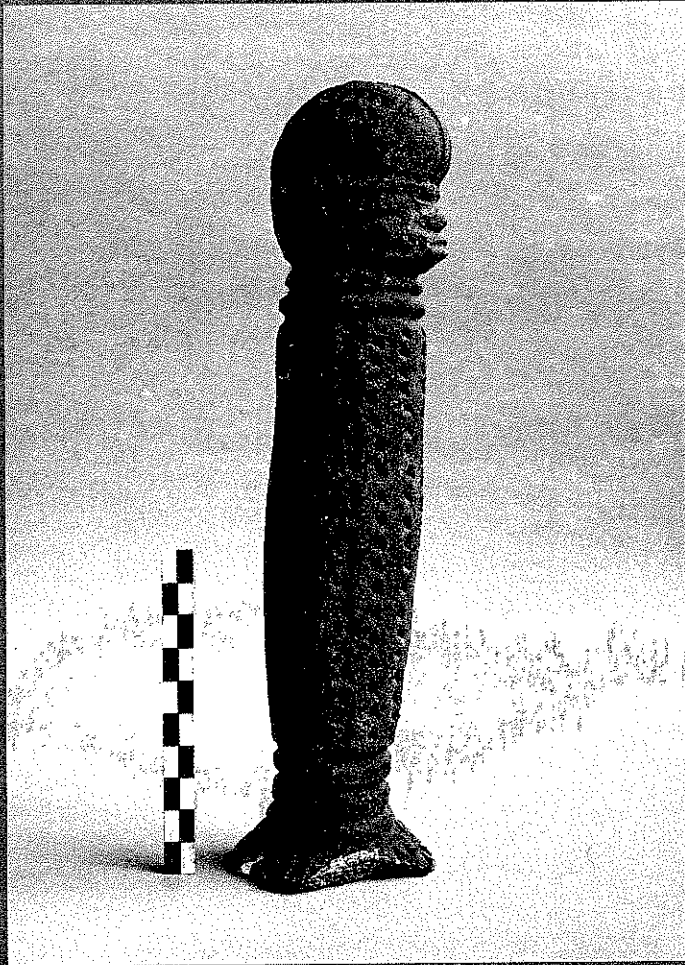


Studies in African Archaeology



Archaeological Figurines
from Zimbabwe

Davidson Scott

Studies in African Archaeology 5

Archaeological figurines from Zimbabwe

by

Edward Matenga



Uppsala University, Sweden

Queen Victoria Museum, Zimbabwe



Thesis produced in partial fulfillment of the Fil. lic. degree in Archaeology,
Uppsala University, Department of Archaeology.

ABSTRACT

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Archaeological figurines from Zimbabwe were made from the 3rd to the 19th century AD. Most figurines are found at residential sites dating from c. 900–1500 AD. During this period new political and economic developments led to the emergence of the later iron-using farming communities and culminated in the rise of the Zimbabwe state system. The art was rendered mostly in baked clay, with a few figurines in sculptured soapstone. A wide range of subjects are portrayed with human and animal figurines accounting for most specimens. Styles are varied and the 'non-representational' specimens present remarkable artistic originality. The manufacture of figurines was probably connected with a conception of fertility which among the Shona today apparently exists only as a 'folk model' rather than an actual cult or rite.

Keywords: archaeological figurines, farming communities, fertility, Zimbabwe, Shona.

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Cover: Pedestal human figurine, unknown site, Guruve district,
northern Mashonaland (see also Fig. 17).

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I think that much more theoretical and technical knowledge in many fields of archaeology were gained during the course of preparing this paper than may be actually reflected by it. I am most indebted to Professor Bo Gräslund and Associate Professor Paul Sinclair of the Department of Archaeology, Uppsala University for their supervisory work. Associate Professor Paul Sinclair has a remarkable field experience with Zimbabwean archaeology and it is worth mentioning that he excavated and published one of the largest figurine assemblages (Chivowa Hill), which in the existing state of data on archaeological figurines is extremely valuable for chronological reconstruction. Dr. Anders Lindahl, Lund University, Sweden, also read my draft during his field work in Zimbabwe and pointed out some flaws in my conclusions in an early version. Following suggestions by Docent Hans-Åke Nordström from The Museum of National Antiquities (Stockholm) I re-defined the status of a number of specimens of human figurines which account for most of what has been provisionally classified as 'unique'.

The decision to examine archaeological figurines from Zimbabwe was undertaken following discussions with Dr. David Collett and his wife Joan Knowles. While the chronological importance of figurines was quite clear I was reluctant to discuss their cultural meaning. Even after an attempt to do so I must confess that I have little experience with cultural anthropology. My discussions on this subject with Joan Knowles and the literature she recommended were useful in making me appreciate that there were no easy answers in this field.

For this reason I worked through Chapter 6 with much hesitation. I owe much of the final shape of it to Professor Anita Jacobson-Widding of the Department of Cultural Anthropology at Uppsala University. Professor Jacobson-Widding has spent more than eighteen months of field work in Zimbabwe. Her knowledge of Shona cosmology and world view in her own

literary work and literary sources by other authors form the basis of interpretations in Chapter 6.

I feel honoured to have had a chance to discuss my dissertation with Professor Peter Ucko of the University of Southampton whose PhD thesis was on archaeological figurines from Egypt and Crete. I am grateful to staff at the Museum of Mankind, London, especially to the Keeper, Dr. John Mack, for allowing me to examine Randall-MacIver's figurine collection from the Mutare Altar site.

Primary research on archaeological figurines was carried out in Zimbabwe. I would like to pay thanks to my initial supervisors, Gilbert Pwiti and Robert Soper of the University of Zimbabwe for reading through several of my draft papers. During the analysis of the figurine collections I was assisted by Dr Godfrey Mahachi who was more familiar with the museum stores as well as national archaeological survey records. Most of the illustrations in Chapter 3 were done by T. Handiseni, display artist with the Queen Victoria Museum, Harare.

Thanks are due to Elizabeth Green for proof-reading the text and Christina Bendegard for the layout and arrangement of the text for publication. Finally thanks to many friends and colleagues at the Queen Victoria Museum, Harare, and in Uppsala whom I have known and worked with during the course of my studies.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Figurines are three dimensional miniature representations of human beings and animals. In this thesis, however, this term is also used to cover a wide range of unidentified objects of similar size and fabric (clay, stone, ivory and wood) as the human and animal figurines and often found in same locations and similar context. Occasionally the terms 'figure', or 'emblem' are used to convey the same meaning. One thousand one hundred and eighty (1180) figurines will be dealt with in this thesis. These were obtained from archaeological sites spanning a period of more than one and a half millennia from around 200 to 1900 AD. More than 200 sites are known, a majority of these recoveries having been made at residential settlements. In very few instances figurines have been recovered from burials (Robinson 1959, p. 37; Goodall 1960, pp. 448, 450; Sinclair 1985, 1991) and isolated caches (Goodall 1960). Regrettably site details were not recorded at the time of collection of a number of interesting specimens.

The usual means of recovery was surface collection, but the largest collections are sub-surface finds by controlled or uncontrolled excavations (eg. Randall-MacIver 1906; Robinson 1961b; Huffman 1974a; Sinclair 1987; Soper & Pwiti 1988). Few archaeological publications, however, have described figurines in any substantial detail (see Schofield 1948; Summers 1957; Goodall 1960; Huffman 1974a; Sinclair 1987).

This thesis attempts to systematically compile existing evidence into a single body of information on Zimbabwe's archaeological figurines. A classification of all the figurines will be attempted to isolate possible reference types which can be used to identify future similar finds and to reconstruct the chronological development of the art. Then an attempt will be made to establish the possible cultural meanings of archaeological figurines, by making reference to Shona world view as known today and in the recent past. The suggestions which will be put forward in this thesis are open-ended. Archaeological figurines and Shona cosmological beliefs seem to have a large area of convergence on the theme of procreation, fertility and marriage. We shall see that most figurines depict a fertile woman while others have a phallic appearance. I will examine Shona ethnography and oral traditions for possible clues about the origin and use of figurines. Shona traditions are at best vague about figurines (cf Aschwanden 1982; Robinson 1988, see Chapter 6). The Shona do not make or use figurines today. Yet

there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to believe that archaeological figurines dating from about 1000 AD were made by the Shona (Chapter 6). I will tentatively conclude that the manufacture and use of figurines may not have been connected to an institution. This may explain why they are not recalled in oral traditions. Figurines embody an expression, even if this is difficult to ascertain. In my opinion the Shona conception of fertility and procreation was probably an urge behind the making of certain types of human and animal figurines although I cannot account for other specimens. Fertility and procreation may be symbolically enacted in several human activities of the Shona today, although this does not imply a cultural obsession with sex. Nor do the Shona imagine all facets of life to be fertility or procreation theatres. It is not my intention to discuss in detail Shona attitudes to sex, but it should be pointed out that in day-to-day life this subject is largely proscribed. The prime object of marriage among the Shona is procreation. We shall see in Chapter 6 that for a Shona girl, chastity at the time of betrothal is a virtue though it is not necessarily a prerequisite.

Overview

This chapter, by way of definition, introduces archaeological figurines to the reader. It will follow the history of research on figurines from the end of the 19th century and examine the points of view that have been held about figurines. Chapter 1 will also show that archaeological figurines are not peculiar to Zimbabwe but have been reported in most countries of southern Africa including Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and South Africa. It will be shown that there is lack of comprehensive description of archaeological figurines from Zimbabwe to match the body of empirical evidence.

Chapter 2 outlines the aims of this paper and presents the methods of classification which have been used here. A previous classification of human figurines by Summers (1957) will be described. I will show that this early classification was somewhat impressionistic, and instead attempt here to use criteria which, in my opinion, are as objective as possible. An empirical classification has been chosen so that it can stand as a reference for use by museum curators and field archaeologists to catalogue similar finds. I am aware however that flexibility is necessary when dealing with material of this nature.

Chapter 3 deals with the classification of figurines. All types of archaeological figurines in National Museum's collections are described, taking note of their physical attributes, the quantities of figurines and the site of their recovery. At the end of Chapter 3 I suggest other less rigorous ways of looking at the figurines taking into account the fact that the communities who made these

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I have devoted Chapter 4 to describing some of the sites of recovery of these figurines and have chosen the more important assemblages such as those from Great Zimbabwe, the Mutare Altar site and Everton Farm.

In Chapter 5 I analyse the figurines with a view to interpret the spatial and chronological development of the figurine art.

Chapter 6 deals with the question of the possible meaning of archaeological figurines to the people who made and used them. I will describe archaeological figurines in the context of Shona conception of marriage, procreation and fertility.

Previous work on archaeological figurines from Zimbabwe

The earliest mention of archaeological figurines in Zimbabwe was made by Bent (1896) in connection with his excavations at Great Zimbabwe in 1891. Since then, twenty or more publications have described or mentioned them. Most often figurines were described in the context of site reporting and these reports did not elaborate on their meaning and research significance. Only Schofield (1948), Summers (1957) and Goodall (1960) attempted to do this.

Bent and Hall (1905) described soapstone figurines from the Hill and Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe, especially the larger bird emblems which they thought reflected Phoenician and Middle Eastern influence on the Great Zimbabwe culture (Bent 1896, pp. 179-200; Hall 1905). Two diminutive birds were also said to be among Bent's collection of smaller objects. The following were his impression of the small birds:

The religious symbolism of these birds is further attested by our finding two tiny representations of the larger emblems; they too represented birds on pillars, the longest of which is only three and half inches, and it is perched on the pillar more as the bird is represented in the zodiac of Denderah.

(Bent 1896, pp. 186-7)

As early as Bent's and Hall's research on the zimbabwe ruins the potential significance of figurines in explaining culture history was realized. It was unfortunate in this case that the soapstone birds and the small birds were being used to credit dubious origins of the zimbabwe ruins.

In 1905 a cache of 150 figurines, mostly soapstone (136) but including clay specimens was discovered by a miner, Mr. Andrews, at a zimbabwe near Mutare (Mutare Altar site), near the border to Mozambique. The archaeologist Randall-MacIver examined this collection and the site of its recovery in 1905 and briefly described it in his book *Medieval Rhodesia* (1906, p. 36).

The figurines were smoke-blackened which led Randall-MacIver to conclude that the site was a ritual altar.

Research went beyond description of these relics when Schofield (1948) attempted to consider archaeological figurines within an overall reconstruction of the cultural sequence from the Late Stone Age to historical times in Zimbabwe. Schofield postulated a chronological development of the cultures of iron-using farming communities (IUFC) based on the typological classification of ceramic vessels. Schofield's work is important for this study since for the first time figurines were put in a tentative archaeological time framework. Thus he observed that figurines from Three Skids Claim, northern Mashonaland, were decorated with strung bead impressions as on class R1 pottery, which was later renamed Stamped Ware pottery. Initially this was thought to characterize pottery traditions of the Early Iron Age now referred to as early farming communities (EFC). Since bead impressions are now known to persist into pottery traditions attributed to later iron-using farming communities (LFC) Schofield's associations can no longer be upheld, but for the first time figurines and vessel types had been correlated.

About ten years later, Summers (1957) divided all human figurines which were known then into three classes, namely:

Class 1: Stylized figures without bases

Class 2: Stylized figures with bases

Class 3: Naturalistic figures

The classification of human figurines is indeed fundamental to this study since human figurines are the most numerous. Furthermore with human and animal figurines we deal with a known subject. It is therefore possible to assess the variable factor of stylization. I do not agree with Summers' use of the term 'stylized'. One certainly would not be able to visualize what he meant by 'stylized' figurines 'without bases' unless they were immediately available. Furthermore his designation of these figurines as 'naturalistic' is subjective. In my opinion these figurines are, so far as is known, the most realistically portrayed archaeological specimens yet recovered. I have, therefore, decided to drop Summers' terminology in my primary classification in favour of one which reflects the presence or absence of anatomical attributes thus avoiding our own artistic or aesthetic values (see Chapter 3).

Summers described the figurines in some detail and discussed their associations, chronology, and possible function. He also correlated pottery traditions with figurines and his results were as follows: Class 1 figurines were mostly found at Leopard's Kopje sites, Class 3 was associated with R1 (EFC) pottery, while Class 2 occurred at Zimbabwe sites. Summers dealt with a sample of 220 figurines from thirty sites throughout the country

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(Summers 1957, pp. 70-1). However he considered only human figurines to the exclusion of other subjects such as domestic and wild animals.

In 1960 Goodall described figurines from Everton and Atherstone Farms in northern Mashonaland. The Everton Farm collection, with 144 figurine pieces, is the largest figurine assemblage in the care of the Queen Victoria Museum in Harare. The human figurines fall into Summer's Classes 2 and 3 of stylised human figurines with bases and naturalistic representations respectively. Class 2 was further broken down into 6 divisions: Division A with one example (Fig. 7 No 112); B, with about 12 specimens consists of the 'head and pillar type' without limbs such as No 104*; C, described as 'chubby little figures, with stumpy, abbreviated arms, . . .' and a cranial ridge such as No 83*; D, comprising 'semi-anthropomorphic' heads (eg Fig. 15 No 87); E consisting of figures with arms (eg. No 91)* and F, with external genitalia marked, eg. Fig. 11 No 80 (Goodall 1960, p. 443) (*not illustrated). Goodall (1960) also described the large complement of wild animal figurines from Everton Farm and miscellaneous figurines from Atherstone Farm. Goodall's article falls short however of a detailed description and comprehensive classification of these finds.

Most figurine sites were discovered in the 1960's and 70's, yet this is hardly noticeable in contemporary archaeological literature. Mention must however be made of Huffman's excavations at Leopard's Kopje in 1969, in which more than a hundred figurines were recovered and Huffman subsequently described and illustrated a number of the figurines in Museum Memoir, No 6 (Huffman 1974a). More than 80 figurines were obtained at Chivowa Hill in excavations conducted by Sinclair in 1976 (Sinclair 1985, 1987). The latest contribution to our understanding of figurines from Zimbabwe was made by the late K. R. Robinson (1988) who examined human figurines with clothing from around Bulawayo and discussed the implications. He postulated long-distance commodity exchange involving cloth. He also observed a correlation between LFC Woolandale ceramics and these figurines, and discussed the possibilities regarding their use with reference to ethnological observations (Robinson 1988, p. 49-52).

In all the major works outlined above the possible functions of the archaeological figurines were discussed. One view was that the Zimbabwe birds excepted, figurines were children's play things and as a corollary they should not be taken seriously; the contrary view is that they were used in some religious or social ritual related with puberty, initiation, marriage or agricultural fertility (Schofield 1948; Summers 1957; Goodall 1960; Robinson 1988). This subject will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

Archaeological figurines from other parts of southern Africa

While specific facts and figures can only be furnished in a few instances, archaeological figurines may have a much wider distribution in southern Africa than is usually realized, as they have been reported in Zambia, Botswana and South Africa. It is necessary to describe some of the finds here. One of the most unusual collections of figurines comes from Lydenburg in eastern Transvaal, South Africa, where mask-like terra cotta heads and potsherds representing at least 2 large and 5 smaller specimens were found scattered over a wide area on the slope of a river valley in 1956 or 1957 by a school boy who made his finds known in 1962 (Inskeep & Maggs 1975). The site was excavated and examined between 1974 and 1978. The heads have been summarily described as resembling 'elongate bag-shaped pots inverted so that the mouth of the pot becomes the base . . .' (Inskeep & Maggs 1975, p. 125).

The main features of the head such as eyes, ears, nose and mouth are portrayed in applied clay. In at least two cases the heads are surmounted by animal figurines. The main elements of decoration are a temporo-frontal bar following the position of the hair line; a band of applied clay studs behind and following the frontal bar; and areas of incised hatching in temporal and parietal positions; notched ridges on the face and parallel bands of oblique incised lines on the neck base (Inskeep & Maggs 1975). Excavations at the site yielded substantial household material including beads, metal objects, and sherds which belong to the heads (Evers 1982). These investigations revealed that the heads may have been deposited in a pit together with bone lozenges (Evers 1982, pp. 18, 29-30). The heads site is an EFC Lydenburg site dated to the 5th century: 540 ± 50 AD (Pta-1634), 490 ± 50 AD (Pta-328) (uncalibrated) (Evers 1982, p. 17). Fragments of similar heads have been recovered from two other sites in South Africa (Evers 1982, p. 30). The purpose for which the heads were intended is as much a subject of speculation as the figurines from Zimbabwe.

At the confluence of the Limpopo and the Shashi Rivers, the boundaries of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana, meet. Here too are located close to each other Bamabdyanalo, Mapungubwe and Schroda, three IJFC sites in South Africa, which all have yielded significant quantities of figurines.

The largest single recovery of figurines so far made in southern Africa is an assemblage of over 2000 pieces from Schroda. Schroda is an EFC Zhizo site situated on a rocky plateau overlooking the Limpopo, a few kilometres east of Mapungubwe. Signs of residential occupation are spread over an area of 500 m x 300 m. Apart from figurines, excavations recovered c. 100,000

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potsherds, hut debris, slag and animal bones. Most figurines were spread across the site, but 81 pieces had been cached in clusters 40 to 50 cm below the surface. They had apparently been broken prior to burial. One cluster was covered by a broken pot. There were a number of human figurines with arms described as 'rudimentary bulges', with enlarged buttocks and faces usually with lines, and a few specimens with body scarification marks. A significant proportion of the identifiable specimens (34) were birds; 25 specimens represented several wild animal species; humans and domestic animals were also present (Hanisch 1981, pp. 43-4).

Two kilometres south-west of Mapungubwe is the site of Bambadyanalo (also called K2) where 86 figurines were obtained in excavations between 1935 and 1939. These included at least 26 'steatopygous' humans with the head 'never truly represented' (cf Category 1 Sub-class class 1b below), a hippopotamus and various items described as 'phalli', 'stoppers' and 'artificial penes' (Gardner 1963, p. 36).

Mapungubwe consists of a rough set of walls on top of a small isolated sandstone-capped plateau with precipitous edges. This hill top settlement was therefore difficult to access, and approach was limited to three natural ascents (Fouche 1937). Here several burials were located, some of which were excavated, yielding gold and other metal ornaments. Clay figurines were obtained in all excavations conducted at Mapungubwe (Voigt 1983, p. 123). Gardner obtained 18 human figurines of which one was steatopygic (cf. Category 1 Sub-class 1b). Eighty-one animal figurines were recovered of which 35 were identifiable to species level with 27 cattle, 3 goats, 2 sheep, a springhare, a giraffe and a hippopotamus. Six cattle figurines from Mapungubwe had humps and we shall see that a number of cattle figurines from Zimbabwe also carry humps (Category 2, Chapter 3). Nine figurines had udders which clearly indicates that they were female. The giraffe was obtained from excavations by Schofield (Fouche 1937), The hippo, which had green beads for eyes, was obtained in Gardner's excavations (Gardner 1963, p. 100). Two figurines from Everton Farm (Zimbabwe) have been identified as hippopotamus (Category 3, Chapter 3). The springhare came from Meyer's excavations (Voigt 1983, pp. 128-9). A rhinoceros figurine made of gold foil which covered a wooden core was found by Schofield during excavations in 1934 (Fouche 1937, p. 2).

Schroda is an EFC Zhizo site while Bambadyanalo and Mapungubwe are the type sites for the LFC Leopard's Kopje tradition. Mapungubwe is thought to have developed a little later than Bambadyanalo and reflects the socio-economic transformation which culminated in the Great Zimbabwe tradition (Huffman 1982). Both traditions occur in Zimbabwe (Huffman 1978a).

Little is known about the distribution of prehistoric figurines in Botswana. However Frobenius found two pottery birds at the base of a wall at the Vukwe Ruins in the Tati area just inside Botswana. These birds resemble the Zimbabwe birds in style and appear to have been propped on poles as they have holes on the ventral aspect (Schofield 1948, p. 119; Wieschoff 1941, p. 70).

Not much has been published about prehistoric figurines in Zambia. Seven figurines (two of which according to illustrations could be broken human Class 1b) were found during excavations at Ingombe Ilede on the Zambezi near Chirundu (Fagan 1967, pp. 140-1). According to Chaplin one of them, part of a human figurine, was discovered from a burial (Chaplin 1960, Fig. 2) but the text leaves the exact context uncertain. This is one of several burials located close together, which yielded large amounts of grave goods including gold and glass beads, copper crosses, iron and copper bangles. Ingombe Ilede is the type site for the Ingombe Ilede tradition (14th-15th centuries) which extends well into north-west Zimbabwe (Garlake 1970). Figurines have also been noted from three more sites in southern Zambia (Fagan 1967, p. 141).

Conclusion

Examples will later be cited about the manufacture and use of figurines in Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and South Africa in the early 20th century. Figurines were used in *rites de passage* by some communities in these countries on occasions of birth, puberty, marriage or entry into special societies. Modern figurine art stocked by the National Art Gallery of Zimbabwe and other private donors and promoters has been largely influenced by commercial stimuli. The conceptual base however may be traced back into the pre-industrial past, with inputs by immigrant populations from Malawi and Mozambique. It is necessary therefore to investigate the time depth and evolution of the figurine art from Zimbabwe along with its socio-cultural context.

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Chapter 2

Aims and methods

Classification

The aim of this classification is to establish a basic framework for cataloguing all figurines available, a framework which can be used as a reference for future finds. As I mentioned in Chapter 1 the total sample comprises 1180 figurines from 124 sites.

Summers' classification of human figurines is until now, the best attempt to classify and describe archaeological figurines in our collections. Summers dealt only with human figurines and identified three classes:

Class 1: Stylized figures without bases

Class 2: Stylized figures with bases

Class 3: Naturalistic figures

This classification is somewhat impressionistic in the application of the terms 'stylized' and 'naturalistic'. On examining the supposed 'naturalistic' figurines, for instance, it was realized that in fact they were only more realistically portrayed relative to other human representations. I have, therefore, decided to drop this terminology in my primary classification in favour of grouping them according to the presence or absence of anatomical attributes. In this thesis I also go further than Summers (1957) in classifying and describing all types of figurines. I realize however that the interpretation of archaeological figurines for the moment depends more on human (and to a lesser extent, animal) figurines.

With minor modifications I have used an approach used in zoological classifications. Thus all classes of figurines are linked in a 'genealogical tree' which recognizes differentiation but assumes an ultimate relationship between all specimens (see Figs 1 and 13). The first order of differentiation is the category (numbered 1-5). Each category is divided into classes which have also been given numeric notations. Sub-classes have been given an alphabetical notation. Below the sub-class Roman numerals were used but elaboration below the level of class applied only to human figurines.

All figurines were put together and considered on the basis of their physical attributes regardless of where they came from or their suspected antiquity. Subject and shape were the primary criteria on the basis of which the following primary categories were recognizable, with Category 5 repre-

senting a miscellany of objects which could not be likened to anything known:

Category 1: Human figurines

Category 2: Domestic animals

Category 3: Wild animals

Category 4: Fungi

Category 5: Unidentified figurines

Category 1 was subsequently sub-divided into classes and sub-classes based on the presence or absence of certain traits such as head, eyes, ears, nose, mouth, neck, arms, buttocks, legs, feet, navel, pubic triangle, vulva, penis, testis, scarification, ornamentation and dress. The attribute list was computerized noting the presence or absence of the expected range of attributes.

Summers' Class 1 and 3 become related subdivisions of Class 1 and are respectively designated:

Category 1 Sub-class 1a: Figurines with legs and arms.

Category 1 Sub-class 1b: Figurines with legs and without arms.

Summers's Class 2 has been subdivided into:

Category 1 Sub-class 2a: Figurines without legs but with arms.

Category 1 Sub-class 2b: Figurines without legs and without arms.

Category 2: Domestic animals were identified to their apparent species which were designated classes.

Category 3: Wild animals were divided into families such as mammals, reptiles, birds and frogs (each of which became a class) under which species were described.

Category 4 consists of one subject: Mushroom.

Category 5 (unidentified figurines) have mostly been described under the sites from which they were obtained.

The majority of the figurines are available in the Queen Victoria Museum's collections in Harare. I was also fortunate to be able to examine Randall-MacIver's collection from the Mutare Altar site in the Museum of Mankind, London. Some figurines which were not available but mentioned and illustrated in publications have been considered on the basis of their photographs or drawings, although in some of these cases the presence or absence of certain attributes could not be ascertained. Figurines from a number of sites were so fragmented that meaningful classification was not possible.

In a few cases figurines were recorded as having been collected, but they could not be located; these have been excluded from the analysis although

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they contribute to the total count. Site reports mention figurines as having been noted at 91 more sites and if collections were made at all, they have not reached the museum.

Chronological application

I mentioned earlier that this thesis will explore chronological and spatial trends of the figurine art and if possible establish a time framework complementary to the current one based on pottery vessels. Thus discontinuities in figurine styles, if they exist, will be noted to see if they correspond with breaks in the ceramic sequence. The potential use of figurines as an independent check for the validity of the individual pottery traditions of the iron using Farming Communities will therefore be assessed (see Chapter 5).

Economic information

Domestic animal figurines (cattle, sheep and goats) form a significant proportion of the figurine collections. Despite the economic value of domestic animals and some of the wild animals portrayed, there is nothing whatsoever to suggest that the interest in modelling animals had anything directly to do with their economic value as sources of meat and skins. The presence of clothing and ornamentation on some human figurines may have some implications on the wealth and social status of the individuals which they adorn (see Chapter 6).

Cultural meanings of archaeological figurines

In order to approach the cultural meanings of archaeological figurines, I have tried to use methods borrowed from cultural anthropology. The assumption has been that some of the basic ideas in Shona religion and philosophy have had certain continuity over the centuries. Part of the reason for this assumption is that the figurines, as well as the shape of stone structures and iron smelting furnaces found in various parts of the Shona area, manifest common features, whether created in the 14th, 15th, or 16th century. Thus since we can see a continuity of forms and shapes over the centuries we also have reason to assume a certain continuity of meanings of these forms. Ideas connected to sacred chieftaincy at Shona royal courts as reported in Portuguese documents of the 16th and 17th centuries correspond with the more recent anthropological investigations (Jacobson-Widding 1992). The ideology of fertility seems to have buttressed the ideology of sacred chieftaincy over the centuries.

For these reasons, I have tried to approach the interpretations of archaeological figurines in the light of the philosophy of life which has been reported by ethnographers and anthropologists working among the Shona during the 20th century. I have tried to examine them in the context of traditional fertility folk model of which we may still note some traces in the rural areas of Zimbabwe.

In addition to ethnographic reports, I have also used my own knowledge as a *muShona*. Thus for instance, concerning the ideas connected to cattle as a crucial factor in the creation of fatherhood I have borrowed from my own cultural experience as a member of this group.

In this way, I have approached the interpretation of figurines by placing them in a cultural and ideological context which today still affects ideas about fertility. Yet I am fully aware that this approach is only possible when one can show a continuity of symbolic forms and shapes of artifacts and structures over a long period of time, and when one has access to literary sources from periods in between the dates of archaeological finds and the time when contemporary ethnography has been written. Thus an interpretation assuming continuity over the centuries would have been difficult to defend if there had not been Portuguese sources to cover the periods in between.

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Chapter 3

The classification and description of archaeological figurines

Introduction

The archaeological figurine art of Zimbabwe presents a wide range of subjects. In a large number of cases breakage makes it difficult to tell which objects are represented, and even some complete figures cannot be likened to anything that we know today. All figurines present some degree of stylization. Nevertheless it is possible to delineate classes.

Clay, stone, ivory and, in one doubtful archaeological instance, wooden figurines have been found in archaeological contexts. Clay mixed with water is plastic and thus is used for modelling a variety of functional and non-functional objects. A vast majority of the figurines are made of clay. All clay figurines were hand-modelled, decorated and then fired to varying degrees of oxidation. Except in a very few cases there seems to have been no attempt at a glossy finish such as is achieved in some ceramic vessels.

All stone and the few ivory figurines were sculptured. Soapstone is available by quarrying in many parts of Zimbabwe. Archaeological figurines of wood and fibre have not been encountered, although the Queen Victoria Museum in Harare have some in their ethnographic collections which were made in this century. Archaeological material in wood or fibre could not have endured long periods of exposure to tropical environmental conditions.

