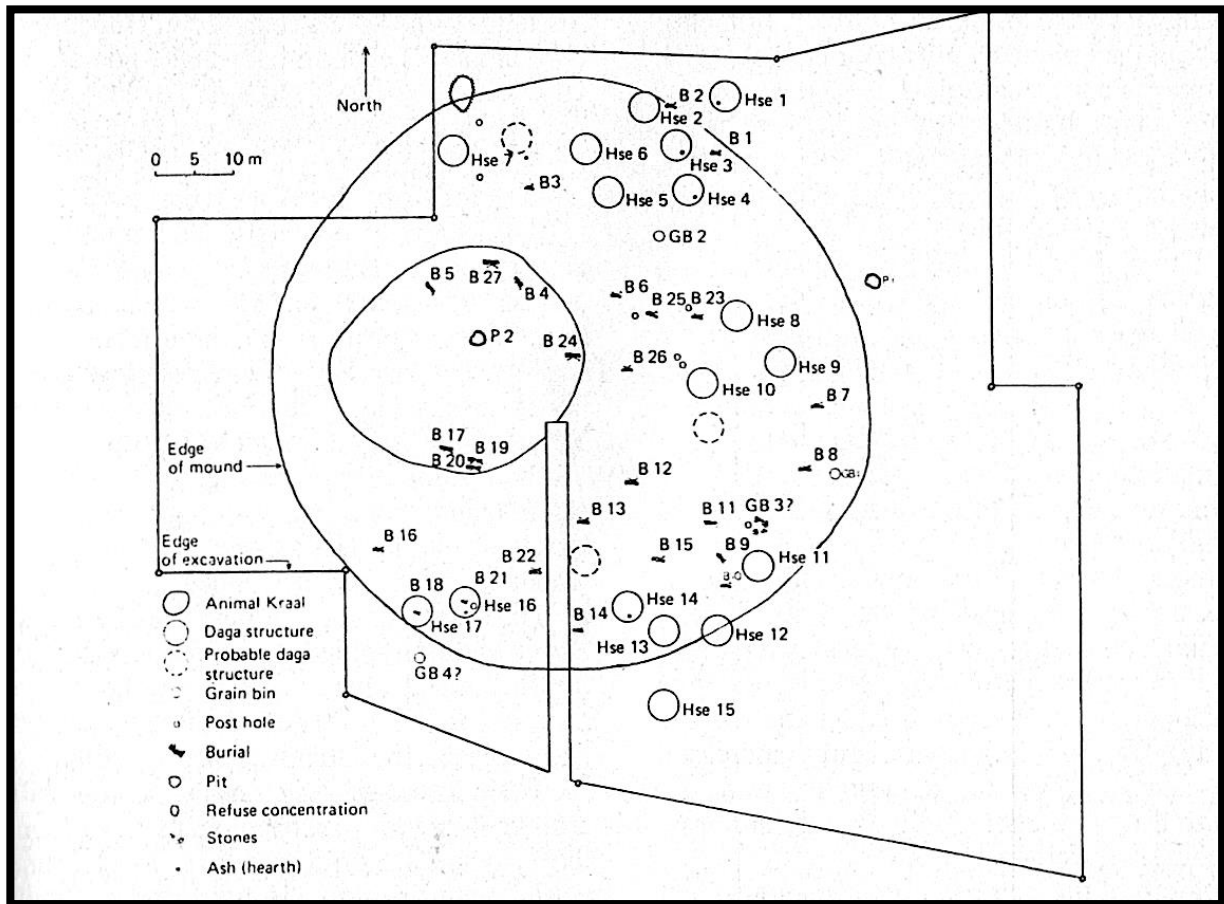
Figure 24: Drawing indicating the details of Kgaswe-B55 taken from a report by Dr. James Denbow of the National Museum of Botswana (Brown book, 1991: 31).

Another form of archaeological evidence in relation to architecture was the discovery of iron furnaces. Specific traditions were linked to the building style of the furnace. The Brown book (1991), mentioned the fact that the "*Luangwa* tradition people smelted their iron in taller furnaces than the Early Iron Age smelters" (32). This then took the reader into the age of the Middle Iron Age and to the mention of housing structures of the Leopard's *Kopje* people, "building their clay walled houses on stone foundations and surrounding them with stone walls" (Brown book, 1991: 32).

Another rich site that preceded the Great Zimbabwe complex were the remains of buildings with *daga* walls and courtyards discovered by archaeologists at *Mapungubwe*. Similarly, another site on the Zimbabwean side of the Shashe river was a site found on the "flat topped hill of *Mapela*", which had remains of "*daga* walls of buildings and stone walls which stopped the soil eroding from farming plots" (Brown book, 1991: 32). These were earlier forms of terracing which was found at later sites

such as *Kame* on the outskirts of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. The development of stone walled structures at *Mapungubwe* and *Mapela* led to the development of an architectural brilliance in the form of Great Zimbabwe.
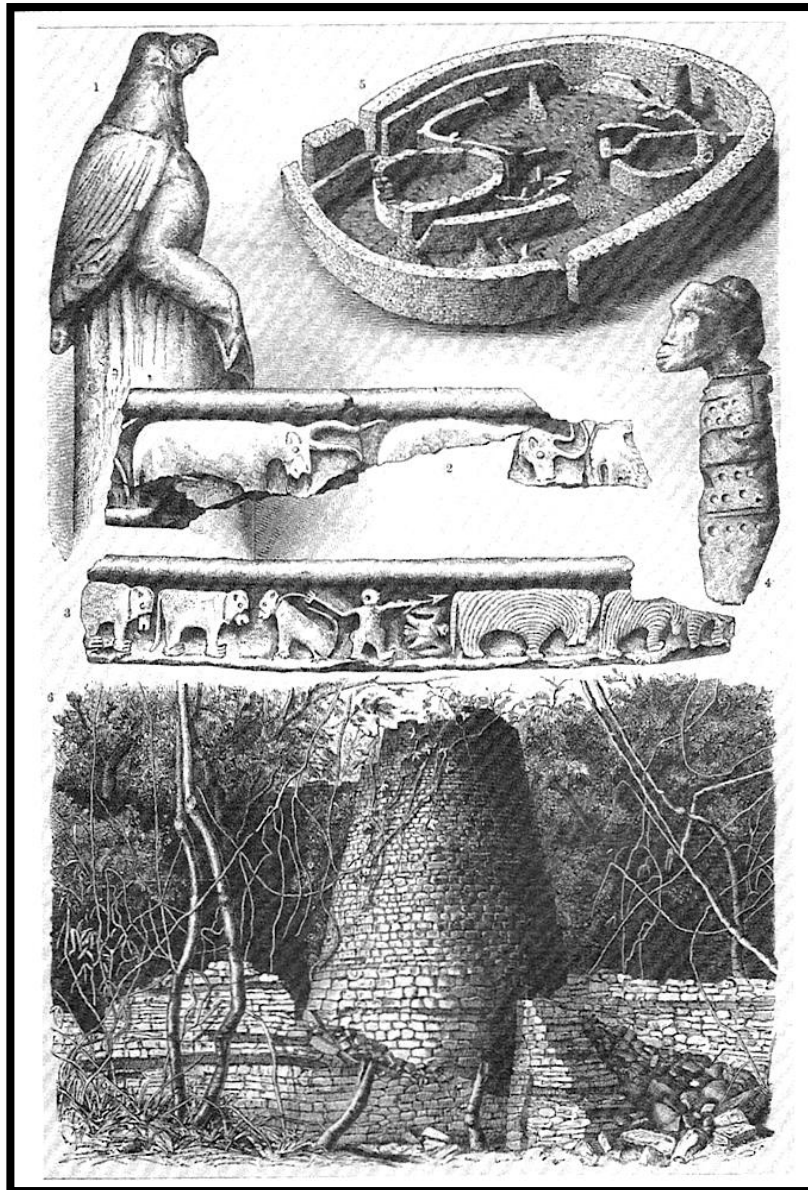
Figure 25: Images of Great Zimbabwe as seen by Europeans in 1892: these images were a part of Theodore Bent's lecture on his findings at Great Zimbabwe to the Royal Geographical Society, in London, 1892 (Brown book, 1991: 36). The first image, at the top left, was one of the famous stone sculptures of birds found at Great Zimbabwe. The two decorative images below the Zimbabwe bird were the edges of bowls, carved from soapstone or ivory. The carving to the right of these bowl edges was a carving of a human head. The top aerial view of Great Zimbabwe was a model of the "Great Enclosure" seen as a set of walls without trees or houses inside them and finally the image at the bottom showed how the tower in the Great Enclosure actually looked in 1892, with crumbling walls, creepers and trees. Notes taken from the Brown book (1991: 36).

In continuation with the tradition of the buildings of *Mapungubwe* and *Mapela* previously described, the "oldest part of Great Zimbabwe was the acropolis on the hill" (Brown book, 1991: 34). The description of the architecture further stated that it consisted of "high stone walls built between the boulders, around clay walled houses

with thatched roofs" (Brown book, 1991: 34). Observation of the buildings of Great Zimbabwe from the acropolis showed the city plan was built on a plain around the great *dare*.21 To the east lay "smaller stone wall enclosures, built around houses without stone walls" (Brown book, 1991: 34). In addition to the above descriptions of the structures, the Brown book (1991), presented an illustration (fig. 25, on the previous page) of the drawings of Bent upon his first observation of Great Zimbabwe. The image showed the city encompassed in vegetation, which would have shown the difficulty of earlier explorers, such as Mauch, in trying to locate the city. The illustration also included an aerial view of the layout of the city based upon Bent's exploration of the city on the ground. This image of Great Zimbabwe, however, was not accompanied by more modern or non-Eurocentric images. The description of the Brown book (1991) on the walled structures of Great Zimbabwe remained factual and specific.

The Orange book (2008), in comparison, made use of emotive language in its descriptions of the Great Zimbabwe buildings. The structures of Great Zimbabwe in the Orange book (2008) were described as being "famous for its 'imposing' and 'magnificent' stonework" (12). The description of the conical tower and the Great Enclosure went on to state that the walls were "ten-metre[s] high … and … were constructed without the use of mortar, an undisputed architectural achievement" (Orange book, 2008: 12). These statements showed the use of highly emotive words in order to express awe, or amazement, at the grandeur of the structures; a biased approach and not remaining mundane and factual as presented in the Brown book (1991).

In addition to the emotive language portrayed above, there was a statement in the Orange book (2008), referring to the early Europeans who visited Great Zimbabwe. It (2008) stated: "Early European visitors and archaeologists found it difficult to attribute the structures of the site to the Shona people unassisted by outsiders" (12). This led directly into the myth of Great Zimbabwe by early Europeans and explained the use of heavily loaded words such as "undisputed achievements, imposing and magnificent". In response to the European view previously mentioned, the textbook went on further to make mention that "Great Zimbabwe represented a great African

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21 A forum.

achievement" and "disputes the allegations that Africa wasn't a Dark Continent and that Africans had no history except that of European activities on the continent" (Orange book, 2008: 12). Thus, there was a feeling of patriotism that came through the Orange book (2008) much more strongly than in the Brown book (1991).

The Orange book (2008), made use of photographic images rather than sketches as presented in the Brown book (1991). The image below (see fig. 26) showed an aerial view of the Great Enclosure and was acknowledged as having come from the National Archives. The second photograph, (see fig. 27 on the following page), was an image of the "Watch Tower" and was also acknowledged as having come from National Archives. There was no further indication of who took the photographs and when.

Figure 26: Aerial photograph of the interior of the Great Enclosure as it is seen today. Taken from the Orange book (2008: 13).
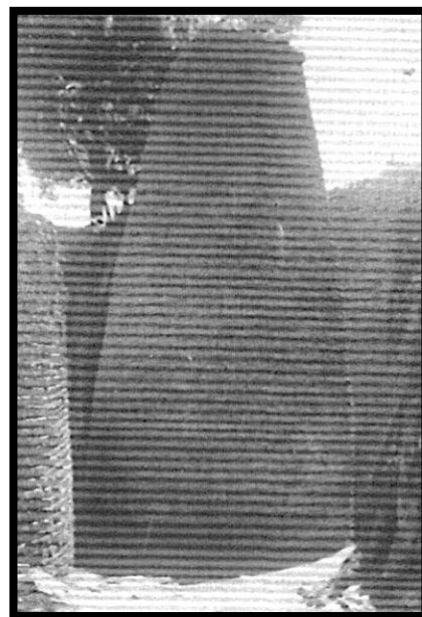
Figure 27: An image of the conical tower known as the "Watch Tower" found within the Great Enclosure. Image taken from the Orange book (2008: 14).

4.4.4 Economics

Economics under unit two saw an increase in wealth and prosperity as well as trade in both the Brown book (1991) and the Orange book (2008).

The Brown book (1991) discussed the accumulation of wealth coming mainly from mining, hunting and extending to trade. The text made mention that "copper production was on the increase" in this period and that the "copper ore was dug from large open trenches cut into hill-sides … shafts and slopes were dug deeper to follow the copper veins" (Brown book, 1991: 28). Phalaborwa in South Africa was a "centre for mining of surface deposits of iron ore and deeper deposits of copper ore" (Brown book, 1991: 28) and at a later stage there was evidence of "copper ingots brought from the upper Kafue copper mines to be worked at *Ingombe Ilede*" (Brown book, 1991: 38). There was further reference to the craft-working of minerals which included "iron tools used for making copper wire, … pieces of thick copper wire, copper bars and cross-shaped copper ingots" – of which were stated above as coming from the Kafue region (Brown book, 1991: 38).

