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Editorial

I have been recently thinking of giving up all of my archaeological pursuits in favour of – what is to me – a more mundane existence as an office worker. The need to earn a crust (and hopefully some jam to go along with it) coupled with a dearth of paying jobs in the discipline has caused a great deal of introspection in months gone by as dollarisation in Zimbabwe has meant an unwelcome contraction in lifestyle and extra-curricular activities. Not wanting to leave the country, I could really see no other option except to look for a different job in Zimbabwe until a couple of things happened to provoke a rethink.

Walking around Bulawayo's city centre a couple of weeks ago, I chanced across a Middle Stone Age core eroding out the side of a pothole. Now as most of our potholes are of epic proportions, and as our city council takes its time to repair them, there is obviously great potential for future discoveries. I enjoyed imagining the scenarios about how that tool could have come to rest: part of the initial gravel fill of the road, or dug up by others as part of the soil used to fill in the hole at a later date, maybe dropped there by someone else as they walked around Bulawayo or even the last remnant of an original site now eroding to the surface. I even wrote a jokey article titled "Pothole Archaeology: some Zimbabwean reflections". (Other title suggestions would be welcome). Upon checking my collection of old South African Archaeological Bulletins, I found that I was not alone in finding tools in the midst of urban development while the author reminds us "that archaeological remains may be easily recovered even while taking a casual walk down a pavement in a built-up area" (Keenan-Smith 1960).

What was the most fun however was showing the core at my various appointments in town and seeing fascination light up peoples' faces followed by the inevitable questions about its origin and purpose. Being able to answer these questions was immensely satisfying and got those long-banked fires glimmering again.

Just after this discovery, I borrowed the complete novelisation of the Indiana Jones movie series for some light reading. In the first book, *Indiana Jones and the Raiders of the Lost Ark* (Black 2008: 35), Indiana is reflecting on why he wanted to recover a golden idol from a long-lost South American temple:

This mad love of antiquity struck him all at once as unholy, unnatural. An insane infatuation with the sense of history-more than the sense, the need to reach out and touch it, hold it, understand it though its relics and artifacts, finding yourself haunted by the faces of long-dead artisans and craftsmen and artists, spooked by the notion of hands creating these objects, fingers



that had long turned to skeleton, to dust. But never forgotten, never quite forgotten, not so long as you existed with your irrational passion... That was where it had begun. In that consciousness of discovery, which was like the eye of an intellectual hurricane. And you were swept along, carried away, transported backward in the kind of time machine the writers of fantasy couldn't comprehend: your personal time machine, your private line to the vital past.

So in my opinion, the love for the past and its study is never quite a rational one. And it would appear to be one that it never really leaves a person no matter the circumstances.

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Abutua and the Cam & Motor Mine

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RioZim has announced plans to re-mine the Cam & Motor tribute, historically Zimbabwe's richest gold mine with 4.5 mln ounces (140 tonnes) of gold extracted during its modern life up to 1968. But RioZim was not the first, and certainly won't be the last to mine the one time Kingdom of Abutua, known to the Portuguese as the Mãe d'ouro or Mother of Gold.

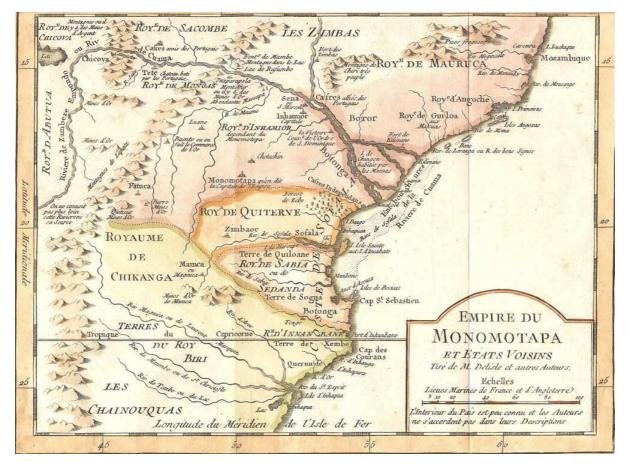
Abutua (or Butua, the correct term for the Midlands province) was the name of the goldfields around modern day Kadoma and Kwekwe. The first report of the area was from Portuguese adventurer Antonio Fernandes, which reached Portugal in 1516. The King of Butua "has much gold. This is extracted alongside the rivers of fresh water", he told the scribe at Sofala, Gaspar Veloso. Writing a century later, the Padre António Gomes said: "Blacks from Abatua bring a lot of gold in thick pieces weighing about three or four *patacas* being the best carats in all these lands".