Decoration on clay models was achieved mostly by making impressions into the wet clay. The techniques of decoration used were incision, punching holes and stamping. In many cases incised markings and other applied features represent specific anatomical features and body decoration. For example applied clay strips and pellets were stuck to the finished human figures to indicate body adornment and costume. On the strength of Mauch's observation (Burke 1969) more than a century ago, punctate markings on Cat. 1 Class 1b are likely to represent tattoos, while the applied tiny lumps of clay denote elevated scarifications. Tattoos result from deliberate pigmentation of the skin while scarifications involve limited physical damage to the skin. Decoration patterns on soapstone and ivory figurines were engraved. There is one doubtful instance of colouring (No 815)*. Both tattooing (or cicatrization) and scarification usually follow predesigned or conventional

patterns. In some cases markings may have been just decorative or aesthetic depending on the imagination of the practitioners. Colours range from black through grey and brown to red and seem to be determined by varying degrees of the composition of the clay and the degree of oxidation during firing. All clay figurines, except three from a burial in Marondera, were fired.

On a primary level a distinction may be drawn between figurines which represent identifiable things and those that are 'non-representational'. Thus a human figurine (eg. Fig. 1) would fit into the first category while Fig. 27 No 260, for example, would fall into the second category.

As has been stated in Chapter 2 a classification comprising five main categories has been established:

Category 1: Human figurines and human genitalia

Category 2: Domestic animals

Category 3: Wild animals

Category 4: Fungi

Category 5: Unidentified objects.

The main classification of figurines, which is followed by a description of their physical attributes, uses, as far as possible, empirical criteria.

Category 1: Human figurines

Six hundred and eighteen figurines representing humans were available for classification. The primary criterion was the presence or absence of legs. Two major classes were obtained. These are:

Cat. 1 Class 1: Human figurines with legs

Cat. 1 Class 2: Human figurines without legs.

Two subdivisions were recognised in each of Classes 1 and 2 from the presence or absence arms:

Cat. 1 Sub-class 1a: Human figurines with legs and with arms

Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b: Human figurines with legs and without arms

Cat. 1 Sub-class 2a: Human figurines without legs and with arms

Cat. 1 Sub-class 2b: Human figurines without legs and without arms.

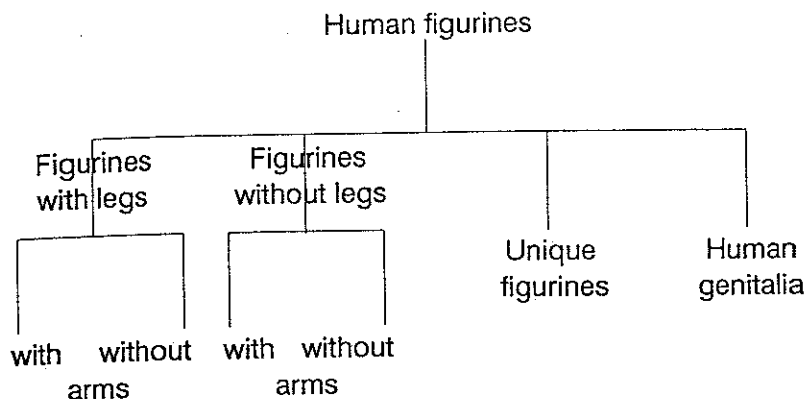
On further examination I found that not all figurines fit into Classes 1 and 2. Thus a third and fourth class have been proposed:

Cat. 1 Class 3: Unique figurines

Cat. 1 Class 4: Human genitalia.

t decorative or aesthetic colours range from black lined by varying degrees of oxidation during firing. All were fired. between figurines which are 'representational'. Thus a category while Fig. 27 No y. n comprising five main

Table 1. The basic classification of human figurines.



Category 1 Class 1: Human figurines with legs

There are 260 figurines with legs of which 89 are broken and undiagnostic for arms.

Category 1 Sub-class 1a: Human figurines with legs and with arms

(39) – 34 soapstone, 1 ivory, 4 clay. 4 sites (Table 2, Figs 1–3, Plate 1 Nos 920, 940, 941, 943).

The soapstone figurines from the Mutare Altar site basically look alike (Plate 1): a rounded, rather flattened head, eyes usually shallow rounded holes dug at the bottom of a circular depression representing the face, breached from the upper side by a nasal ridge portraying a straight nose. Arms are carved in relief along the trunk, occasionally showing the elbows

Table 2. Category 1 Sub-class 1a: Human figurines with legs and arms, distribution by site.

Site	Locality	Tradition	Clay	Stone	Ivory
Everton Farm	N	?	1 (4)*		
Three Skids Claims	N	?	3 (4)		
Kahmi Ruins	SW	LFC ZKh			1
Mutare Altar Site	E	LFC Zim		34	

Abbreviations: N – North, SW – South-west, E – East, LFC – Later iron-using farming communities, ZKh – Zimbabwe tradition Khami phase. * Figures in brackets denote quantities of broken figurines in the respective categories.



Fig. 1. Cat. 1 Sub-class 1a: Human figurines with legs and arms. No 75, ht 20.5 cm, Everton Farm, Centenary, northern Mashonaland.

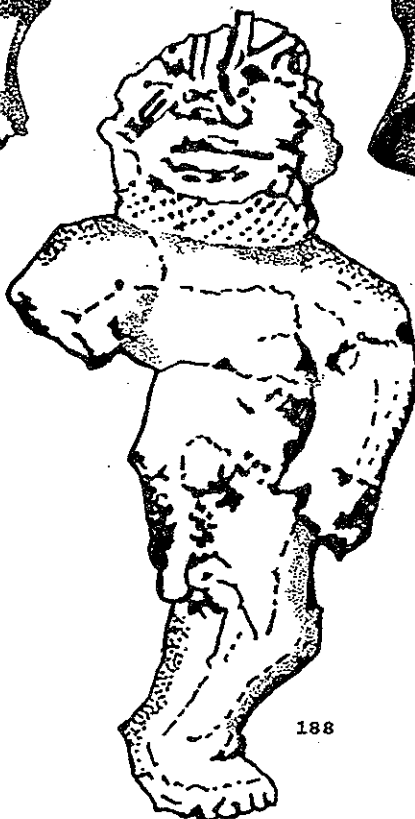
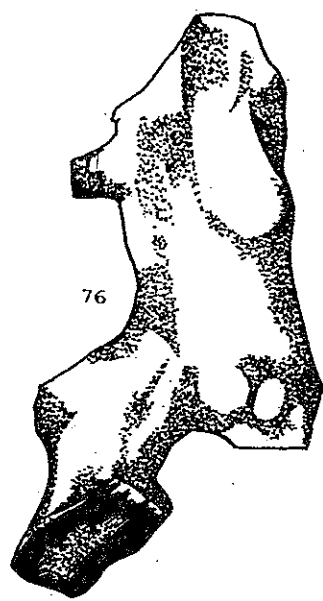
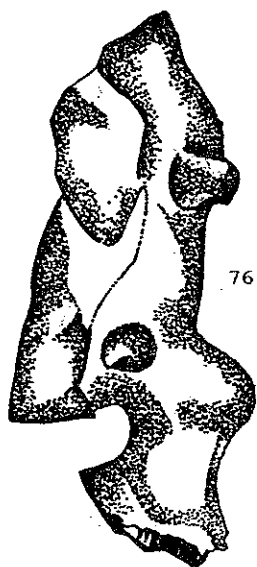


Fig. 2. Cat. 1 Sub-class 1a: Human figurines with legs and arms. No 76, ht 15.0 cm, Everton Farm, northern Mashonaland. No 188, 21.0 cm, Three Skids Claim, Shamva, northern Mashonaland.

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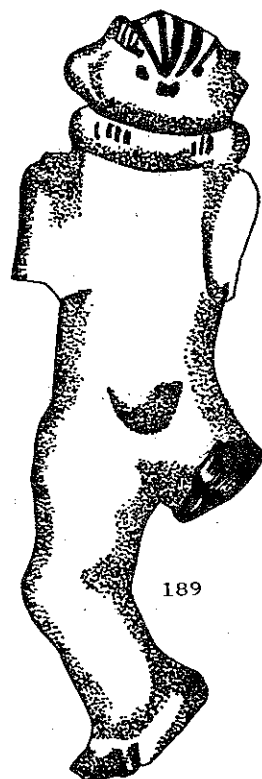
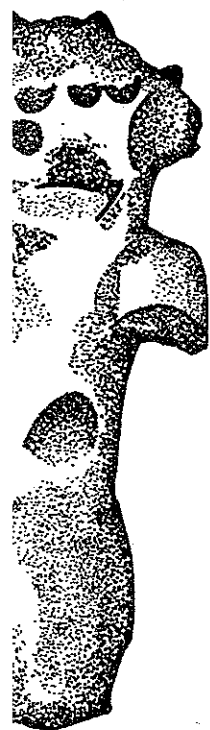


Fig. 3. Cat. 1 Sub-class 1a: Human figurines with legs and arms. No 189, ht 20.0 cm; No 190, ht 16.3 cm, both from Three Skids Claim, Shamva, northern Mashonaland.



190

and arms. No 189, ht 20.0 cm;
va, northern Mashonaland.



Plate 1. Cat. 1 Sub-class 1a: Human figurines with legs and arms. Nos 920, 940 ,
941, 943 from the Mutare Altar site. Randall-MacIver's figurine collection in the
Museum of Mankind, London. Photo: British Museum.

but invariably without hands. A majority (31) have an incised line running down the back to represent the spinal column groove. Buttocks are depicted in normal proportion. Legs are simplified, in many cases they are just stumps and rarely rounded knobs, and in one case feet without toes are shown.

The ivory figurine* from Khami Ruins has all basic human facial attributes: eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and goes a little further than most human figurines to show fingers and toes. This figure has a groove running down the centre of the back. It is squatting on a pillar which is hollowed at the bottom.

It has a foetal appearance and no obvious sexual attributes (* indicates that the cited specimens have not been illustrated).

One of the clay figurines from Three Skids Claim (Fig. 2 No 188) provides the most detailed portrayal of human physical features: head with hair, eyes, ears, nose and mouth; arms with palms and legs with feet and toes. No 75 from Everton Farm has a disproportionately long trunk, short legs and pronounced knee bands and a palm with fingers portrayed (Fig. 1). All four clay figurines from Everton Farm have markings on the head to show hair.

There are 11 males, two of clay from Everton Farm and Three Skids Claims, and the rest of soapstone from the Mutare Altar site; 25 females, all soapstone, from the Mutare Altar site, two neutral (including the ivory one); and one broken unsexed. The sexual characteristics exhibited are the pubic triangle (in all 25 females, see Plate 1, and six males, soapstone), vulva (25) of which 21 have the vaginal canal marked; breasts (21); all males have penis, nine have testis. Two figures, one from the Mutare Altar site and the ivory figure from Khami Ruins, are sitting; the resting in standing position.

The soapstone figurines are smoke-blackened. The ivory figure is not decorated. All clay figures have decoration markings: Nos 188, 189, 190 have incised or dragged lines on the face indicating some kind of cicatrization. No 75 has multiple dragged lines over the whole body except on the head.

Category 1 Sub-class 1b: Human figurines with legs and without arms

(33) – 32 clay, 1 soapstone. 17 sites (Table 3, Figs 4–8).

All but one (No 938 from the Mutare Altar site) have remarkably de-emphasized heads. One of the common profiles is an egg-shaped knob with the oval ends at the face and rear of the head (eg. No 1 from Rydings Farm, north-west Zimbabwe, Fig. 4). Facial features are ignored. Occasionally a punctate hole occurs on the position of the face. The trunk always tapers towards the neck. Legs are markedly stylised usually taking the form of long cylinders without knees, or tapering stumps. Feet may be indicated but toes are never shown.

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Table 3. Category 1 Sub-Class 1b: Human figurines with legs but without arms, distribution by site.

Site	Locality	Tradition	Clay	Stone
Dillon Farm	N	EFC Cor	1	
Murewa	N	?	1	
Rydings Farm	N	LFC Ing	1 (11)	
Insindi Ranch	SW	EFC Zhizo	1 (11)	
Leopard's Kopje	SW	LFC Mbo	5 (77)	
Woolandale Mound	SW	LFC Wool	1 (2)	
Nali Hill	SW	LFC Wool	1 (1)	
Mt Alice	SW	LFC Wool	1 (4)	
Khami Burial	SW	LFC Wool	1	
York Farm	SW	LFC Wool	1	
Carleon Estate	SW	LFC Wool	1	
Bompst Ruin	SC	LFC Gum	2	
Chivowa Hill	SC	LFC Gum	11 (40)	
Montevideo Ranch	SC	LFC Gum	2 (6)	
Chizembe	SC	LFC Gum	1 (1)	
Mutare Altar site	E	LFC Zim		1
Unknown 1	?	?	1 (2)	

Abbreviations: N - Northern Mashonaland, SW - South-western Zimbabwe, SC - South-central Zimbabwe, E - Eastern Zimbabwe, EFC - Early iron-using farming communities, LFC - Later iron-using farming communities, Cor - Coronation, Ing - Ingombe Ilede, Mbo - Mambo, Wool - Woolandale, Gum - Gumanye, Zim - Zimbabwe. * Figurines in brackets denote quantities of broken figurines which are possible members of the respective categories.

The soapstone figurine, No 938*, has facial features similar to those of other soapstone figures from the same site which fall into Sub-class 1a. No male figures have been detected in this subdivision. There are 14 females, 18 sexless and one figure which is of uncertain sexual status due to breakage. The 14 female figurines have protuberant breasts and/or a vagina. The vulva is marked in only 2 figures (Fig. 5 Nos 453, 938*).

Seven figures bear some kind of body markings, either scarifications or tattoos. The markings take a variety of forms and motifs. These could be swollen or elevated scars represented by applied lumps of clay, which in a few instances have subsequently been marked with multiple punctates, perhaps cicatrization dot marks. Incised furrows are placed on the stomach and one or more lines of punctates (cicatrization dot marks) occur either in front

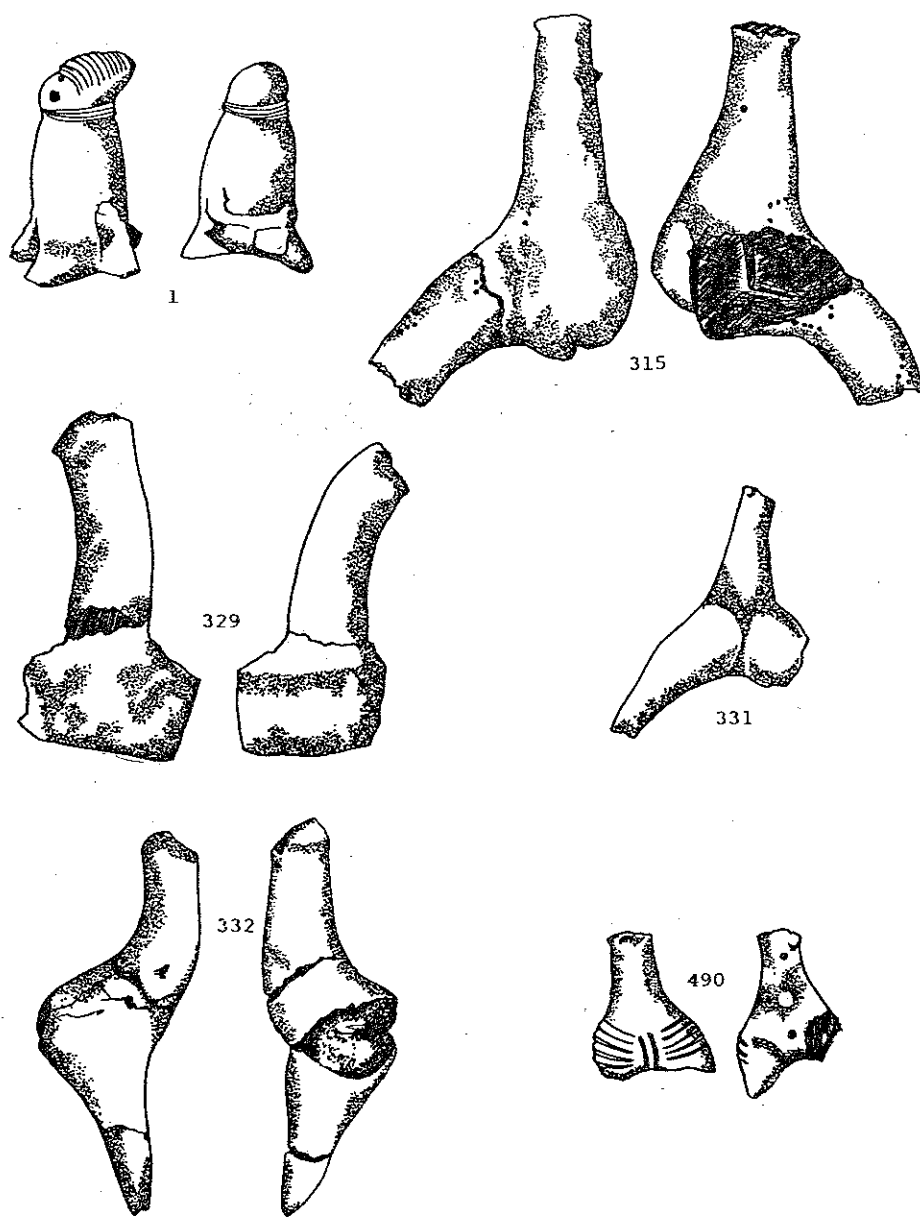
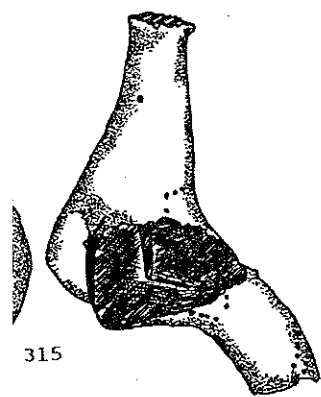
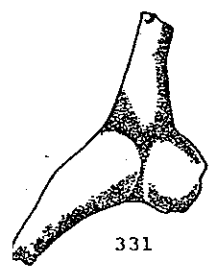


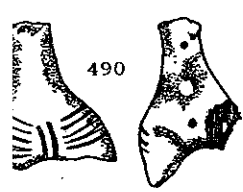
Fig. 4. Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b: Human figurines with legs and without arms. No 1, ht 3.5 cm, Rydings Farm, Karoi, north-west Zimbabwe. No 315, ht 7.6 cm; No 329, ht 4.5 cm; No 331, ht 4.5 cm; No 332, ht 6.3 cm, all from Leopard's Kopje. No. 490, ht 2.6 cm, Woolandale. Both sites in Bulawayo, south-western Zimbabwe.



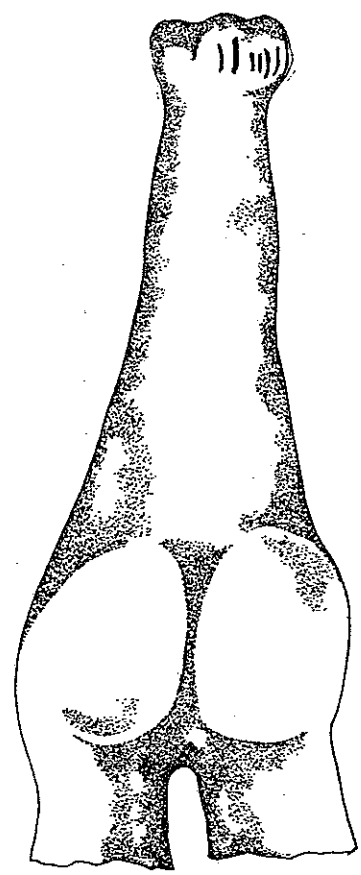
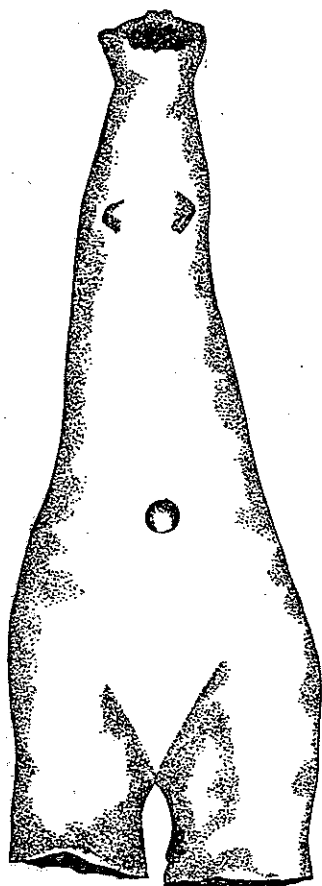
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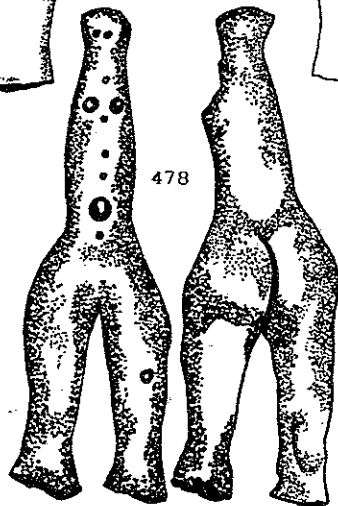
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490



453



478

nd without arms. No 1,
No 315, ht 7.6 cm; No 329,
n Leopard's Kopje. No. 490,
western Zimbabwe.

Fig. 5. Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b: Human figurines with legs and without arms. No 453,
ht 22.0 cm, Carleon Estate; No. 478, ht 10.0 cm, Nali Hill, both sites in Bulawayo,
south-western Zimbabwe.

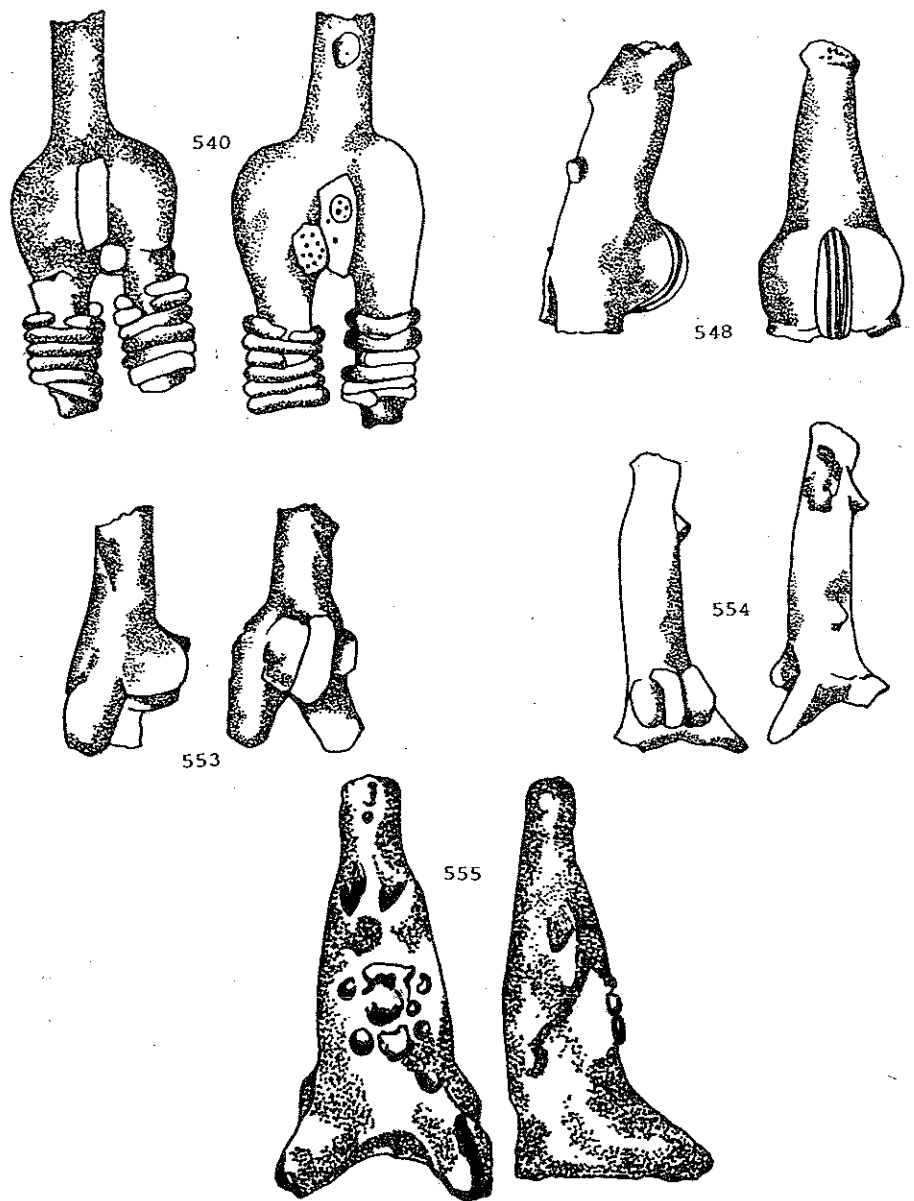
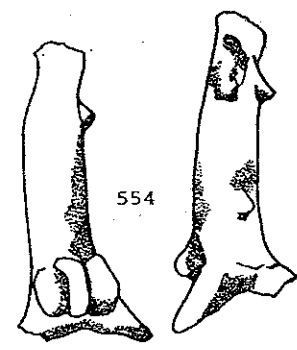


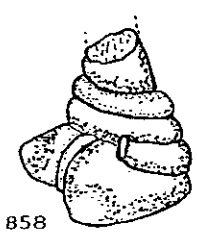
Fig. 6. Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b: Human figurines with legs and without arms. No 540, ht 7.9 cm; No 548, ht 4.9 cm; No 553, ht 3.8 cm; No 554, ht 4.7 cm; No 555, ht 9.2 cm, all from Chivowa Hill, Masvingo, south-central Zimbabwe.



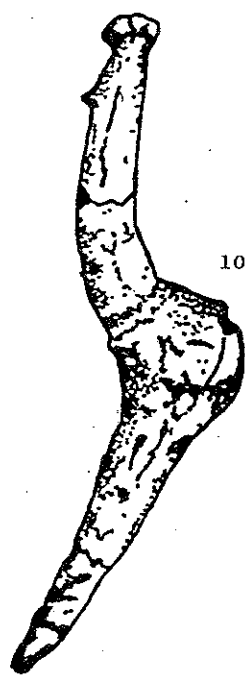
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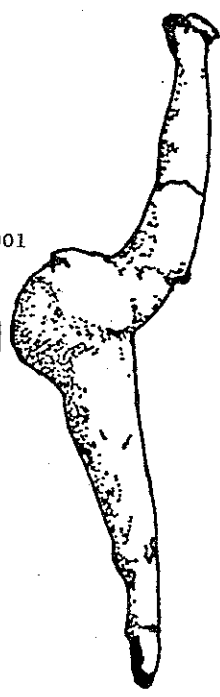
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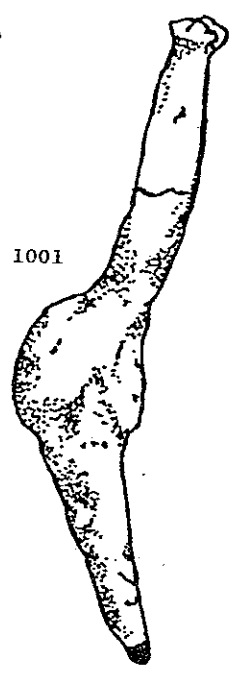
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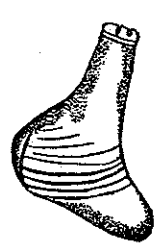
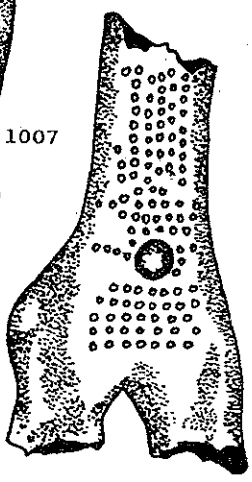
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1001



1007



1008

and without arms. No 540, ht 4.7 cm; No 555, ht 9.2 cm, bwe.

Fig. 7. Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b: Human figurines with legs and without arms. No 858, ht 3.1 cm, Bompst Ruin, Masvingo, south-central Zimbabwe. No 1001, ht unknown, Khami Burial, Khami Ruins, Bulawayo. No 1007, ht 11.1 cm, unknown site, Murewa, northern Mashonaland. No 1008, ht 4.4 cm, Woolandale, Bulawayo.

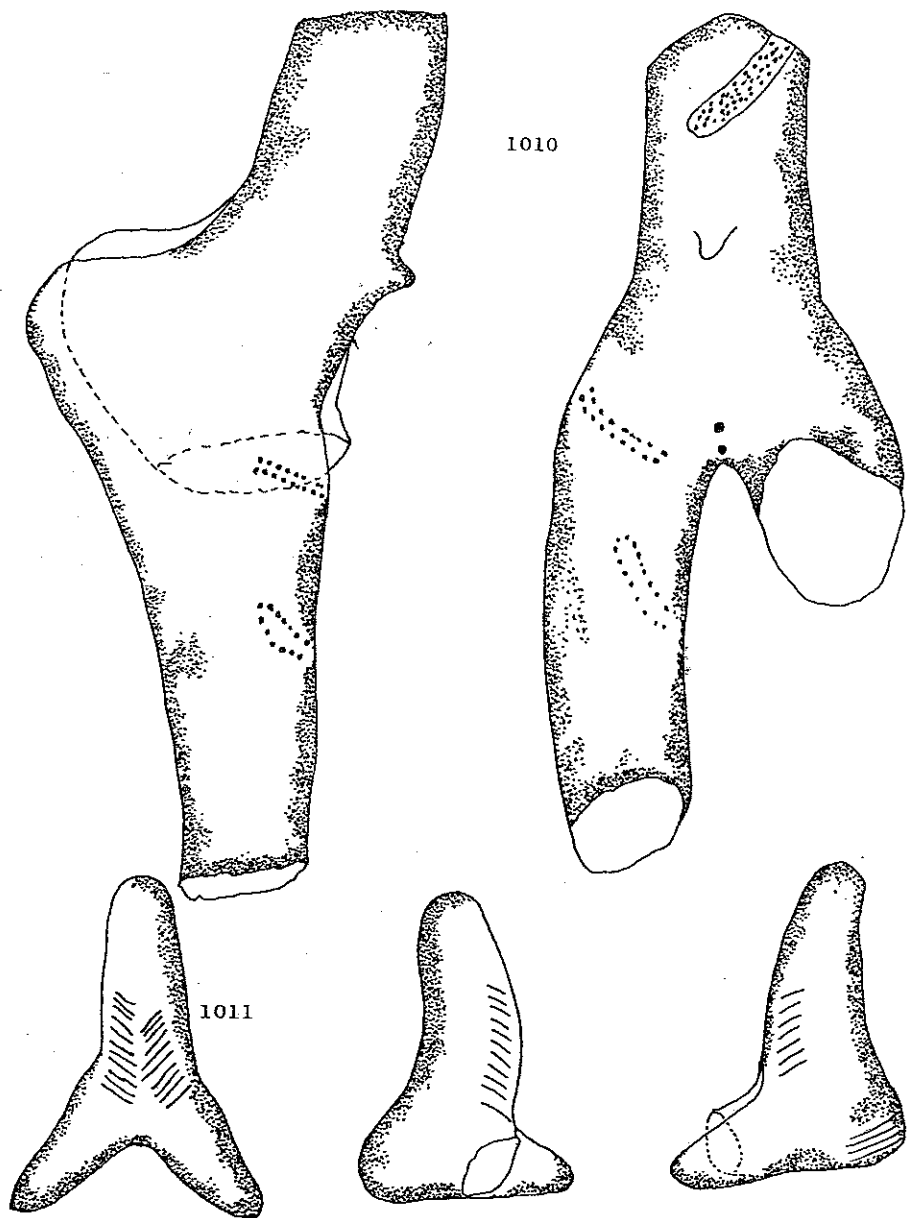


Fig. 8. Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b: Human figurines with legs and without arms. No 1010, ht 16.7 cm, unknown site. No 1011, ht 6.7 cm, York Farm, Bulawayo.

position on the stomach or at the back and circular clusters of similar dot marks in similar positions. The head in eight examples has some form of head dress or hair dressing (eg. No 453, Fig. 7 No 1001). Three figures, of which one is female and two are neutral have some form of ornamentation, shown either as incised, or applied rings of clay (see Fig. 6 No 540).