Further to the mining of copper, was the mining of gold evidenced through "alluvial gold being washed and crushed from gold bearing gravel and sand found in river beds" (Brown book, 1991: 32); the "dust then being brought down the Thuli and Shashe rivers, packed in bones or porcupine quills" (Brown book, 1991: 34). The text indicated that there was evidence of gold smelting at *Mapungubwe* (Brown book, 1991). The minerals were not just mined by locals but were also being mined by people from smaller villages on the outskirts of major cities like *Mapungubwe* and then brought into the city as tribute mentioned in the Brown book (1991): "iron, copper, gold, ivory and skins were brought to the city" (37).The gold was made into "gold beads and gold foil" (Brown book, 1991: 37), which was described earlier in the evidence of the wooden rhino covered in thinly beaten gold foil found at *Mapungubwe*. The Orange book (2008) corroborated the information of the mining of minerals, having stated that there was "abundant evidence of increased prosperity" through "the variety of artefacts such as gold, bronze, copper and iron" (15). What the Orange book (2008), failed to explain was how all of these artefacts came to be in existence or manufactured.

Cattle was considered to be another sign of prosperity and there was "evidence that the *Toutswe* state controlled great herds of cattle" and "the *Bambadyanalo* people had large numbers of cattle" (Brown book, 1991: 30, 32). These large numbers of cattle allowed for the autochthonous people to trade with them as the herds were large enough to do so. The Orange book (2008) did not give clarification of the importance of cattle to the Middle and Late Iron Age people. Further to the accumulation of wealth in livestock, was the accumulation of wealth from hunting. Elephants were hunted for their ivory and numerous other animals for their skins. The ivory was "carved into bracelets" for exporting as were the "animal skins" (Brown book, 1991: 32, 34). The animal skins and fabrics no longer exist in the archaeological record due to their biodegradable nature, but there would have been written evidence of such goods from earlier visitors to the region (Brown book, 1991).

Another economic activity mentioned was the production of cloth. The Orange book (2008), acknowledged that there was "evidence of spindle wool which attest to the spinning of cotton … the weaving of textile" (15). The Brown book (1991), substantiated this: "archaeologists have found at *Mapungubwe*, stone spindle-whorls for spinning thread from cotton", which indicated "local weaving of cloth" (34). It (1991) went into detail regarding the cotton, and elucidated "indigenous wild cotton, grows only in northern Botswana, Zimbabwe and central Mozambique" (34), thus, indicating that cotton was indeed produced locally and not imported. This was unlike the Orange book (2008) which left me feeling like there was some vital element of information missing.

The archaeological evidence presented in the Brown book (1991), was useful in describing how wealth was accumulated and how this allowed the autochthonous peoples to conduct trade with foreign merchants. There were numerous mentions throughout the text in the Brown book (1991) of contact with these foreigners through the importation of glass beads and pottery. The first mention in the Brown book (1991) was of "Persian pottery, blue glass beads, seashells from the Indian Ocean islands" (29); another mention was made further on of "imported glass beads in blue, green and yellow from India and Persia" (34). The Brown book (1991) related these references of imported goods to actual archaeological finds, such as: "Indian Ocean goods reached as far inland as the Tsodilo hills in north west Botswana by 700AD, but

there was no great trade before 1100AD" (30) and "archaeologists have found more Indian Ocean beads in a small village on the plains than the whole town of *Toutswe*" (30). There was also evidence of "great numbers of imported glass beads found in *Bambadyanalo* and Mambo villages" (Brown book, 1991: 32). In exchange for the beads and other goods, the locals exported their products that were mentioned above: "in exchange for beads, shells and cloth the villagers exported ivory and increasing quantities of gold" (Brown book,1991: 32). Other imports not found in the archaeological record, as stipulated earlier, due to their being biodegradable material were "animal skins, fine cotton cloth and silk" (Brown book, 1991: 34); these would therefore fall under the domain of historical evidence.

4.4.5 Society

The society in the Middle Iron Age to Late Iron Age periods began to become a little more complex with the increase in wealth. Socially the chiefs took to "lending cattle to vassals in return for loyalty and more tribute" (Brown book, 1991: 27). Again, this system closely resembled the feudal methods used in Europe and was mentioned in the Orange book (2008) but mostly under the next unit of analysis. In the Orange book (2008), this term of lending cattle was referred to as "*kuronzera*" and was considered to be beneficial to the poor (24).

The societies of this period were constantly moving and intermingling, which resulted in different types of pottery styles and other traditions. The "*Luangwa* tradition", for example, "is attributed to having an increase sexual division of labour" (Brown book, 1991: 32). Other cultures, such as the *Gokomere* and *Zhizo,* mixed with other cultures; the *Bambadyanalo* culture in turn "absorbed and replaced the *Gokomere/Zhizo* culture of the Early Iron Age" (Brown book, 1991: 32). In addition, "archaeologists have found the Leopard's *Kopje* tradition with a slightly different kind of pottery they call the Mambo culture" and "central Zimbabwe's Leopard *Kopje* tradition of mining and building in stone mixed with the *Luangwa* tradition of pottery in the *Gumanye* culture" (Brown book, 1991: 32). All the migrating societies over time came into contact with one another and either shared or adopted different cultures and traditions making completely new ones.

Furthermore, the physical attributes of culture were the observations of scientists who examined the skeletons found at *Bambadyanalo*. What was interesting was that they "thought they were Khoisan herders, but later scientists agreed that they have Khoisan as well as negro[22] features" (Brown book, 1991: 33). This unit two saw not only greater evidence of migrations but also the intermingling of different societies to form new groups with new traditions and cultures of their own.

An observation I found in relation to societies was the initial silence in the Brown book (1991), relative to specific local groups of people such as the Shona or Ndebele. The *San* and *Khoisan* groups were mentioned under the first unit of analysis but overall, societies as noted above are all related to the traditions or cultures that are spoken of throughout the analysis, such as, *Ziwa, Zhizo* or *Gokomere,* to name a few. In reference to earlier academic literature in the topic boxes there was mention of *Bantu* people or the *Kalanga,* ancestors to the Shona people. The mention of Shona people appears later under the third unit of analysis. In comparison, the Orange book (2008), made extensive mention of the Shona or Ndebele people as a specific group and did not utilise the traditions or cultures as the Brown book (1991), when talking of societies.

4.4.6 Death rituals

Death rituals were not present under unit two in the Orange book (2008); conversely, the Brown book (1991) had a very rich presentation of a Middle Iron Age burial site at *Ingombe Ilede*.

Excavations by archaeologists in 1934 found sites containing human burials; the excavation site was called *Bambadyanalo* or K2 and archaeologists discovered "72 skeletons buried on their sides" (Brown book, 1991: 33). Prior to this finding, "archaeologists have found a few human burials" (Brown book, 1991: 33) indicating that findings of burials were a rare occurrence. Only some skeletons, the ones in the diagram above (fig. 28 on the next page), were numbered; there were 11 in total and

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22 In this regard, negro would refer to the Bantu speaking peoples who migrated into the southern African regions gradually over time.

"five are definitely male and one is female, the sex of the others is undetermined" (Brown book, 1991: 39).
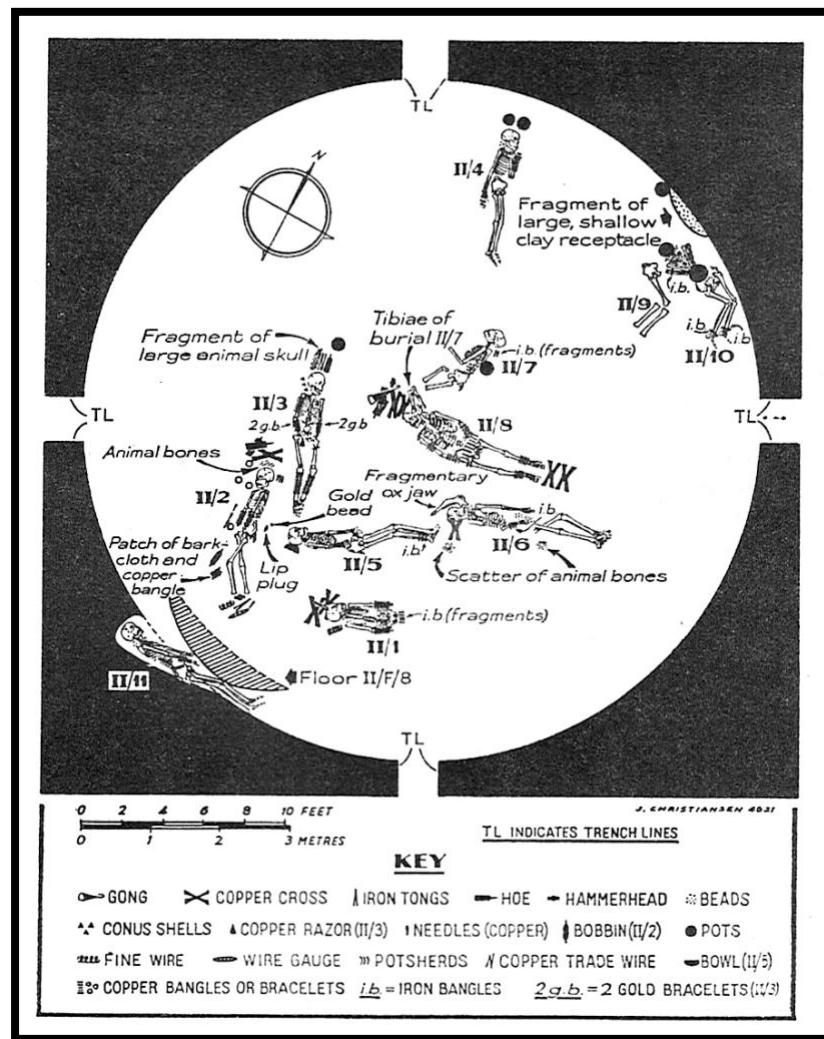
Figure 28: A detailed drawing of a burial site at Bambadyanalo or K2 (Brown book, 1991: 38).

The burials themselves were found to be very specific in terms of gender, class or related to the craft worked in their lifetimes. Each of these factors was made evident by what was buried with the skeleton upon interment. The archaeologists meticulously removed the dirt from the grave site to reveal what was buried with the skeletons in order to better understand the culture and traditions.

Men were buried "in the kraal [lying] crouched on their right sides, facing the south-west where the sun sets … the burial of older men in the kraal suggests their close connection with cattle, and suggests patriarchal ownership …" (Brown book, 1991: 31). Women, on the other hand, were buried near houses, which indicated their

domestic connection (Brown book, 1991). "The women lie on their left sides, facing the north-east where the sun rises" (Brown book, 1991: 31). Children who passed on were "buried under the houses, and infants were interred in water pots" (Brown book, 1991: 31).

Each of the burials discovered contained various objects that either distinguished their social status or their role in society before death. The first point the study noted, was that none of the bodies were "buried with many beads or ornaments," possibly an egalitarian village in that sense (Brown book, 1991: 31). Secondly, "there were pots buried with all 72 burials"; the text did not explain further on the pots (Brown book, 1991: 33). The indication for status in society was made evident by "rich people being buried with copper and iron ornaments including cross-shaped copper bars" (Brown book, 1991: 32), a possible early indication of merchant capitalism that showed the modes-of-production under the theories presented earlier. Other burials mentioned in this case study in the Brown book (1991) found skeletons buried with "golden and copper ornaments" (33); "burials with conus sea-shells and iron bells (gongs) which are symbols of divine kings in central Africa" (37); these all "indicate wealth, rich rulers or craft-workers" (37).

The image on the previous page (fig. 28) was drawn to scale and recorded in the exact order that archaeologists would have discovered everything in *situ*. It was easily noted how the figures were interred either on their right or left sides or in a crouching position as the text, from the Brown book (1991), described. The directions of the burials were also indicated by the inclusion of a compass in the top left-hand corner. There was also mention of "TL" for trench lines, which was archaeological terminology and related to the trenches that were systematically excavated and sieved layer by layer. I could clearly see for myself how the archaeologists discovered the burials in *situ* as well as noted the directionality of the burials for different sexes and the buried goods discovered with each burial. A clear key was included to indicate all the finer points that cannot be labelled clearly on the diagram.

4.4.7 Pseudo-archaeology

The Orange book (2008) made reference to climatic conditions and environmental conditions that were relative to environmental archaeology. The Orange book (2008),

made reference to drought and soil fertility without the mention of discovery by archaeological excavation or at the very least by historical notes mentioned by European or Arabic explorers.

Other examples of references to environment not corroborated by archaeology were the "Shona growing a variety of crops" (Orange book, 2008: 11). There was no mention of the specific crops that were grown, and these would most certainly be evident from the archaeological record. Secondly, the area where the Shona had chosen to settle was then described as "malaria and tsetse fly free, which would allow them to keep livestock" (Orange book, 2008: 11). The complication with this statement was that it was made about a period of time before the arrival of European or other Eastern explorers to have documented the crops grown or which areas were malaria and tsetse fly free; which led to more unanswered questions.

In relation to the rise of the Great Zimbabwe state, I chose not to make mention previously of many of the factors below because of the fact that they were unsubstantiated as archaeological evidence and fell mainly into the realm of pseudo-archaeology. The Zimbabwe plateau was stated as "not fertile" but further on was another statement that said, "its red and black soils are suitable for agriculture" (Orange book, 2008: 11). The Orange book (2008), went on to describe the religious practice of sacrificing "cattle to the ancestral spirits and these were then eaten by everyone" (15). This statement would be better substantiated were there mention of actually finding animal bones at an archaeological site that would link to this type of sacrifice. Further to this was the mention of the elite: "rulers lived a life of luxury – large amounts of beer and beef" (Orange book, 2008: 15); again, there was no link to archaeology. In addition, the "elite wore imported, expensive cloth and elite women had expensive imported jewellery", all of which we know from the Brown book (1991)'s archaeological references and archaeology textbooks such as Renfrew and Bahn (2000) or Hall (1996a), but to a learner using the Orange book (2008), for the first time, this would just be taken for granted.