Initially the Portuguese traded beads and cloth for the gold from their bases at Sofala, just south of Beira, and from Mozambique Island in the north. However, the supply of gold was disrupted soon after establishing forts at these two locations, partly as a result of inter-chieftain wars inland, but also because they had to compete against the Moors (Muslims) for the gold on offer. A military expedition to conquer the Monomotapa was launched in 1569 and finally abandoned in 1575. Five years later Portugal was annexed by Spain, and the approach turned to the establishment fairs (*feira*) in Mashonaland in



the late 16th Century until their expulsion by the Rozvi in 1693. In fact, the Portuguese referred to most of modern Zimbabwe as *Rios*, short for Rios d'oure (Rivers of Gold).

Fairs were small gold trading posts, which usually had a few Portuguese families operating under a *capitão* (Captain). It was easy to collect the gold in one place, and the reigning Monomotapa could also keep an eye on them, ensuring they paid their *curva* (tribute). The biggest of all the feira was Dambarare, near what is the Jumbo mine at Mazowe. In Abutua, they established Maramuca, which refers to "Rimuka" being the lands between the Mupfure and Umsweswe rivers, which is exactly where the fair was located. Some may know that name of the largest township in Kadoma is still called Rimuka today. A 1947 mining report described a "Portuguese fort near the Suri Suri river in the Golden Valley-Chakari districts. Peter Garlake excavated the site shortly afterwards and declared it to be Maramuca.



An 18th Century French map of Monomotapa and neighbouring states from the 25-volume Historie Générale des Voyages atlas drawn up by Jaques Nicholas Bellin (1703-1772), the French Royal Hydrographer, illustrating the travels of Antonio Francois Prévost d'Exiles from 1738-1775. Note Abutua is shown on the extreme left on the other side of the Zambezi, which is shown with its other name that was in use until the 18th Century, the Cuama. The name Tete is apparent, it shows the Mazoe (Mazeno) flowing from burro mines d'Or (great gold mines), and towns in Mashonaland included Luane (Luanze), Bueto (Bocuto), the Monomotapa's capital and "Zimbaoe" in Quiteve. (JRW Private Collection)



The exact date Maramuca was established is not known, but it rose to prominence during the reign of the Mutapa Mavura, the Portuguese puppet who ruled from 1629 to 1652. The story is really too long to tell here, but two descent lines had claimed legitimate right to the throne after the death of Gatsi Rusere in 1623. After having defeated the forces led by Kapararidze (also known as Caprasine) in 1629, the Dominicans put Mavura on the throne (after baptising him and having him sign a treaty of vassalage to the Portuguese Crown). The Karanga broadly did not accept Mavura and many fled to join Kapararidze, who had taken refuge across the Zambezi with the Maravi. It is only after Diogo de Sousa de Meneses marched to the Zimbabwe highveld in 1632 with an army of 2000 and utterly destroyed Kapararidze's forces that the Portuguese period of dominance on the highveld started.

Until Mavura was forced to sign the humiliating treaty of vassalage in 1629, the Monomotapas had retained wide economic control over their territory. The Portuguese had had jurisdiction within their own fairs, and then only in the name of the chief; they were not free to travel or trade at will, and paid taxes to the Monomotapa. The chief controlled gold production, taxing output and determining which mines were to be worked. He also enjoyed the profits of justice and received a handsome annual present from the Portuguese to oil the wheels of commerce. The chief was able to dispense patronage, providing his followers with prestige imports, wives and land and so maintained the reciprocal relationships on which chieftaincy depended.

After 1629, the Portuguese travelled about the Rivers and traded at will; they usurped lands, seized women to reward their Tonga followers and forcibly recruited labour. They opened their own gold diggings and the number of fortified *feira* and mining camps multiplied, many being privately owned. Towards the middle of the century, they had acquired detailed knowledge of the gold reefs. They knew that gold was painfully extracted from small diggings and no longer expected to find gold mines that could be exploited on a large scale. As the century progressed the gold mining and trading frontier moved south west and Portuguese *sertanejos* (backwoodsmen or mercenaries, although commodity traders would not be a bad description of them today) began trading for gold in Maramuca. As historian Malyn Newitt notes: "The Portuguese were also following the population, for it seems that many Karanga abandoned the northern areas controlled by the Portuguese to avoid their lawless exactions. As the population moved south, the Portuguese followed."