Category 1 Class 1: Broken human figurines with legs

(188): all clay. (Table 8, Figs 9–10).

One hundred and eighty-eight broken human figurines have legs, although it is uncertain whether or not they had arms. Following empirical rules of classification, it is difficult to pin them to either of the two category 1 Class 1 subdivisions. Nine of these figurines are females showing the vagina. The rest either do not have obvious sexual characteristics or are broken in such a manner as to make their sex indeterminable. No males are present.

Feet conform to the shapes encountered in Category 1 Sub-class 1a or Class 1b. Two specimens have knee caps (Fig. 10 No 697), two have toes, the rest either have feet without toes, dimpled feet, or tapering leg ends.

A number of pieces have markings which are most likely to denote dress, ornamentation, scarification or tattoos. Five figures (Nos 472*, 489, 552, 613, 1005*) have applied straps of clay on or between the buttocks to indicate clothing (see Figs 9 and 10 for some of these examples). Eighteen have anklets marked either by applied rings of clay or incised lines and one has a waist band. Fifteen have some decoration marks, two with furrow cicatrization, two with clusters of dot marks.

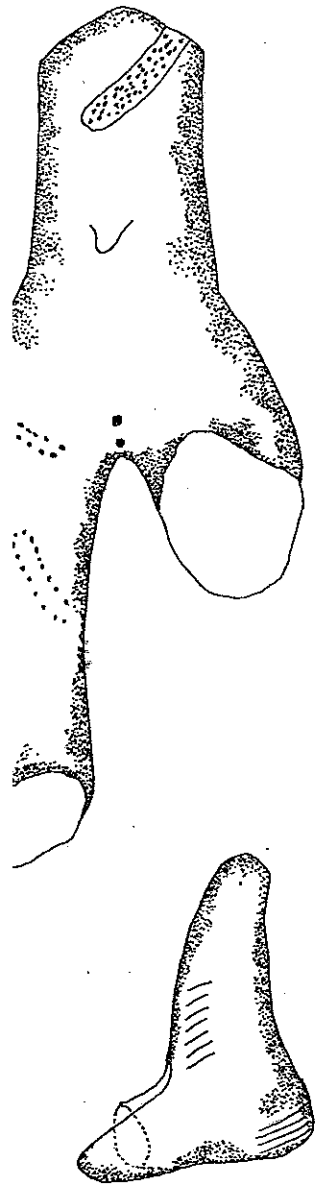
Category 1 Class 2: Human figurines without legs

There are 164 human figurines without legs of which 8 and 110 belong to Sub-classes 2a and 2b respectively and 46 are broken and indeterminate for arms.

Sub-class 2a: Human pedestal figurines without legs but with arms

(8): all clay. 3 sites (Table 4, Figs 11–14).

The heads may appropriately be described as semi-anthropomorphic, displaying a subtle combination of human and bestial features. They can be further divided between those with two arms (Sub-class 2a.i) and those with single arms (Sub-class 2a.ii). Four of the five figurines with two arms (Figs. 11 and 12 Nos 80, 82, 253) have sharp ridges, running from the rear to the forehead along the crest of the head. In three cases this ridge has a narrow transverse perforation midway along its length. All have eyes, two have ears. Three figures, all from Chipoli Farm, possess a single arm each, stretched out forward with a slight downward inclination. There are four males with penis



and without arms. No 1010, m, Bulawayo.

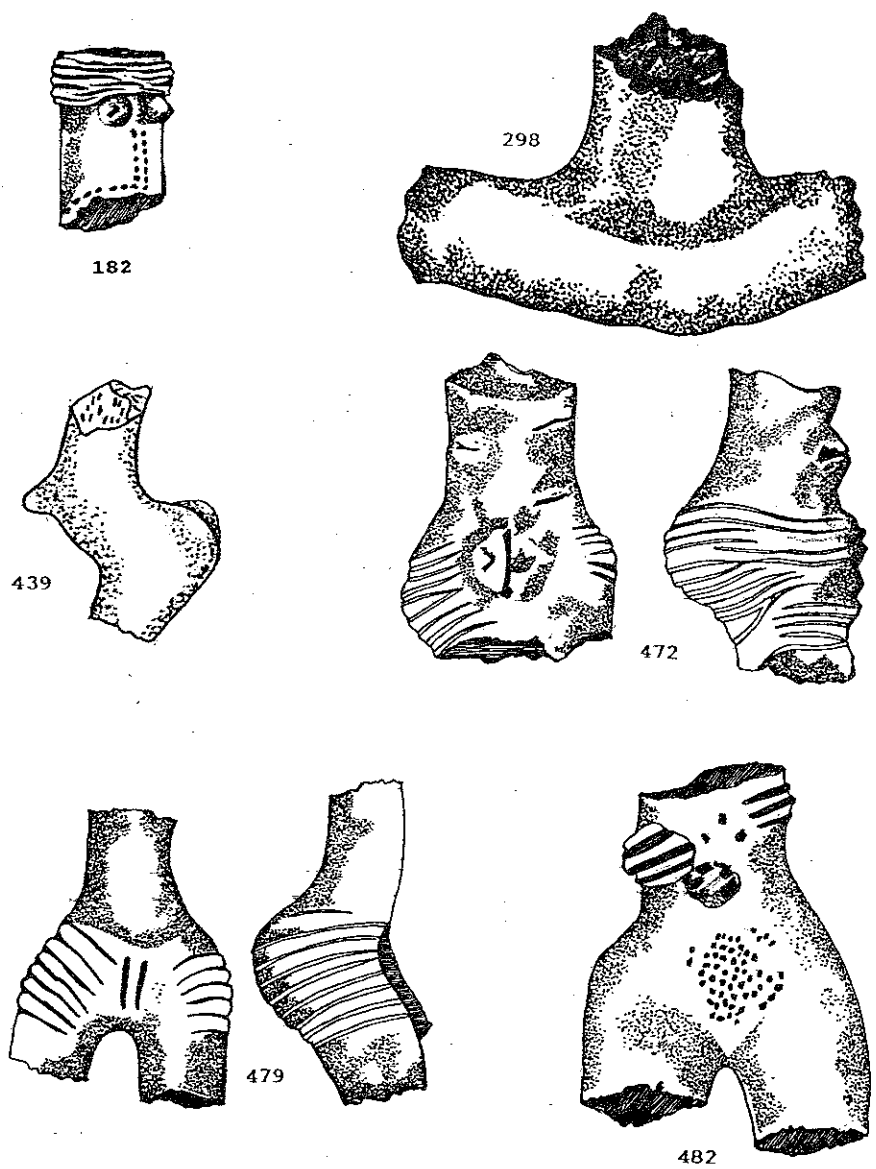
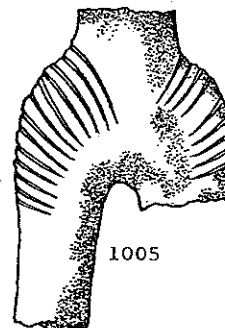
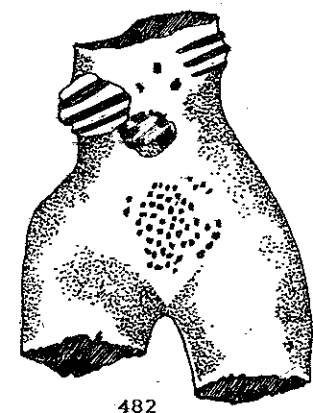
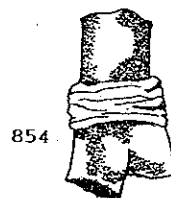
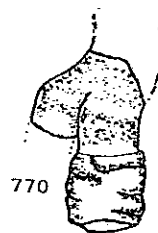
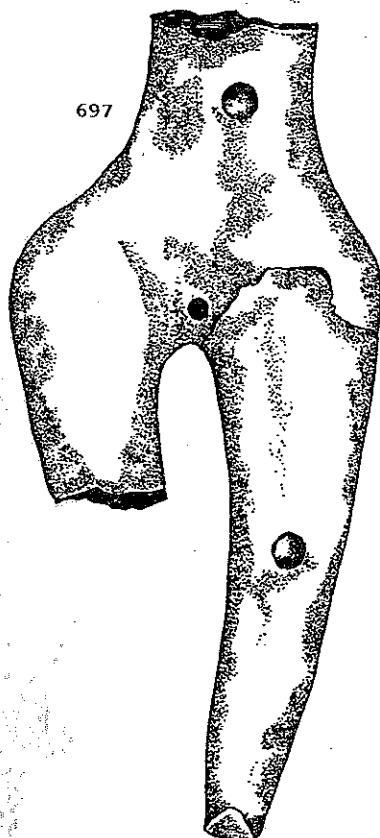
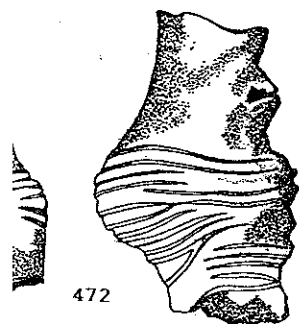
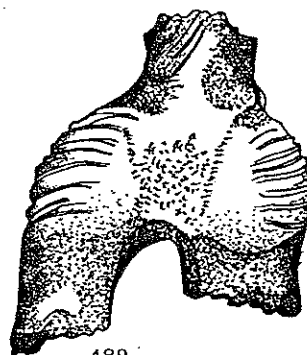
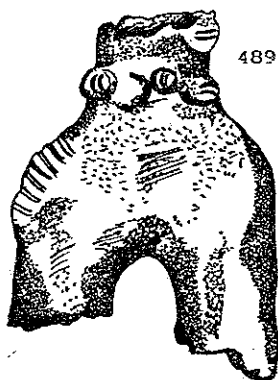
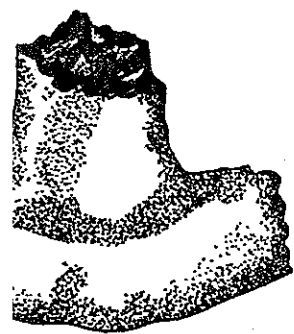
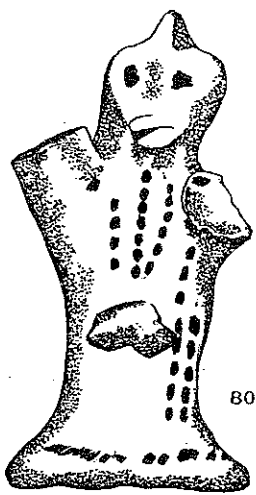


Fig. 9. Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b: Broken specimens. No 182, ht 2.5 cm, Ruanga Ruins, Shamva, northern Mashonaland. No 298, ht 6.9 cm, Zambezi-Luzilukulu Confluence, Kariba Dam. No 439, ht 4.1 cm, Blue Jay/Bunting Close, Bulawayo. No 472, ht 5.6 cm, Hillside, Bulawayo. No 479, ht 6.1 cm, Gliding Club, Bulawayo. No 482, ht 7.2 cm, World's View, Matopo Hills, Bulawayo.

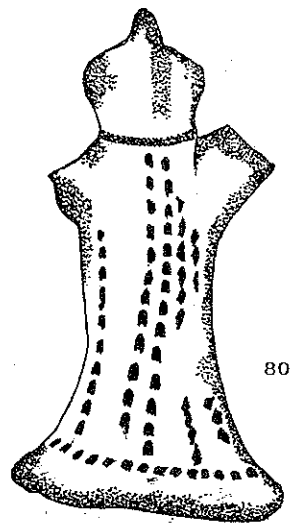


182, ht 2.5 cm, Ruanga Ruins, ambezi-Luzilukulu Confluence, Bulawayo. No 472, King Club, Bulawayo. No 482,

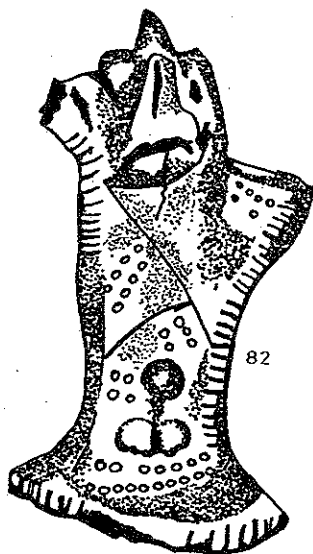
Fig. 10. Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b: Broken specimens. No 489, ht 7.5 cm, Mt Alice, Bulwayo, No 697, ht 15.7 cm, Mt Buhwa, Mberengwa, south-central Zimbabwe. No 770, ht 3.3 cm; No 854, ht 3.1 cm, both from Wazi Hill, Centenary, northern Mashonaland. No 1005, ht 6.0 cm, Lemon Grove, Bulawayo.



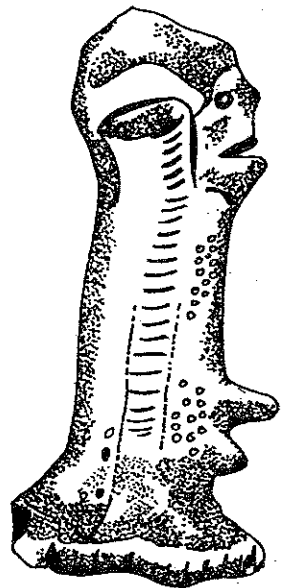
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80

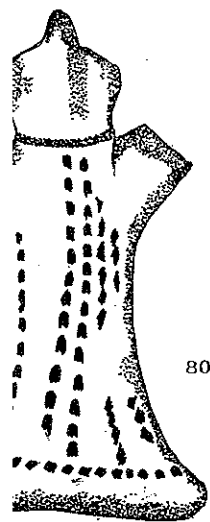


82

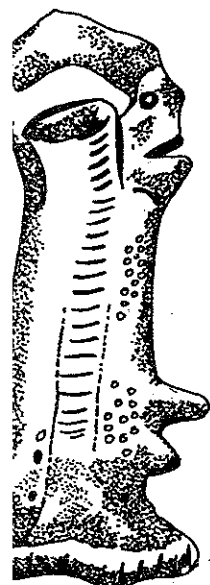


82

Fig. 11. Cat. 1 Sub-class 2a.i: Pedestal human figurines with both arms. No 80, ht 9.8 cm; No 82, 10.5 cm, both from Everton Farm, Centenary, northern Mashonaland.

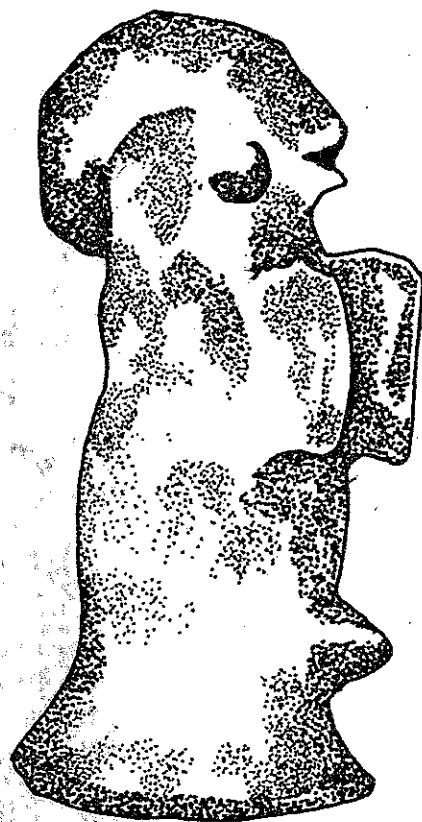


80



82

Fig. 12. Cat. 1 Sub-class 2a.i: Human pedestal figurines with both arms. No 80, ht 9.8 cm, Chipoli Farm, northern Mashonaland.



253

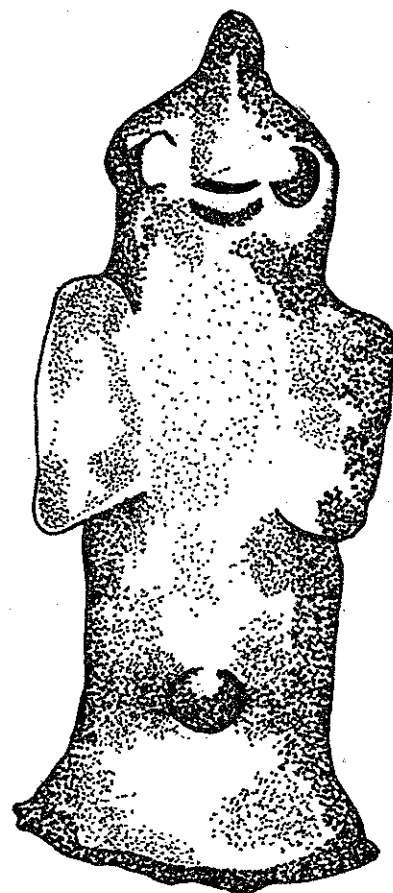
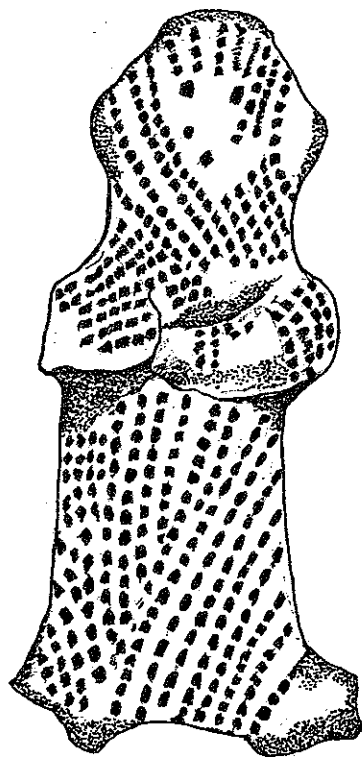


Fig. 12. Cat. 1 Sub-class 2a.i: Human pedestal figurines with both arms. No 253, ht 16.3 cm, Chipoli Farm, Shamva, northern Mashonaland.



911

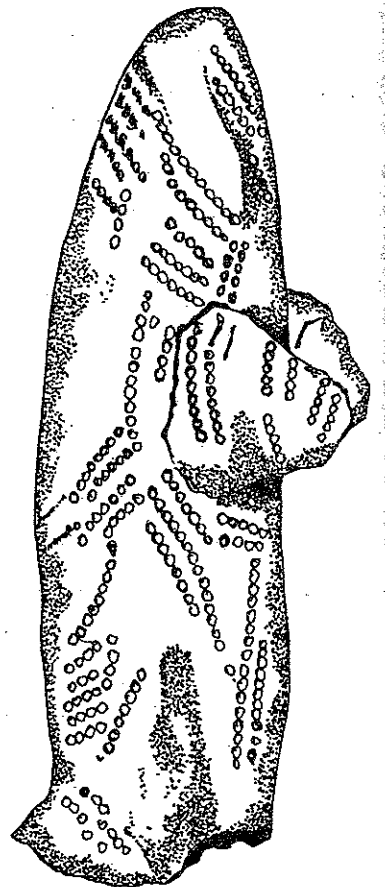


Fig. 13. Cat. 1 Sub-class 2a.1: Human pedestal figurines with both arms. No 911, ht 16.0 cm, unknown site, Mazowe Valley, northern Mashonaland.

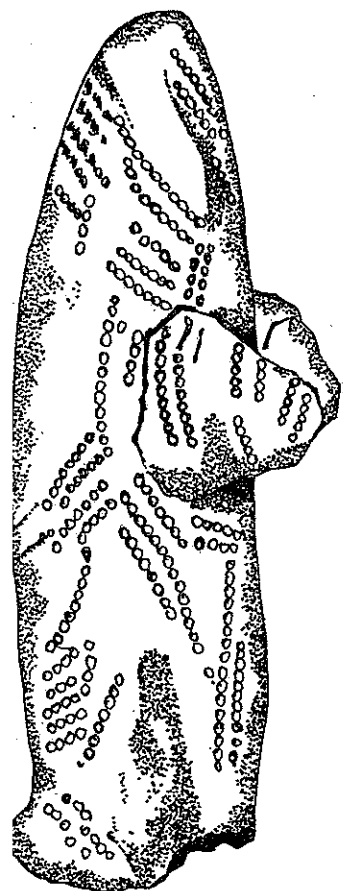
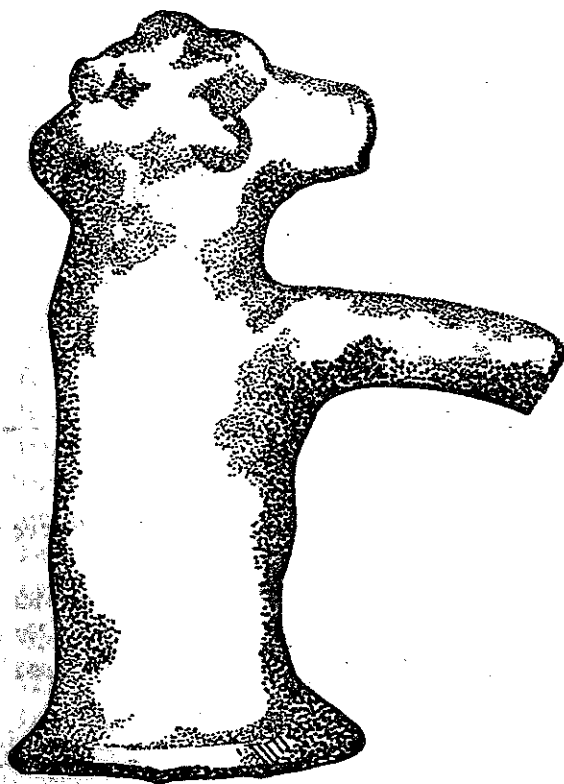
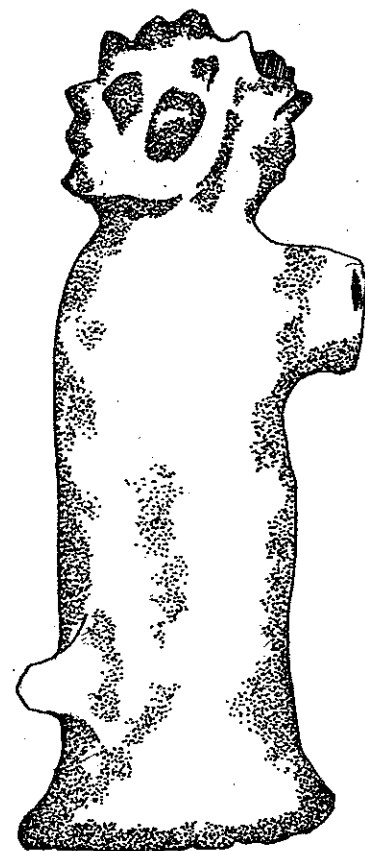


Fig. 14. Cat. 1 Sub-class 2a.ii: Pedestal human figurines with single arms. No 911, Mashonaland.



248



249

Fig. 14. Cat. 1 Sub-class 2a.ii: Pedestal human figurines with single arms. No 248, ht 15.5 cm; No 249, ht 15.9 cm, both from Chipoli Farm, Shamva, northern Mashonaland.

Table 4. Category 1 Sub-class 2a: Human figurines without legs but with arms, distribution by site.

<i>Site</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>Tradition</i>	<i>Clay</i>
Chipoli farm	N	?	4 (1)
Everton Farm	N	?	3 (2)
Mazowe	N	?	1

Table 5. Category 1 Sub-class 2b: Human figurines without legs and arms, distribution by site.

<i>Site</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>Traditional</i>	<i>2b1</i>	<i>2b2</i>
Atherstone Farm	N	EFC Cor		4
Wazi Hill	N	LFC Mz		6
Everton Farm	N	?	22 (33)	
Chipoli Farm	N	?	1	
Guruve	N	?	1	
Tshelanyemba	SW	?		1
Great Zimbabwe	SC	LFC Zim		10
Total			24	21

Abbreviations: Max – Maxton, Mz – Musengezi.

including one with both penis and testis; one female with breasts, and three neutral figures.

Four figures, a male, one female and two neutral are decorated, three with parallel rows of punctates down the trunk (Fig. 11 Nos 80, 93, Fig. 13 No 911) and one (Fig. 11 No 82) with irregular motifs of punctates and incised lines.

Category 1 Sub-class 2b: Human figurines without legs or arms

(45). These can be subdivided into 2b.i: Pedestal heads (Figs 15–17), 2b.ii: Simple pedestal heads (Fig. 18).

Category 1 Sub-class 2b.i: Pedestal human heads

(24): all clay, 3 sites (Table 5, Figs 15–17).

These figurines resemble those in Cat. 1. Class 2a and come from the same sites as Cat. 1 Class 2a figurines, i.e. Everton and Chipoli Farms. In all but one case (No 89* from Everton Farm) the head is portrayed with facial features. Four figures, also from Everton Farm, have some protrusions on the

without legs but with arms,

y
1)
2)

without legs and arms,

2b2
4
6
(33)
1
10
21

male with breasts, and three

all are decorated, three with
11 Nos 80, 93, Fig. 13 No
of punctates and incised

without legs or arms

heads (Figs 15-17), 2b.ii:

2a and come from the same
d Chipoli Farms. In all but
d is portrayed with facial
ive some protrusions on the

head which look like horns (Nos 96, 97, 98)*. The heads surmount cylindrical trunks with a pedestal widening at the bases. Fourteen figures from Everton Farm are decorated by punctates. These occur mostly on the trunk as parallel rows and sometimes on the head and face, either in lines in combination with short parallel incisions or in a somewhat irregular arrangement (12 cases).

Face markings on Cat. 1 Sub-class 2b figurines from Everton Farm are quite variable: (a) parallel incisions on the cheek (Nos 83, 95, 96, 101), haphazard (No 102)* and incisions along the nose (Nos 103, 110) and short parallel incisions down the cheek and similar marks arranged like stitches on the forehead; (b) a combination of parallel incisions and punctates (Fig. 15 Nos 84, 92, 88*, 89*, 90*). The meaning of the latter patterns is not clear as similar patterns also decorate the head. It is difficult to imagine that the scalp could have been scarified or tattooed. A ring of dot holes decorates the pedestal base in a number of cases.

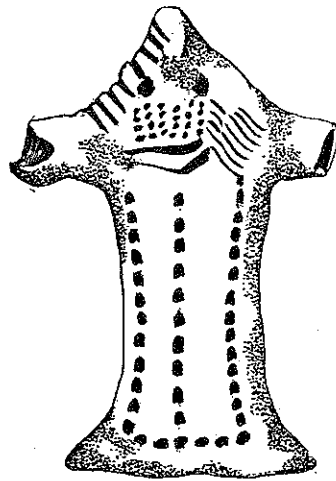
The more spectacular specimens are Nos 112 and 912 (Figs 16 and 17) from Everton Farm and an unknown site in the Guruve District in northern Mashonaland respectively. The former has large ears, protruding eyes and stitch-like impressions on the face. The latter, standing at 24.5 cm, is the tallest of all complete human figurines. It has two constrictions which form the neck and the pedestal base. The base is wider and dimpled. This figure has parallel rows of heavy but regular triangular stamping running down the trunk, and parallel grooves from between the eyebrows up the forehead to the hair line, three parallel grooves on either temple (perhaps representing scarification) and sets of three and four grooves on the neck and bases respectively, clearly representing some ornamentation. Neither figure exhibits sexual characteristics.

Category 1 Sub-class 2b.i: Other pedestal human heads

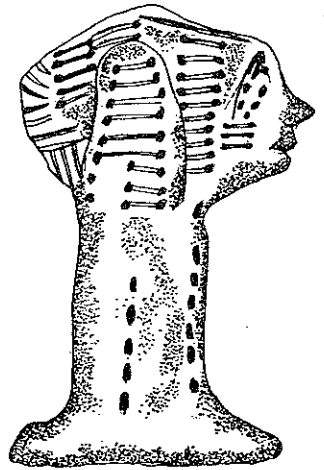
(21): 11 soapstone, 10 clay, 4 sites. (Table 5, Fig. 18 Nos 884 and 820).

(a) Soapstone heads, 10* from Great Zimbabwe, and a single specimen from Tshelanyemba (Fig. 18 No 884).

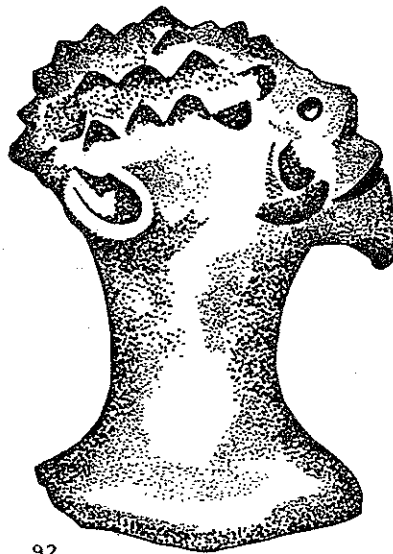
The figures basically resemble their counterparts in Sub-class 2b.i but they do not have as much physical detail of the head as the former. A majority of them, all from Great Zimbabwe, are knob-headed (Nos 862-866, 876)*. Two heads have features which may represent a hair style or head dress (Nos 872, 873)*. Two have the navel hernia (Nos 874, 876)*; one has what looks like a hunch back (No 876)*. No 874 has breasts as well. Three bear incisions round the base perhaps indicating a girdle. No 884 has a knob head with a horizontal muzzle on which the mouth and nostrils have been incised. It also has a navel hernia.