The lower level citizens of Great Zimbabwe were also given mention based on their skills; we have the "mouse-trapper, drum master, hunter, farmer, and iron smith who were all afforded the opportunity at ceremonies to show off their skills" (Orange book,

2008: 15). These were all relevant to the setting of a city, although there was no mention of any tools of the trade related to these occupations that would indicate in the archaeological record that they did indeed exist. For example, how exactly would the mouse-trapper have caught his mice? Which leads to further questions, such as, did he use cats? Having to continually question the data I was observing was the regular pattern I found myself in terms of the information placed in the Orange book (2008).

Great Zimbabwe was a thriving city and with a thriving city would come all the diseases that one would associate with cramped, overpopulated living conditions. The Orange book (2008), firstly, mentioned that cattle succumbed to "cattle diseases" but failed to mention which diseases exactly or how they came to be aware of the existence of such diseases (17). Secondly, the Orange book (2008), discussed "locust[s]" which can be devastating to crops; nonetheless, there was no mention of where this evidence came from (17). Finally, a statement about the "outbreaks of human disease due to inappropriate disposal of human waste and epidemics decimated the population" (Orange book, 2008: 17); all very possible and yet, once again, there was a missing word in the form of "evidence". What evidence was there to suggest which diseases were prevalent? Were there rats that could have spread disease? Were the diseases in relation to typhoid or cholera? These were diseases that historically speaking would be evident from historical write ups of the event but during the Middle to Late Iron Ages there was no historical evidence, only archaeological or oral tradition and there was nothing to support this evidence archaeologically or scientifically within the Orange book (2008).

4.5 Unit 3: Later Iron Age Kingdoms
4.5.1 Theories
The theories in this unit were mostly related to that of modes-of-production and the economy. Here, the study noted a decline in archaeological terminology in both the Brown book (1991) and the Orange book (2008).

The Brown book (1991), indicated that the Ndebele state no longer relied on the "tributary mode-of-production" that was so prevalent in the previous unit, but rather had to "adapt to the merchant capitalist mode-of-production" (51). In contrast to this,

the Orange book (2008) explained that "tribute in the form of labour … produced wealth from agriculture" (23). Further to this, "agriculture meant that people were tied to their land, making it easier for the king to control his subjects" (Orange book, 2008: 24); this finding confirmed another similarity to feudalism in Europe.

4.5.2 Chronology and evidence

In this unit the use of archaeology was much less prevalent, and it lessened the closer the time frame moved towards the Arabic and Portuguese records.

In the Brown book (1991) the dating that was given after the decline of Great Zimbabwe was the rise of the "*Togwa* kingdom in Western Zimbabwe and neighbouring parts of Botswana, and it lasted from about 1450AD to 1685AD" (40). The date 1450AD tied in neatly with the Orange book (2008), which stated that, "according to archaeological evidence, Great Zimbabwe had declined by 1450AD due to civil wars, overpopulation, famine, plagues, decreasing gold trade and coastal trade" (20). This was one of the few times that the Orange book (2008) used the term "evidence" to verify the dates. The *Mutapa* state was one of the states that filled the void after the fall of Great Zimbabwe, but the Orange book (2008), stated that this period of history from "its foundation until about 1490 suffered from a lack of accurate dating" (20) but did not give a reason as to why this may be. The Orange book (2008), further stated that the historical information gathered after 1490 came mainly from "Portuguese sources and prior historians relied on oral traditions" (20).

Figure 29: An illustration of gold, jewellery and Rozvi ruling class pottery found at Danangombe. Image taken from the Orange book (2008: 38).

Under the text on the *Rozvi* state in the Orange book (2008), was an illustration (fig. 29) that possibly came from archaeological excavations and yet the caption only stated "gold, jewellery and *Rozvi* ruling class pottery found at *Danangombe*" (38). The word "found" in the caption could be interpreted as related to a finding from an archaeological dig, but an exact location or specific dig was not mentioned. The image contained a pot as the central figure that had a long neck and fat lower half of the body. The other artefacts in the illustration were beads either glass or gold, copper or iron (although iron does not always preserve so well in the archaeological record). There were also bracelets and other smaller broken items and shells. These artefacts were indicative of the economics in terms of modes-of-production and trade of the *Rozvi* state, but there was no other mention given in archaeological terms besides the word "found". The image was acknowledged at the front of the Orange book (2008), as having come from the National Archives of Zimbabwe; there was no record of the artist or who discovered the artefacts, let alone the specifics of the artefacts presented.

From this point forth, the Orange book (2008), provided very little in the form of archaeological evidence, relying mostly on oral traditions, genealogy trees and sources from the Portuguese and Arab historians.

Whilst the Orange book (2008), gave mention of the *Mutapa* state rising in the 1450s there was another state that also came into being, namely the *Togwa* kingdom in Western Zimbabwe. The capital of this state was the city of *Kame* (*Khami*) which was on the outskirts of modern Bulawayo. At *Kame* were archaeological discoveries of "iron, copper, bronze, gold ornaments, wire and beads in the hill ruins" (Brown book, 1991: 40). Other crafts were also described, such as, "cotton spinning, weaving and skilled carvings of soapstone wood, bone and ivory" (Brown book, 1991: 40). These crafts were exported in return for the following items that were dug from these sites: "pottery imported from China, Egypt and even Germany" (Brown book, 1991: 40). The *Kame* state was wealthy as evidence "of considerable cattle herds being kept at *Kame* and in other *Kame* culture villages" was found (Brown book, 1991: 40). Further archaeological evidence was discovered at two other *Kame* culture sites, namely *Danangombe* and *Naletale*. The evidence given in the Brown book (1991) stated that "numerous gold items have been dug from these sites including objects of Portuguese manufacture" (41).

4.5.3 Architecture

The architecture that was presented under this unit covered a number of different states, all of which shared something in common with their predecessor Great Zimbabwe. The Brown book (1991) provided many in-depth descriptions of the structures while the Orange book (2008) gave only one description.

With reference to the *Kame* site, which was mentioned under the previous theme, there was a continuation of the stone walled structures from Great Zimbabwe, only the "stone walls are not so high" (Brown book, 1991: 40). The centre of the *Kame* town was "stone walled" and the houses were "clay walled" (Brown book, 1991: 40). The difference in *Kame* and Great Zimbabwe was that the "stone walls of *Kame* and surrounding smaller *mazimbabwe* were finely built with beautiful decorative patterns" (Brown book, 1991: 40). The architectural structure belonging to the ruler, the *Mambo*, or chief priest, was built atop a hill with "clay walls and thatched roofs, attached to highly decorated stone walls" (Brown book, 1991: 40). The archaeology of the architecture here was used to describe the actual structures that were built; however, historically it did not help the reader interpret who may have lived in these buildings atop the hill due to the lack of physical evidence pointing to a king or a priest. Therefore, the oral traditions and other historical writings became heavily relied upon for these answers. Another well-known stone walled structure was that of *Danangombe* and the description from the Brown book (1991) specified that it was a "small town built with beautifully decorated stone walls on a hilltop" (41). The Brown book here made use of an emotive word "beautifully" as the Orange book (2008) did earlier for Great Zimbabwe.

The *Munhumutapa* Kingdom's history was "known from oral traditions and from documents written in Portuguese, but much less was known about its archaeology" (Brown book, 1991: 43). The archaeology of the *Mutapa* state was so poor because of the fact that most of the "*Mutapa* kingdom lies within the borders of modern Mozambique whereby civil war prevented any archaeology taking place" (Brown book, 1991: 43). This point explained in more detail the earlier statement found in the Orange book (2008), according to which, there was a heavy reliance on Portuguese writing and oral tradition for the history of the *Mutapa* state because of the absence of archaeological evidence. There were some *Mutapa* state buildings in the modern

Zimbabwe border areas, called the "*Nhunguza* and *Ruanga mazimbabwe* dated around 1440-80", and the "houses at *Nhunguza* had clay tables and beds, as well as internal walls made of clay under their thatched roofs" (Brown book, 1991: 43).

Figure 30: The walls of Danangombe. Note the terracing and the stone courses were more evenly spaced and sized. Image taken from the Brown book (1991: 43).

The Orange book (2008), also made mention of building structures related to the *Mutapa* kingdom; only it stated that the capital of *Mutapa* was called "*Zimbahwe*" and that the word "*Zimbabwe*" marked a large house of stone, but the "stone only surrounded the houses which were built of poles, mud and thatch" (30). This description in the Orange book (2008) was given without mention of excavations or evidence and therefore it was not known if this was archaeological evidence. The description, however, tied in with the previous descriptions presented in the Brown book (1991). The Orange book (2008) did contain sketches of the patterned stone walls described for *Danangombe* and *Naletale* in the Brown book (1991). What was surprising about the Brown book (1991) was that it did not explain these decorative designs; only a photographic image (see fig. 30) of plain terraced walls was seen. The caption of the illustration in the Orange book (2008), simply said "some of the patterns used by the *Rozvi* on walling" (37). This finding was disappointing as there was no other information pointing to the designs themselves, such as which archaeological

sites they belonged to. There were six images presented in the illustration (fig. 31) of outer wall decorations used by the *Rozvi* and there was no indication as to what each pattern was – that is, whether it was chevron, herringbone, chequered, and so forth. Neither was there an indication of these patterns acting as a type of message to outsiders.
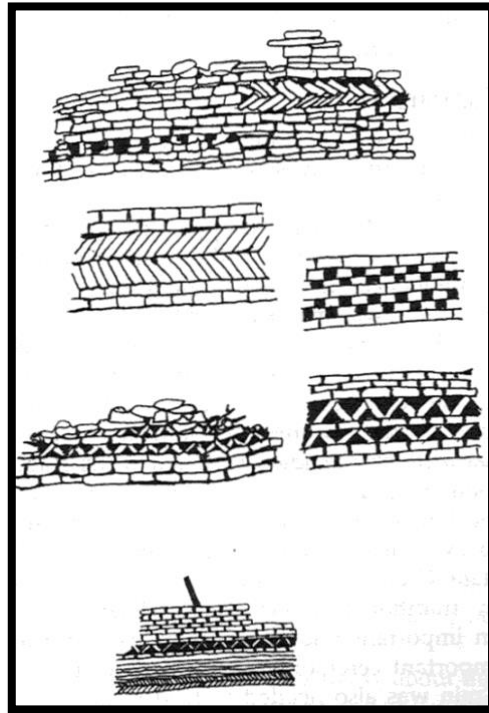
Figure 31: Images of the decorative walling used by the Rozvi in their architecture. Image taken from the Orange book (2008: 37).

Another group of people on the eastern highlands of Zimbabwe, called the *Nyanga* people, built stone structures that were cruder and made of rougher stone courses than the structures of *Danangombe* or *Kame*. The eastern highlands were the mountain ranges that are on the border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The *Nyanga* people "flattened the edges of hills into terraces for crop farming and the small *Nyanga* villages were built with stone walls and sunken pits for protection of livestock from predators" (Brown book, 1991: 47). The archaeology of these structures was rather interesting as the walls were practical and not decorative by the indication of rough walling techniques seen in the images presented in the Brown book (1991). They did not match the sizes of the stones to the courses as neatly as Great Zimbabwe or *Kame*. Archaeology here was used to indicate the practicality of the walls over the aesthetic aspect and the practicality of farming on man-made terraces instead of on the slopes of the mountains. This is another development and adaptation of a society

to its environment and a requirement to be understood as stipulated in both the syllabi 2166 and 2167.

Figure 32: Nyangwe, a hill fort of the Nyanga people. Note the structure of the walls was very rough and that they served a practical purpose of keeping the livestock in and the predators out. Image taken from the Brown book (1991: 47).

4.5.4 Economics
The economics of the *Togwa* state was relative to that which was explained under the theme Chronology and Evidence. The economics was still a form of tributary mode-of-production and "crafts such as cotton spinning, weaving and carving of wood, bone, ivory and pottery crafts are evident" (Brown book, 1991: 41).

The trade had moved over to "trading gold with the Muslims and the Portuguese down the Sabi and Zambezi rivers" (Brown book, 1991: 41). The Orange book (2008), mentioned trade with the Portuguese and the Muslim traders, but it was more historical in nature rather than archaeologically orientated.

4.5.5 Society
Under this unit the Brown book (1991) made specific mention of two social groups, the *Nyanga* people (47) and the Ndebele (51), although the Ndebele were mentioned in conjunction with the Ndebele state. The Orange book (2008), did not mention the *Nyanga* people but reference to kingdoms or states of the Shona were made: "*Mutapa* state" (20), "*Rozvi* state" (38). The Brown book (1991), similarly made mention of the states and kingdoms of the Shona society: "*Togwa* kingdom" (40), "*Kame* state" (40), "*Munhumutapa* state" (43). Although the states were mentioned and they were known

to be of Shona origin, they were still not specified in the Brown book (1991) as a specific group of people.

4.5.6 Pseudo-archaeology

There was not much to go by in terms of any relation to archaeology as the text in the Orange book (2008), at this stage mainly fell into the domain of historical evidence.

There was, however, one concern and this was in relation to the military organisation of the *Mutapa* army. There was mention that "each war unit had its own banner or badge with figures like oxen, elephants and other beasts" (Orange book, 2008: 29). If this were indeed the case, then what medium was used to paint these images onto what background or material exactly? Where would the paints or dye have come from? They could possibly have figured out the painting techniques of the Khoisan having had contact with these people, but this point still left me with more questions than answers. If anything, the banners and standards read as a similarity to those of Medieval Europe.