Most gold went East to buy spices, which went then West to Europe. Operating conditions were extremely hard given disease and hostile tribes. The era of the Portuguese in Mashonaland was drawing to a close when the Jesuit Manoel Barreto visited in 1667. He still reported the richest gold-producing lands were those around Maramuca, adding its Tonga inhabitants were so courageous that they killed lions and leopards with knobkerries. They also extracted only enough gold for their own immediate needs so as to not to "excite the cupidity of the Portuguese". But Portuguese chronicler António da Conceição lamented that very little of this gold ever went to Portugal and only served to enrich India. The gold was mined in Africa, only to be transported to India where it was reburied – a reference to the Hindu custom of cremating the dead with their jewellery. In 1897, Telford Edwards estimated that there



were about 75,000 ancient workings in Zimbabwe and projected that around 20 million ounces (675 tonnes of gold) was mined during the period before 1890, with miners unable to go much deeper than 30 metres before they encountered the water table.

No one was really in charge and in the early 1640s (after Portugal secured its independence from Spain) there was a major Portuguese incursion into Butua. As was so often the case, a succession dispute had led to one of the claimants coming to Manica to seek Portuguese aid. In Manica at the time was Sisando Dias Bayão, the most powerful *setanejo* of the day. Obviously figuring on a commercial gain, he led a force of musketeers to the region and placed his protégé on the throne, building a fort and leaving a garrison. Bayão was never to enjoy the fruits of his fiefdom after he was poisoned by jealous rivals at Luanze (near Kotwa) in 1644. Within a decade Gonçalo João seized control of the region, but then lost out in the bitter in feuds that were weakening the community.

In 1645, Mavura protested to the Portuguese Viceroy that: "they, the Portuguese, do great harm to the people, killing some, wounding others, stealing sons and daughters and cows of their herds so that each day I have complaints in this my Zimbabwe". The Portuguese were oblivious to this and it was to be there undoing. Unknowingly they had alienated the sub-chiefs and spirit mediums, whose power was so important. The *mhondoros* had taken umbrage to their interference in succession disputes, their practice of forcing the Monomotapas to be baptised and pushing their children to be educated by the Portuguese. In 1693, with the Portuguese considering installing Nhenheenze, who had been educated in Tete by an Augustinian friar, Monomotapa Nyamaende Mhande (also known as Nhacumimbiri) enlisted the help of the Rozvi in the south led by Changamire Dombo.

By this time, the centre of gold mining had already moved to "Quitambororozi", which is a reference to (Chito) Murombedzi in Zvimba and no mention is made of Maramuca again. Conceição described Quitambororozi as the place "from where in all those past years came the greatest quantity of gold because the said place is so rich in it that anywhere you dig you find it". Conceição said the *feira* was not far from the headwaters of the Angwa, where Golden Kopje mine – also in the news last week – is located. The Canarins (early Goans) ran this *feira*, which was said to be 3 days journey from Dambarare, the place Dombo chose to attack in November 1693 with complete surprise. The residents of Dambarare and many visiting traders were unable to gain the security of the fort, which was without a garrison anyway. Some collected at the house of the most powerful resident. But all were killed, Portuguese and Indian alike.

The Rozvi went to the church where they disinterred the bones of the dead, and according to Conceição produced a powerful medicine to make them invincible to the Portuguese. They flayed two Dominican friars alive, along with other Portuguese, and displayed the skins at the head of the army as proof of Changamire's power, and further terrorised the Tonga followers of the Portuguese. The Indians at Quitambororozi and Portuguese at the forts further down the Angwa fled down the Zambezi escarpment to the Monomotapa's dzimbabwe near Mahowe. On hearing the news, Pires Saro, the *capitão* in the Monomotapa's fort, considered killing Nyamaende Mhande, but he was



surrounded by too larger bodyguard and the Portuguese opted to fall back to Tete and Sena where their arrival caused great consternation.