84



87

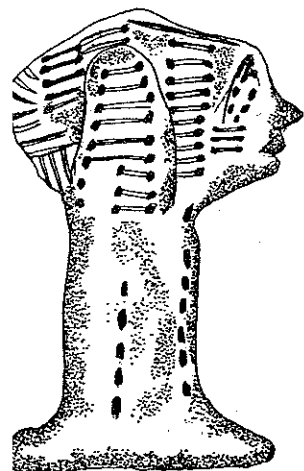


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99

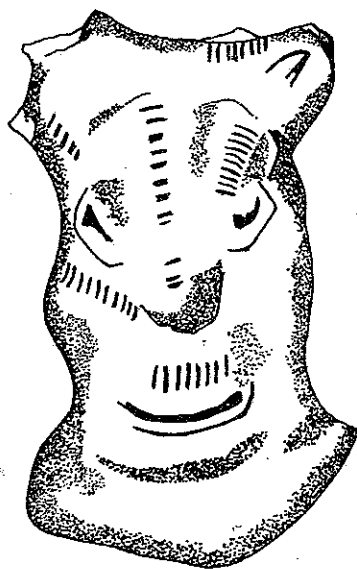
Fig. 15. Cat.1 Sub-class 2b.i: Pedestal human figurines without arms. No 84, ht, 10.1 cm; No 87, ht 10.5 cm; No 92, ht 8.9 cm; No 99, ht 11.9 cm; all from Everton Farm, Centenary, northern Mashonaland.



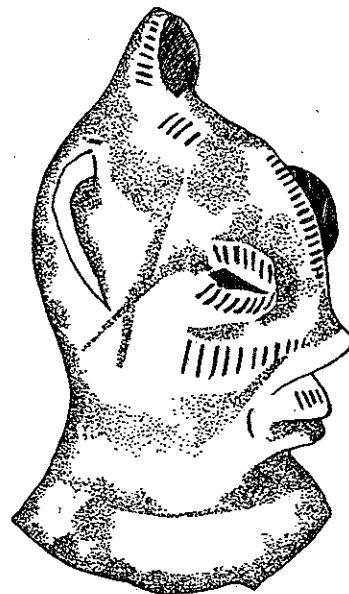
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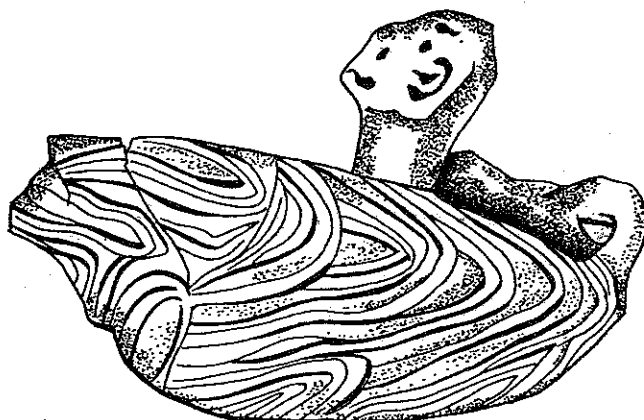
99



112



112



114

es without arms. No 84, ht, 10.1
11.9 cm; all from Everton Farm,

Fig. 16. Cat. 1 Sub-class 2b.i: Pedestal human figurines without arms. No 112,
ht 10.8 cm. Class 3: Unique human figurines. No 114, ht 7.3 cm, 'canoe man'; both
from Everton Farm, Centenary, northern Mashonaland.

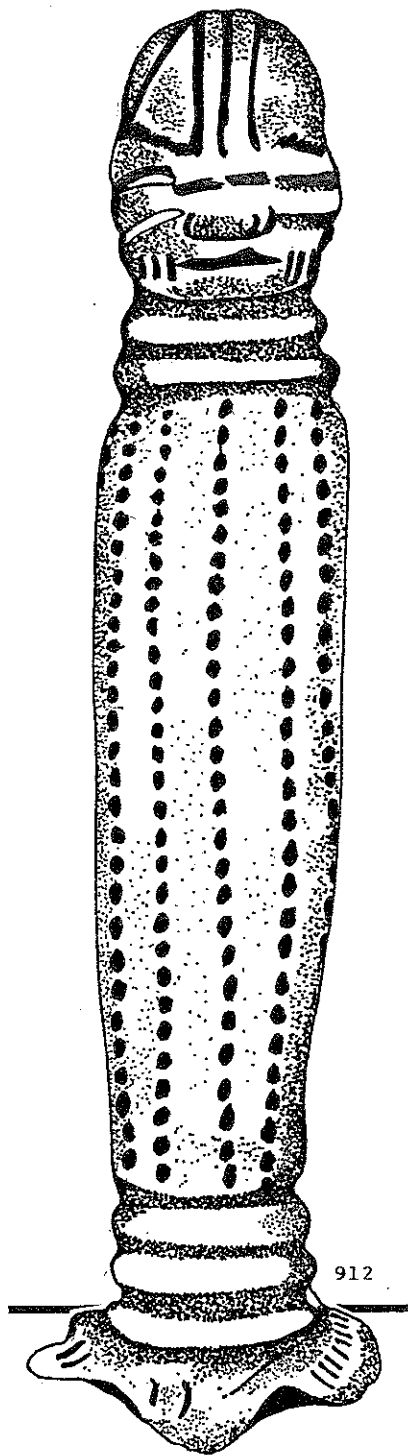
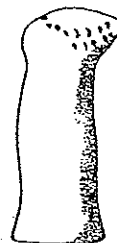
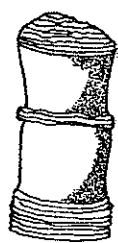


Fig. 17. Cat 1 Sub-class 2b.i: Pedestal human figurines without arms. No 912, ht 24.0 cm, unknown site, Guruve district, northern Mashonaland.

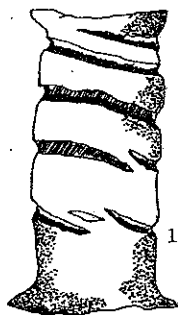


820

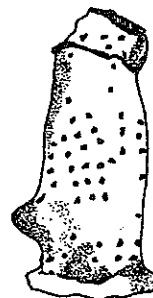
822



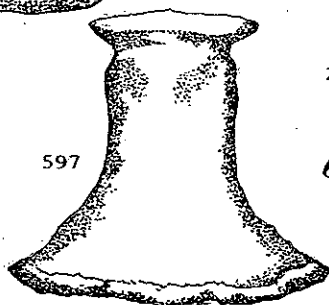
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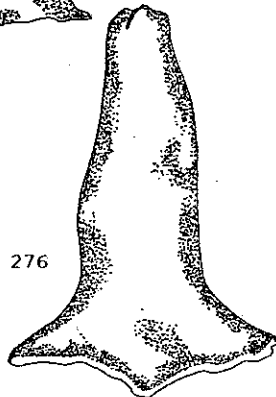
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28



597



276



830



691

Fig. 17. Cat 1 Sub-class 2b.i: Pedestal human figurines without arms. No 912, ht 24.0 cm, unknown site, Guruve district, northern Mashonaland.

Fig. 18. Cat. 1 Sub-class 2b.ii: Simple pedestal human figurines. No 820, ht 3.9 cm Wazi Hill, Centenary, northern Mashonaland. No 884, ht 8.8 cm, Tshelanyemba, Gwanda, southern Matabeleland. No 40, ht 11.0 cm, Atherstone Farm, Bindura, northern Mashoanaland. Cat. 1 Class 3. Unique (conical) human figurines. No 822, ht 4.0 cm, Wazi Hill; No. 28, ht 4.8 cm, Mbidzi Farm, northern Mashonaland; No. 276, ht 5.3 cm, Chivowa Hill, Masvingo. No 691, ht 1.3 cm, Great Zimbabwe; No. 830, ht 2.8 cm, Wazi Hill; No 1006, ht 5.2 cm, Chinhoyi Caves, north-west Mashonaland (not classified).

(b) Miniature pedestal heads (6): all clay, Wazi Hill. The position of the face is marked by a dot hole in one specimen (Fig. 18 No 820). Two have some kind of head dress (Nos 820, 823), and 2 other figures have waist bands. The remaining 2 are plain.

(c) Pedestal figures with projections in the position of the head (4): all clay (Fig. 18 No 830). Atherstone Farm. All figures are undecorated.

Category 1 Class 2: Broken human figurines

(11): all clay. (Table 8, Fig. 19). These are likely to have been pedestal figurines in Cat. 1 Sub-classes 2a and 2b.i.

Category 1 Class 3: Unique human figurines

(84): unique human figurines with legs from Everton Farm (6), clay (Table 6, Fig. 20).

Five of these are curious doughnut-shaped torsos can best be described pictorially (Fig. 16 No 114 and Fig. 20). No 128 has arms modelled together in front to form an arc. There are two females with breasts. The others, also with arms, are neutral. Two broken pieces appear to have been parts of similar torsos. The three complete torsos are decorated with dragged lines coming close to a maze of labyrinths in Nos 126, 127. The broken ones have parallel rows of punctates and rows of short stabbed lines respectively. The man in a canoe basically resembles pedestal human figurines in Category 1 Sub-classes 2a.i and 2b.ii. But this figure sticks up from the centre of a clay trough facing the longest axis to suggest a man sitting in a canoe. The outside of the canoe is decorated with multiple dragged lines, which do not take any definite pattern but are close to making a maze of labyrinths (Fig. 16 No 114).

Human conical figures

(68): 6 soapstone, 62 clay. 17 sites (Table 5, Fig. 18).

The conical figures vary considerably in size from 0.9 cm tall and 1.5 cm in diameter at the base to 8.0 cm tall and 3.4 cm in diameter. They present remarkable variation in slope gradient too. The following may illustrate the assortment of specimens:

- (a) cone with concave slopes (Fig. 18 No 274).
- (b) a pedestal cone with the upper part bulging out slightly and with a rounded apex (Fig. 18 No 830).
- (c) a truncated cone (Fig. 18 No 597).
- (d) a figure with cylindrical sides (No 878).
- (e) a cone with a hernia-like protuberance (No 664)

Hill. The position of the
g. 18 No 820). Two have
other figures have waist

on of the head (4): all clay
undecorated.

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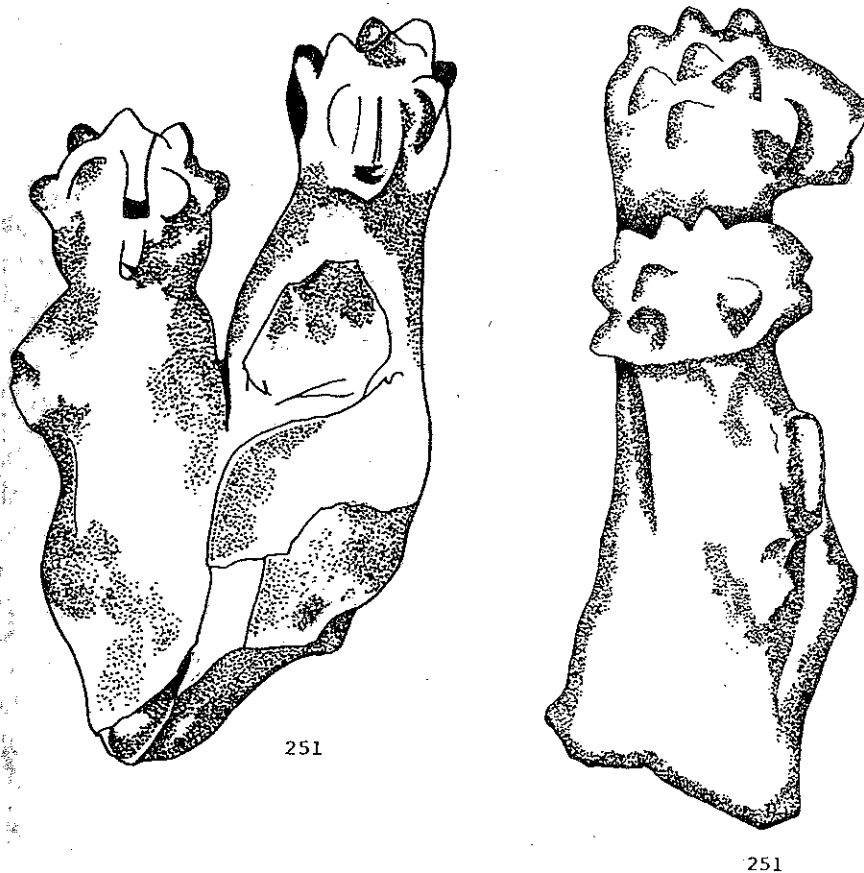


Fig. 19. Cat. 1 Sub-class 2a: Broken specimens. No 251, ht 16.5 cm, Three Skids
Claim, Shamva, northern Mashonaland.

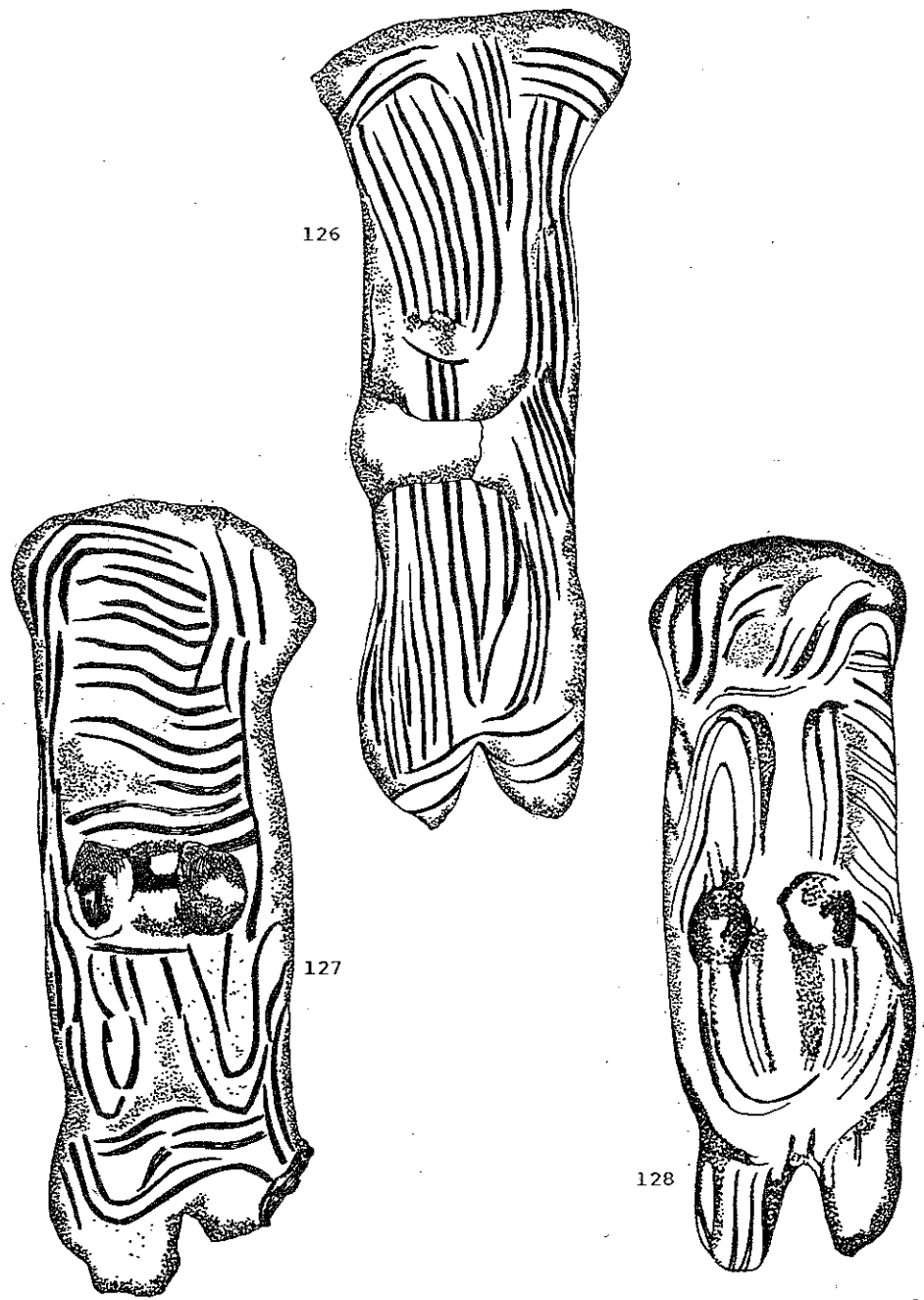


Fig. 20. Cat. 1 Class 3: Unique human figurines from Everton Farm. No 126, ht 17.0 cm; No 127, ht 16.0 cm; No 128, ht 18.0 cm.

(f) very small cones with low slope gradient.

(g) a cone with projections at the apex (No 832).

Whether all these objects are human representations is open to debate. They have previously been described as phalli, stoppers, or lids, and simply as conical objects. Their identification as human figures has been proposed here merely as a possibility. At least two of the figurines (eg. No 664) have some protrusion similar to the navel hernia. This specimen also has slanting line of dot punctures in frontal position which might be an element of cicatrization.

Other unique human figurines

(10): all clay, Atherstone Farm

No. 30. An incomplete figure with a conical head, navel and breasts. Peculiar is a knob sticking out from the neck at the back in an upward but inclined plane.

No. 31. A conical figure with breasts and a dimple at the base.

No. 32. Incomplete, trunk showing a navel or penis.

No. 33. A figure, crudely modelled with a wide groove running down the front aspect.

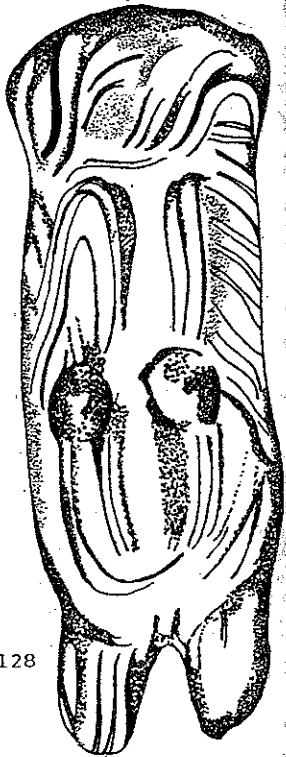
Nos 34–39. Possible human figures which in inverted position look like capital 'Y's'.

Three human figures from Marondera could not be classified on the basis of their illustrations in Goodall (1960). It is recorded that they are obese and unfired.

Category 1 Class 4: Human genitalia

(5): all soapstone, Mutare Altar site (Nos 838, 839, 856)*.

These objects focus on the external female human genitalia and fall into two shapes: (a) a general oval (egg shape) on which the pubic triangle and vulva are marked (No 856), a similar shape, rather cuboid, with the male genitalia (penis and testis) marked at one end of the opposite broad faces, and female genitalia (pubic triangle and vulva) marked on the opposite end. Similar sets of features are marked on the opposite broad face but in reversed position, so that there are the external organs of both sexes on each broad face and on each end of the block figure (No 857); an oval object with a V-shaped groove (the vulva), at one end of which is a knob-like protrusion, the clitoris (No 832). (b) Two triangular figures apparently representing the pubic triangle with the vulva, clitoris and vaginal canal marked (Nos 838–9).



128

Everton Farm. No 126, ht 17.0

Table 6. Category 1 Class 3: Unique human figurines.

<i>Site</i>	<i>Loc.</i>	<i>Tradition</i>	<i>Soap stone</i>	<i>Clay</i>
Everton Farm	N	?		6
Atherstone Farm	N	EFC Cor		10
Three Skids Claims	N	?		1
Golden Shower	N	EFC Cor		16
Three Mile Water Site	N	EFC Cor		1
Mbidzi Farm	N	EFC Max		1
Wazi Hill	N	LFC Mz		6
Rydings Farm	NW	LFC Ing		2
Khami Ruins	SW	LFC Mbo		1
Mt Alice	SW	LFC Wool		1
Great Zimbabwe	SC	LFC Gum		15
Chivowa Hill	SC	LFC Gum		7
Chamakwangwadza	SC	LFC Gum		3
Chomuruvati	SC	LFC Gum		1
Chizembe	SC	LFC Gum		1
Great Zimbabwe	SC	LFC Zim	6	
Great Zimbabwe	SC	LFC Zim		1
Peripheral Site				
Kagumbudzi Ruins	E	LFC Zim		1
Mutare Altar Site	E	LFC Zim		4
Total			6	78

Table 7. Category 1: Human figurines, distributed by the presence or absence of legs.

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>Total</i>
With legs	11	48	20	181	260
Without legs	4	1	119	40	164
Uncertain (legs)		30	15	135	180
Total	15	79	154	356	604

stone	Clay
	6
	10
	1
	16
	1
	1
	6
	2
	1
	1
	15
	7
	3
	1
	1
	1
	1
	1
	4
	78

Other ways of grouping human figurines

Tables 7-12 show other ways of categorizing human figurines which may improve our understanding of the nature of these figurines.

Gender: Table 7 divides the figurines into male and female. Thus a third class of neutral figurines arises. There are at least five times more females than males. Table 9 shows that all males have arms while only 27 of the 79 males have arms.

Impressionistic reconstruction and classification of broken figurine

The classification of human figurines is constrained by the fact that more than half of the 604 human figurines considered are broken. I have examined all broken figurines to identify the parts of the body represented with a view to establish their complete forms. It is most likely that 333 broken pieces (see Table 8) belong to Category 1 Sub-class 1b of torsos with a small head, curved trunk, large buttocks, with legs and without arms. Thus this class alone may account for more than half of the total compliment of human figurines.

Sexual ambiguity of Category 1 Sub-class 1b: Human figurines

It has been suggested that if the Sub-class 1b female torsos are held horizontally they have a phallic dimension, the upper end of the torso posing as the penis and the buttocks drooping like the testis (Sinclair, pers. com).

presence or absence of legs.

certain	Total
	260
	164
	180
	604

Table 8. Category 1: Human figurines, distribution by the presence or the absence of arms and legs.

	<i>With arms</i>	<i>Without arms</i>	<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>Total</i>
Legged figurines	39	33	188	260
Without legs	8	110	46	164
Uncertain (legs)	4	77	99	180
Unclassified				14
Total	51	220	333	618

Table 9. Category 1: Human figurines, sex distribution.

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>Total</i>
Arms	15	27	6	3	51
No arms		42	142	36	220
Uncertain (arms)		10	6	317	333
Total	15	79	154	356	604

Table 10. Category 1: Human figurines, physical characteristics, enlarged buttocks and lumbar lordosis.

	<i>Buttocks</i>	<i>Spinal curve</i>	<i>Total</i>
Legs and arms			38
Legs, no arms	28	14	33
	f. 11, n. 16, ? 1	f. 4, n. 9, ? 1	
Arms, no legs			8
No legs and no arms			111

Abbreviations: m. = Male, f. = Female, n. = Neutral, ? = Uncertain

the presence or the absence

Uncertain	Total
38	260
16	164
9	180
	14
33	618

Uncertain	Total
3	51
6	220
7	333
6	604

Total
38
33
8
111

= Uncertain

Table 11. Category 1: Human figurines, posture (standing or sitting), distribution by sex.

	Male	Female	Neutral	Uncertain
Standing	11	29		13
Sitting		5	3	3
Uncertain		44	19	299
Without legs	5	1	120	40

Table 12. Category 1: Human figurines, applied decoration.

	Total	Scarification, cicatrization	Dress or headdress	Ornamentation	Plain Decor.	Uncert.
Legs and arms	38	4	1	12	26	12
	m. 11, n. 1, ? 1	m. 2, n. 1, ? 1	m. 1	m. 8, f. 2, n. 1, ? 1		
Legs, no arm	33	7	8	3	10	13
	f. 13, n. 19, ? 1	f. 5, n. 1, ? 1	f. 3, n. 5	f. 1, n. 2		9
Arms, no legs	8		8			8
	m. 5, f. 1, n. 2		m. 5, f. 3, n. 3			
No legs, no arms	111				74	27
	n. 105, ? 6	n. 19	n. 5	n. 3		

Abbreviations:
 m. = Male
 f. = Female
 n. = Neutral
 ? = Uncertain

Categories 2 and 3: Animal figurines

Table 13 summarizes the classification of animal figurines. Firstly, a distinction was made between domestic and wild animal figurines. Domestic animals were simply divided into species. The classification of wild animal figurines, required further elaboration.

Category 2: Domestic animal figurines (162)

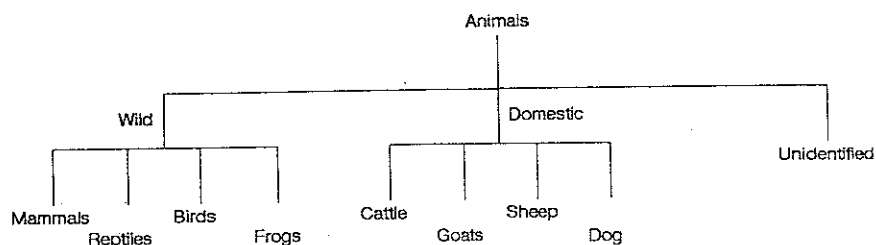
Category 2 Class 1: Cattle figurines

(144): all clay, 32 sites (Table 14, Fig. 21).

Cattle figurines only provide basic details: horns, muzzle, dew lap (4), ears (13), and legs. Some are grossly simplified, depicting a trunk without legs (14) or with a longitudinal trough separating the right and left legs (5). Eighty-eight have horns while the rest are broken. It would appear that all figurines originally had horns and many occurrences of broken horns have been encountered.

A simple distinction was made between those with humps and those without. Sixty figures are humped, 31 without humps and the remaining 51 are broken and their status is indeterminate. There seems to be no correlation between sex and the presence or absence of humps: six of the seven males and 11 of the 22 females have humps, six are plain and five are broken. Twenty-six of the 46 sexless figures are humped and 12 are not. The remainder (8) are broken. A higher proportion of males than females is humped. The commonest breed of cattle at the arrival of European settlers at the end

Table 13. The basic classification of animal figurines (Categories 2 & 3).



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 figurines. Domestic ani-
 sification of wild animal

2)

muzzle, dew lap (4), ears
 ting a trunk without legs
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 lain and five are broken.
 d 12 are not. The remain-
 than females is humped.
 ropean settlers at the end

categories 2 & 3).

Unidentified

Dog

Table 14. Category 2 Class 1: Cattle figurines, distribution by site and locality.

Site	Loc.	Trad.	Total	M.	F.	N.	?
Doxford Farm	N	EFC Max	1			1	
Lake Kariba	N	LFC Ing	1			1	
Wazi Hill	N	LFC Mz	8			2	6
Ruanga Hill	N	LFC Mz	3			1	2
Tsindi Ruins	N	LFC Zim	2				2
Chadshunt Ext.	N	LFC Ref	1				1
Insindi Ranch	SW	EFC Zh	7			4	3
Collation Farm	SW	EFC Zh	2			1	1
Fundesii Farm	SW	LFC Mbo	1	1			
Mwala Hill	SW	LFC Mbo	1	1			
Leopard's Kopje	SW	LFC Mbo	13	1	5	2	6
Khami Waterworks	SW	LFC Mbo	1			1	
Khami Store Kopje	SW	LFC Mbo	1		1		
B. J. Bunting Close	SW	LFC Mbo	3		1		2
Hillside	SW	LFC Wool	2				2
Mudene Ruins	SW	LFC Wool	1				1
Kalanyoni	SW	LFC Wool	1				1
Killarney	SW	LFC Wool	1		1		
Mt Alice	SW	LFC Wool	3			1	2
Khami Ruins	SW	LFC Mbo	6	1	2	2	1
Matsheumhlope	SW	LFC Mbo	2		1		1
Unknown 1	?	?	1	1			
Bompst Ruin	SC	EFC Zh	1			1	
Chumnungwa Ruins	SC	LFC Map	2		2		
Chivowa Hill	SC	LFC Gum	12			10	2
Montevideo Ranch	SC	LFC Gum	11		1		10
Great Zimbabwe	SC	LFC Gum	27		2	16	9
Gorongwe Ruins	SC	LFC Gum	1	1			
Chamakwangwadza	SC	LFC Gum	17	1	4	3	9
Chomuruvati	SC	LFC Gum	1				1
2030 BD 50-75	SC	LFC Gum	1		1		
Mabveni II	SC	LFC Ref	1	1			
Mutare Altar Site	E	LFC Zim	8		1	1	6
Total			144	7	23	46	68

of the 19th century was the zebu (*Bos indicus*), and this breed is characterized by a marked hump. The protuberance is larger in males than in females. The sexual features depicted are penis, testis and udders. Figurines that do not have these characteristics have been described as sexually neutral.

Category 2 Class 2: Goat figurines

(14): all clay, 3 sites (Table 15, Fig. 21 No 531).

Goats have been reliably identified by a tail that points upwards (Nos 531, 409*, 410*, 656*). There are 4 nearly complete figures. Two females, Nos 410 and 532*, are indicated by the presence of a pair of udders which are distinguishable from testis in being portrayed as two separate protrusions; no males; six neutrals; six indeterminate due to breakage.

Category 2 Class 3: Sheep figurines

(3)*: all clay, 2 sites (Table 15).

Sheep are also identified by the shape of the tail, a fat mass which tapers off and hangs down. One female (No 631 from Montevideo Ranch). The other two are illustrated in Cooke (1957, Fig. 12, 1 and 2) and were not available for analysis.

Category 2 Class 4: Dog

(1), Table 15, Fig. 28 No 499, clay, Mt. Alice, 4.6 cm long, 1.4 cm in breadth and 1.9 cm tall. Plain.

Category 3: Wild animal figurines (71)

Wild animals were divided into families: Category 3 Class 1, mammals; Class 2, reptiles; Class 3 birds; Class 4 other animals and Class 5 unidentified animals.

Category 3 Class 1: Mammals (Table 16)

Lions (2)*: ivory, Khami Ruins. The carvings are thought to represent lion or possibly leopard. One side of both specimens is decorated with carved double chevron or diamond patterns. There is a small difference in size between them, the larger one is 4 cm tall, 3.5 cm long with a maximum breadth of 1.8 cm. The smaller one is 3.1 x 3 x 1.8 cm respectively (Robinson 1959, p. 155, Plate V).