4.6 Unit 4: Southern African Contacts with Merchant Capitalism
4.6.1 Theories

The only theory evident in this unit that could be associated with archaeology was the theory of the Portuguese tributary mode-of-production being a combination of slavery and militarism with a tributary aspect and it clearly showed the feudalism that was present in southern Africa at the time (Brown book, 1991). The observation of the case study box, with an illustration of stockade found in a district known as a "*Prazo*" shows the stockade built on the edge of a river. The drawing was done by a Sir John Willoughby, friend to Cecil Rhodes and was against slavery that the picture clearly shows. The fortifications of the stockade would be found in the archaeological record and the means of production such as slavery producing crops was historically documented. The owners of the *prazos* were known as *prazeros* and eventually became "African chiefs demanding tribute from people living on their lands" that they acquired as "rewards for military service" (Brown book, 1991: 62). The *prazos* are clear examples of "feudalism in Southern African history" (Brown book, 1991: 62).

4.6.2 Architecture

The only evidence of the archaeology discipline in this unit under this theme was found in the notes and image of a case study of the Arab-Swahili castle found at Kilwa and the palace was called "*Husani Kubwa*" (Brown book, 1991: 58).

The floor plan of the castle was Arabian in layout: "*Husani Kubwa* looks like one of the castles or palaces built by Arab rulers before AD900, in places such as Jordan and Iraq" (Brown book, 1991: 58). In this case study there was a comparison between the floor plan of Great Zimbabwe and the palace *Husani Kubwa*; the plan of the architecture was drawn by Zimbabwean archaeologist Garlake, who "excavated at Kilwa before studying the Great Zimbabwe ruins" (Brown book, 1991: 58). The text then stated that "the image shows that the Arabs and Swahili could not have built Great Zimbabwe, though they were trading on the *Sofala* coast and some may have visited the city" (Brown book, 1991: 58). There were also additional buildings on the island that belonged to the Portuguese: "120 houses, four large buildings besides the fort and at least two are churches" (Brown book, 1991: 58). The archaeology was used here mainly to indicate the differences in the use of space and structures in comparison to Great Zimbabwe. This evidence therefore proved without a doubt that Great Zimbabwe was not built by Arabs, who had very different structural and functional ideas for their buildings. The words "beyond a reasonable doubt" were used earlier in the text for the Orange book (2008: 13). These words were to prove that the Shona ancestors were the builders of Great Zimbabwe but there was no archaeological proof as presented in the illustration below (fig. 33) to substantiate this claim as the Brown book (1991) had done.
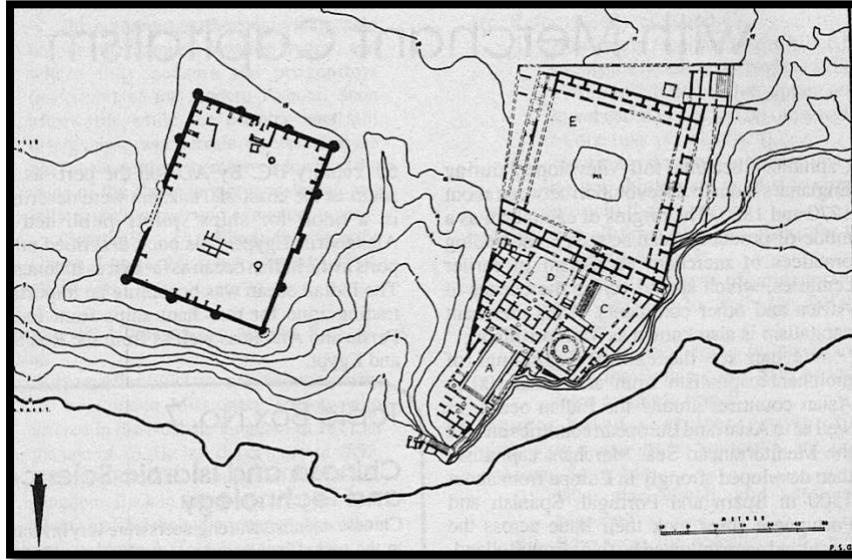
Figure 33: The floor plan of the Arab-Swahili palace of Husani Kubwa at Kilwa. Image taken from Brown book (1991: 58).

4.6.3 Economics

The economics under this theme was mostly relative to the trade between southern Africans and Asians before the arrival of Europeans and their merchant capitalism.

The activities for learners relative to this section in the Brown book (1991) relied upon the evidence presented on *Sofala*'s export of gold in comparison to their exports in copper and ivory. The questions specifically focused on the knowledge and comprehension of the learners and had little application, synthesis and analysis as was evident in previous exercises. The essay question asked the learners to outline the development of either the *Munhumutapa* or *Rozvi* state and relied on the learner's ability to analyse, synthesise and to show knowledge and understanding of the ruling lineages.

The evidence presented in this theme showed the foreign crops that were introduced to southern Africa via trade with the east and these new crops were "bananas, coconuts and yams" (Brown book, 1991: 59). In return, the crops taken from Africa would have been "sorghum, coffee and possibly cotton", in addition to which "ivory, copper and iron" would have also been exported (Brown book, 1991: 59). What was noted in the evidence from archaeology was the unequal exchange of goods: "the value of goods imported into Africa was much lower than the market value of gold and ivory in Asia". Having mentioned this, it was worth noting that "gold is a non-renewable

resource unlike consumer goods like cloth which would need to be replaced" (Brown book, 1991: 61).

4.7 Conclusion

This study set out to determine: How was archaeology used in Zimbabwean history textbooks? The findings of this chapter resulted from the careful extraction of data solely related to archaeological descriptions, explanations and drawings or photographs which were then meticulously analysed. From the findings of the analysis I distinguished different patterns emerging and saw that each book used archaeology for different purposes.

Firstly, the investigation of the case study showed that modes-of-production were a recurring pattern within the Brown book (1991). Modes-of-production were shown in three different stages, namely: communal, lineage and tributary modes of production. The theory of modes-of-production and dialectic materialism were explained extensively at the back of the Brown book (1991) in the revision section. The study noted that there was a silence in the use of archaeology to explain the Late Stone Age tool manufacture as thoroughly as the Orange book (2008) did. A possible explanation for this was that this topic was covered extensively in the first-year school history textbooks, for example in *People Making History Book 1* (2001) written by P. Garlake and A. Proctor. The use of other archaeological explanations and presentations in the Brown book (1991) were in alignment with the requirements of syllabus 2166 mentioned in the literature review. In contrast, the study observed that the Orange book (2008) did not go to such great lengths in explaining or presenting the theory of modes-of-production. There were certain elements that revealed themselves to be related to the theory of modes-of-production, for example the many tributes that were offered to chiefs or the political hierarchy that emerged as a result of ownership of livestock, although this relationship would only be recognised if the teacher or learner knew what they were reading.

Secondly, this study showed a stronger presence of the use of archaeology in the Brown book (1991) than in the Orange book (2008). The use of archaeology in the Brown book (1991), suggested a reliance on archaeology as a primary source of information for the prehistoric period in Zimbabwe. This finding additionally revealed a

strong transdisciplinary relationship between historians and archaeologists collaborating in the authorship of the Brown book (1991). This was made evident through the use of archaeological case studies of existent excavations, accurate explanations of archaeological terms and dating techniques all embedded alongside the historical text in a complementary manner. This transdisciplinary relationship was not present in the Orange book (2008). There was evidence of archaeological representations and terms used in the Orange book (2008), especially in the discussion around the Stone Ages but there were, however, many grammatical errors and usage of incorrect terminology, for example "ecolith" instead of "eolith". The results of this evidence showed that there was no transdisciplinary relationship between historians and archaeologists in the authorship of the Orange book (2008). Were there a close working relationship between the two types of specialists, minor errors such as the one mentioned above would not be present. The second major finding in the Orange book (2008) was the presence of pseudo-archaeology instead of its scientific cousin. There were many instances in the Orange book (2008) that could have been related to archaeological activities, but these were silent. Although, there were some instances whereby keywords such as "evidence, finding or excavation" were used, overall, these were not applied to all the explanations and they were not associated with authentic archaeological sites as compared to the Brown book (1991).

Thirdly, the study found that Great Zimbabwe was still a central theme in the textbook sample. In the Brown book (1991), Great Zimbabwe was a symbol of a nation building exercise. The development of the Great Zimbabwe culture was explained in stages using archaeological sites as primary sources to show the connections between early Iron Age migrations, trade relations (local and coastal) and the development of structures and pottery to the final building of Great Zimbabwe itself. A topic box found in the Brown book (1991) was used to show learners the history of Great Zimbabwe from the early Eurocentric perspective, as portrayed in the literature review, and the learners could then compare the current research with that of the colonial era. Although the Brown book (1991), explained that modern archaeological methods had brought new historic evidence to light, there was a noticeable gap in relation to the visual images surrounding recent excavations at Great Zimbabwe. There was only one illustration present showing Bent's earliest illustration of Great Zimbabwe, a Eurocentric perspective. Great Zimbabwe was used by the Orange book (2008) to

prove that it was "constructed by the Shona people themselves" (13). This finding was accompanied by a discussion that showed collaboration with "archaeologists, modern historians, Shona oral traditions and … Portuguese records" (Orange book, 2008: 13), thus, the only presence of a collaboration of historians with other academics. There was an absence of an explanation leading to the formation of the Great Zimbabwe nation as presented in the Brown book (1991) and there were many instances here that archaeology as a primary source could have been used, but the results showed more of a leaning towards pseudo-archaeology. There was a stronger sense of patriotism present in the description of Great Zimbabwe, speaking of its beauty and that it was built by the Shona, although, this point was not proven by any factual evidence in the data. In addition, there was an increase in the mention of the Shona and their culture within the Orange book (2008).

Another pattern that emerged from the analysis of the Orange book (2008), was the presence of Shona and Ndebele terms. Some of these terms were defined but many others were not, and I struggled to understand their context. The Brown book (1991), similarly mentioned Shona terms but very minimal in comparison to the Orange book (2008). In relation to the Shona words was the tangible presence of ancestor worship in the Orange book (2008) and yet there was a silence relative to any burials. Ancestor worship is an acceptance of death and an understanding of life after death but there was no indication of how the earlier people treated their loved ones upon death. In contrast to this, the Brown book (1991)'s findings showed a significant amount of burials in relation to archaeological excavations. This result showed a connection with the syllabus requirement of teaching the learners empathy and respect towards other beings, something not evident in the Orange book (2008), although, there was a section in the syllabus 2167 mentioning that learners needed to understand human rights issues and this was not always present in the Orange book (2008). The assessment objectives from the sample were supposed to expose the learners to empathy and human rights among other critical skills taught by history.

The assessment activities in the Brown book (1991), showed different levels of inquiry. Learners were required by syllabus 2166 to engage with a number of historical sources both visual and textual. The evidence in the Brown book (1991), showed levels of identification, analysis, empathy and synthesis of information from each of the

exercises present in the data set. Each of these stages are what Barton and Levstik (2004) called for within the teaching of historical knowledge. The Orange book (2008), in contrast relied heavily on memory recall questions with very high mark allocations, the traditional method of history education. The question verbs used throughout the selected sections in the book (2008) were "state, describe, explain and to what extent" (10). They were either knowledge based, or comprehension questions related to memory recall rather than synthesis, analysis or critical application. There was no engagement, in the Orange book (2008) for the learners with physical evidence of authentic archaeological sites and they did not get to appreciate the work of archaeologists, as a primary source, who added value to the prehistory of Zimbabwe. The Orange book (2008), had pushed archaeology into the background, and it was used almost as an afterthought and no longer had the status of being equally important as a primary source of evidence. The oral traditions and written historical records now took precedence.

Finally, although the Orange textbook (2008) only relied on archaeology to fill in the parts that historical text could not, it was evident that archaeology was indeed necessary in both textbooks in order to explain the pre-colonial societies of southern Africa before the arrival of Europeans.

Chapter 5
Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter was to conduct a secondary level of analysis by comparing my findings with the existing literature included in my literature review in an attempt to determine why archaeology was used in this textbook sample. This secondary analysis began with a look at where the literature and findings met and then moved on to the inconsistencies that were discovered.

Firstly, I re-examined the content related to the use of archaeology in the analysed textbooks. I then noted the extent this content corresponded with the academic writings on the archaeology of precolonial Zimbabwe, specifically at Great Zimbabwe, as this had always been the colonial focus. In this process I identified where the textbooks and academic writings met and ascertained their accuracy. Once having done that I began to look at the inconsistencies between the two textbooks and those between the textbooks and academic writings. Then, it was my intention to show the silences within the textbook sample regarding certain archaeological methods and explanations.

Secondly, I hypothesised the reasons why archaeology was used the way it was used in the textbook sample. There was no clear-cut reason or stipulated instruction in the syllabi as to why archaeology was used in the textbooks; instead there were many possibilities, and in order to understand these possibilities the textbooks needed to be looked at in context. The case study of this research dissertation was the history textbooks themselves, and these textbooks needed to be studied in the context of Zimbabwe from 1980 till present. Initially, I looked at the literature surrounding the Independence of Zimbabwe and how this affected the political nature of the new school history syllabus 2166 and the later patriotic syllabus 2167. This was done in chapter 2. Next, I studied the production and circulation of the rewritten textbooks as a part of the nation-building exercise from Independence till present. Having done this, I turned to the differences in the transdisciplinary approaches of each of the history

textbooks and why there was a shift between the two sister disciplines of history and archaeology.

Finally, this chapter further served as a conclusion to my dissertation whereby I began by summing up why archaeology was used. From this point I reflected on the contributions of my study to research as well as the limitations of my study and the significance this all has for future research. I then touched on my personal and professional growth throughout the study and finally, I ended the dissertation with an overall conclusion.

5.2 A consideration of the textbook sample and units of analysis in context

In this section I summarised my observations and findings from the analysis of the textbooks and showed how they shared much in common with each other and the academic literature. Many of the inaccuracies and discrepancies between the two books and academic literature will also be dealt with at a later stage. Lastly, any silences that I observed will be mentioned and the possible reasons why they were left out. All of these connections and silences will therefore shed some light as to why archaeology was used the way it was in these history textbooks.