For the entire 18th Century (1700s), the Rozvi banned foreigners from the geographical space that is Zimbabwe today. After *mfecane* and the resultant Nguni migrations from South Africa, Zwangendaba smashed the power base of the Rozvi in the mid-1830s, and hunters started to drift into the country again. Henry Hartley, on returning to the Transvaal in 1865, reported having seen ancient workings through much of the country. The German geologist Karl Mauch, who brought knowledge of Great Zimbabwe to the wider world, was in a follow up expedition in 1866-1867 and confirmed the presence of gold. The expectations of a second Witwatersrand spurred on the imperialist ambitions of Cecil Rhodes, who with a Royal Charter, and the Rudd Concession paving the way for mineral exploitation, sent a party of 300 troops northwards to exploit the goldfields of Mashonaland in 1890.

Among the first to peg the ancient workings around Kadoma were Rhodes' right hand man, Dr Leander Starr Jameson, and the settlers' guide, the hunter, Frederick Courtney Selous. Jameson came to the early conclusion (February 1891 when his claims lapsed) that gold prospecting was a sheer waste of his talents and moved onto more profitably ventures. Selous hardly did any better, selling his Good Shepherd claims 16 years later for a paltry £135. Lord Randolph Churchill went through the area in 1891 and was not too complimentary ("the district is infested by the tsetse fly"), and he pronounced: "But the truth has to be told. Mashonaland, so far as is at the present known, is neither an Arcadia nor an El Dorado ... Mr A Beit with his party returned from their examination of the much talked about 'Eiffel' district much disappointed".

What was to become the Cam & Motor Mine was a block of land 5km by 5km, which was surveyed by the chief mining and railway engineer, George Pauling, on Rhodes' instructions. Legislation was such that companies had to pay the BSA Company a 50% tribute. The BSA Company also had significant stakes in all mining companies (since it owned the mining rights, and only sold them to the Southern Rhodesian government in 1933) and before 1903, individuals were not allowed to exploit gold reefs for personal gain; even after 1903 the BSA Co had the right to hold up to 30% of each registered mining claim. After the country had been opened up for the small worker, several sought to peg claims on the Flats field. Among them were Jack Cameron and Arthur Campion, who in partnership pegged several blocks. The Cam came from the first three letters of each name, and this initiated the naming of the other claims based on relevant parts of an internal combustion engine.

RioZim only became involved in 1960 when the mine was nearing the end of its life. Ownership changed several times after Cameron and Campion went their separate ways. In 1909, Lonrho with Julius Weil as chairman, secured an option on the most valuable Flats claims and in September 1910, the Cam & Motor Mining Company was registered and floated on the London market. Knowing its reserves were soon to be exhausted, shareholders were surprised in the late 1950s to learn Rio was interested in acquiring the mine. However, Rio's interest in "the Cam" extended far wider than the mine itself. Since 1954, when Rio Tinto mines in Spain had been nationalised, it had



been exploring in central and southern Africa where it had operated under the name of "Mineral Search Africa" and acquired and evaluated ore bodies that included Empress, Sandawana and Palaborwa in the Eastern Transvaal. The company required a home base and some experienced mine staff. Thus "the Cam" became the home headquarters for such mines as Pickstone, Patchway, Brompton, Empress and Perseverance. It was closed in 1968 when the mine reached a depth of 1 800 metres.

RioZim are now planning put an open cast pit at Eiffel Flats that initially will go down to 100 metres. They've already defined a resource of 10 million tonnes of ore, which should produce around 320 000 ounces of gold. From its knowledge of the ore body, RioZim believe there is another 16 million tonnes of ore at a grade of around 4g/t, which should see another 500,000oz produced. If all goes according to plan, they should be able to produce around 70,000oz or 2 tonnes of gold a year for 12 years, which should take production through to 2025 ... and they could go deeper ... to 200 metres in all 3 ore bodies – the Cam, Motor and Petrol lodes. RioZim's plans, of course, depends on the gold price and costs, but perhaps more so what happens on the political front, which this article should demonstrate remains little changed from centuries previous.

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Old Bulawayo burnt to ashes

Summarised from various Chronicle Reports, August – October 2010

THE capital of King Lobengula, popularly known as Old Bulawayo, was on Monday reduced to ashes after a veld fire erupted about 5 km from the site. Nothing was salvaged from the site, situated about 17 kilometres from Bulawayo, as the fire destroyed all the eight beehive huts, including the king's palace. Also destroyed was the king's kraal, wagon shed, a house built for him by missionaries, and the palisade. A hut built by the Khumalos to perform traditional rituals was also not spared by the fire, as well as a stone laid by President Mugabe in 1993 to commission the reconstruction of the site. However, the ravaging fire did not affect the information centre but destroyed vast tracts of land surrounding the site. In an interview, National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) western region site manager and monuments inspector, Lonke Nyoni, said the fire started about 5km east of the site. "We saw a cloud of smoke a distance from the site. At that time, it had not reached the site. We then drove towards the smoke to investigate what was happening only to discover that the fire was now about a kilometre from the site," said Nyoni. He said they returned to the site and called the fire brigade. "As we waited for the fire brigade, we (him and eight other workers) were fighting the fire but because of the strong winds we failed to