Baboon/monkey (1), soapstone, Mutare Altar site. The figure has an elongated square muzzle and eyes which are situated in a depression in a frontal position on the face.

Porcupine (7), Nos 132-137, 174, clay, Everton Farm (Fig. 27 No 135, 174). This species was recognisable from a small head behind which is a short body with a pronounced convex bulge, standing on very short, stumpy

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 is larger in males than in
 estis and udders. Figurines
 ascribed as sexually neutral.

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ton Farm (Fig. 27 No 135,
 all head behind which is a
 nding on very short, stumpy

Table 15. Category 2 Classes 2, 3 and 4: Goat, sheep and dog figurines, distribution by sex, site and locality.

Site	Loc.	Trad.	Sheep	Goat	Dog	M.	F.	N.	?
Leopard's Kopje	SW	LFC Mbo		3			1	2	
Great Zimbabwe	SC	LFC Gum		5				2	3
Mudadi	SC	LFC Gum		6			1	2	3
Khami Waterworks	SW	LFC Mbo	2				?	?	?
Montevideo Ranch	SC	LFC Gum	1				1		
Mt Alice	SC	LFC Wool			1				1
Total			3	14	1				

Table 16. Category 3: Wild animal figurines, distribution by site locality and species.

Site	Loc.	Trad.	Total	Species	
Everton Farm	N	?	48	Crocodile	8
				Porcupine	7
				Tortoise	4
				Chameleon	3
				Frog	2
				Lizard	1
				Unidentified	20
				Wazi Hill	N
Mashonaland	N	?	1	Tortoise	1
Golden Shower	N	?	1	Elephant	1
Mutar Altar Site	E	?	14	Snake	5
				Crocodile	3
				Tortoise	1
				Baboon	1
				Birds	3
				Unidentified	1
Hawkshead Farm	E	19th Century ?	1	Hare	1
Wankie West	SW	LFC Ref ?	1	Antelope	1
Khami Ruins	SW	LFC Zim	2	Lion	2
Chamakwangwadza	SC	LFC Gum	1	Hyrax	1

legs and no tails. Maximum length is 10 cm. Mean length, height and breadth are 7.5, 5.0 and 3.0 cm respectively. Nos 132–137 are decorated with parallel longitudinal rows of what could be a double-toothed stamp on the dorsal aspect. Decoration excludes the legs and in all but one case excludes the head. No 174 has conical studs on the dorsal aspect. It appears from their placement that the decoration marks represent quills. On the other hand decoration might carry other less obvious symbolic statements. For No 174, the conical protrusions more clearly portray the quills.

Elephant (1), Fig. 27 No 261, clay, Golden Shower. Ca 14 cm long, 6.7 cm in breadth and 7.9 cm tall. It depicts the ear lobes and the trunk. Decoration: three parallel incised lines down the trunk.

Hyrax (1), Fig. 28 No 749, clay, Chamakwangwadza Hill, 4.1 cm long, 2.1 cm in breadth and 1.9 cm tall. Plain. Duiker (2)*, No 846, 847, clay, Wazi Hill.

The larger one (No 847) is 4.2 cm long, 2.3 cm in breadth, and 1.9 cm tall. No 847 has ears and horns while No 846 has scratches in this area. Plain.

Hare (1). Fig. 28 No 1031, soapstone, Hawkshead Farm. This figure portrays a realistic head standing on a pedestal without the rest of the body. It has a glossy finish. Two nicks mark either end of the neck.

Hippopotamus (3). Nos 142–144*, clay, Everton Farm. These are probably hippopotami although they conform to the same pattern of profile as other animal figurines from Everton Farm. The snout in this case seems to show close resemblance to that of a hippopotamus. They do not have tails. The largest is 12.5 cm long, 5.2 cm high and 5.9 cm in breadth. Decoration: No 142 bears three fields of punctates outlined by latitudinal (transverse to the main trend of the body) dragged lines; with a dorsal placement. No 143 carries three fields of parallel longitudinal (following the main trend of the body) wound fibre impressions divided by longitudinal dragged lines; with a dorsal placement. No 144 also carries three fields of parallel longitudinal rows of triangular punctates divided by dragged lines; in a dorsal position.

Category 3 Class 2: Reptile figurines

Chameleon (3), Nos 175–177, clay, Everton Farm (Fig. 24). These are characterized by a spinal ridge forming a sharp divide with two steep dorsal faces. Nos 176 and 177 have protruding eyes. No 175 is pierced with holes midway across the trunk and in the position of the ears. The former hole may have been used for suspension. They are decorated with parallel latitudinal incised lines (Nos 176–177) or comb stamps (No 175) forming parallel longitudinal fields, divided by punctates in No 176.

Lizard (1), No 178*, clay, Everton Farm. This figure has a sharp spinal ridge like the chameleon but the dorsal aspects dip relatively gently. The

length, height and breadth are decorated with parallel stamped lines. The stamped stamp on the dorsal side. In one case excludes the head. It appears from their features. On the other hand the statements. For No 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

ver. Ca 14 cm long, 6.7 cm high, 2.1 cm in breadth. Decoration: parallel longitudinal lines; in a dorsal position.

adza Hill, 4.1 cm long, 2.1 cm high, 1.9 cm in breadth, and 1.9 cm tall. The head is decorated with parallel longitudinal lines in this area. Plain. The body is decorated with parallel longitudinal lines. This figure is similar to the rest of the body. It is made of soapstone.

on Farm. These are probably the same pattern of profile as the other figures. The snout in this case seems to be slightly different. They do not have tails. The body is decorated with parallel longitudinal lines in breadth. Decoration: parallel longitudinal lines; in a dorsal position.

on Farm. These are probably the same pattern of profile as the other figures. The snout in this case seems to be slightly different. They do not have tails. The body is decorated with parallel longitudinal lines in breadth. Decoration: parallel longitudinal lines; in a dorsal position.

(Fig. 24). These are characterized by two steep dorsal ears. The former hole is decorated with parallel longitudinal lines (No 175) forming a square grid. No 176.

figure has a sharp spinal ridge. The trunk is relatively gently. The

ventral area is flat and sitting on the ground to suggest crawling animal. There is a pair of parallel longitudinal lines of punctates on either side of the spine.

Snake (5) Nos 903, 904, 931, 936, 930*. Soapstone and one of clay, from the Mutare Altar site. No 904 has a cylindrical body with a bend near the head and another one towards the tail to form a squarish crescent. No 930 is made of clay and broken. Only the head and neck are present. Eyes, ear holes and mouth are marked. No 904 is decorated with an incised square grid covering the whole body apparently to show the scaly skin. No 930 has some geometric incisions on the face.

Crocodile (11), Nos 164-171, 886, 945, 946; Everton Farm and Mutare Altar Site (Fig. 25, Nos 164, 167). They have long snouts with the nose clearly outlined and protruding eyebrows. The length to height ratio is relatively high: The largest is 24 cm long, 6.4 cm high and 5.6 cm in breadth. Nos 164, 165, 169 bear the same decoration motifs of parallel longitudinal fields of either stamped or incised lines divided by either dragged or incised lines; placement dorsal. Nos 167 and 168 have short conical studs which apparently represent the scaly body.

Three figurines come from the Mutare Altar site and are made of soapstone. No 86 from Everton Farm has the longest snout (body length to snout ratio). It is slightly damaged in the area of the eyes. The tail is missing. It has a square grid of incised lines to mark the scales. The ventral aspect is plain and flat. No 945 has a prismatic body profile. It has claws and an incised cross-hatch grid to show the scaly body. This figure has a human-like nose. No 946 (Mutare Altar site) has an incised square grid on the dorsal aspect and a cross-hatch grid on the underside. Three images have their heads broken and they are missing. These, like the crocodiles, have long bodies, but they have longer legs. No 170 has some protrusions on the shoulders. These figures have the same decoration motifs on the same positions as fellow crocodiles from the same site: parallel latitudinal stamped or incised lines forming longitudinal bands; placement, dorsal.

Tortoise (6), Nos 138-141, 1030, 913, 5 clay, 1 soapstone, 3 sites: Everton Farm, Mutare Altar site, and an unknown site in northern Mashonaland (Fig. 25, No 1020, Fig. 26, No 158).

These animals are in crawling posture. The two nearly complete figures are more or less of the same size, the larger one being 10.3 cm long, 6.0 cm high, 3.9 cm in breadth. All four from Everton Farm are decorated with fields of rows of punctates on the dorsal aspect outlined by incised or dragged lines. The rows may have a longitudinal or latitudinal orientation.

No 1020 (Fig. 25) comes from an unspecified site in northern Mashonaland. Its trunk is a convex bulge strewn with conical studs perhaps indicating

the scaly and rough texture of the tortoise shell. The ventral area is flat and plain. There are short hind legs but no fore legs. The eyes are protruding from a head which is very small in relation to the body behind it. No 913 from the Mutare Altar site is made of soapstone. It has a convex dorsal profile with an incised grid to show the relief of the shell.

Category 3 Class 3: Bird figurines

(3), species unidentified, soapstone Mutare Altar site (Plate 2 Nos 947, 948, 949*).

Two of the birds show wings in engraved relief. They are plain.

Category 3 Class 4: Frogs

(2) Nos 162–163, clay, Everton Farm (Fig. 26 No 163).

They have relatively short body lengths with a bulge along the spine. They both have protruding eyes, and ears. The larger one is 7.7 cm long, 3.9 cm high and 4.5 cm wide.

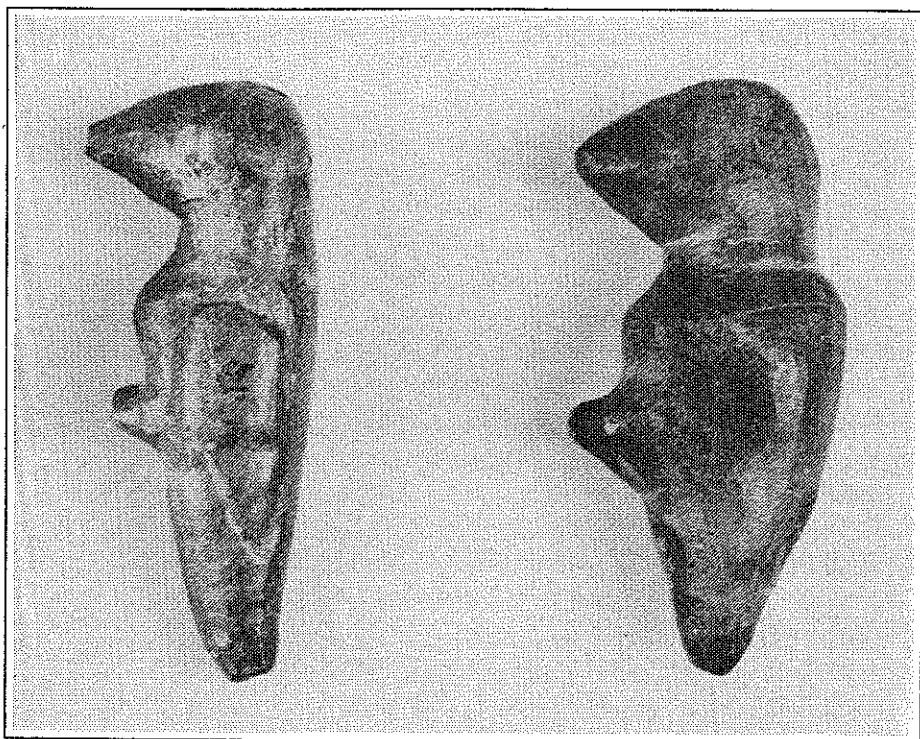


Plate 2. Bird figurines L c. 10.0 cm, Mutare Altar site. Randall-MacIver's figurine collection in the Museum of Mankind, London. Photo: British Museum.

The ventral area is flat and . The eyes are protruding e body behind it. No 913 e. It has a convex dorsal e shell.

ite (Plate 2 Nos 947, 948,

They are plain.

163).

ulge along the spine. They ne is 7.7 cm long, 3.9 cm



. Randall-MacIver's figurine ritish Museum.



178



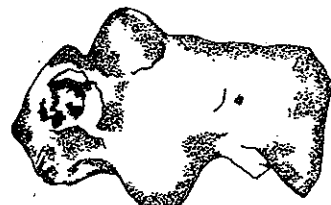
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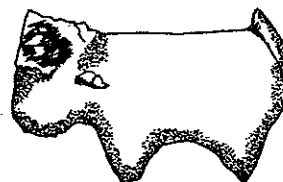
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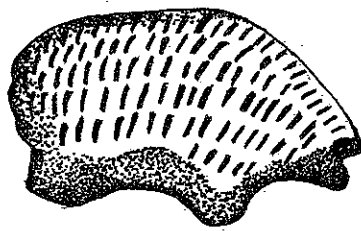


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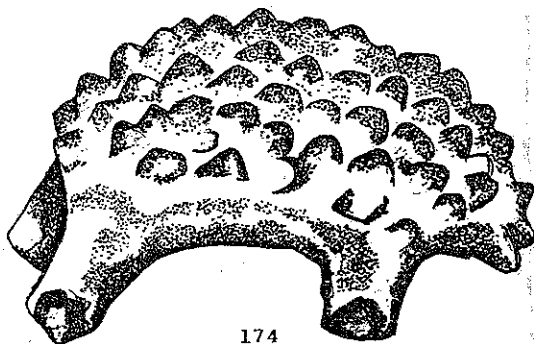


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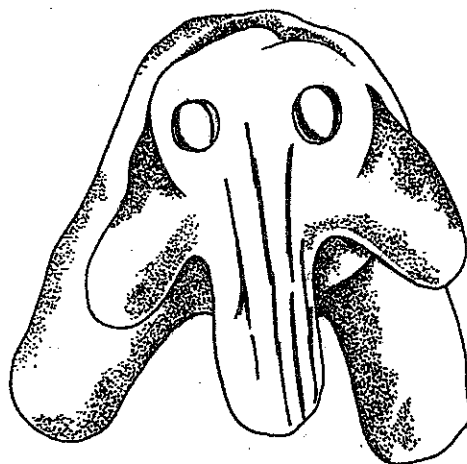
Fig. 21. Cat. 2 Class 1: Cattle figurines. No 178, L 5.0 cm, Doxford Farm, Mazowe, northern Mashonaland. No 414, L 5.8 cm, Khami Waterworks, Bulawayo. No 415, ht 6.0 cm, Khami Store Kopje, Bulawayo. No 600, L 6.1 cm, Chivowa Hill, Masvingo; No. 727, L 5.5 cm, Class 2: Goat. No 531, L 5.3 cm, Great Zimbabwe.



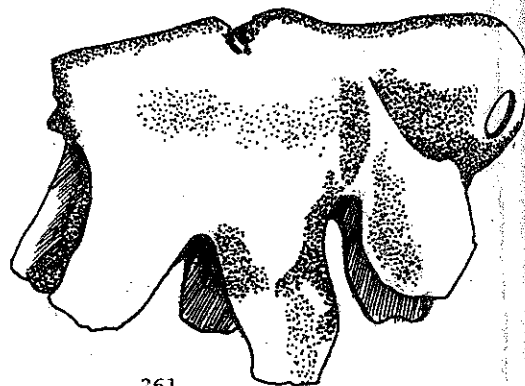
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174

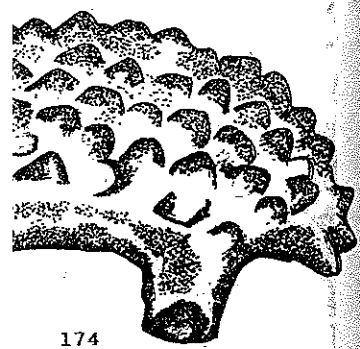


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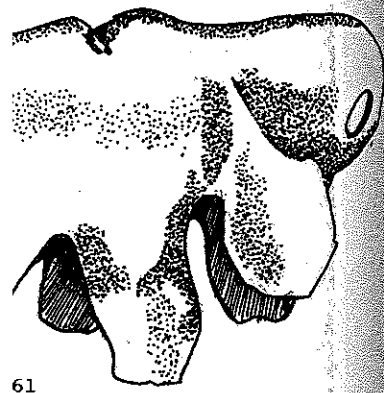


261

Fig. 22. Cat. 3: Wild animal figurines. No 135, L 7.3 cm; No. 174, L 10.3 cm, both porcupine, Everton Farm, Centenary. No 261, L 14.0 cm, elephant, Golden Shower, Arcturus. Both sites in northern Mashonaland.



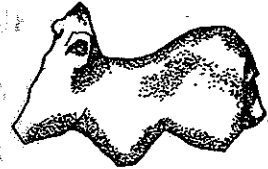
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61



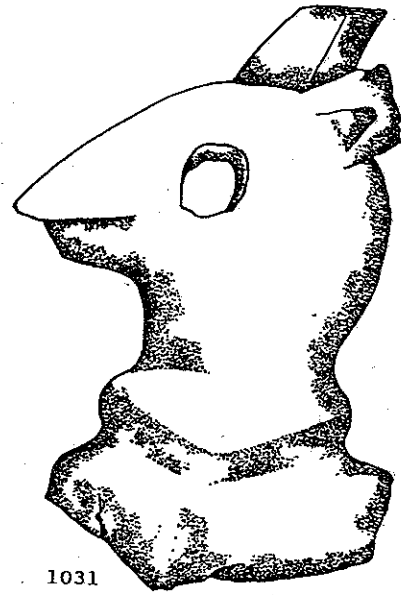
499



846



741



1031

cm; No. 174, L 10.3 cm, both
cm, elephant, Golden Shower,

Fig. 23. Cat. 2: Domestic animal figurines. No 499, L 4.6 cm, dog?, Mt Alice, Bulawayo. Cat. 3 Wild animals: No 741, L 4.6 cm, Chamakwangwadza Hill, Chivi, Masvingo. No 846, L 3.8 cm, Wazi Hill, northern Mashonaland. No 1031, ht 10.9 cm, hare head, Hawkshead Farm, Mutare, Eastern Highlands.

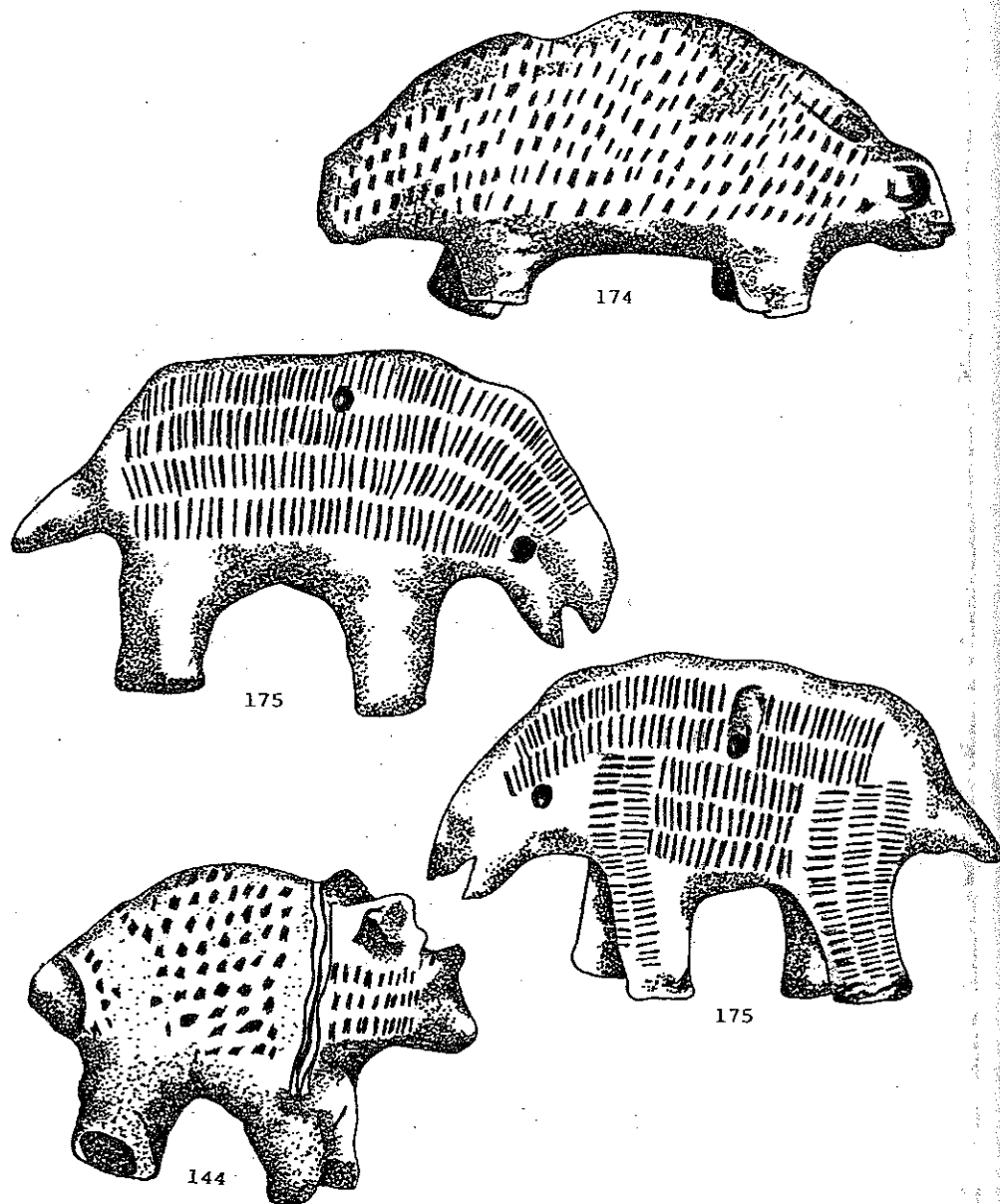
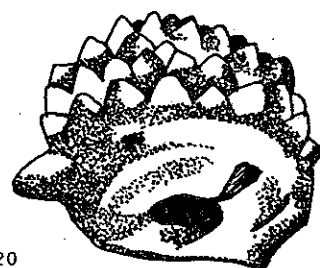
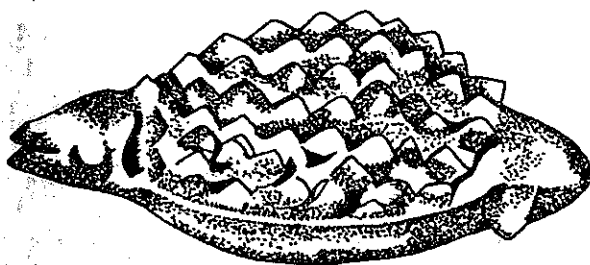
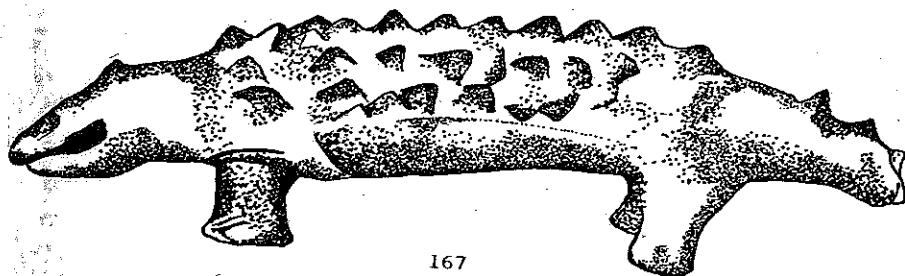
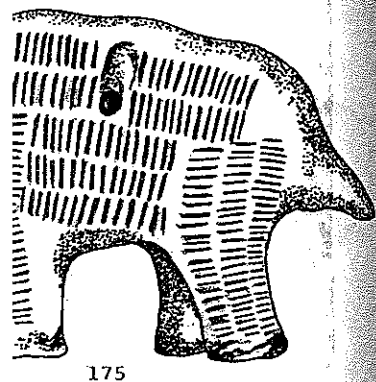
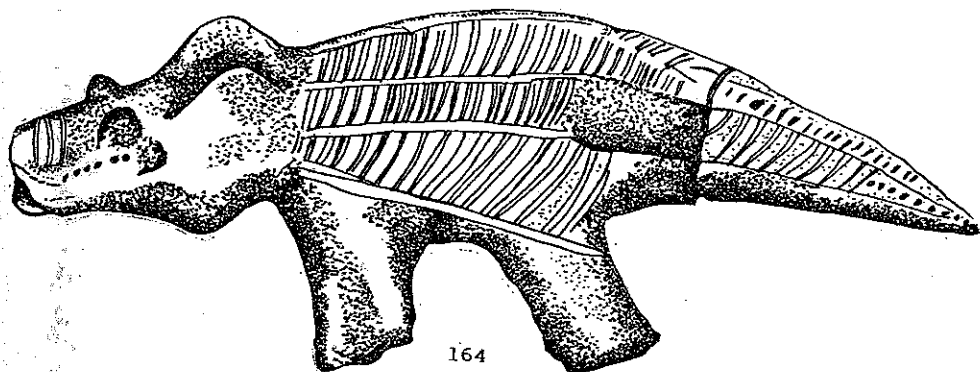
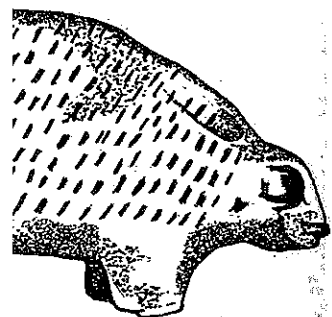
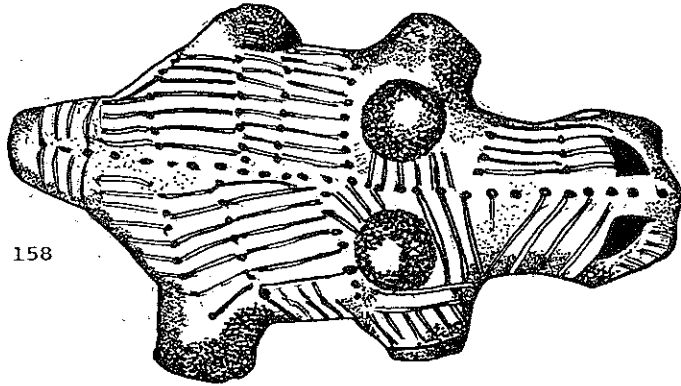


Fig. 24. Cat. 3. Wild animal figurines. No 144, L 8.7 cm, unidentified; No 174, L 13.8 cm; No 175 L 15.0 cm, chameleon; all from Everton Farm, Centenary, northern Mashonaland.

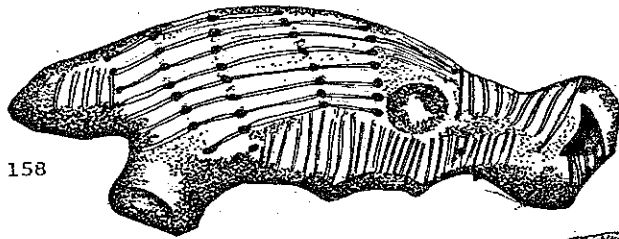


1, unidentified; No 174,
ton Farm, Centenary, northern

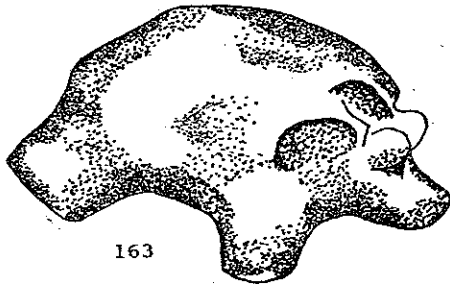
Fig. 25. Cat. 3: Wild animal figurines. No 164, L 24.0 cm; No 167, L 20.0 cm, both
crocodile, Everton Farm. No 1020, L 13.2 cm, tortoise, unknown site, northern Ma-
shonaland



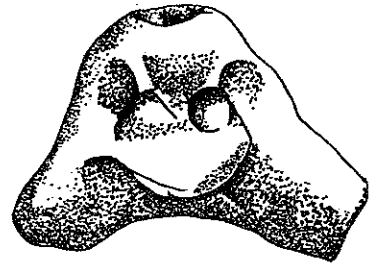
158



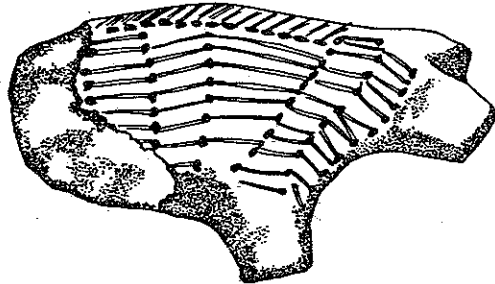
158



163



163



161

Fig. 26. Cat. 3: Wild animal figurines. No 158, L 14.9 cm, tortoise; No 163, L 6.9 cm, frog; No 161, L 11.5 cm, broken, unidentified; all from Everton Farm, Centenary, northern Mashonaland.

Category 3 Class 5: Unidentified animal figurines

(20)*, all clay. Everton Farm.

Five with ears, mouths and no eyes. All but one (No 155 which is broken in this area) have tails. None has horns. The largest is 17 cm long, 4.3 cm tall and 7 cm in breadth. All have a line of punctates following the spinal divide, with fields of latitudinal rows of longitudinal incised lines divided by single lines of punctates on either side.

Six figures have a cranial ridge running from the rear of the head to mouth. This ridge divides ear cavities which face the front flanked by ear blades on the upper side. They have short legs. All seem to have had tails while No 161 apparently had two tails merging into a Y. This specimen is broken with the front half missing. The largest is 25 cm long, 5.9 cm tall and 7.5 cm in breadth. All bear a spinal line of punctates with parallel latitudinal fields of parallel longitudinal incised lines; placement dorsal.

Nos 145–150*. Six images with horns, tails and no eyes. The largest is 14.3 cm long, 5.7 cm tall, and 6.1 cm in breadth. No 150 is broken and only the leg is present. It is decorated in the same patterns as the complete figurines. They bear parallel longitudinal rows of latitudinal double toothed stamps; placement dorsal.

No 171*. This broken specimen bear similar impressions on the leg. The front pair of legs is missing. It has a tail, horns, ears and a mouth. It is laterally fat-bellied. Length 9.7 cm, height, 4.3 cm breadth 5.5 cm. It is decorated with longitudinal multiple dragged lines; placement, dorsal.