5.2.1 Meeting points between the findings and the literature

Through the careful analysis of the data found in the sample I was able to observe that both textbooks did indeed make use of archaeology. It was the degree and depth of the use of archaeology that varied. Archaeology in the Brown book (1991) was used as a primary source to supplement the written evidence of particular prehistoric cultures or sites related to these cultures; in others, or it was used as in the case of the Orange book (2008), to fill the gaps that historical written evidence or oral traditions had not covered. There was also a strong inclusion of pseudo-archaeology present in the Orange book (2008). This leads me to another major result; the difference in the transdisciplinary relationship between historians and archaeologists in the writing of the textbooks. The Brown book (1991), with its depth of archaeology indicated a strong working relationship between historians and archaeologists, whereby the two disciplines seemed to rely on each other to give a holistic description and explanation of a topic. On the other hand, this transdisciplinary relationship was not present in the Orange book (2008). The Orange book (2008), showed a preference for oral traditions

and the written historical records of Arabs and Portuguese. Archaeology in the Orange book (2008), although present, was not so prominent and was used only to prove a point, such as the case of the original builders of Great Zimbabwe being Shona.

5.2.1.1 Archaeological evidence and reference to excavations
The study revealed that the Brown book (1991), contained case study boxes that illustrated actual excavations of ruined dwellings, buildings, kraals and burials. The case studies subsequently explained how an archaeologist decided where to excavate by using test pits in order to determine which part of the overall site was the most promising area, consequently, revealing the most artefacts without damaging too much of the original site in its entirety. The case study boxes likewise indicated the steps taken to meticulously observe and record each layer that was excavated. An example of one case study in particular, that of Kgaswe-B55 (Brown book, 1991: 31), was found in an academic study by Huffman (2001) with illustrations (see fig. 24) of the same kraal shown in the Brown book (1991). Further academic literature from archaeology methodology books such as Renfrew and Bahn (2000) and Hall (1996), discussed the very same methods and excavation techniques presented in the Brown book (1991). The burials illustrated in the Brown book (1991), indicating the layout of the burial and goods interred with the person were found in similar illustrations depicted in Renfrew and Bahn (2000) and Hall (1996).

An important mention of archaeological terminology was reference to the two theories from Bent and Summers: the migrationist and diffusionist theories. Bent located the builders of Great Zimbabwe as originating in the Arabian Peninsula and would have seen a migration of these folk into the Zimbabwe plateau and thus constructing Great Zimbabwe (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000). Summers, in contrast believed that a parallel more superior nation disseminated their building culture to Great Zimbabwe, for example, through a travelling Portuguese person (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000). Both these differences were not mentioned and titled as such, in the Brown book (1991)'s, description of the movement of Bantu speaking peoples from North Africa into the southern African region. These theories in contrast, were presented in the Orange book (1991), yet they were not explained sufficiently enough for learners to gauge the difference. There was an inclusion of a written extract on the diffusionist theory (Orange book, 2008: 4), but this extract did not mention who wrote the information or

where the information was 'obtained' from. In relation to modes-of-production, all that was mentioned was that the learners had to "identify changes in methods of production and technology and assess impact on population, environment and social relations" (Orange book, 2008: 1).

The pottery styles *Ziwa, Zhizo and Gokomere* were present in both textbooks and these corresponded with Garlake (1968)'s illustrations and explanations of the production of the same wares. The Brown book (1991)'s illustrations were very similar in style to those in Garlake (1968) with clear annotations and sequences. This was in contrast to the Orange book (2008)'s illustration which had similar images but not as clearly annotated. The Orange book (2008) contained a number of images that were archaeological in nature. These being images that represented stone tools (2), an artist's impression of iron age smelting and iron implements for farming (5), pottery styles (9), and *Rozvi* stone wall patterns (37); but these images were sterile because they were not related in any way to any specific archeological site. The images alone, however, do correspond with scholarly research on the excavated technology mentioned above. Images of stone tool implements are found in Garlake (1968: 83-85) and (Burrett & Hubbard, 2011: 4).

The Orange book (2008)'s, very first page was promising due to the mention almost immediately of the different Stone Ages in their widely accepted archaeological terms: "Palaeolithic (Early Stone Age), Mesolithic (Middle Stone Age) and Neolithic Ages (Late Stone Age)" (1). These terms were not present in the Brown book (1991) but were found in archaeological textbooks such as Renfrew and Bahn (2000) or Hall (1996a). In addition, there was a definitive jump from the Late Stone Age into the Early Iron Age showing lineage and tributary modes-of-production (Orange book, 2008). According to scholarly literature, the Late Stone Age and Early Iron Age communities coexisted for hundreds of years in many areas before the stone-tool-using communities were finally absorbed, defeated or displaced (Garlake, 1968; Boeyens, van der Ryst, & Parsons, 2003). The archaeological reference showed that the process of development from lineage modes-of-production to a tributary one was gradual and existed alongside each other for many years before being completely phased out and replaced by the more capitalist tributary system. Garlake demonstrated this very transition of cultures clearly in tabulated form (fig. 34) which

showed how each culture sometimes co-existed with another before transitioning or phasing out. Although the Brown book (1991) did not have such a diagram, the textual evidence pointed to the textbook attempting to explain this process to the readers unlike the Orange book (2008) that showed a jump from one culture to the next.

Time 1900 A.D.	Ruling Class	South western Matabeleland	Southern Mashonaland/ Matabeleland	Northern Mashonaland	Central Mashonaland	Eastern Mashonaland/ Manicaland	Date 1900 A.D.
1800				RECENT SHONA		INYANGA LOWLANDS	1800
1700		KHAMI					1700
1600				PORTUGUESE TRADE		INYANGA UPLANDS	1600
1500							1500
1400	ZIMBABWE PERIOD 4						1400
1300	ZIMBABWE PERIOD 3	LEOPARDS KOPJE PHASE III		MUSENGEZI	HARARE	?	1300
1200							1200
1100							1100
1000	ZIMBABWE PERIOD 2	LEOPARDS KOPJE PHASE II	LEOPARDS KOPJE PHASE I				1000
900							900
800				INGOMBE ILEDE			800
700						ZIWA	700
600							600
500							500
400			GOKOMERE				400
300							300
200							200
100							100
0 A.D.							0 A.D.

Figure 34: A Timeline indicating the Iron Age cultures in Zimbabwe. The image was an extract from the section on Archaeology found in the Bundu Book 3 (Garlake, 1968: 98).

5.2.1.2 Mode-of-production

Modes-of-production were integral to the school history that was being taught under syllabus 2166, which was what the Brown book (1991) was based upon. According to the syllabus 2166, Marxist-Leninist principles of society must be shown to the learners through history. The learners needed to understand early economies, how societies worked together and how ownership of the production and bartering of goods came to be. This corresponded with academic literature of Chung & Ngara (1985), Hall (1996a) and Crossman (2019) whereby the 'forces and relations of production' are shown through the archaeological artefacts (material remains) discovered and assisted my thoughts as to why archaeology may have been used in the school history textbooks.

The Brown book (1991) did indeed follow a socialist tendency which corresponded with ZANU-PF's ideology: "this science [Marxist-Leninism] has been adopted as the official political and economic ideology by the ZANU-PF … attempting to reconstruct Zimbabwe on the basis of national revolutionary democracy" (Chung & Ngara, 1985: ii). The Brown book (1991), thus gave direct mention to modes-of-production, beginning with the communal modes-of-production (11), then the lineage (11) and finally the tributary (16) modes-of-production. All were explained in more depth at the back of the Brown book (1991: 215, 217). This explanation was shown in the diagram (fig. 6) in the previous chapter. The "means-of-production" were explained as the ways in which labour produced things and the labour made use of both "capital and technology" in order to produce things (Brown book, 1991: 217). The Brown book (1991)'s definition can be expanded to include Hall (1996a)'s explanation of how the 'forces of production' (the raw materials required to produce things) are identified in the archaeological record: "forces of production could be identified from the animal bones and plant remains from excavated sites" (68). The book (1991)'s extensive explanation as to what modes-of-production consisted of, or how they worked, and the exact meaning of a "means of production" was absent from the Orange book (2008), which only gave mention to "methods of production" (1) and "units of production" (8).

Modes-of-production were evident in the Orange book (2008), just stated as a method-of-production. The study found that much of the data, pertaining to stone tool manufacture, farming or tribute, analysed in the Orange book (2008), was not definitively attributed to modes-of-production. I only knew I was reading about modes-of-production or looking at 'forces and relations of production' because I knew what to look for and understood the processes involved in the manufacture of technology, this knowledge would be a requirement for teachers having to explain this concept to young learners. The Orange book (2008), gave a full discussion surrounding the formation of homesteads and lineages which ultimately led to the ownership of livestock and a formation of class, but in contrast to the Brown book (1991), it never connected these to the different modes-of-production presented in the Brown book (1991). The Orange book (2008)'s in depth description of the formation of lineages led to the explanation of the overall structure of a state, then further described as villages forming a district; a district in turn formed the province and finally the province made up the state. All of these explanations I observed, were relevant to the current period

(in terms of the political situation in Zimbabwe in 2008) and would explain Zimbabwe's current provincial status and how it presently fitted into the politics (see fig. 9 in the previous chapter for a diagram showing these hierarchical structures). What the study revealed from the Orange book (2008), regarding the formation of a state, indicated that through education, political and social affairs were subtly present. This same line of thought was present in academic literature: education "is used to pass on dominant religious or political ideology" (Chung & Ngara, 1985: 86), it is also used to reproduce that a society has recognised as truthful and legitimate (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991), and that it is those who are in power who determine which knowledge is official (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991).

5.2.1.3 History of Great Zimbabwe

The most interesting observation in terms of the history of Zimbabwe was how each textbook dealt with the presentation of the history of Great Zimbabwe, given the romanticized myths and legends, present in earlier textbook publications as illustrated in Chapter 1 of this study, particularly those of the Queen of Sheba, King Solomon and John Prester, surrounding Great Zimbabwe (Carroll, 1988; Hall, 1995; Kaarsholm, 1992). Great Zimbabwe in the Brown book (1991) was treated much like the previous histories from the Late Stone Age up to the Middle and Late Iron Ages. The Brown book (1991) systematically explained the development of Great Zimbabwe through the discovery of artefacts which showed the modes-of-production (tributary mode-of-production) in existence at the time; that is, what was produced, what technology was used in the production and how this contributed to the class society present at Great Zimbabwe. The Brown book (1991) illustrated how typology from pottery styles and decorations was used to determine which period and culture they belonged to, thus indicating a time period of occupation and the identities of the people or cultures that made them. Other sherds of pottery that were described as foreign in the Brown book (1991) such as porcelain from China helped distinguish local trade from that of further distances. All of these findings tied in with academic literature on the topic and helped to specify that Great Zimbabwe was a thriving city state, with trade connections that did not only exist on a local scale but over distances as far as China (Pwiti, 1991). The above-mentioned artefacts found in the Brown book (1991) were discovered to be the results of an ancestral culture belonging to the "*vaKaranga*", who in turn were

ancestors of the modern Shona people, as Mazarire (2013: 340), stated in his paper exploring Mauch's views on Great Zimbabwe.

Earlier explorers like Mauch tended to oversee the fact that there was a social group right before their eyes, with a very intriguing history to tell that had been associated to the very ancestors who built Great Zimbabwe; his focus was instead on connecting these grand ruins with the mysterious legends of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (Carroll, 1988; Hall, 1996b; Mazarire, 2013). This type of history was what the earlier textbooks under the colonial regime would portray and thus hindered "black pupils" from learning much about their history (Pwiti, 1994: 339). The results in the Brown book (1991) showed that archaeology provided evidence that Great Zimbabwe was built by the ancestors of the Shona. It (1991) mentioned in topic box 4 Selous, Caton-Thompson and MacIver all concluded that Great Zimbabwe was built by the ancestors of the *Kalanga* (35). These results are corroborated by academic literature. Garlake (1968) stated "the Shona fortified kopjes with similar rough made piled stone walling" (116); Hall (1996a, b), Pikirayi & Pwiti (1999) and Mazarire (2013) all agree that Great Zimbabwe was built by non-other than the ancestors of the Shona.

In continuation with the Great Zimbabwe tradition, the writing style of the Orange book (2008) followed more of a narrative based largely upon the oral traditions surrounding the establishment of many states from Great Zimbabwe and onto the *Mutapa, Rozwi* and *Kame* states. The narrative focused upon the descendants of each significant ruler and gave the origin stories of each culture. There was also a statement made in the Orange book (2008: 20) under the origin of the *Mutapa* state that "after 1490 Portuguese sources and prior historians relied upon oral traditions" to make up the history of the *Mutapa* states. Throughout the Orange book (2008), there was mention of "oral tradition." The book showed more of a reliance on these sources than that of archaeology for the prehistory of Zimbabwe and this became prevalent towards the end of the chapter on Great Zimbabwe. For example, there was a story about the death of *Munembiri Mudadi* and his refusal prior to his death to name a successor, which encouraged the spirit mediums to cause a rebellion upon his death in order to name a successor (Orange book, 2008). The story was supposed to show a factor that led to the decline of Great Zimbabwe. As mentioned above, the history represented that of a narrative of oral traditions and little scientific proof. The nature of

the more recent textbooks leaned more towards a patriotic form of history (Barnes, 2007; Maposa & Wassermann, 2014; Ranger, 2004), the style of writing being geared more towards a memory-orientated learning style that was more suited to the traditional methods of history teaching.

The difference between the Orange book (2008) and the Brown book (1991) in terms of proving that Great Zimbabwe was indeed built by the autochthonous people or ancestors of the Shona of Zimbabwe was that the Brown book (1991), went to great lengths to show the learners the scientific steps taken to prove this was the case. The Orange book (2008), only provided a narrative and did not present enough physical evidence to prove such. The Orange book (2008)'s activities relative to who actually built Great Zimbabwe contained two extracts that were definitely archaeological in nature, but they had no reference as to who the archaeologist was that actually conducted the excavations, thus making this source of information sterile.