contain it," said Nyoni. "The fire brigade came around midday and when they got to the site, part of the palisade had caught fire. They joined us in trying to put out the fire but it had already spread all over. "Everything was burnt save for the information centre that was officially opened by the late Vice-President Joseph Msika."



King Lobengula and his people built the Ndebele capital in 1870. It was burnt down in 1881 in response to increased threats to his political control by the colonial forces and the mounting onslaught by missionaries who wanted to convert his people against the king's wishes. One of the king's indunas, Magwegwe, led the process of burning down the capital after which Lobengula and his people moved northwards to the present-day State House in Sauerstown, Bulawayo. The idea of restoring King Lobengula's capital was mooted in 1993 in the run-up to Bulawayo's centenary celebrations. But construction only began in July 1997 when a team of experts from Zululand in South Africa visited the country to teach locals how to pitch up behive huts, characteristic of King Lobengula's era.

The Environmental Management Agency (EMA) later slapped the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) with a US\$500 fine over the fire that reduced Old Bulawayo to ashes. The fine was for allegedly failing to put fire pre-suppression measures in and around the property that contravened Statutory Instrument 7 of 2007, Section 15 (1). In an interview, EMA's acting provincial environmental manager for Matabeleland South, Kingston Chitotombe said the agency had noted negligence on the part of NMMZ. "It is their duty as the custodians of the place to ensure that there is a standard nine-metre fireguard around their property during every fire season. The season starts on 31 July and ends on 31 October," he said.

Contacted for comment, NMMZ's director, Dr Godfrey Mahachi said it was still premature for him to say anything. "The matter has not been communicated to me so I cannot comment at the moment," he said.



New Publications on Zimbabweanist Archaeology

Baxter, T. & Mbenene K. 2008. Zimbabwe Hill Settlements in Proceeding Colonialization: A Study in Location Factors. *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 2 (3): 255-270.

This study refutes the argument that the settlements on hills by the Shona of pre-colonial Zimbabwe were primarily determined by the need for defence. The authors argues that environmental, health and agrarian factors were more important determinants to most settlements than defence or incessant wars.

Burrett, R.S. & Hamilton Ritchie, A. 2009. Yellow Jacket Ruin, Chinamora. *Heritage of Zimbabwe 28*: 66-74.

Yellow Jacket Ruin is a small oval structure built on the crest of a low, detached granite kopje overlooking one of the main tributaries of the Pote River. Well-known in older archaeological records, this article describes what is known about the ruin and provides valuable new pictures and previously-unpublished materials about the site.

Fisher, J.L. 2010. *Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles: The decolonisation of white identity in Zimbabwe*. Canberra: The Australian National University E Press.

What did the future hold for Rhodesia's white population at the end of a bloody armed conflict fought against settler colonialism? Would there be a place for them in newly independent Zimbabwe? Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles sets out the terms offered by Robert Mugabe in 1980 to whites who opted to stay in the country they thought of as their home. The book traces over the next two decades their changing relationship with the country when the post-colonial government revised its symbolic and geographical landscape and reworked codes of membership. Particular attention is paid to colonial memories and white interpellation in the official account of the nation's rebirth and indigene discourses, in view of which their attachment to the place shifted and weakened. As the book describes the whites' trajectory from privileged citizens to persons of disputed membership and contested belonging, it provides valuable background information with regard to the land and governance crises that engulfed Zimbabwe at the start of the twenty-first century.

Hattingh, S. & Hall, S. 2009. Shona ethnography and the archaeology of the K2 burials. *Southern African Humanities 21*: 299-326.

The early second-millennium K2 burial collection is the largest recovered from a southern African Iron Age site. Even though most of these came from Gardner's excavations in the 1930s, the quality of the data is good enough to identify some patterns in the way they were interred. The authors' focus is on the juvenile burials, and in particular on the location of these burials in the domestic areas of the settlement and on their orientation. Discussion concentrates on the ritual cooling of pollution stemming from death, and the symbolism of pots in relation to fertility. Despite the focus on ancestral Shona speakers at K2, it is suggested that the patterns and cultural principles identified and discussed occur throughout the southern African Iron Age.