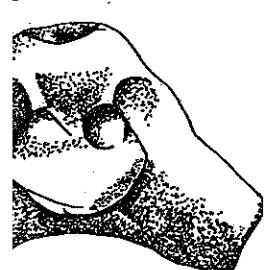
No 179*. A long-tailed mammal with horns and ears. It would resemble an ant bear if it were not for what looks like horns. Length, 13.9 cm; height 4.2 cm; breadth 4.7 cm.

No 937*. Mutare Altar site. An animal with three legs in a single file, two have four claws each, the third with two. It has a convex profile along the spine to the tail. Undecorated.

Category 4: Fungi

(7), Nos 56, 246, 261–265, Clay (Fig. 27 No 262) 3 sites: Golden Shower (5), Dillon Farm (1), Atherstone farm (1).

They have a stem which tapers off to the end and supporting a conical roof. What is apparently the largest specimen, from Dillon Farm, is broken. It is 9.5 cm in roof diameter. The largest complete figure, from Golden Shower, is 9.3 cm high and 7.5 cm in roof diameter.



163



tortoise; No 163, L 6.9 cm,
Everton Farm, Centenary,

Category 5: Unidentified objects

Bean-shaped objects (5), clay, 4 sites: Butcher's plot (2), Leopard's Kopje (1), Blue Jay Bunting Close (1), Anderson's Plot (1) (Fig. 27 No 411).

As their name implies they are shaped like a bean seed (Robinson 1960, p. 201). They are however large and come close to the size of a mango seed. The convex edge is sharper than the concave edge which gives these figures are pear-shaped cross-section. The teeth are cut on the convex edge.

Unidentified figurines from Atherstone Farm

All clay

The human figurines from Atherstone Farm have already been described above as presenting a different version of pedestal heads. Indeed the whole collection of figurines from Atherstone Farm is somewhat peculiar in that it does not have close parallels at other sites:

Rings (3) Nos 57-59*. The largest is 5.4 cm in external diameter and 2 cm thick.

Spindle whorl (1), No 60*. This clay disc has a hole perforated at the centre and thirteen more holes punched through at equal intervals around the circumference. The disc is 5.1 cm in diameter and 1.7 cm in maximum thickness.

'Discus' (1), No 61*. The discus is biconvex in vertical profile making an almost angular turn at the mid-point of the convexity. Height, 3.7 cm, maximum diameter 4.7 cm, and is at the point of convex turn.

Crescent shaped objects, (8), Nos 62-69*. Fig. 28 No. 64, 66). Four of these have a wide groove along the area of concavity. Three of them are perforated on the middle of the trough. The rest are cylindrical in shape and taper at the ends. Undecorated.

Unidentified figurines from Everton Farm

All clay

'Gong' (1), Fig. 28 No 131. It is funnel-shaped oval. The mouth is inflected and restricted. The handle is bent a few centimetres from the end. Length 19.3 cm, maximum width 10.1 cm. Undecorated.

Fig. 27. Cat. 4 & 5: Fungi and miscellaneous figurines. No 411, L 6.0 cm, bean-shaped 'comb', Leopard's Kopje, Bulawayo. No. 262, L 9.3 cm, 'mushroom', No 260, L 22.5 cm, 'boat'; both from Golden Shower, northern Mshonaland, Arcturus, northern Mashonaland. No 241, L 6.7 cm, 'studded cones', both from Three Skids Claim, Shamva, northern Mashonaland.

2), Leopard's Kopje
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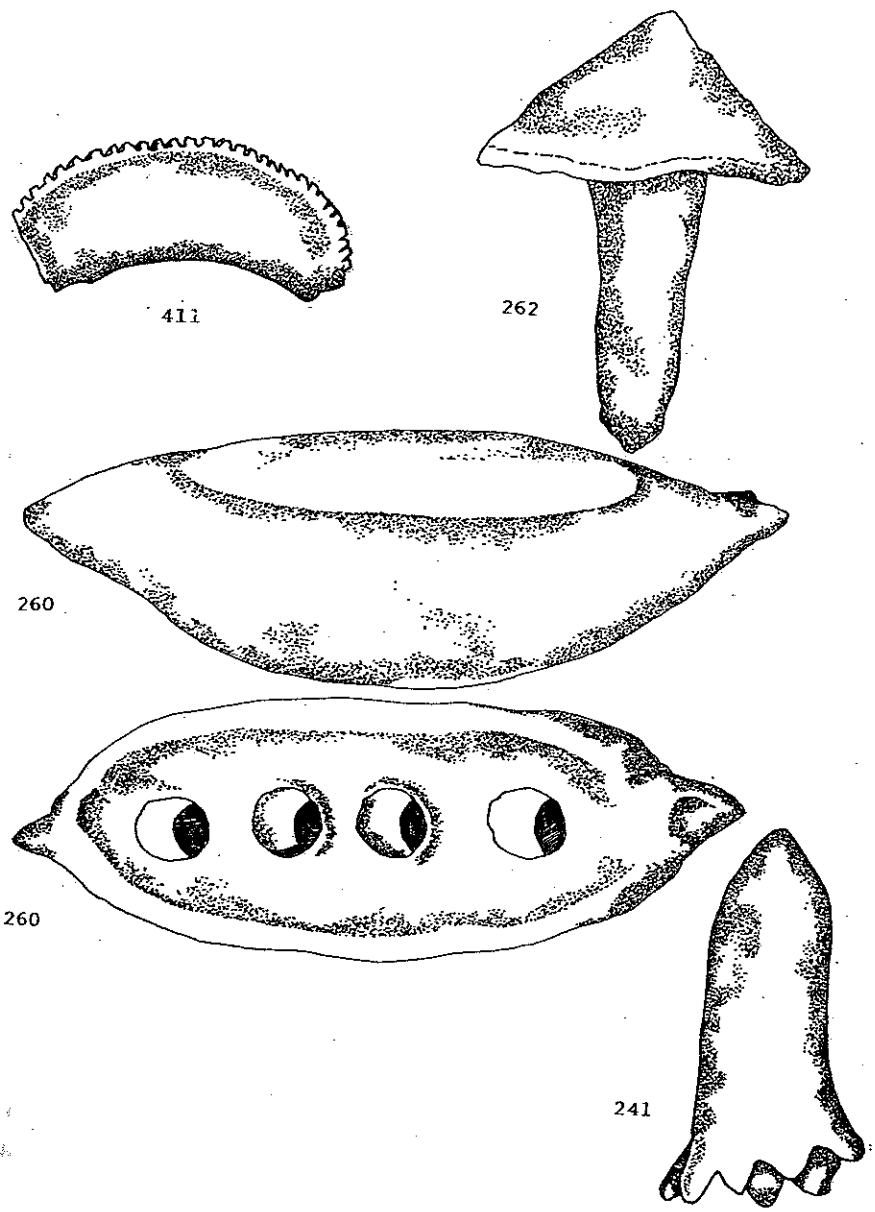
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oval. The mouth is in-
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 ed.

No 411, L 6.0 cm, bean-
 9.3 cm, 'mushroom', No
 m Mshonaland, Arcturus,
 s', both from Three Skids



*Disc (1)**, a disc perforated at the centre. It is decorated by labyrinths of incised or dragged lines. The canoe of the canoe man (Fig. 16 No 114) from the same site is also decorated in this way.

Rods (2), Fig. 28 No 900. Unidentified images from Three Skids Claim, clay. The assemblage from Three Skids Claims consists of 57 figurines. These include Category 1 Class 1a (human figurines), studded ellipsoids, studded cones and several unidentified objects.

Studded ellipsoids (17), Nos 223–239*. These are flat and rather oval in shape. In a few cases the underneath has a slight arch resembling that of the sole of human feet. The ventral surface is plain while the dorsal area is strewn with small protrusions. The largest is 9.0 cm long, 4.7 cm wide and 2.8 cm thick.

Studded cones (5), Nos 240–244, Fig. 27 No 241. They are conical at one end and studded at the other. The studded area is convex in profile.

Pedestal 'pendants' (5), Fig. 29 Nos 205–209. They have a circular base above which is the neck which is bounded at the upper end by a ring-like thickening of the trunk. The trunk from here on consists of alternating larger and smaller polygonal faces which are suppressed at the upper end into only two faces. Here a hole was perforated from which probably this object was suspended. The largest is 16.3 cm long and 4.5 cm in diameter at the base. The larger faces are decorated with parallel slanting rows of impressions of strung beads or wound fibre.

Forked objects (10), Nos 195–203*. They are elongated and flattish clay objects which branch at one end into two projections, the fork end. The shape of the other end could not be ascertained as they are all broken. The minimum length is 9 cm. Undecorated.

Perforated 'plates' (6), Fig. 30 Nos 214–219. They are elliptical in shape with triangular pointed ends. One face has a concave depression while the other is convex. At the centre of the depression is a perforation. The largest is 13.5 cm long and 6.2 cm wide. Undecorated.

Blades (4) Nos 210–213*. They are elongated and flattish. The complete end is pointed while the other end in all four cases is broken. The minimum length is 12.2 cm. Undecorated.

Disc (1), No 220*. It is 5.9 cm in diameter, 1.4 cm thick and 4.3 cm in breadth. It is basically similar in shape to three specimens from Chipoli Farm. Undecorated.

Pear shaped object (1), Fig. 30 No 222. Tear drop shaped disc 9.1 cm long and 4.3 cm wide. It is basically similar in shape to three specimens from Chipoli Farm. Undecorated.

decorated by labyrinths of an (Fig. 16 No 114) from

from Three Skids Claim, consists of 57 figurines. (Fig. 16 No 114) from

re flat and rather oval in shape resembling that of the while the dorsal area is 1.5 cm long, 4.7 cm wide and

. They are conical at one end and convex in profile.

They have a circular base at the upper end by a ring-like structure consisting of alternating larger and smaller perforations. At the upper end into only one hole probably this object was used as a spindle. The diameter at the base is 1.5 cm. It has two rows of impressions of

elongated and flattish clay objects, the fork end. The shape of the objects are all broken. The mini-

objects are elliptical in shape with a shallow depression while the perforation is small. The largest

is flattened. The complete object is broken. The minimum

is 1.5 cm thick and 4.3 cm in diameter. The specimens from Chipoli

are shaped disc 9.1 cm long to three specimens from

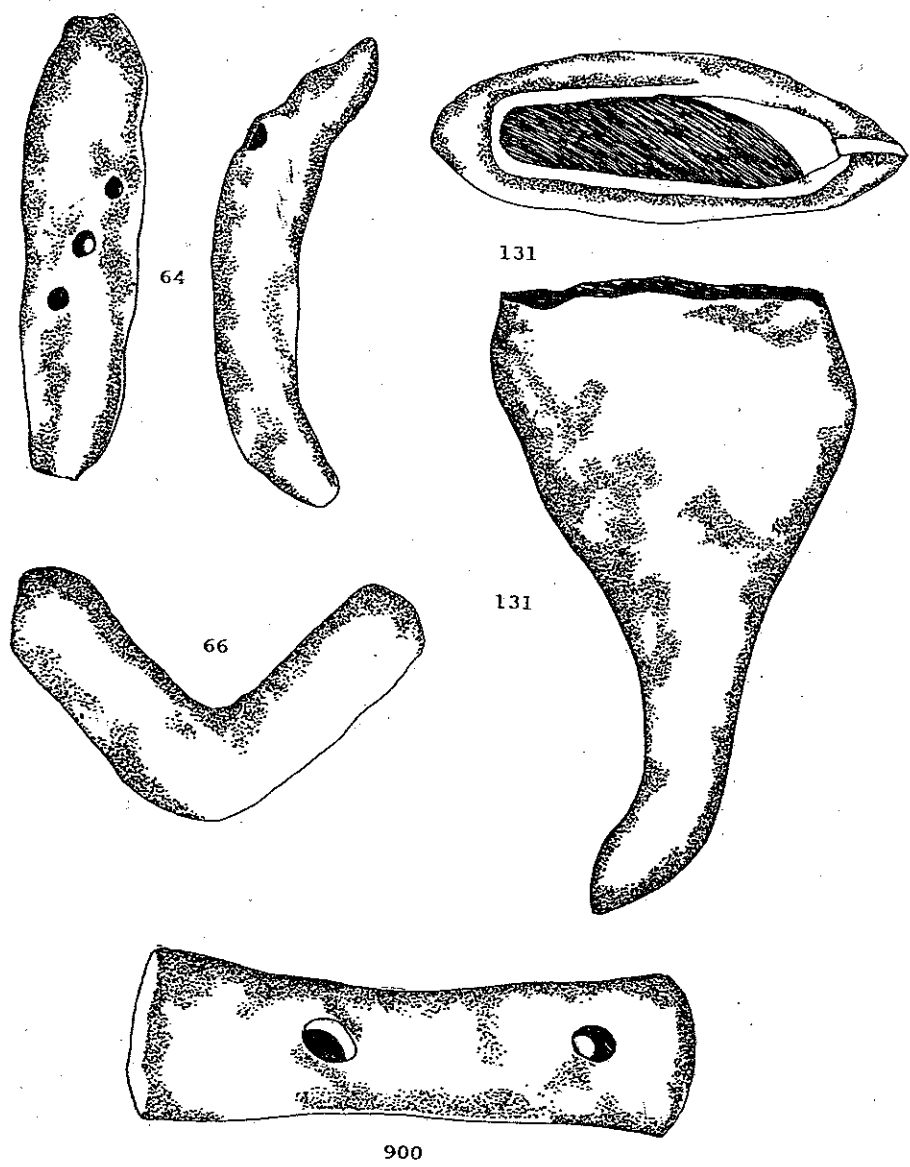


Fig. 28. Cat. 5: Miscellaneous figurines. No. 64 L 10.2 cm; No 66, L 8.5 cm, 'crescent shaped' objects. Atherstone Farm, Bindura. No 131, L 19.3 cm, 'gong'; No 900, L 13.5 cm, 'clay rod' both from Everton Farm, Centenary. Both sites in northern Mashonaland

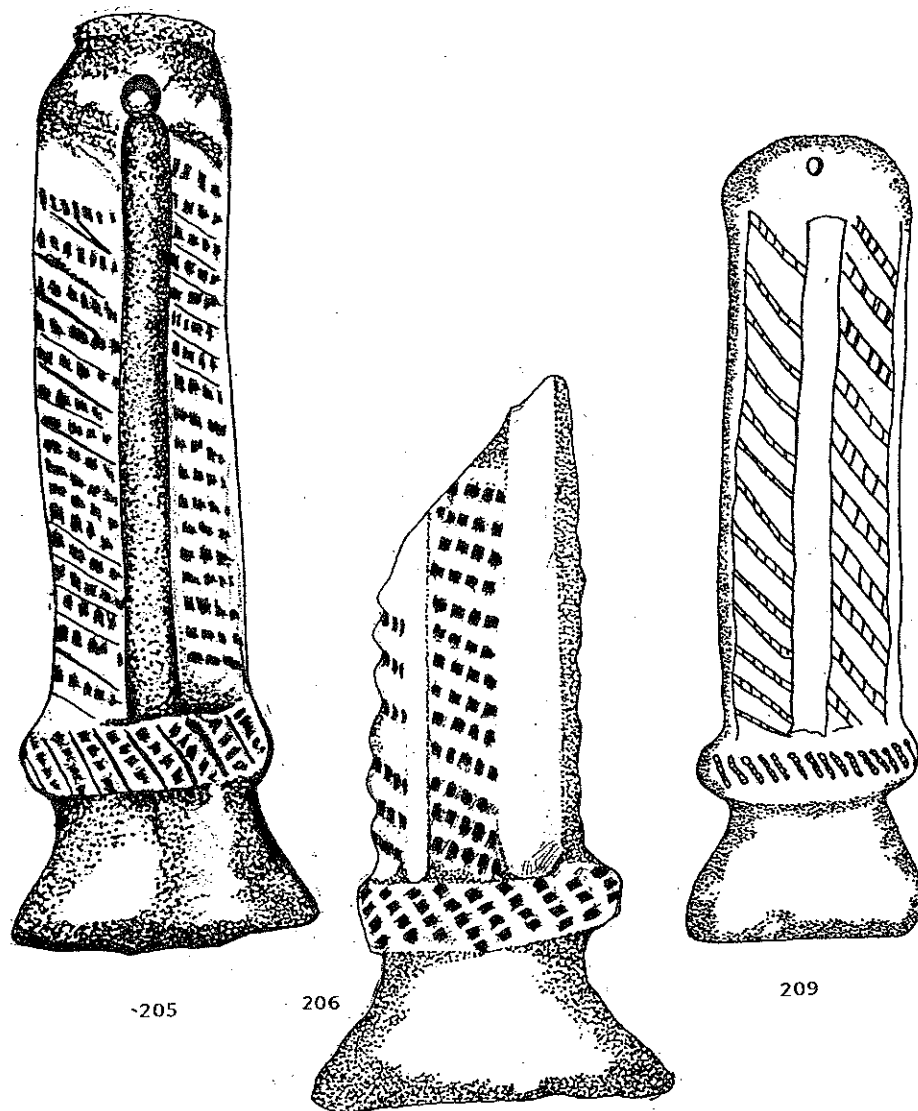
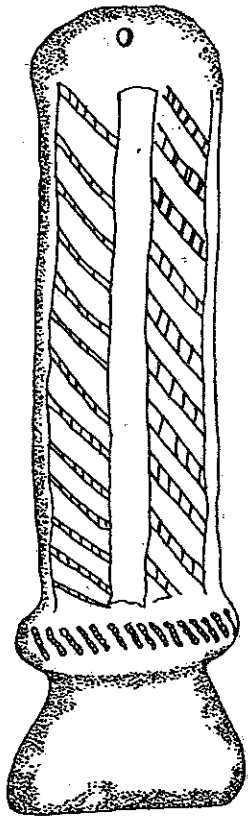
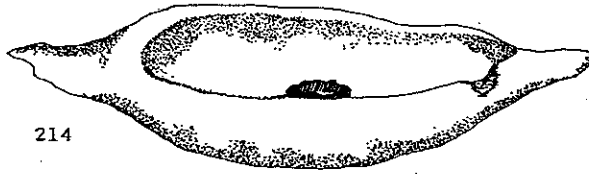


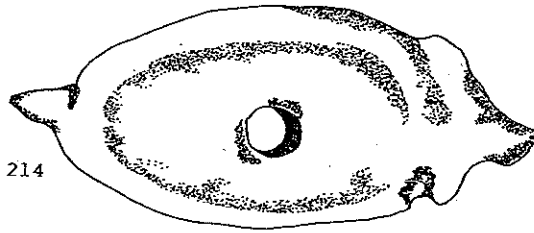
Fig. 29. Cat. 5: Miscellaneous figurines. No 205, L 16.2 cm; No 206, L 10.5 cm No 209, L 15.1 cm; 'pedestal pendants', all from Three Skids Claim, northern Mashonaland.



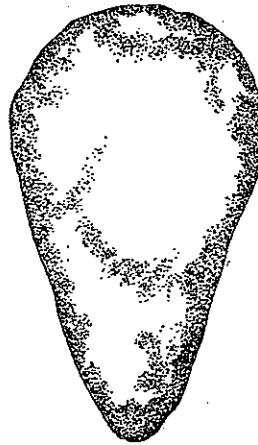
209



214



214



222

cm; No 206, L 10.5 cm No
s Claim, northern Mashona-

Fig. 30. Cat. 5: Miscellaneous figurines. No 214, L 13.5 cm, 'perforated dish'; No 222,
L 9.1 cm, 'pear shaped object'; both from Three Skids Claim, Shamva, northern
Mashonaland.

Unidentified figurines from Chipoli Farm

All clay

Pear shaped objects (3), Nos 255–258*. Identical to those from Three Skids Claim described above (Fig. 30 No 222). The complete one is 9.1 cm long, 1.6 cm thick and 4.3 cm wide. Undecorated.

Ring (1), No 259. A flat ring 14.5 cm in external diameter, 4.3 cm wide and 2.0 cm thick. It is perforated at regular intervals around this flat perimeter. Undecorated.

'Canoe' (1). Fig. 27 No 260. It is oval in shape with an oval trough. In the trough is a line of holes. Undecorated.

Chapter 4

Site profiles

Figurines have been recovered or reported from at least 215 sites. It is not within the scope of this thesis to describe each of these sites. Only those sites which have yielded ten figurines or more will be briefly presented here, noting their situation, dating and finds as well as figurine types found at these sites. (* Site numbers refer to numbers assigned to the sites on Maps 1-12 at the end of Chapter 5).

Northern Mashonaland

Site 3. Everton Farm (Site Number 1631 CB 1, Map 12): This collection of at least 144 figurine pieces, of which a majority are complete or nearly complete, is the largest single discovery of figurines so far made. The situation of the deposit is an open place with no significant landmark except for a very large termite mound. In 1952 Mr. Dax, a farmer, unearthed these objects with a tractor-driven plough when he opened this part of his farm for the first time for cultivation (Goodall 1965, p. 25). The Everton Farm assemblage comprises the largest collection of human or semi-human pedestal heads (Cat. 1 Sub-classes 2a and 2b.i) and wild animals (Tables 3, 4 and 14; Figs 11, 15, 16). Apart from these classifiable types this collection also possesses a number of unique figurines of a very abstract nature such as the doughnut-shaped human figurines (Fig. 20), rings and the 'gong'.

It is understood that a few of the complete figurines were retained on the farm. In spite of the wealth of their numbers and artistry, their dating is a fundamental problem that cannot as yet be solved. A team students from the History Department of the University of Zimbabwe, including myself, took an intensive walking survey of the site in 1990 after it had been ploughed, which only yielded a few undecorated potsherds.

Site 24. Golden Shower (1731 CB 1, Map 3): Golden Shower was a pre-industrial gold mine situated 80 km east of Harare. Modern prospectors reopened an pre-industrial mine scope in the 1930's. During these operations pottery and figurines were collected. In 1943 Mrs. Goodall examined the shafts and recovered more material including '(20 complete) peculiar objects, like nails (Cat. 1 Class 3), some like mushrooms . . .' (Fig. 27 No 262) (letter to J. F. Schofield dated July 28, 1943 in Archaeological Survey Records, Queen-Victoria Museum, Harare). According to Mrs. Goodall, the clay

elephant (Fig. 22 No 261) in fact does not come from the same site as the other objects, but from Juno Mine about a mile from Golden Shower (Letter to Schofield dated August 24, 1943, Arch. Surv. Records under 1731 CB 1, QVM).

Site 13. Three Skids Claim (1731 BB 1, Map 12): A cache of figurines was recovered by a party of mining prospectors in 1932 from this site near the confluence of the Mazowe and the Mufurudzi Rivers in the Shamva District of northern Mashonaland.

Correspondence between Mrs. Goodall and the collectors shows that over one hundred objects were removed and shared between three members of the party. Later they were persuaded to surrender their finds to the Museum and that should account for the 57 figurines in the museum collection (see Figs 2, 3, 27, 29). One of the letters dated January 1, 1944 states that Mr. Maufe, a geologist with the government's Geological Survey department, 'found still more objects sticking out in the sand, and his party also picked up a few' (Arch. Surv. Records under 1731 BIB 1, QVM). The site has not been visited in recent times. In a letter dated June 25, 1944 Three Skids Claim is said to be:

33 miles by road NE of Shamva, approximately lat. 17 deg 7 min S, 31 deg 51 min E, and on the Three Skids Claims about 100 yards S of the NE end of the claims. They found at the foot of an ant heap, one figurine sticking out of the soil the rest below the surface. No other objects were found with the figures. One portion was found in a prospecting trench 100 yards from this site.

The collection from Three Skids Claim has some of the finest specimens of Cat. 1 Sub-class 1a (human), but the majority of the specimens are unidentified objects which have been arbitrarily called pedestal 'pendants', 'boats', studded cones and studded ellipsoids.

Site 14. Chipoli Farm (1731 BC 8, Map 12): No site details are available except for a letter dated January 15, 1944 to Mrs. Goodall from Mr. Moubray 'We dug up a lot of doll-like figures some years ago in the middle of a ploughed field. Some went to Cape Town Museum and various other people took others'.

Thirteen specimens which include pedestal human figures are available in the Queen Victoria Museum (see Figs 12, 14).

Site 1. Wazi Hill (1631 CA 12, Map 9): Wazi Hill is the site of a fairly extensive occupation deposit to suggest a large village. It consists of a flat hill top where huts were built as well as a much larger settlement at the northern foot of the hill flanked by a setting of smaller hills.

Test excavations were conducted by Soper and Pwiti in 1986 and these were followed by larger excavations in 1987. These revealed that much of

the same site as the Golden Shower (Letter is under 1731 CB 1,

cache of figurines was on this site near the the Shamva District

ctors shows that over three members of the s to the Museum and collection (see Figs 2, ies that Mr. Maufe, a partment, 'found still also picked up a few' e has not been visited kids Claim is said to

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l is the site of a fairly ge. It consists of a flat urger settlement at the hills.

witi in 1986 and these revealed that much of

the occupation deposit belongs to the LFC Musengezi tradition dating to the 13th–16th centuries to which the figurines belong (Soper & Pwiti 1988). There is a small EFC component stratified under the Musengezi tradition. The hill top and the foot together yielded about 83 figurine pieces with a majority coming from the hill top. The assemblage consists of human figurines, but wild animal and domestic animals are also represented (Figs 10, 18, 23). As at Leopard's Kopje and many other sites, the figurines are mixed up with household refuse and are found throughout the site, including middens. The assemblage consists of tens of possible Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b and a few Class 3 (conical) specimens, cattle and animal figurines (Cats 2 and 3).

Site 12. Ruanga Ruins (1731 BA 1, Map 9): Ruanga is a zimbabwe on a small kopje among several larger ones at the head waters of the Ruanga stream, a tributary of the Mazowe River, in the Shamva District of northern Mashonaland. The zimbabwe was built on what was formerly a Musengezi village and it is to these previous inhabitants that the figurines belong. This was revealed by excavations conducted by Garlake in 1970 (Garlake 1973b). The assemblage includes 6 Cat. 1 Sub-class 2b.ii, possible Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b (Fig. 9) and cattle figurines. Altogether 18 figurine pieces were collected (Garlake 1973b, p. 133). The figurines occur in association with household items and debris such as potsherds, shell and copper beads, bone and some other metal objects most of it recovered from a rubbish midden. The Musengezi levels at Ruanga Ruins date to the 13th century AD.

Site 38. Rydings Farm (1629 DC 5, Map 8): Rydings Farm lies west of the town of Karoi, some 180 km northwest of Harare. The site is in open country just by Chedzurgwe, a granite hill (16 deg. 47 min. 05 sec. S and 29 deg. 37 min. 15 sec. E). This residential site is very extensive covering 65 acres. Chedzurgwe was excavated by Garlake in 1969 (Garlake 1970). As is often the case, 18 human figurines were obtained mixed with discarded household items (pottery, beads, metal objects and bone). Most of the figurines are Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b (Fig. 4) and Cat. 1 Class 3 conical type (Garlake 1970, p. 27) a few in complete and most in broken state. These include one of the few known sitting human figures. Rydings Farm is one of three Ingombe Ilede sites where figurines have been obtained. It dates to the 15th–16th centuries (1440 ± 95, SR-180; 1535 ± 120, SR-179).

Eastern Districts

Site 122. Mutare Altar Site (1932 BA 14, Map 10): The Mutare Altar site is a zimbabwe ruin about 6 km SE of the modern eastern border town of Mutare. The site is situated on a hill which forms part of a long range of hills called the Eastern Highlands. The forts, pits and terraces which typify much of the

cultural landscape in the northern part of the Eastern Highlands are not found here. This collection with at least 136 soapstone is the second largest assemblage after Everton Farm, were discovered by a miner, Mr. Andrews in about 1905. Mr. Andrews made some notes and sketches of his finds and gave them to the archaeologist Randall-MacIver who also visited the site. MacIver published Andrews' finds in *Medieval Rhodesia*, (1906). Andrews donated his finds to Rhodes Trustees, who in turn gave them to the British Museum. It is unfortunate that Andrews' notes do not describe the circumstances and precise location of his discovery, this information is presumably lost since some pages are missing from his notes.

The site was re-examined and excavated by Bordini in 1974 and a radiocarbon date of AD 1550 ± 40 (Pta 1411) was obtained. No figurines were found (Bordini, 1974, 1983). However one cannot be absolutely certain that the figurines were associated with the Great Zimbabwe tradition.

The Altar site's assemblage is dominated by human and wild animal figurines in soapstone. A striking feature is their more liberal display of human genitalia. Five carvings of female genitalia as independent entities are among these human figurines. All the soapstone figurines except one are smoke-blackened, which led MacIver and Andrews to conclude that they were sacrificial objects and thus the proposal that the site was an altar.

South-western Zimbabwe

Site 52. Leopard's Kopje Main Kraal (2030 AB 3, Map 4) is situated at the foot of the Leopard's Kopje, also called Ntabazingwe, one km north-west of Khami Ruins (20 deg. 08 min. S, 28 deg. 25 min. 22 sec E). The more salient features of the site are several stone circles on the perimeter of the site and short stone walls between boulders. The presence of hut floors, ash middens and cow dung deposits show that the Main Kraal was a large residential settlement.

Before the main excavations by Huffman in 1969, the site was test-excavated by Robinson in 1966. All figurines from Leopard's Kopje have been obtained during professionally conducted excavations and therefore their provenance is well known. Three occupation phases are represented at the Main Kraal namely EFC Zhizo, LFC Mambo, and Refuge Occupation. The excavations together have yielded at least 110 figurines, mostly broken Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b type (Fig. 4, see also Fig. 27). The assemblage from Leopard's Kopje also includes the third largest complement (13) of cattle figurines. A majority of figurines were found on Mambo levels (Huffman 1974a). The figurines from Leopard's Kopje are part of the occupation

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Site 65. Blue Jay/Bunting Close (2028 BA 31, Map 4): The site is in the Hillside suburb of Bulawayo, only 1.5 miles south of the city centre. The more prominent features near the site are granite kopjes forming an east-west ridge. Matsheumhlope and Butcher's Plot, figurine sites also described here are on this ridge. The area is now an urban residential area. Blue Jay/Bunting Close was excavated in 1969 (Huffman 1974a) and the finds were much the same as those from Leopard's Kopje: hut floors, pottery, animal bones and figurines. Blue Jay/Bunting Close was a village a little smaller than Leopard's Kopje. The figurine collection consists of at least nine human and three cattle figurines. The stratigraphy represented Zhizo and Woolandale occupation phases. The figurines belong to the latter phase which dates from the 13th to the 16th centuries. The site is in the cluster of Woolandale figurines sites in Bulawayo.