5.2.1.4 Shona and Ndebele vocabulary

One other aspect which I deemed worth mentioning, although not archaeological in nature, was the fact that the Orange book (2008) saw a much greater use of Shona and Ndebele words throughout the textbook. The words were used to describe many elements from religious practices, political systems, military and economic elements (refer to Appendix 3 for a glossary of these words). The earlier Brown book (1991), did contain some Shona words; however, they were few and far in between. Conversely, the Orange book (2008), gave the impression that the Shona were the main inhabitants who were later invaded by the Ndebele and then the Europeans and thus lost their sphere of influence.

Sometimes it was difficult reading some of the Shona explanations to the traditions or social interactions as I was not always entirely sure of what was being explained or if I had understood it correctly. This would be the same for learners or teachers who are not of Shona descent or have little knowledge of the language. For example, the one statement about cattle feudalism was explained as such: "Families could raise cattle from payment of '*Ngozi*' the avenging spirit or through *chiredzwa*; thank you for keeping my child" (Orange book, 2008: 24). I was not sure if this was explaining that a family could get money by avenging a spirit known as *ngozi* and if this did not work

then, the person they owed capital to, kept their child as a guarantee of the payment to come. In order to come to the correct understanding, I had to do some background reading on what a *ngozi* was. Academic literature from Magezi and Myambo (2011) described the *ngozi* as the "spirit of a dead person who was mistreated during his/her lifetime" (162). This spirit sought revenge on individuals or other family members of the individual until compensation for this ill treatment was corrected. This explanation corrected my initial misunderstanding of the *ngozi.* This example clearly illustrated how easy information in the Orange book (2008), can be misinterpreted.

5.2.2 Inconsistencies

Through my discussion I have already mentioned some of the discrepancies noted in the textbook samples. There were, however, many more that I would like to pay special attention to as these inconsistencies helped to show how the transdisciplinary relationship, mentioned earlier under sub-heading 5.2.1, had disintegrated since the entry of the new syllabus 2167.

Firstly, I found the Brown book (1991) to be accurate in its portrayal of archaeological sites, although there was a result showing the presence of Eurocentrism, notably the images from Bent's excavations at Great Zimbabwe. These illustrations present only what Bent observed and given the move towards a more nationalist form of history I found there was a silence in terms of representing more current images of archaeological evidence found at Great Zimbabwe such as photography of recent academic research very similar to the photographic evidence of the great enclosure presented in the Orange book (2008). In relation to the stone walls found at *Kame*, *Danangombe* and *Naletale*, there were only photographic images of sections of terraced walling that was not informative. By contrast, there were many recent archaeological illustrations of the intricate stone walled patterns discovered at these locations in the Orange book (2008); these showed the evolution of stone walled construction from Great Zimbabwe style to the *Kame* style, which was more decorative and refined in nature compared to the photographic image of *Danangombe* (see fig. 30) which resembled terraced rubble.

Secondly, I noted in my analysis that the Brown book (1991) only gave mention to traditions and cultures named for the locations that the excavations took place at.

Specific autochthonous groups such as the Shona or Ndebele were not mentioned until the third unit of analysis when speaking of the *Rozvi*, *Shona* and *Ronga* states: "emerging Shona-speaking states" (Brown book, 1991: 46). Prior to this mention I found that only kingdoms like the *Munhumutapa* and *Togwa* were stated, or cultures such as the *Kame* and *Gokomere* cultures and the people themselves were just referred to as people. Although specific groups such as Mazarire (2013)'s *vaKaranga* were not mentioned a variation, the *Kalanga* was mentioned (Brown book, 1991: 35); in addition, every culture that was explored in the Brown book (1991) covered all regions of Zimbabwe, even those peoples from the borders with Botswana, South Africa, Mozambique and Zambia.

Another inconsistency found when examining the selected Orange book (2008)'s units of analysis for the first time, were the lack of explanations surrounding events or descriptions of pottery or tool making processes that could have been further supported by accurate archaeological evidence. I found many instances whereby I had to refer back to my university archaeology study guides and scholarly textbooks to get a clearer picture of what I was analysing. The thought that crossed my mind was that surely a history teacher would have to have had some archaeological training in order to explain some of the concepts and activities present in the textbook. This thought linked to the literature review where previously I mentioned that, in contrast to the situation today, there was archaeology education at university level within the history course at the University of Zimbabwe (Pwiti, 1994). What the study revealed, was an increase in the use of pseudo-archaeology in the more recent Orange textbook (2008). Archaeology was used simply as evidence to support history or to create a narrative based only upon the artefacts discovered and not influenced by historical prejudice instead of being used as a primary source and an equal subject to corroborate or refute the historical record as it was used in the Brown book (1991).

In addition to the Orange book (2008)'s inaccuracies, I found grammatical and archaeological errors on the very first page. The first could be a typology error speaking of earth's creation occurring "thousands of millions of years ago". In this instance, the 'thousands' was an inaccurate word as we know that the world came into existence millions of years ago and the widely used terminology to use would therefore be "millions of years ago." Another error discovered was the term "ecolith"; it was used

to describe the occurrence of stones that may look like stone tool implements but were created by factors other than human input. The correct form of the word was "eolith" and was not created by humans but rather by natural non-human agencies (Renfrew & Bahn, 2000). Furthermore, under the theme of architecture, the Orange book (2008), described Late Stone Age homesteads as being small and scattered in comparison to the Early Iron Age whereby they were larger and more permanent. There was no archaeological proof of the structures that they had described spatially and of the material used to build them. I was therefore left to decide whether this statement was based upon factual evidence or not. What was known was that the Late Stone Age structures were temporary, built mainly out of grass and sticks and that, upon moving to other areas, the previous inhabitants would leave the structures which would eventually disintegrate and leave no evidence of them ever being there. The Early Iron Age settlements, on the other hand, were permanent and had *daga* floors and walls that were preserved in the archaeological record as evidence of there being occupation. So, the statement in the Orange book (2008), about homesteads being scattered, was not corroborated by physical evidence to prove this statement which then fell into 'pseudo-archaeology'.

The inaccuracies continued with the archaeological artefacts presented in the Orange book (2008), which were placed into timeframes to create a distinct historical chronology. These time periods were based upon the raw materials used to create technology such as stone tools or iron implements. These categories were named in the Orange book (2008) under the summary for Chapter 1, as the "stone age, bronze age, iron age and finally the steel age" (9). The 'steel age' did not fit in with Thompsen's scientific study of the Three Age system in Chapter 2 of this study; the Stone Age, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. In addition to the incorrectness in referring to the existence of a steel age, the Orange book (2008) presented numerous spelling errors, such as "scrapping" (2), which was supposed to mean scraping, a process to describe what the stone tools were used for during the Late Stone Age.

The dates of occupation at Great Zimbabwe contained considerable differences in comparison to the academic research surrounding the monument. The Orange book (2008), stated: "on the basis of available evidence the state had been well established by 1100AD and reached the height of its prosperity between the fourteenth and

fifteenth centuries" (Orange book, 2008: 11). This statement contrasted with evidence reported in academic scholarship; according to the University of South Africa's study guide AGE102-5 (Webley, Binneman, Schoeman, Boeyens & van der Ryst, 2003: 96), the main occupation phase, which was understood as being established and prosperous, for Great Zimbabwe was from 1275AD. Scarre (2005) and Pikirayi & Pwiti (1999) validate the study guide dates presented; Great Zimbabwe's main occupation was between the "13th to 15th century AD" (386; 73). In 1100AD Great Zimbabwe was still in its development stages and construction on the monument itself would not have begun yet. The Orange book (2008), did not discuss in depth how the area would have been settled first and then construction would have commenced once the people had established themselves. Instead, the book (2008), made Great Zimbabwe seem to be constructed almost immediately. The dates in the book (2008) for the prosperity of Great Zimbabwe on the other hand were accurate. The dates of occupation at Great Zimbabwe were divided into different periods in UNISA's Archaeology study guide AGE203-A in order to see the different stages of development of the Great Zimbabwe tradition and the monument itself. When taking a closer look at the table below, as illustrated in the study guide (Webley, et al., 2003), it became evident that the stone walled structures of Great Zimbabwe only came about in 1275AD, the period of "main occupation" mentioned in the Orange book (2008). The first periods of occupation were shown in the table below.

Period	Iron Age	Date	Archaeology associated with the period
Period Ia	Early Iron Age	4th century AD	*Kalundu* and *Gokomere*
Period Ib	Early Iron Age	8th century AD	*Zhizo* pottery
Period II		AD1150-AD1220	*Gumanye* ceramic style and the emergence of pole and *daga* huts
Period III		AD1220-1275	Houses solid red *daga* walls; no gold economically and no stone wall structures as of yet
Period IVa		AD1275-AD1300	Earliest gold finds showed a period of great political

		influence and economic prosperity. Emergence of P-style walling AD1310
Period IVb		AD1300-AD1450	Main occupation phase. Great political and economic power Population of around 18000 people. Stone walling showed Q-style walling
Period IVc		15th century AD	Acropolis was abandoned. Political power had shifted to *Mutapa* and *Torwa* 15th century AD
Period V		16th century AD	No occupation

Figure 35: Table indicating the different periods of occupation at Great Zimbabwe alongside the types of pottery and huts discovered (Webley, et al., 2003).

Another instance of incorrectness I found when comparing the Orange textbook (2008) with academic scholarship concerned the social organisation of Great Zimbabwe. There was a statement in the Orange book (2008): "society appeared to have been egalitarian since there was no distinction of rank and wealth" (15). This was inaccurate, because Great Zimbabwe was a predecessor of Mapungubwe, which, according to Pwiti (1991) in fact showed signs of social stratification.

5.3 Transdisciplinary differences

In Chapter 3, I explained how I looked at the relationship between the sister disciplines history and archaeology in the context of the textbooks themselves. I referred to a transdisciplinary relationship whereby two teams, an archaeological one and a historical one, would come together and work out how to place the archaeological content within a historical context. Along with this horizontal relationship was a vertical relationship that would encompass co-operation between other key players, such as community associations, school boards, planners, decision makers, all of whom play a role in determining the content that archaeologists and historians need to focus on in order to put together a sound textbook.

The use of archaeology within history textbooks emerged as an important aspect of creating a new history, especially for a new Zimbabwe. This study demonstrated that archaeology was used to show the people of Zimbabwe that they had a history free of European influence. A history strengthened by the science of Marxism and archaeology to show how early Zimbabwean societies, or cultures, developed through forces and relations of production, each of which has been presented in this study as mode-of-production.

Having reiterated this process, I observed that in the earlier textbook (1991), the presence of archaeology in the chosen units of analysis outweighed that of history. The discipline archaeology, in these units of analysis had a strong relationship with history as demonstrated by the forces of production shown as archaeological evidence in the form of animal bone remains and plant remains. This may be a function of Neil Parson's, the author of the Brown book (1991), who specialised in the prehistory of many southern African states found in Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa. Prior to 1996 he became a freelance author in history and education ("Neil Parsons", n.d.). Among the acknowledgements in the textbook James Denbow, Mary Evans and Peter Garlake were mentioned. Denbow is an archaeologist specialised in Africa, specifically the Late Stone Age, Early Iron Age and ethnography; he, therefore, would have had a great influence on the material put together under the units of analysis covering the Late Stone Age up to the Iron Age. The late Evans was the co-founder of The Mary Evans Picture Library, a library that supplied historical photographs, illustrations and engravings to publications for more than 40 years. Evans supplied all the historical illustrations and photographs present in the textbook as acknowledged in the Brown book (1991). As for Garlake, he was a Zimbabwean archaeologist and art historian who spoke up and acknowledged the ancestors of the Shona, "the Kalanga", as being the true builders of Great Zimbabwe: "a conclusion that was unacceptable to the white settler community in Rhodesia, especially the government of Ian Smith" (Pikirayi, 2012: 2). Garlake's and Denbow's archaeological contributions to the Brown book (1991) were strongly felt in the many illustrations of burial sites or floor plans that were excavated and illustrated throughout my research. Their archaeological background came through the history textual evidence very keenly. For example, as I pointed out in my analysis, the textbook's coverage of the Late Stone Age presented a historical narrative of the lifestyle of the San and Khoekhoe describing their gender division of

labour and the methods used for hunting. What came across strongly here as archaeological, however, was the description of the pottery introduced to southern Africa called "herder pottery", which I analysed under the theme of economics as it was a part of the production of an artefact and historically tied in with the modes-of-production of Marx and Engels. Other pottery styles were placed in a diagram (see fig. 16), labelled carefully, and explained at great lengths from an archaeological perspective. This suggested that these two archaeologists apparently had a good working relationship with the author and collaborated on an equal level as the historical aspects were still present in the chosen units of analysis. This working relationship showed respect for each discipline, which was explained at great length to indicate their support of one another, to get a clearer picture of the prehistory of Zimbabwe.

What was seen in the Orange book (2008), in this regard was much the opposite. There was no evidence of a transdisciplinary relationship between authors or other experts in either field. There was a presence of archaeology, however, not nearly as keenly felt as in the Brown book (1991). It was almost as if archaeology was just used to prove a point that history may not have the answer to. In the chosen units of analysis, the history outweighed archaeology and there was regular mention of the use of oral traditions and historical writings from Portuguese sources; this was exemplified in the statement that "after 1490 Portuguese sources could be used to reconstruct its (the *Mutapa* state) story" (Orange book, 2008: 20). As mentioned earlier, while the writing of history was in a narrative format, much of its content could be relative to archaeology but it was not directly linked to it by verbs such as "found, discovered, excavated or extracted."