Kritzinger, A. 2010. Gradient and Soil Analysis Identify the Function of Stone-built Tunnels in the Archaeology of the Eastern Highlands, Zimbabwe. *Nyame Akuma 73*: 10-17.

Another controversial paper from Ms. Kritzinger regarding her thesis about gold mining in the eastern highlands. Nothing new to those who followed the debate in this newsletter. The article is sharply critical of genuine archaeological studies on the agricultural terraces.

Russell, T. & Steele, J. 2009. A geo-referenced radiocarbon database for Early Iron Age sites in sub-Saharan Africa: initial analysis. *Southern African Humanities 21*: 327-344.

They report on the compilation of a new geo-referenced database of Early Iron Age dates for the regions associated with the expansion of Bantu-language speaking peoples in sub-Saharan Africa. They use the database as a source of coarse-grained evidence of ecological constraints on site location, and as a source of evidence for large-scale spatial trends in dates for first arrival and subsequent in-filling. It is evident even at this very coarse spatial scale that Early Iron Age sites are not typically found in areas with very low or very high annual rainfall. Early Iron Age sites are preferentially found in locations that provide suitable habitat for growing seed crops of tropical origin such as sorghum. It is not clear that there is any temporal delay differentiating the arrival of the Early Iron Age in the 10°S–20°S band from its arrival in latitudes further to the south, with visibility increasing markedly in both latitudinal bands at about AD 200.

Thorp, C. 2010. Induna Cave, south-eastern Zimbabwe: a 'contact period' assemblage in a changing social landscape. *Southern African Humanities 22*: 113-147.

Excavation of Induna Cave in the south-eastern lowveld of Zimbabwe has established that stone toolusing hunter-gatherers occupied the site until at least the late twelfth century AD. Relatively formal stone artefact assemblages together with ceramics came from two contact-period levels. These assemblages suggest either occupation of the cave by hunter-gatherers using items of material culture acquired from farmers who were living in close proximity to the site, or alternate use of the cave by farmers and huntergatherers. An earlier stone artefact assemblage with few formal tools, and some ceramics, possibly displaced from the contact-period occupation above, may represent either a pre-contact or a contact occupation of the site, which was probably used as a hunting camp and a place for processing ostrich eggshell beads at this time. A small pre-ceramic assemblage shows that the area was occupied by huntergatherers before farmers arrived in the region.

Whitelaw, G. 2009. Tim Maggs and Tom Huffman: an appreciation. *Southern African Humanities 21*: i–iv.

A personal account of working with two of the doyens of Iron Age studies in southern Africa.

Wilmsen, E.N. 2009. Hills and the brilliance of beads: myths and the interpretation of Iron Age sites in southern Africa. *Southern African Humanities* 21: 263-274.

Wilmsen considers origin mythology centred on Polombwe hill in Ulungu at the southern tip of Lake Tanganyika in Zambia and parallel myths concerning the Tsodilo Hills in north-western Botswana. These myths narrate the instituting of social legitimacy in those societies, based on a complex and potentially



unstable resolution of the inherent contradiction between the two concepts of authority and power: lineage and land. He compares Shona Mwari myth recorded by Frobenius as used by Tom Huffman in his analysis of Great Zimbabwe architecture. The prominence of hilltops as the residence of paranormal power and the association of this power with human authority is examined and related to archaeological interpretation of the Iron Age sites of Great Zimbabwe, Mapungubwe, Bosutswe (eastern Botswana), and Nqoma in the Tsodilo Hills.

Wriston, T. & Haynes, G. 2009. Preliminary Results of Archaeological Excavations in Impala and Ngabaa Rockshelters, Hwange National Park, Zimbabwe. *Nyame Akuma 72*: 61-66.

A preliminary report on the exciting new excavations in Impala and Ngabaa Shelters in Hwange National Park that have proven fruitful. They form part of an ongoing study of prehistoric landscape use and paleoenvironmental conditions in Hwange during the past 250,000 years. Late Stone Age occupations during the late Holocene (specifically between 3,000 and 3610 BP). These are represented by a dense artefact assemblage, charcoal ash features, and food debris. Iron Age materials (e.g. ceramics) are also present but generally limited to near-surface contexts.

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