Sites 76, 58 and 85. Site details for the following sites are not known: Anderson's Plot (site 76, 2028 BA 166), Collation Farm (site 58, 2028 AD 4, Insindi Ranch (site 85, 2028 DD 8) and Mt Alice (site 79, 2028 BD 2).

Site 50. Khami Ruins (2030 BA 1, Map 10). Situated 17 km west of the modern city of Bulawayo, the Khami Ruins are the second largest set of ruins after Great Zimbabwe. They are dominated by terraces built in combination with hut platforms and stone-walled enclosures. The ruins are built on the western edge of the Khami River among low granite kopjes. The vegetation consists mainly of acacia and combretum.

Khami Ruins were first excavated in 1897 by Hall and Neal with the object of finding gold. They were briefly surveyed by Randall-MacIver in 1905. The five ivory figurines were discovered during a series of excavations by Robinson which began in 1947. The most fascinating of the ivory finds is the human figure squatting on a pillar found in Ruin No 5, situated south of the main ruin, the Hill Ruin. Robinson writes that

... it came from a small recess formed by natural rocks and a little walling centrally placed on the main platform of Ruin No 5. The figurine was embedded in a few inches of deposit composed of midden rubbish such as animal bones, potsherds, ash etc, ...

(Robinson 1959, pp. 155-6)

Two almost identical figurines of lion came from a hut platform of the Hill Ruin, the most important unit of the Khami Ruins. Five ivory objects believed to be divining dice were obtained from the same hut platform. Other ivory items also found at Khami are bracelet fragments. Khami was a Zimbabwe, the type site for the Khami tradition, a later phase of the Zimbabwe

tradition. Khami is believed to have been the state capital of the Torwa, a proto-Shona people (Beach 1980, see also Chapter 6). Occupation previous to the Khami period was by LFC Leopard's Kopje (Mambo) people, and the human and cattle figurines including the ones from a burial (Fig. 7) are attributed to these early inhabitants (Robinson 1959, pp. 36-7, 140). The ivory figurines were made or used by the Zimbabwe-Khami people. More objects of metal and pottery belonging to the previous and late occupation of Khami were recovered at various places in the ruins, such as the zoomorphic pot (Robinson 1959, p. 79) and imported blue and white Nankin china sherds (Robinson 1959, p. 143).

Site 64. Butcher's Plot (2028 BA 30, Map 6): Seventeen figurines were unearthed during the construction of a tennis court at Mr. Butcher's house, Hillside, Bulawayo in 1945. Mr. Butcher's house was situated on the western end of the Hillside ridge. The collection comprises human figurines in Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b type with body scarification or cicatrization. Two bean-shaped objects with serrated edges were obtained at Butcher's Plot. Similar objects were found at Leopard's Kopje and Matsheumhlope also in the Bulawayo area (Robinson 1959, p. 60).

South-central Zimbabwe

Site 96. Chivowa Hill (2028 BA 20, Map 5) is a hill top settlement about 25 km north-west of Great Zimbabwe and 17 km west of the modern town of Masvingo (20 deg. 10 min. south, 30 deg. 30 min. E). The site has some flimsy stone walling. It was excavated by Sinclair in 1976 (Sinclair 1985, 1987, 1991). In addition, the site's catchment area was surveyed to a radius of 10 km. It is thus one of the few sites in Zimbabwe where a site territorial analysis has been made. More than 63 figurines, mostly broken pieces of Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b figurines but also Sub-class 2b.ii and Cat. 2. Class 1 cattle figurines were obtained from the excavations. The collection has unusually good examples of clothed human figurines (Fig. 6). 17,054 potsherds estimated to represent about 1732 vessels were obtained from the excavations. Glass beads and metal objects (iron and copper) were also obtained.

Site 112. Montevideo Ranch (2030 BC 2, Map 10) is situated 26 km south of the modern town of Masvingo. It lies approximately 20 km west of Great Zimbabwe and 17 km south of Chivowa Hill. It is an open site in acacia vegetation with no prominent land form nearby. The site consists mainly of a large mound cut by the highway from Masvingo to Beit Bridge and South Africa. Daga fragments are scattered over an area within 100 m of the site. 400 m from the mound is a scatter of smelting debris covering about half a hectare. The site was test-excavated by Robinson in 1957 (Robinson 1958).

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57 (Robinson 1958).

In 1976 Sinclair excavated the site again (Sinclair 1986, 1987). As with Chiwova Hill, this site's surrounds were examined. Nearly 10,000 potsherds were recovered from the excavations. The figurine complement from Montevideo Ranch consists mainly of cattle. Two sheep figurines were also obtained. Other finds include numerous domestic and wild animal bones, glass beads and metal objects. Montevideo Ranch is thought to have been a satellite village of Great Zimbabwe and the figurines have been dated to the Zimbabwe period.

Site 106. Chamakwangwadza Hill (2030 DA 10, Map 5): The site is a cave on a dome-shaped granite outcrop northeast of Berejena Mission in Chibi District. This was once a protected site under the Historical Monuments Commission Act, but has now lost this status of a national monument. Considerable damage has been inflicted on the cave deposits by local residents quarrying hyrax and bat droppings for manure. Incidentally one of the figurines possibly depicts hyrax (Fig. 23). The cave had substantial Late Stone Age deposits as well as LFC Gumanye residential debris. The site was test-excavated by Cooke in 1970 when part of a figurine was found (Cooke, 1970). It is not clearly stated in Archaeological Survey records how the rest of the figurines were obtained, but Huffman (1978b) records them as eroding from patches of shallow soil on the hill-top (Huffman 1978b, p. 84).

Sites 113 and 114. Great Zimbabwe (2030 BD 1, Map 10): Great Zimbabwe is the largest archaeological site in southern Africa. (No more than a brief description of this site of so many dimensions is required here and the details can be sought in other publications e.g. Bent 1896, Hall 1905, Caton-Thompson 1931, Garlake 1973a, Huffman 1972, 1981, Sinclair 1987). The complex comprises at least four major component areas, namely the Hill Complex, the Valley Ruins, the Great Enclosure all of which enclosed daga house units; and open areas with small but dense house units (Huffman 1981; Sinclair, Pikirayi, Pwiti & Soper 1993). EFC Gokomere and LFC Gumanye occupation of the site is evident on the Hill Complex (Robinson 1961b).

Great Zimbabwe was undoubtedly a royal residence and as such an important political and commercial centre. According to Robinson (1959) the clay figurines of cattle and conical objects (Cat. 1 Class 3) were recovered from LFC Gumanye levels. The soapstone figurines ones belong to the Zimbabwe phase. The soapstone carvings fall into three categories: (a) the zimbabwe birds, (b) the miniature representations of birds and animals, and animals in relief on soapstone bowls, and (c) the human and phallic figurines.

Seven birds came from the Hill Complex, of which six were found in the Eastern Enclosure. Five of these were standing on their pillars and the sixth was broken. Part of the seventh was also found in the Western Enclosure on the Hill Complex and an eighth was found in the Phillips Ruin in the Valley.

Posselt described the occasion of his removal of four of the birds from the hill. This met with protest from the guides led by Handizibi, a relative of the resident chief, Mugabe. The guides brandished their weapons and were only deterred by the fact that Posselt was also armed (Posselt 1924, p. 120).

The Zimbabwe birds are stylized, with toes and with beaks not carved in distinction from the head. Five birds squat on bent legs and have no tails. The other three have legs stretched down. The other distinct features of the birds are chevron patterns below them on the top of the pillars (2 cases) and one of these has a crocodile carved in relief on the pillar. Another has a horned animal in the same position. The birds do not seem to represent any specific species, although the fish eagle is thought to be most likely. The meaning of the Zimbabwe birds has been a subject of debate since their discovery a century ago (Huffman 1981).

The model of a snake about two feet long on the exterior of a hut wall on the Western Enclosure of the Hill Complex (Douslin 1922) may be added to the category of larger emblems.

Over one hundred small figurines in soapstone and clay have been recovered at Great Zimbabwe from several excavations. Bent writes about two miniature bird emblems on pillars (Bent 1896, pp. 186-7). It is not known where they are today, and Garlake doubts the credibility of Bent's observations (Garlake 1973a, p. 121). Of the smaller soapstone figurines, mostly human figurines (Cat. 1 Class 3), Bent writes:

In the centre of the temple on the Hill stood an altar, into the stones of which were inserted and also scattered around a large number of soapstone objects representing the phallus either realistically or conventionally, but always with anatomical accuracy which unmistakably conveys their meaning.

(Bent 1896, pp. 187-8)

Hall (1905) records some of the items found at Great Zimbabwe in 1892 by Willoughby as 'Large number of specimens of phallus' and 'soapstone miniature birds'. No specific details as to the quantities are given. Randall-MacIver mentions some soapstone objects including two phalli and 'small pottery figures of cattle' (Randall-MacIver 1906, p. 81). No figures about the numbers are available. Hall's excavations in the Great Enclosure (1905) also yielded several figurines of stone and clay mostly of the type thought to be phalli (Cat. 1 Class 3) from the Parallel Passage and around the Daga Platform. The assortment from the Daga Platform included human and animal figurines and what is described as a pregnant woman (Huffman 1984a, p. 255). These figurines have not been available for study. The largest number of figurines in fact comes from Great Zimbabwe but many of these may not be available now.

Chapter 5

Analysis

Introduction

To elaborate on chronological and spatial trends on the occurrence of figurines the country has been divided into four regions, namely the north (N), east (E), south-west (SW) and south-central (SC). The north covers the area north of the small town of Chivhu (150 km south of Harare) to the Zambezi Valley, and from Kariba Dam in the west to Mutoko in the east. The east is the province of Manicaland north of Birchenough Bridge. The south-west is the province of Matabeleland and western parts of the Midlands province, and the south-central is Masvingo province. While these divisions are arbitrary they generally tend to have different facies of pottery traditions of iron-using farming communities (Huffman 1974b). Table 17 shows regional variations in pottery traditions and trace their development from around 200 AD to the 19th century.

Table 17. Chronological development of the pottery traditions of the early and later iron-using farming communities by region.

	<i>North</i>	<i>East</i>	<i>South-west</i>	<i>South-central</i>
1800 AD+	*	*	*	*
1500 AD	Mutapa	Nyanga	Khami	Khami
1200 AD	Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe
	Musengezi	?	Woolandale	
900 AD	Ingombe Ilede		Mapungubwe	Mapungubwe
	Maxton	?	Mambo	Gumanye
600 AD	Sinoia	Coronation	Zhizo	Zhizo
200 AD	Gokomere	Ziwa	Gokomere	Gokomere

Note: Adapted (with modifications) from Huffman 1974b. * The terminology of the 18th/19th century pottery traditions has not yet been clarified.

Context

The cultural associations of archaeological figurines are fundamental to this study as a pointer to their possible function. In the majority of cases (100 of 124 sites) figurines occur at residential sites (Table 20). Most of these occurrences are surface recoveries and no precise information is available about their relationship with other finds and features at the homestead. In all instances where such observations have been made, figurines were randomly deposited as is often the case with other household refuse and/or they were dumped in ordinary rubbish middens also mixed with other domestic material as at Leopard's Kopje (SW), Chivowa Hill (SC), Montevideo Ranch (SC), Wazi Hill (N), Woolandale Mound (SW) and Ruanga (N) (Huffman 1974a, Sinclair 1987, Soper and Pwiti 1988). These situations tend to be dominated by human figurines (Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b and Class 3 (conical), and domestic animal figurines (Cat. 2). Except in one instance (the Khami Burial) all cattle and human figurines (Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b) are found at residential sites. Most of these sites belong to contemporaneous LFC traditions while a very few sites are of the EFC period, such as Mt Ziwa (with Cat. 1 Class 3, cones) and Gokomere Mission (with a broken possible Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b figurine). Figurines have also been found at a few zimbabwe sites such as Kagumbudzi, Chiwona and Great Zimbabwe.

In two cases, and a doubtful third, human and cattle figurines had been placed in human burials. The Khami burial is of an LFC Mambo girl, located in an area which was later built up into the Khami Ruins complex. It is situated in a rock cleft covered by stones. 'Several fragments of figurines came from among the stones, below the humus layer' (Robinson 1959, p. 36). Below the skeleton, which lay on a daga floor, was an ashy deposit with three figurines (illustrated in Robinson 1959, p. 140). One of the them is human (Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b) (Fig. 7 No 1001). The other two are cattle figurines, of which one is a cow. The exact context of three other human figurines from a burial in Marondera (N) is not described. The latter specimens, which seem to depict obese figures, are not fired and therefore a little unusual. The third site, Malindela in Bulawayo, might be a burial. The site was recorded in Archaeological Survey Records as a grave but no reference is made to a figurine having been recovered here. Yet Summers (1957, p. 75) mentions a figurine from Malindela but does not describe its context.

It was noticed at the Mutare Altar site, Everton Farm, Three Skids Claims and Chipoli Farm that figurines may have been buried in a manner to suggest they were deliberate caches. The Mutare Altar site was a residential zimbabwe although the actual site of retrieval was suspected to be a ritual altar

are fundamental to this majority of cases (100 of 100). Most of these occurrences are available about the homestead. In all instances, figurines were randomly deposited and/or they were with other domestic material (e.g., Montevideo Ranch, Ruanga (N) (Huffman 1984a). These situations tend to be similar to Class 3 (conical), for instance (the Khami class 1b) are found at sporadic LFC traditions such as Mt Ziwa (with broken possible Cat. 1 and a few zimbabwean).

These figurines had been found at Mambo girl, located in the Ruins complex. It is made of fragments of figurines (Robinson 1959, p. 10) as an ashy deposit with (Huffman 1984a). One of the them is similar to the other two are cattle figurines of three other human figures described. The latter specimen is fired and therefore a burial. The latter might be a burial. The latter as a grave but no reference here. Yet Summers (1981) does not describe its

At Three Skids Claims (N) in a manner to suggest it was a residential zimbabwean site to be a ritual altar

(Randall-MacIver 1906, p. 36). There may have been a similar situation at Great Zimbabwe where soapstone figurines, most of them Cat. 1 Class 3 (cones), were found around a daga platform in the Great Enclosure and around an 'altar' in the Eastern Enclosure on the Hill (Bent 1896, pp. 187-8; Huffman 1984a, p. 155), structures that are believed to have been ritual places. It is interesting too that the largest single collections of wild animals (Everton Farm and the Mutare Altar site) are from caches, a situation which also occurs at Schroda, an EFC Zhizo site on the Limpopo, northern Transvaal, South Africa (Hanisch 1981).

At Everton Farm (N), Three Skids Claims (N), Chipoli Farm (N) and possibly at Atherstone Farm (N), the cached assemblages are isolated with no signs of occupation close by. At the latter site pottery of the EFC Coronation phase was found 200 yards away from the deposit. These figurine sites have other important features in common. Three sites have human pedestal heads (Cat 1 Sub-class 2a and 2b.i) and the fourth (Three Skids Claims) has non-human pedestal objects ('pedestal pendants'); all sites are within 80 km of each other in northern Mashonaland. Further interpretation of these assemblages is frustrated by a lack of chronology for the sites.

Figurines from Golden Shower were found together with EFC Ziwa tradition pottery in shallow pits interpreted as ancient gold mining stopes. In southern Africa outside Zimbabwe, figurine caches have been found at Lydenburg, the head sites, (Evers 1982) and as we have seen at Schroda in South Africa (Hanisch 1981, see Chapter 1). However there seems to be little resemblance in the composition of these assemblages to those from Zimbabwe.

In summary, archaeological figurines occur in five different situations, viz residential rubbish middens (100 cases), possible ritual places or 'altars', at residential sites (2), isolated caches (4) and mine workings (1). Caches tend to be confined to northern Mashonaland while 'altars' are found at zimbabwean sites. The two largest assemblages with significant complements of wild animals are caches.

Chronological and geographic pattern in the number of figurines and figurine sites

Figurines have been noted at 215 sites of the approximately 6000 sites recorded in the National Archaeological Site Records, thus representing only 3.6 % of the total complement of FC sites. Collections from 124 sites have been used in this study. One hundred and six (106) sites have been dated, most of them from our knowledge of the development of ceramic styles, and a few from radiocarbon dates (Table 20). The remaining 18 are of uncertain

antiquity. It is regrettable that among these are some of the richest assemblages such as Everton Farm, Three Skids Claim and Chipoli Farm (see Chapter 4). (The pattern in the rise and fall of figurine manufacture can be seen in Tables 18 and 19, and Figs 31–36).

Northern and north-west Mashonaland (40 sites)

The earliest pottery tradition in the north was the EFC Gokomere/Ziwa group which was superseded by Coronation (EFC) around the 7th century, which in turn was replaced by Maxton (EFC) in the 8th century. Maxton gave way to LFC facies, Harare and Musengezi. The Sinoia tradition, in north-west Zimbabwe, is believed to be a late EFC intrusion (7th–8th centuries) from Zambia and broadly contemporaneous with the Coronation phase to the north-east of the country. It was replaced by the LFC Ingombe Ilede tradition, also with a Zambian connection. The Zimbabwe tradition existed around the middle of the second millennium and coexisted with the Musengezi tradition. The Refuge period completes the sequence (Table 17).

Twenty nine of the 40 sites have been periodized and their cultural affinities identified. One site (Merry Hill, Wedza, east of Harare) dates to the Gokomere/Ziwa phase, and this might be one of the earliest figurine sites. Six sites date to the second EFC phase, Coronation-Sinoia; 14 to the Maxton-Ingombe Ilede period. The Zimbabwe-Musengezi traditions account for five sites (Maps 7, 8, 9). Only two sites date to the Refuge period.

Thus the number of sites seems to reach a peak just before and at the beginning of the LFC period (900–1200) in the north (Table 18, Fig. 9.1). The trend in the actual quantity of figurines seems to consist of a rise and levelling out between 600 and 1200 AD after which it increases again and then falls during the Refuge period. The increase in the size of assemblages in the 1200–1500 period accounts for the upward trend in spite of the decline in the number of sites (Table 19, Fig. 9.3).

Table 18. Chronological and spatial distribution of figurine sites.

	200–600	600–900	900–1200	1200–1500	1500–1800	1800 AD+
North	1	6	14	6		2
East	1			3		1
SW		4	19	19	1	1
SC	3	4	13	5		1
Total	5	14	46	33	1	6

of the richest assemblage found at Chipoli Farm (see the manufacture can be

es)

Gokomere/Ziwa group of the 7th century, which in the Maxton gave way to the Maxton, in north-west Zimbabwe (centuries) from Zambezi formation phase to the Ingombe Ilede tradition. The Ingombe Ilede tradition existed alongside the Maxton tradition and coexisted with the Muzengezi tradition (Table 17).

and their cultural affiliation (Harare) dates to the earliest figurine sites. The Ingombe Ilede sites; 14 to the Maxton tradition account for five periods.

just before and at the end of the 1st period (Table 18, Fig. 9.1). The 1st period consist of a rise and fall in the number of figurines and it increases again and again and the size of assemblages found in spite of the decline

sites.

	1500-1800	1800 AD+
		2
		1
1	1	1
		1
1	1	6

Table 19. Chronological and spatial distribution of figurines.

	200-600	600-900	900-1200	1200-1500	1500-1800	1800 AD+
North	4	42	42	111		3
East	5			152		1
SW		34	179	71	3	1
SC	8	19	182	42		1
Total	17	95	403	376	3	6

The pattern of development in northern Mashonaland is obscured by the lack of chronology for large assemblages from Everton Farm (144 figurines), Three Skids Claim (57), Atherstone Farm (40) and Chipoli Farm (13).

No figurines have been found in the Harare tradition. There are a few Harare residential sites in this LFC tradition which is chiefly known from burial grounds (Targat 1984). Excavated Harare burials have yielded pot vessels but not figurines. Figurines have not been found in excavated burials of Musengezi tradition, but occur at a number of residential sites of this tradition.

Most of the sites in northern Mashonaland are concentrated in the area north of Harare, south of the Zambezi escarpment and between the town of Karoi in the west and Murewa in the east (lat. 16 deg. 30 min to 18 deg 00 min. S; long. 29 deg. 30 min. to 31 deg. 45 min S).

Eastern Districts (7 sites)

The chronological sequence in the Eastern Districts is incompletely known (Table 17). Five figurine sites have been dated. Only one site, Mt Ziwa, belongs to the Gokomere/Ziwa tradition (Map 1). Three sites date to the Zimbabwe tradition. These are Chiwona and Kagumbudzi Ruins in the Buhera District and the Mutare Altar site. A radiocarbon date obtained from excavations by Bordini at the altar site revealed that it is a 15th-16th centuries settlement (Bordini 1983). Although the actual context of the figurine hoard from the altar site is not known it is most likely that they were made in the Zimbabwe period since no other occupation level, previous or later, was found at the site.

The relative absence of figurines in the Eastern Districts was noticed four decades ago by Summers: 'We searched diligently for figurines but found only a few, and those so broken as to be unrecognizable' (Summers 1958, p. 233).

No major research work has been made ever since Summers and Robinson's work in the 1950's. Their findings were based on the results of six months of field work and excavations.

South-western Zimbabwe (50 sites)

The pottery sequence is summarised in Table 17. No figurines have been noted at Gokomere phase sites (Map 1). Four sites belong to the second phase of the EFC, ie the Zhizo phase, 39 sites occur in LFC facies in south-western Zimbabwe and are chronologically distributed as follows: 19 sites to LFC Mambo-Mapungubwe group, 18 sites to LFC Woolandale-Zimbabwe period, and only one site to the Refuge period. Seven sites were not dated.

A dramatic increase in the number of figurine sites was experienced from the beginning of the LFC period, and it remained high throughout the first half of the second millennium AD, after which the numbers begin to fall (Table 18, Fig. 33). South-western Zimbabwe has the highest concentration of figurine sites located in and around the modern town of Bulawayo. A similar pattern of development is reflected by the actual quantity of figurines (Table 19, Fig. 33).

South-central Zimbabwe (26 sites)

Figurines have been recovered at three Gokomere sites (Map 1). Four sites date to the next chronological phase, Zhizo; 13 to the LFC Gumanye-Mapungubwe facies in the south (Map 5). Five sites belong to the Great Zimbabwe tradition and one site to the terminal Refuge period. Thus most sites are dated to the beginning of the LFC period, a pattern which is different from that in the north of the country (Tables 18 and 19, Figs 31 and 33). There is a drop in the number of sites throughout the country after the Zimbabwe occupation. Most of the sites in the south-central part of Zimbabwe are concentrated in an area much smaller than northern Mashonaland, and adjoining south-western Zimbabwe. The apparent cultural affiliation between FC traditions in the south-central and south-western areas will be discussed later.

Sizes and composition of assemblages

The highest figurine yield per site occurs at Great Zimbabwe. Around two hundred figurines have been obtained, but they belong to two chronological phases (Gumanye and Great Zimbabwe Period III and IV). They were recovered from several excavations (Bent 1896, Hall 1905, Robinson 1961b). Some of the early collections went to South Africa. Altogether 63 figurines, of which 16 are attributed to the Zimbabwe occupation and the rest to the previous Gumanye period, were available for analysis. The collection from

Summers and Robinson on the results of six

figurines have been found to belong to the second or third LFC facies in the region. The distribution is as follows: 19 FC Woolandale-Zimbabwe sites were not

was experienced from 1 throughout the first numbers begin to fall to their highest concentration in the region of Bulawayo. A large quantity of figurines

s (Map 1). Four sites in the FC Gumanye-Mapun region in the Great Zimbabwe area. The most sites are dated to the same period as those in the region (Fig. 33). There is a drop in the number of figurines in the Zimbabwe occupation phases and adjoining south-eastern regions (discussed later).

Zimbabwe. Around two to three to two chronological periods (Fig. IV). They were reported by Robinson (1961b). Together 63 figurines, 10% of the total and the rest to the region. The collection from

the Mutare altar site of at least 136 pieces is also one of the largest collections. The largest assemblage of figurines from what is likely to have been a single provenance which exists in National Museum's collections comes from Everton Farm (at least 144 pieces in Queen Victoria Museum, Harare, and an unspecified number retained at the farm). The figurines were unearthed during ploughing and as mentioned above, they were cached. The largest yield from controlled excavations was made at Leopard's Kopje (at least 110 pieces). The average yield per site of large controlled excavations is 37.3 figurines, unmonitored diggings 23.2, controlled small test excavations 5.9 and surface collections 2.2. The size of an assemblage is therefore relative to the circumstance of retrieval where excavations, controlled or uncontrolled yield more figurines than surface collections (Table 20). If the assumption is made that the 124 figurine sites considered here constitute a balanced sample whether or not they have been excavated, then it is arguable that figurine assemblages increased through time from the late EFC period and reached a peak between 900 and 1500 AD in LFC traditions. This is the general trend in all four regions. Histograms of the regional mean size of assemblages and overall mean size of assemblages through time generally support this argument (Figs 35 and 36). However since excavated assemblages are not evenly distributed throughout the country or through the FC cultural sequence I have not drawn any firm conclusions on the basis of the statistics.

Table 24 (see appendix) shows that most assemblages of several specimens contain more than one subject. We have seen the tendency for cattle and human female figurines to occur together. Even what so far appear to be rare collections, such as the ivory finds from Khami, are heterogeneous. The assemblage from Chivowa Hill (Fig. 37) gives a fairly typical picture in the relative frequency of human (Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b) and cattle figurines in both occupation phases (see also Sinclair 1991).

Figurine types: the chronological trend

Chapter 3 provides a more detailed description of the classification of figurines and this is only briefly recounted here. The three main categories of figurines are human, divided into five classes (including models of human genitalia); animal figurines, divisible into domestic and wild animals; and miscellaneous objects associated with these figurines.

Human figurines

The most common figurine subject is the human portrait. Human figurines account for 52% of the sample. All human figurines are to varying degrees stylized. The classification reveals two main classes of human figurines.

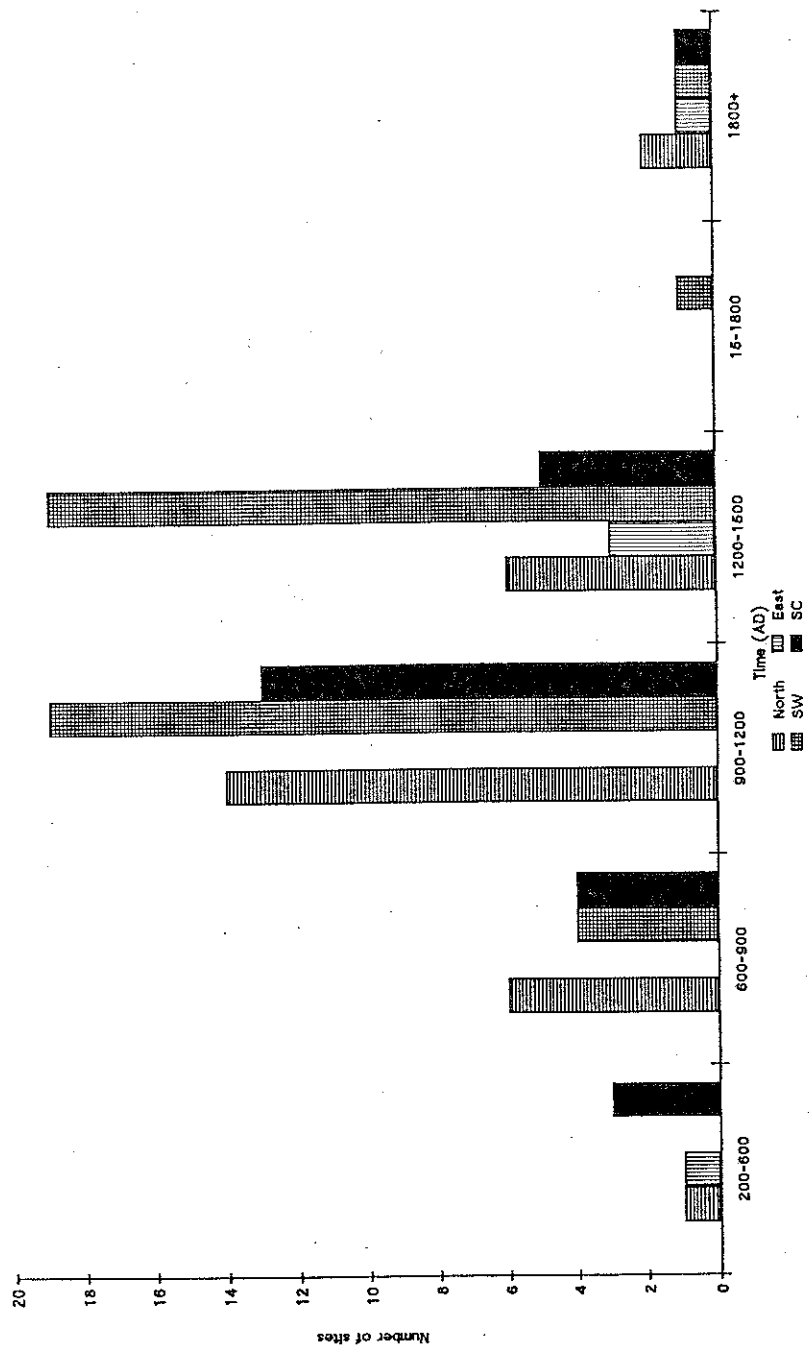


Fig. 31. Regional trend in the number of figurine sites, 200-1900 AD.

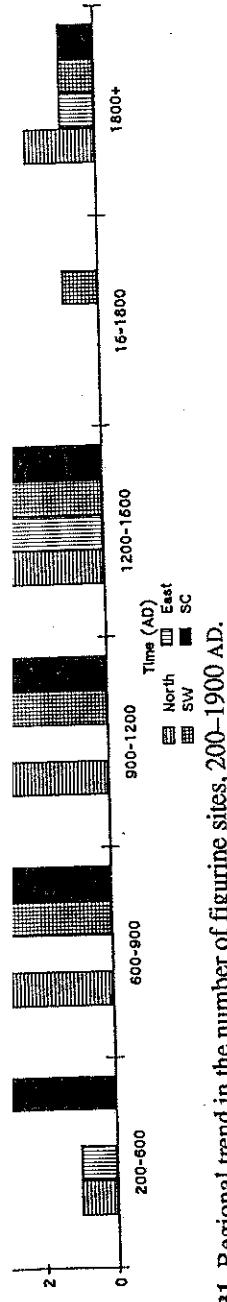


Fig. 31. Regional trend in the number of figurine sites, 200-1900 AD.