With regards to the authors who contributed to the textbook, I found no information on them as the names were aliases. The list of acknowledgements was rather sterile as there was no direct acknowledgement of actual people. What was acknowledged were institutions such as the National Archives of Zimbabwe, The Herald[23] and the Ministry of Information. The editor Tendai Vutuza, according to LinkedIn, was a secondary school English and Shona teacher with publishing skills. There was no mention of whether she was acquainted with history or archaeology in any way that would prove

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[23] A local newspaper.

a transdisciplinary approach. The illustrator, Tirivangani Chodeva, was a graphics artist for College Press Publishers with no evidence of a historical or archaeological background. It was hard to see how archaeologists and historians may have collaborated together to create this textbook. What I did observe was that the archaeological information was used from other sources, such as the textual extracts on the "Diffusionist theory" and extracts 2.1 and 2.2 on Great Zimbabwe (Orange book, 2008: 4, 12), and transposed into the textbook without being checked or corrected for errors, of which there were quite a number. It was almost as if the discipline history had taken the front row seat and narrated the story of prehistoric Zimbabwe from the perspective of the historian. Archaeology had been pushed to the background it seemed, disregarding it as a valid source of evidence.

Examples of archaeology being pushed to the background, in the Orange book (2008), were many. There were instances whereby the religion of each community was mentioned, an aspect, which in my analysis I placed under the theme of pseudo-archaeology. I used the same category when analysing references to much of the artefacts mentioned in this context, such as the tributes presented to the chief, given that they were not always related to known discoveries through archaeological excavations. The only way these objects mentioned in the Orange book (2008) would be attributed to archaeological excavations was if the reader was familiar with dating techniques used by archaeologists, which may not be the case for young learners. It would also be known by those who may have some interest in archaeology that goods such as animal skins or cloth do not preserve well in the archaeological record and that knowledge of such artefacts can therefore only come from historical writings or oral traditions. This suggested that the transdisciplinary relationship between archaeology and history evident in the Brown book (1991) had weakened to the benefit of a now stronger relationship between oral traditions and historical writings.

5.3.1 Why the shift between the two sister disciplines?
The section above demonstrated that the transdisciplinary relationship between archaeology and history was strong during the 1990's up until 2006, subsequently experiencing a noticeable shift whereby the relationship weakened. There were various possible reasons for this, which I will attempt to explore in more detail here.

The first most obvious reason may relate to political change within Zimbabwe. The Brown book (1991) was produced at the outset of syllabus 2166, which had come into being ten years after the first syllabus 2160 had been produced since independence. Syllabus 2160 still relied heavily on the earlier colonial regime education system until a new syllabus for a newly independent Zimbabwe could be produced. Syllabus 2166 had a new focus, namely on "historical and dialectical materialism" (Brown book, 1991), explaining materialism and how it "relate[s] all our ideas to material things and events by looking at what people did and what they actually made" (Brown book, 1991). Further to this, syllabus 2166 insisted that learners' imaginations were engaged through the use of "pictorial and documentary sources and asked learners to develop empathy with the people of the past" (Brown book, 1991). The Brown book (1991), responded to the syllabus requirements and included written sources of information such as quotations from documentation, statistics and diagrams from scientific research such as archaeology, pictures (artists impressions, illustrations and photographic material), and maps. All of this material was present within the textbook, including reference to the Marxist principles of modes-of-production. Scholars have considered this syllabus to be nationalist in nature, because it praised the achievements in terms of nations coming into existence and of days gone by (Barnes, 2007; Bentrovato, 2018; Maposa & Wassermann, 2014; Ranger, 2004). Syllabus 2166 was the history syllabus to redress and reconstruct Zimbabwe's history, correcting many of the wrongs of the colonial era and giving to the people of Zimbabwe a history that was their very own and Afrocentric in nature. It was a new history for a new nation and was a part of a nation building project sponsored by the state. It was a history that learners could engage with at great depth and which would speak to them from the very graves of their ancestors, given the archaeological input, for instance, of the Ingombe Ilede burials. It allowed learners to relive experiences and imagine the evolutionary process of, for example, early societies or Great Zimbabwe, without the influence of Europeans. In order for new nation's history to work with the inclusion of archaeological primary sources and how these were discovered, there had to be strong transdisciplinary relationships between historians and archaeologists to be able to put on paper a factually accurate history of Zimbabwe with the use of archaeological evidence untainted by European influence. The historian too would have had to have a different mindset and be willing to take into account the evidence provided by the archaeologists. As already mentioned, under Smith's regime it was indeed

unacceptable to state that Great Zimbabwe had been built by ancestors of the Shona and if reference was made of the monument, one had to give mention of the influence of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba on this historic building. When syllabus 2166 was rolled out in the 1990's, the political situation in Zimbabwe was stable; textbook production was booming internally and was evidence of a new thriving nation (Barnes, 2004).

By contrast, when its successor syllabus 2167 rolled out in the 2000's, Zimbabwe was going through political turmoil. Zimbabweans had had the same ruling political party since 1980 and wanted change. They were losing faith in their government due to rising inflation rates, lack of goods in stores, no fuel, and salaries not rising to accommodate these basic necessities. The government at the time felt the need to revise the syllabus to remind the people of past struggles in comparison to their emancipation today. In its preamble, syllabus 2167 stated that it would help learners to "acquire an informed and critical understanding of social, economic and political issues facing them as builders of a developing nation" (Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, 2013: 4). Scholars denounced this form of history being produced for schools, for being patriotic in nature, giving more reverence to the heroes of the past and placing much emphasis on the struggles that shed the chains of colonialism and oppression (Ranger, 2004). Among the aims of the syllabus was that "learners had to develop an understanding of the various stages in the development of societies and the different forces, which interact to produce change", and to "appreciate how colonialism and resistance to it have influenced international relations" (Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, 2013: 4). These two points alone signify the requirement for learners to understand their current situation and to understand how they came to be at this point in history. In this context, the syllabus, and consequently the accompanying Orange book (2008), showed no evidence of a transdisciplinary relationship between the two sister disciplines of history and archaeology. There was no mention at all for a need to understand archaeology or how archaeology was used as a primary source of evidence. Another stated aim was for the learners to develop "skills to carry out research into aspects of local and national history using primary and secondary sources" (Zimbabwe School Examinations Board, 2013: 4); however, they were not pointed out as such or explained in the Orange book (2008) as it was in the Brown book (1991). Instead the

book (2008) presented a narrative of historical events, only using archaeology where it was needed to support some of the aspects that history could not cover, such as the manufacturing of Stone Age implements or the manufacture of pottery.

As mentioned earlier in the discussion, the modes-of-production that were evident mainly in the Brown book (1991), connected with the Marxist-Maoist component of ZANU-PF. Because archaeological evidence can be factual, it was relatively neutral as physical evidence and it also contradicted and corrected many a Eurocentric point of view that had previously been presented as fact. In the light of Zimbabwe's struggle for independence, archaeology became integral in allowing for African people to have their very own identity unhindered by European opinion or methodologies (archaeology it must be remembered was initially a Eurocentric discipline). An Afrocentric identity was achieved through the use of archaeology by illustrating the developments of Zimbabwe's prehistoric societies. The use and explanations of different modes-of-production showed these developments over time before the arrival of Europeans and their western ideologies. Both syllabi indeed acknowledged the need to show the various steps in the evolution of societies in order to understand the complex prehistory and colonial history of Zimbabwe. These elements were just presented differently in the sample.

ZANU-PF's move into a socialist state made provision for history to prepare its learners to understand just where they came from and how they could move forward as a new nation. As the future of Zimbabwe, they learnt, through archaeology, reverence for what was and what could have been had the arrival of Europeans not hindered this progress. Archaeology then, as an accurate source of evidence, assisted history in correcting the romanticized versions of Zimbabwean history, which history alone attempted to do but was hindered by European views and textual politics of the time.

5.4 Why then was archaeology used?

Coming back to my second question of "Why archaeology was used?", there was a clue that lead us to this understanding in the Brown book (1991), notably under the revision notes section, titled "Material things and Ideas", which followed the explanation of what modes-of-production were (Brown book, 1991: 216). An

appropriate title, as archaeology is after all the study of material remains left by humans; material remains that point to the forces of production and the relations of production. This section explained that archaeology tells us about "material things" from the past that could indicate how humans cooked, where they slept or how they fought battles. Conversely, the "ideas of people in the past" are an aspect that archaeology cannot begin to fathom from these material remains and is rather in the domain of historical written records (Brown book, 1991: 216-217). This showed me the link, acknowledged in the book, between the two sister disciplines, with archaeology informing me in greater detail about the "modes-of-production of past societies more than the ideologies of past societies" (Brown book 1991: 217). Archaeologists then, without the help of historical records, would have to "deduce people's ideas" from the way they buried their dead, built their homes or manufactured objects such as stone tools or crafted pottery (Brown book: 1991, 217). This deduction of ideas becomes an abstract concept and Hall (1996a) stated that "archaeologists, like historians move backwards and forwards between abstract sets of concepts and the actual evidence for what people did in the past, refining theory in the light of new data" (69). Hodder (1989) concurred: "It is…one of the central paradoxes of archaeology that the objects dug up are concrete…things, yet it is so difficult to ascribe any meaning to them" (67). These statements show how easily archaeology can be used in the political sphere to uphold prejudices, as it was done in the past with Great Zimbabwe under Smith's regime.

Some valuable knowledge on the importance of archaeology in history came to me through the university study guide AGE203-A. The guide stated that archaeological evidence can supplement the written historical evidence of prehistoric societies, events or sites by providing information on architecture, material possessions, diet and basic every day activities as it is not affected by textual or social politics (Webley, et al., 2003). Archaeological evidence can complement historical sources which generally focus on political affairs, the roles of leaders or ruling factions in society. In some ways Zimbabwe soon after independence recognised the need for archaeology alongside history to correct past histories and give a voice back to the people of Zimbabwe. In this sense, Zimbabwe stumbled onto an effective way to present history that had no written evidence, in a manner that utilized archaeological evidence not only as a primary source but as a subject that collaborated with history with equal

status in the history textbook. Zimbabwe, I would venture to say, was ahead of its time. Globally research is continuing in this avenue in an attempt to get more recognition of archaeology in the classroom, yet inclusion of archaeology in the history textbook still has further hurdles to overcome. As mentioned in the literature review, Funari (2000), stated that archaeology was present for some time in Brazilian history textbooks but was used to foster nationalism, Wheeler (2019), in his paper discussed the struggles for integrating archaeology into the school curriculum as a course in its own right, but no mention was given to the inclusion of the subject into school history textbooks and India has begun to recognize the need to incorporate archaeology as more than just a primary source in school history textbooks (Harcharin, 2019). The history textbooks produced for syllabus 2166 understood that archaeology could give sound evidence of the existence of advanced cultures way before the arrival of the European settlers and thus counter fanciful stories about Great Zimbabwe. The Brown book (1991) gave recognition to the many traditions and cultures in the prehistory of Zimbabwe, such as the *Gokomere, Bambatha* and *Zhizo* traditions to name a few; they were not classed in the umbrella term "Bantu". There was never the distinct presence in the Brown book (1991) of only the Shona or Ndebele peoples. All people were classified under the specific culture or traditions associated with the name of the site the excavations were conducted. The classification of all peoples under a specific culture or tradition rather than as Shona or Ndebele could have been done on purpose to include all native people of Zimbabwe and not just certain autochthonous groups. As we saw, with the rolling out of syllabus 2167, this collaboration with the sister disciplines was placed on the back burner. As a result, Zimbabwean history textbooks took a step backwards, with traditional historical narratives dominating and a smattering of archaeological concepts which helped to fill the gaps.

5.5 Contribution of the study to research

This research showed that history textbooks are never neutral; they have tended to reflect the political norms of the period they were produced in. Although the earlier Zimbabwean textbook conform to syllabus 2166, attempted to correct the histories of colonial Rhodesia, it still had a political motive, namely, to spread the idealism of socialism through the explanations of modes-of-production and the dangers of capitalist states such as Smith's recent colonial regime. The Brown textbook (1991), did, however, prove that archaeology as a sister discipline, and through the

transdisciplinary relationship presented in Chapter 3, can assist history in presenting scientific evidence in support of events that were not always documented, such as prehistory.

The research filled the gap in terms of showing an instance of a successful transdisciplinary relationship between the sister disciplines of history and archaeology in Zimbabwe's education. In India, Haricharin (2019) has mentioned the need to include archaeology in school history textbooks in more ways than just a primary source: "a class VI history textbook prepared in 2004/2005 talks extensively about prehistory and archaeologists, but hardly discusses the methods or concepts used in archaeology". This statement shows the importance of the presence of archaeology in history textbooks not just as a source of evidence and thus illustrates the successful relationship on a transdisciplinary level between historians and archaeologists collaborating on history textbooks.

Future researchers and educationalists may want to build upon these findings and past experience and improve on what Zimbabwe started under syllabus 2166 to present a more holistic approach to history and not present archaeology as only a primary source, but a tangible subject through which history can be taught and learnt.

The research has further shown the implications of political upheaval for the writing of textbooks and textbook production and how this can affect the standard of history textbooks as became evident in the case of the Orange book (2008). Against this political backdrop, the syllabus 2167 reminded the learners of the great achievements of their forefathers through the use of oral traditions and foreign written documents; it thus reintroduced history from a foreign point of view, albeit these written sources were not always referenced in the textbook. The result was a history textbook that had pushed archaeology to the background and regressed in terms of textbook production.

The research has shown too that if history learners are to engage with their primary sources in an analytical or critical manner to fully understand the concept of walking in another's shoes, then having practical exercises such as the ones presented in the Brown book (1991), would allow for this level of engagement. Through archaeology the learner gets to feel empathy, especially if they get the chance to actually hold

something that was held by children their age or to physically see the effects of a drought upon a nation based upon the research done on burials. The ability to interact with maps through activities gave the learners the opportunity to gauge a spatial awareness of how vast the movements from north Africa were and thereby improved on other skills like geography. Oral traditions that were so prevalent in the Orange book (2008) cannot be discredited. If they were used alongside archaeology, or if archaeology was used to somehow show the evidence for some origin stories for example, it too would allow for a more Afrocentric understanding of cultural differences and lend a sense of reality to the stories, thus saving them from extinction.

5.6 Limitations

A number of important limitations needed to be considered. First, was the sample size and the researcher bias. Regarding the former point, the textbooks that I sampled for this study, while being only two, gave me a broad coverage over two decades of syllabus changes. Being an in-depth case study, having enlarged the sample would not have been practical given the length of time such a study would have taken.

Regarding the latter point, having come from a white English-speaking background, I needed to continually ask myself what the purpose was of my inclusion of archaeology in this study. Did I want to include archaeology as a check and balance by demonstrating its usefulness to history education or to justify concepts that I had come across? Or, was it that I was aware of the fact that history alone tended to be highly subjective, no matter how objective the author or historian tried to be? Their cultural and social background will always show through their work, as it will in mine. Since most histories on Zimbabwe were written by white English speakers and I was raised predominantly in this environment, I may find some of these histories resonate deep within me, even though I attempted to see things differently. I needed to take cognisance of the fact that my own interpretations and experiences of the past may very well be influenced by what I thought. This was the downfall of this type of research. Archaeology, therefore, challenged many of these cultural norms and forced me to see other perspectives in a more objective manner.

5.7 Significance for future research

This research has shown the Brown book (1991) was an achievement in terms of historical education as it was a clear example of how archaeology was used to correct the many wrongs presented by colonial history. This textbook was in print before its time as globally in the 1990's the world was, to a large extent, still focused upon narrative histories and the traditional presentation of history. Presently, the world has caught on to the importance and benefits of a transdisciplinary relationship between the sister disciplines of history and archaeology.

In South Africa, for instance, the Ministerial Task Team for the Department of Basic Education pushed for a larger representation of archaeology in the history textbooks in order to deepen the learners' understanding of African history (Ndlovu et al., 2018). In addition, the task team expressed the importance of linking the content of the South African syllabus to archaeological records in order to correct the current syllabus that only shows exclusively written sources that originate from foreigners' records. The syllabus thus gives the impression that African history can only be told through foreigners' eyewitness accounts and that Africa had no history of its own prior to the arrival of these foreigners (Ndlovu et al., 2018). This in turn linked very closely to the research question of why archaeology was used in Zimbabwean history textbooks. It was evident that the answer was to give back to the blacks of Zimbabwe their very own history from the perspective of the original inhabitants of Zimbabwe and not through the eyes of foreigners.

There is a greater move globally and within South Africa to make more use of archaeology in school history textbooks in order to explain prehistoric societies. In South Africa the Ministerial Task team presented the views of Esterhuysen on the importance of archaeology to historical subjects and the importance of promoting an Afrocentric perspective to the youth of today. In countries like the United Kingdom (Henson, Bodley & Heyworth (2004), Brazil (Funari, 2000), Nigeria (Agbelusi, 2015), India and United States (Wheeler, 2019) as shown in the study, there has been a greater understanding of the need for archaeology and a move to incorporate it into school history curricula, albeit there has been more of an expression to incorporate archaeology as a separate subject from history (King, 2012; Esterhuysen, 2000). Future researchers can gain a better understanding from Zimbabwean school history

textbooks and see first-hand the transdisciplinary relationship between historians and archaeologists and how this can produce a well-balanced history textbook that allows for equal and effective representation of archaeology and history. They can get a sense of where archaeology can fill the gaps that history cannot provide and how archaeology can help verify certain historical concepts and ideas through physical, scientific evidence.

For future reference, given the amount of times I was unfulfilled due to the lack of in-depth explanations in the Orange book (2008), I realised that if more textbooks in the future were to be published with a transdisciplinary approach to history and archaeology, then teachers would need to have some basic training in archaeological terms and fieldwork in order to adequately explain complex concepts to the learners. Pwiti (1994)'s reference to basic archaeology courses at university level, showed that history teachers who qualified with this basic knowledge were better equipped to teach the prehistory topics of Zimbabwe and this type of training would further assist future history teachers. Even though the Brown book (1991), had many in-depth explanations of archaeological principles and practices, many teachers without an archaeological background, may still have struggled to explain certain elements to the learners because of their own possible lack of understanding.

5.8 Personal and professional growth

As I mentioned earlier in the dissertation, my rationale for taking on this study was for personal reasons. I wanted to grow as a researcher and improve my skills as a teacher. I felt that having done this research I have achieved this and more.

This dissertation has taught me perseverance and it has taught me that I too have a voice and can lend what I have learnt to the world of academia. I realised too that the topic I chose only skimmed the surface of many of the textbook production issues currently facing Zimbabwe. This research showed me that the presence of archaeology in a textbook was not as simple and straightforward to other teachers as it was to me. This was possibly because of my own interest in the subject and being exposed to archaeology in my undergraduate degree. Because of this realisation, I understood better the need to have a strong transdisciplinary relationship between historians and archaeologists in order for them to plan and structure the history

textbooks carefully, to eliminate any form of confusion a teacher may experience from a lack of archaeological knowledge.

From this research I have also learned that, although archaeological evidence itself can remain neutral and free from political and textual politics, it can still be used as a political tool due to the way evidence is interpreted. However, archaeology can indeed correct the wrongs of the past and give a voice to those who had none before and most importantly, it brings history to life. Archaeology, in addition, allowed for learners to connect on a physical level with the history being portrayed in the textbooks, especially if these lessons include the use of real artefacts and excursions.

Even though modes-of-production come from a socialist principle, they are integral to understanding the development of any society and what better way to show this than through archaeological evidence. This was the gap I realised, that my research filled, and I believe that it will aid further research into this phenomenon.

5.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I conducted a secondary analysis and summary of my findings. I showed how each of the two textbooks sampled approached the use of archaeology and attempted to explain why archaeology was used in history textbooks.

The Brown book (1991) was created approximately ten years after Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980, and it was designed based upon the syllabus 2166 which came about to correct the Eurocentric perspectives on Zimbabwean prehistory. The book was very scientific and factual in nature, and allowed, at the same time, for the promotion of a nationalist identity with the past through archaeology. The Orange book (2008), on the other hand, was created some twenty-eight years after independence, during a period of political turmoil. Its presentation of this history, based upon the syllabus 2167, was patriotic in nature, relying heavily on oral traditions which elaborated on the form of the governance used by the people in the prehistory of Zimbabwe. There were definite presentations of family tree genealogies and origin stories of the states like the *Mutapa*, Rozvi and *Kame*. There was, therefore, less of a need for archaeology as a science to rewrite the wrongs of previous histories and more of a perceived need to remind the youth of how the Shona kingdoms of Great

Zimbabwe, the *Mutapa* and the *Rozvi* rose to power and established states in the pre-colonial history. Archaeology almost seemed an afterthought; a supplementary addition. Ultimately, I proposed that the Brown book (1991) was grounded in historical and archaeological science and fact, whereas the Orange book (2008) relied mainly on oral traditions, historical narratives and other lineage or patriarchal traditions rather than science.

Unfortunately, under the new syllabus 2167, the Orange book (2008), had regressed and gone back to the traditional presentation of history as a narrative, with archaeology being pushed into the background and shown to be of least importance. The Orange book (2008) had relied heavily on the writings of Portuguese foreigners and thus gave its nation a history through the eyes of foreigners and not from an Afrocentric perspective. This study showed that archaeology was deliberately made use of as a sister discipline incorporating the knowledge of actual archaeologists in the production of the earlier (1991) Zimbabwean history textbook, as a means of explaining, from a socialist perspective, prehistoric modes-of-production linked to the earliest societies found in the Zimbabwe region and that the later textbook (2008) archaeology was marginalised in favour of oral traditions and written historical records.

Returning to my title, "History through archaeology", it was evident that the prehistory of Zimbabwe becomes clearer through the use of archaeology. The history of Zimbabwe is continually being rewritten or reassessed as new information comes to light as a result of ongoing discoveries made by archaeologists. In my rationale and motivation in Chapter 1, I mentioned that I could never conceive of history and archaeology not working together. It became evident to me through my analysis of the sample that the Brown book (1991) clearly showed what I had always believed: that history and archaeology do indeed complement one another in terms of investigative skills of enquiry. I am confident to say that a lot can be learned from the transdisciplinary approach to writing history textbooks from the earlier Brown book (1991). The Orange book (2008) cannot be discredited either because it too has shown the importance of oral traditions forming the basis of 'ideas and memories' of a prehistoric society which in turn would complement the archaeological primary sources found. This study endeavoured to show the benefits of history collaborating with other disciplines such as archaeology through a transdisciplinary approach. I

understood that learners need to feel included in the history of their nation and that they have a say through their learning experiences and knowledge gained from history lessons. Activities that are archaeological in nature can bring history to life and adding in real archaeological finds, as I did for my learners, effectively made history real and activated the five senses necessary for historical inquiry. I am aware that not all teachers have had the opportunity to complete archaeology at undergraduate level, but I do believe that it is necessary to include it in a practical sense into the history teacher training courses, especially under modules that cover historical methodologies. History teachers will be further enriched from this exposure and so too would their future learners. Thus, it is important to keep the channels open for historians and archaeologists alike to be able to collaborate with one another for the greater good of a nation's past.

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Appendix 2

Turnitin Certificate

HISTORY THROUGH ARCHAEOLOGY: A CASE STUDY OF ZIMBABWEAN HISTORY TEXT BOOKS

ORIGINALITY REPORT

3%	2%	1%	2%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	Submitted to University of KwaZulu-Natal Student Paper	<1%
2	Submitted to Midlands State University Student Paper	<1%
3	Submitted to University of Pretoria Student Paper	<1%
4	repository.up.ac.za Internet Source	<1%
5	Submitted to Rhodes University Student Paper	<1%
6	P. De Maret, F. van Noten, D. Cahen. "Radiocarbon Dates from West Central Africa: A Synthesis", The Journal of African History, 2009 Publication	<1%
7	"EE813 EE816 SG2 115101 Chapter 14 Case Studies", Open University Publication	<1%

Teresa Barnes. "'History has to Play its Role':

Appendix 3

Glossary of Shona words comparison between the Brown book (1991) and the Orange Book (2008)

Brown Book (1991)

Malome	Maternal uncle (16)
Shongwe-na-mutitima	The pot that boils (9)
Svikiro	Spirit medium (35)
Dare	Forum (34)
mazimbabwe	Small stone walled structures/ residences (37)
Mambo	Ruler or chief

Orange Book (Shona and Ndebele)

Changamire	*Rozvi* ruler's title (35).
Chiredzwa	Thank you for keeping my child (24).
Dare re Hondo	War council (29).
Dziva-Hungwe	A political and religious alliance between the rulers and the "*Dziva-Hungwe"* people (16).
Hungwe midzimu mhondoro	Light soaps or true birds. Hungwe could mean birds, and appeasement of the king's personal ancestors (*midzimu*) and clan or national ancestors (*mhondoro*) (6).
IsiFunda	Political. A larger area that the district head was a part of. (51)
isiGodi	Political. This person oversaw a kraal or village (51).
Induna (Ndebele)	This person controlled the *IsiFunda* (51). Also described as a great chief (69).
Inkosi	Political leader that had political, judicial, religious and economic power (68)
IsiLomo	A close friend and confidant of the king (51).
Izinduna (Ndebele)	Political. A councillor that stayed at the capital for certain periods of time (51).
Izinduna zamabutho (Ndebele)	Members of the royal family and elders (69).
Izinkhulu (Ndebele)	Not clear as to what this was (69).
Kuronzera	Economic system whereby the *Munhumutapa* (Shona king) loaned his subjects some cattle for use but the

	users could not dispose of them without the permission of the owner (24)
Machira	Unclear as to what this was (28).
Mambo	Title of a *Rozvi* ruler (35).
Mbokorume	Chief confidant (32).
Masvikiro	Religious. Spirit medium of the *Mhondoro* (30).
Mazvarira	The most senior wives were called this, and they stayed at the palace to offer advice to the king (32).
Mhondoro	From my understanding this was the national ancestral spirit as opposed to the *mudzimu* which was when the *Mutapa* becomes an ancestral spirit to his own direct family (30).
Mphakhathi (Ndebele)	An advisory council made up of members of the royal family and elders (69).
Muchinda	Military. The Prince of blood heads a military expedition (29).
Mudzimu	When the *Mutapa* dies he immediately becomes a *mudzimu,* an ancestral spirit for his own personal family and then later falls into the nation or clan ancestral spirits and gets worshipped as a *mhondoro* (30).
Mukomohasha	Milirary. Captain General of the armies (31).
Muromo	Military. Strategic move the same as the cow horn formation used by Shaka to encircle the enemy (29).
Mwari	The God/creator of the *Mutapa* people (30).
Mwoyo	The name of a totem that was used as a symbol of *Rozvi* identity and acted as a unifying factor rallying people behind the king (35).
Nengomasha	Political. Chief minister or governor of provinces (31).
Ngozi	"Families could raise cattle from payment of 'Ngozi', the avenging spirit" this was in relation to how the *Mutapa* acquired so much cattle (24).
Ukugalisa (Ndebele)	The Ndebele equivalent of the *Kuronzera* system, whereby Chiefs paid tribute directly to the king or they looked after cattle on behalf of the king (51).

Ukukisa (Ndebele)	Cattle placed into the care of someone else never at the actual owner's kraal (35).
Umnumzane (Ndebele)	The kraal head (51).
UmSengi (Ndebele)	The favourite to the royal kraal (51).
Vashambadzi	A form of tax levied on European traders, hunters, tributary chiefs and local people. It was enforced by African middlemen traders (26). Later became the Portuguese African middlemen who would travel through the state and sell trade goods to the villages (28).
Zunde ramambo	During famine the *Mutapa* would distribute food to the people from the state reserves (16).