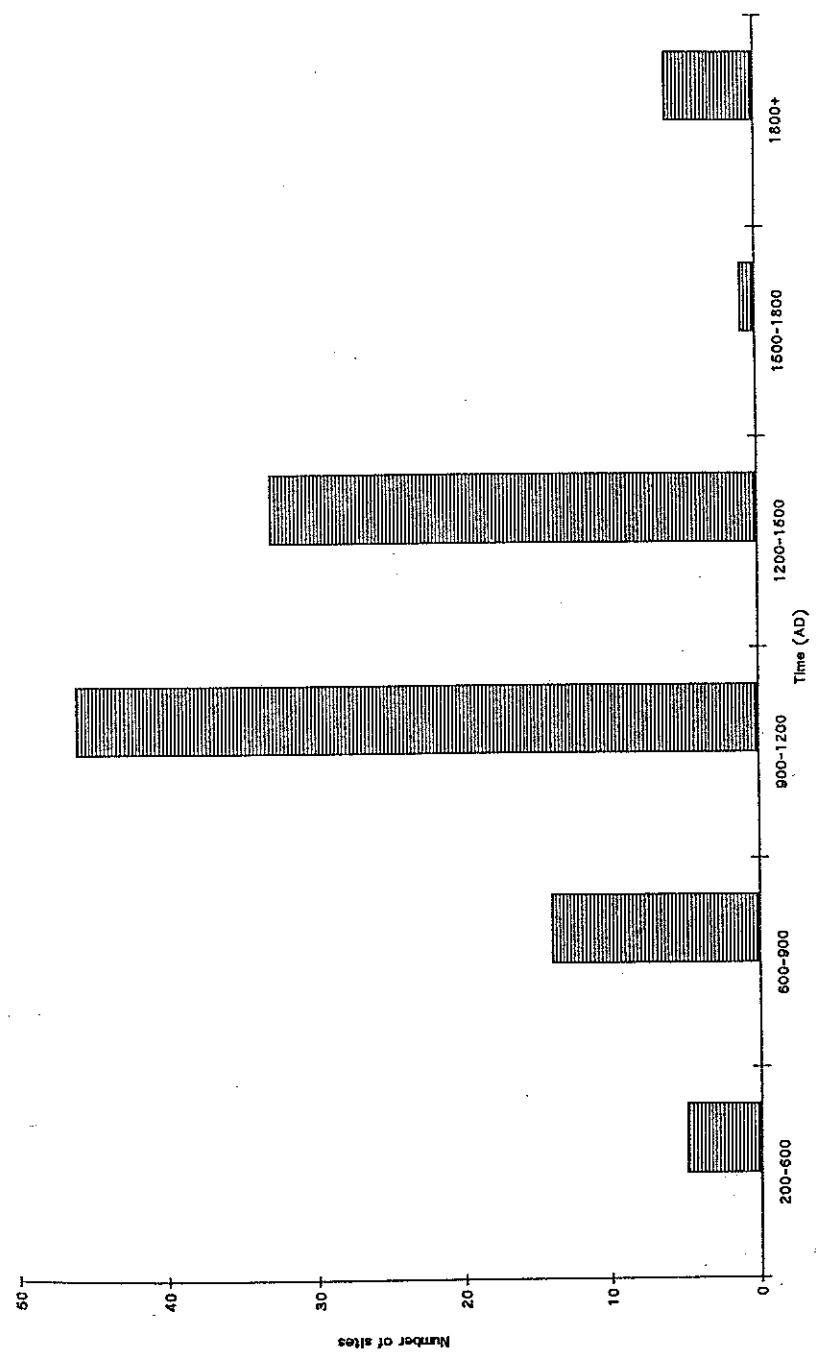


Fig. 32. Overall trend in the number of figurine sites, 200-1900 AD.

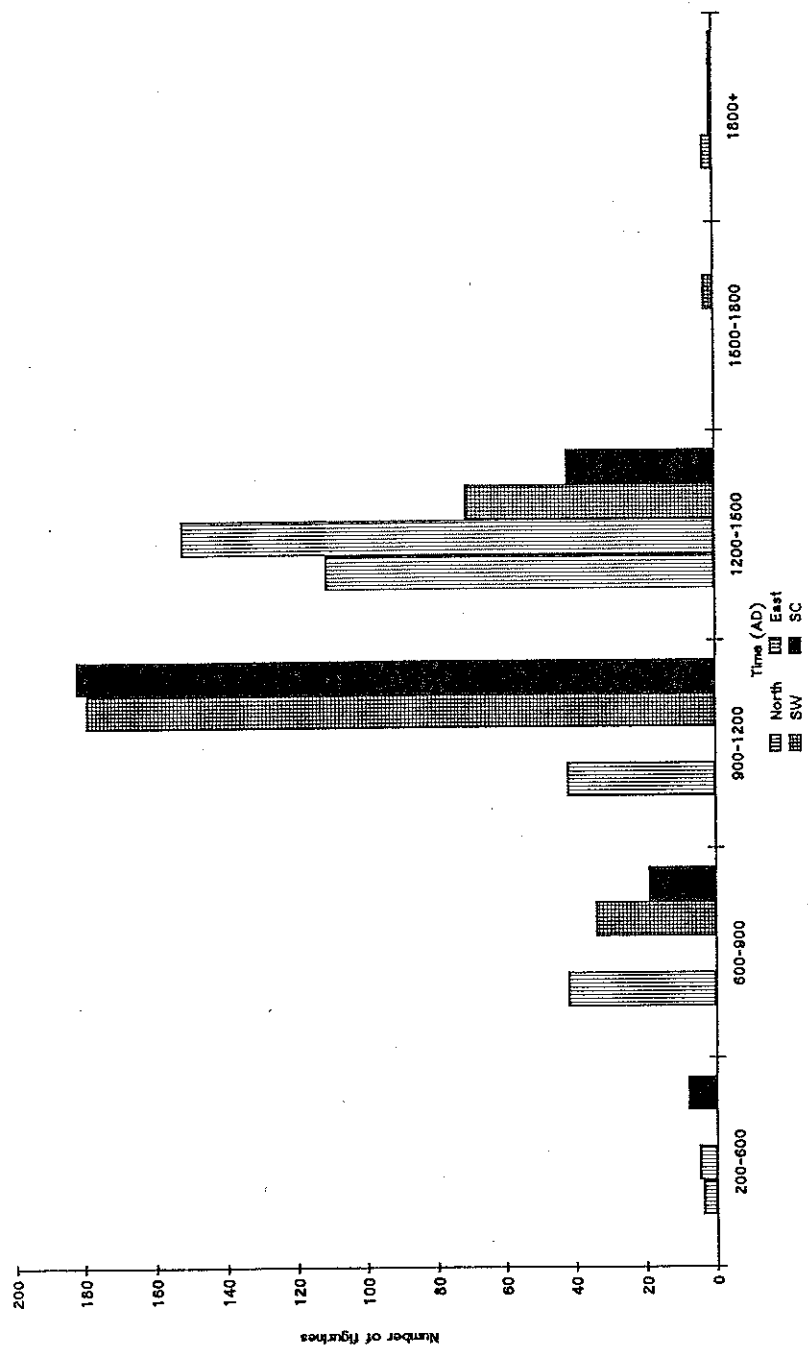


Fig 33. Regional trend in the number of figurines, 200-1900 AD.



Fig 33. Regional trend in the number of figurines, 200-1900 AD.

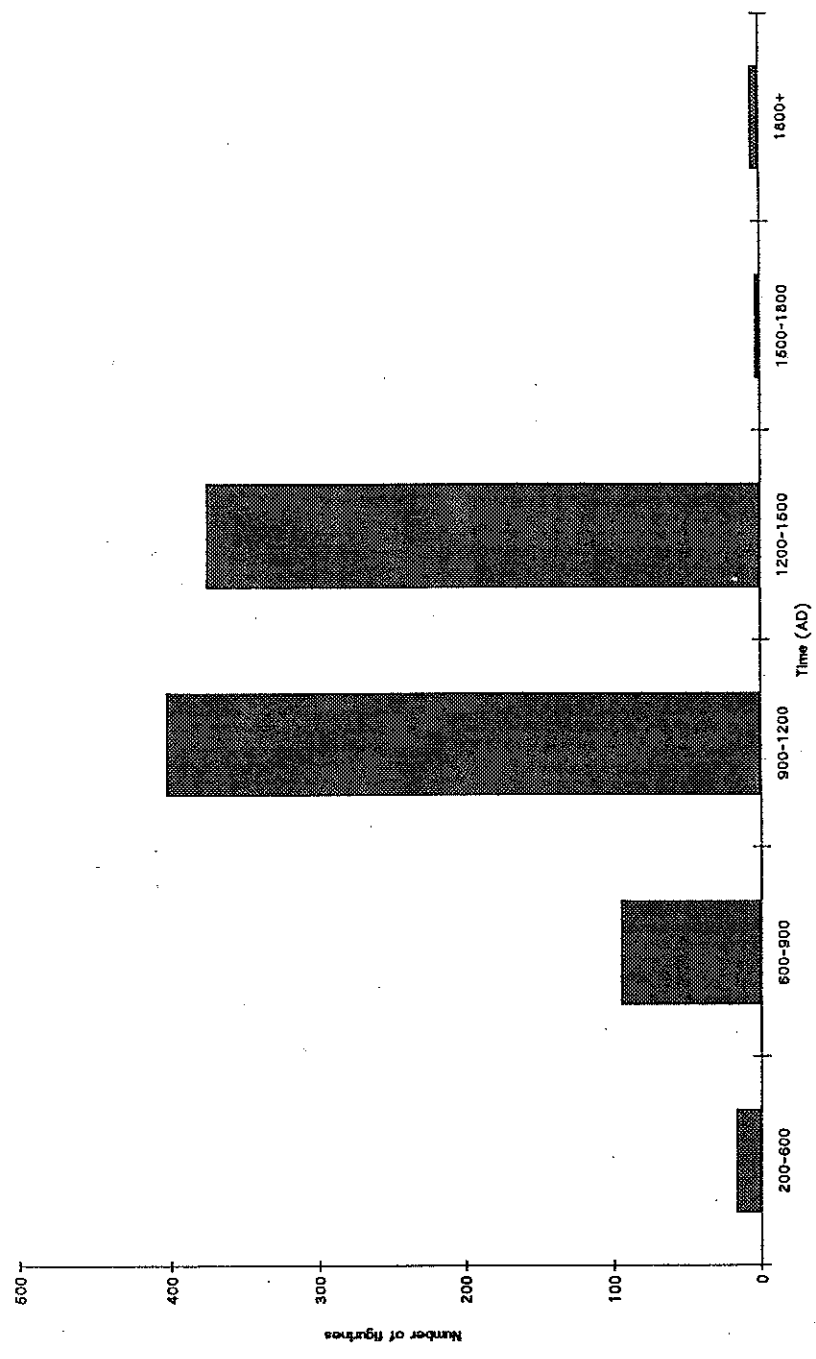


Fig. 34. Overall trend in the number of figurines, 200-1900 AD.

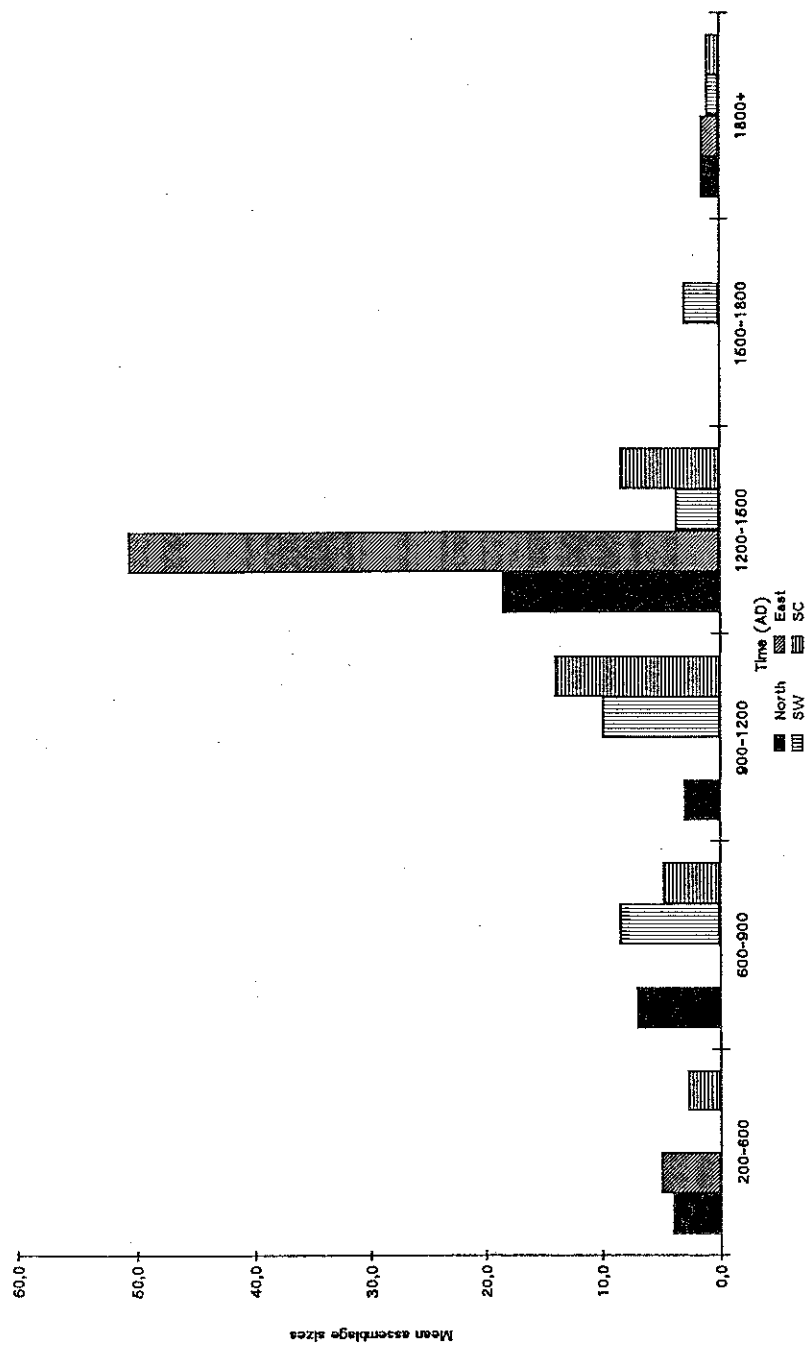


Fig. 35. Regional trend in mean assemblage sizes, 200-1900 AD.

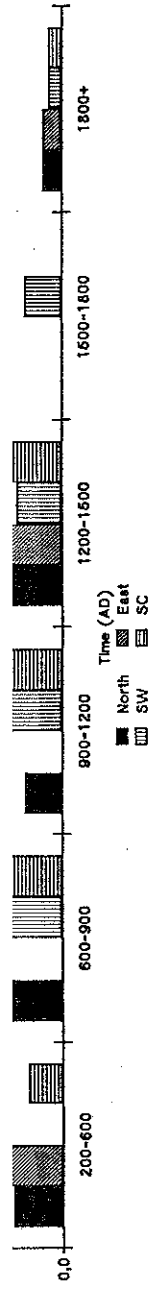


Fig. 35. Regional trend in mean assemblage sizes, 200-1900 AD.

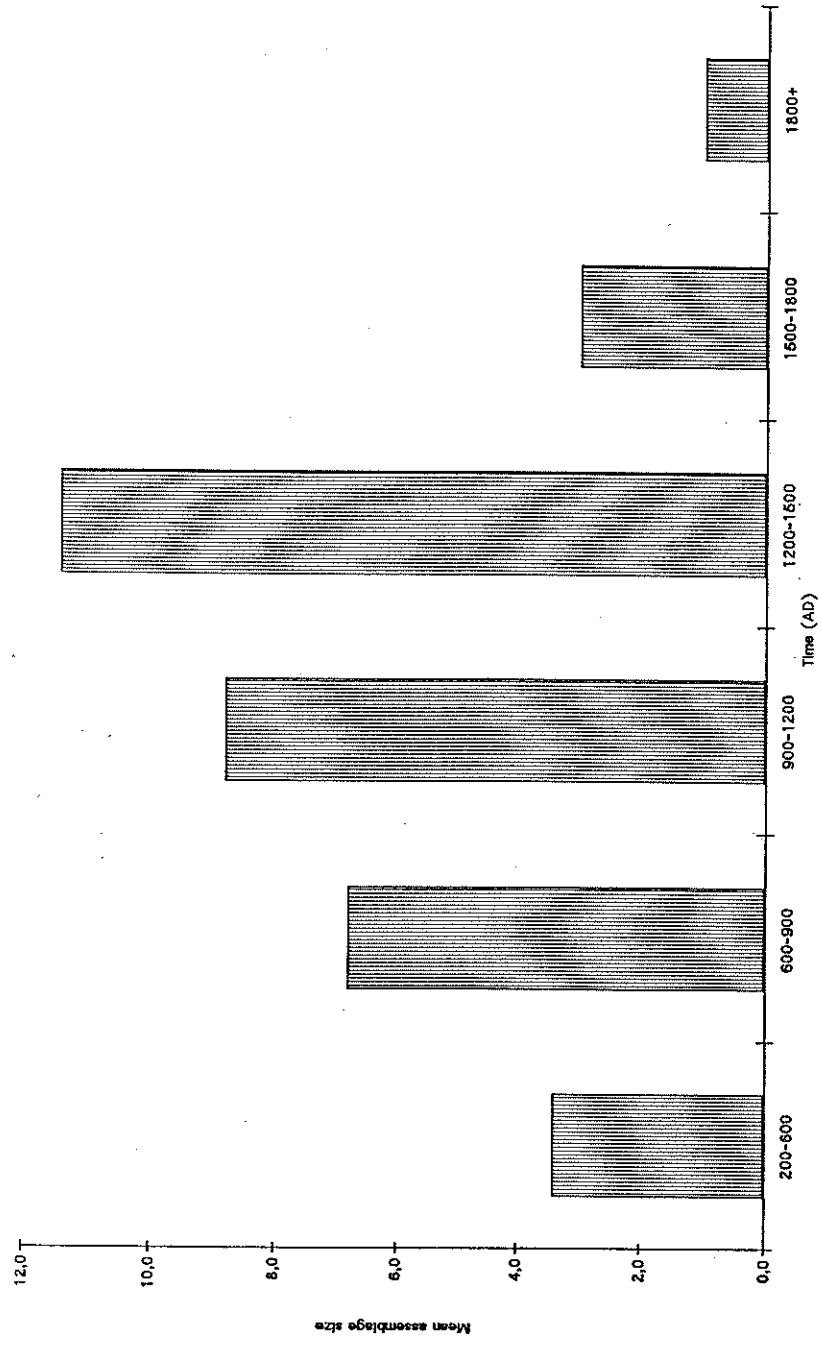


Fig. 36. Overall trend in mean assemblage sizes, 200-1900 AD.

Cat. 1 Sub-class 1a comprises semi-realistic human figurines with legs and arms is found at 4 of the 124 sites. It is almost entirely made up of a single collection of at least 34 soapstone figurines from the Mutare Altar site. It is not precisely known where on the site they were recovered in 1905, although excavations by Bordini in 1974 revealed that the site was occupied during the Zimbabwe period (Bordini 1978). The ivory figurine from Khami Ruins dates to the Khami phase of the Zimbabwe tradition. The specimens from Three Skids Claim and Atherstone Farm both in northern Mashonaland are undated. Little evidence is available for the dating of Cat. 1 Sub-class 1a figurines. It is clear however that they are not a common occurrence and we must carry out more investigations to learn more about their chronological and geographic distribution.

Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b comprising human torsos occurs at 20 sites. These are the most numerous (if broken ones are considered) accounting for 60% of human figurines. These female torsos with legs but without arms have a wide spatial and temporal distribution. Five sites are found in northern Mashonaland, seven in south-western Zimbabwe, six in south-central and one in the Eastern Districts. In northern Mashonaland they are found in EFC Coronation, LFC Ingombe Ilede and Musengezi levels.

In south-central and south-western Zimbabwe they first appear in the Gokomere phase at Gokomere Mission and in the Zhizo phase as at Nali Hill (SW). Site density increases in the LFC period. Only one site, Leopard's Kopje, which has the largest assemblage, dates to the earlier Mambo phase as against six in the Woolandale phase. In south-central Zimbabwe the largest assemblage also dates to the beginning of the LFC period (Chivowa Hill). No figurines occur in the Zimbabwe or Refuge levels. In both areas there is a remarkable increase in the number of figurines from the beginning of the LFC in the 11th century AD and especially in the Mambo and Woolandale facies in the south-west of the country. Leopard's Kopje Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b figurines, tend to have a remarkable *lumbar lordosis* (Fig. 4 Nos 329, 332, Fig 7 No 1005) than Gumanye figurines from Chivowa Hill and Chamakwangwadza Hill in the south-central. Some specimens from Chivowa Hill have more or less straight torsos, eg. Fig. 6 Nos 540 and 555. However some figurines from Mt Buhwa, a Gumanye site resemble the Leopard's Kopje one in this respect (Fig. 10 No 697).

Human figurines (Cat. 1 Sub-class 2a) with arms but without legs, are confined to the area of northern Mashonaland north of Harare. Nothing is known about their antiquity because they are chance collections from uncontrolled excavations.

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Mutare Altar site. It is
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Leopard's Kopje one

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The pedestal heads in Cat. 1 sub-class 2b.i, like their counterparts in Sub-class 2a, come from undated sites in northern Mashonaland and have not been found elsewhere outside this area.

Cat. 1 Sub-class 2b figurines occur at seven sites. One site in the south-west (Tshelanyemba) has a single specimen of soapstone (Fig. 18) and is undated; Great Zimbabwe in south-central has ten soapstone specimens. Five of the seven sites are in northern Mashonaland (all with clay figurines) and are undated.

The conical human figurines (Cat. 1 Class 3) like Class 1b torsos are widespread in both spatial and temporal terms. They occur on 2 EFC Coronation sites, 1 EFC Maxton site, 1 Musengezi site and one Ingombe Iiede site in the north. None has been found in later contexts. There are more female than male figurines.

There are more females than males in Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b, but fewer females than males in Cat. 1 Class 2. None of the conical figures display obvious sexual characteristics. Male figurines tend to be found in the north

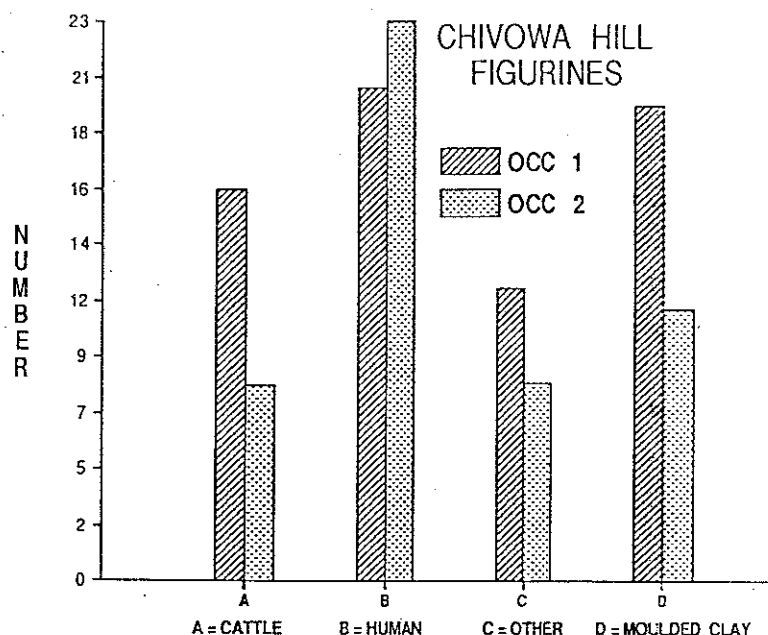


Fig. 37. The relative frequency of Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b, cattle and other figurines from two Gumanye occupations at Chivowa Hill (adapted from Sinclair 1991, p. 39).

while female figurines are widespread but more frequent in south-west and south-central Zimbabwe. There is no clear pattern of temporal distribution as none of the male figurines have been dated.

The indication of clothing on human figurines is more frequently encountered on Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b figurines in the south-west and south-central. The type of clothing found at Chivowa Hill seems to indicate animal skin laps hanging from the waist down the pubic area and between the legs up to the buttocks. This may be in contrast with the type found on Woolandale sites in the southwest which, as Robinson (1988) observed, may indicate some kind of cloth worn round the buttocks rather than passing between the legs. Six Woolandale sites have some markings to suggest some kind of dress, perhaps cloth. Most of these figurines were examined in this study and confirm Robinson's findings (Fig. 7 No. 1008).

Another kind of dress could have been a girdle cloth (Fig. 10 No. 854, Fig. 7 No. 858) encountered at Wazi Hill (N) and Bompst Ruin. Figurines with necklaces and anklets are widely distributed.

Scarification marks are more frequently encountered on legged figurines and are concentrated in south-west and south-central. Tattoos and scarification are usually located on the abdomen most taking their positions on the stomach and occasionally on the back. As the following observations in the area around Great Zimbabwe by Mauch in 1871 (Burke 1979, p. 168) may show, these markings represent reality rather than mere artistic imagination on the part of the maker:

When the state of puberty has been reached, which is determined by the old woman, the beauty (girl) has to undergo the terrible torture (*sic*) of tattooing . . . the whole area below the breasts and abdomen, from one side to the other with the exception of a line of one inch in the middle receives around 4000 (say: four thousand) small incisions in the skin, arranged in thirty or more parallel lines, not counting further cuts on other parts of the body. Furthermore one imagines these small wounds rubbed with acid, and soot-blackened, juice to cause the production of elevated scars.

The custom was still alive as late as the 1950's (Gelfand & Swart 1953). These markings called *nyora* were noted on woman patients at the Salisbury Native Hospital (Harare) and questions were asked about their purpose. The *nyora* fell into four categories, viz tribal identity markers, private aesthetic patterns, medicinal and magical incisions.

Some tribal *nyora* were readily visible, located, as they were, on the face, but other patterns of the same purpose were situated on the abdomen and buttocks and thus hidden from public view. In times of war tribal markers were particularly useful in identifying abducted women who thus could be

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rescued. Dead bodies too were identified by these tribal patterns so that they could be disposed of in the proper burial tradition.

Private *nyora* were intended for the admiration and erotic satisfaction of the lover. The other two types were the outcome of pseudo-medical operations by a traditional healer, *n'anga*. Medicine was rubbed onto them for illnesses such as pneumonia and headaches. Magical *nyora* such as *mangoromera* were applied on several areas of the body to render the patient stronger than his opponent in a fight, e.g. on the knees as a precaution against falling. Gelfand and Swart (1953) noted that the Vazezuru, living around Harare:

have a double row of cuts stretching from the temple, with three on either cheeks and those from Mutoko area are similar except that the double row over the eye region were omitted, leaving two rows of four in the middle of the brows. The four by four diamond pattern over the shoulder joint is common to both tribes. The Vakaranga (south central) make two cuts on the forehead, two below each eye and two on either side of the mouth.

(Gelfand & Swart 1953, p. 8)

The above ethnological information has some interesting archaeological application. Three figurines from Three Skids Claim have face scarification consisting of lines along the nasal ridge and above the eye brows all running in a radiant pattern towards the hair line (Nos 188, 189, 190). These patterns are in similar positions to those of the Makorekore woman from Mt Darwin illustrated by Gelfand and Swart (1953, p. 10), although the elements of decoration in the ethnological example are much shorter and the abdomen of the archaeological specimens are by contrast plain. Three Skids Claims in Shamva District is in the locality of Gelfand's study area. Another point of contrast is that one of the archaeological examples is male (Fig. 2 No 188) while the modern examples were observed on women.

Face patterns on Sub-classes 2b.i and 2b.ii figurines from Everton Farm are not comparable to the ethnological examples. It is puzzling that similar face markings sometimes decorate the face as well as the head in the hair area. For the patterns on the abdomen and other parts of the body Gelfand and Swart write:

The northern tribes mark the sacrum and front of the thighs. The body patterns do not differ as much between tribes as do the face markings, except in the Vazezuru in whom the abdominal cicatrices are distinct being arranged symmetrically in parallel rows from below the breasts to the hips and extending laterally.

(Gelfand & Swart 1953, p. 9)

Cat. 1, Sub-class 1b of diminutive heads without facial features are void of any face scarification, they may have been omitted with the omission of facial physical details. Nothing can therefore be said about face scarification in south-west and south-central Zimbabwe, but Gelfand and Swart's ethnographic survey shows that face patterns were common in this area in the 1950's (Gelfand & Swart 1953, p. 8). The diamond shaped patterns noted among the Vazezuru and VaBudja of northern Mashonaland (Gelfand & Swart 1953, pp. 8, 18) occur on a broken figurine from Wazi Hill. A reconstruction of the figurine shows that the motifs were placed on the stomach of a female torso with a small head and without arms (Sub-class 1b).

The archaeological evidence on costume, ornamentation, scarification and cicatrization at hand is too limited to form the basis of delineating archaeological ethnic groups. Those elements of body decoration that are prominent regrettably occur at single sites. Linear markings are quite widespread which only confirms Gelfand's observation that some patterns overlap between different groups (Gelfand & Swart 1953, p. 8).

Domestic animals

Cattle figurines are widespread but fewer than human figures. There is a strong spatial and temporal association between cattle and human Sub-class 1b figurines throughout the country. They are found together in the same provenance on at least six sites (Leopard's Kopje, Chivowa Hill, Montevideo Ranch, Bompst Ruin, Khami Ruins and Mutare Altar site). Cattle figurines are present on 6 sites in northern Mashonaland dating to the Maxton, Mutsengezi (2 sites), Zimbabwe and Refuge.

A majority of the sites (13) are in south-western Zimbabwe and together with 10 more sites in adjoining south-central Zimbabwe, they constitute a 'cattle belt' stretching from Bulawayo in the west to Great Zimbabwe in the east (Maps 4 and 5). These figurines are found at the earliest in Zhizo levels at Insindi Ranch and Collation Farm just outside Bulawayo.

Nine sites are dated to the subsequent Mambo phase, and two to the Woolandale phase. One site has not been dated. Nine of the ten sites in south-central Zimbabwe belong to a single tradition (Gumanye) and the other to the contemporaneous Mapungubwe tradition.

Sheep and goat figurines have been reliably identified at 2 and 3 sites respectively, all in the southern 'cattle belt' described above. These sites belong to the contemporaneous Mambo and Gumanye traditions and all but one site they occur in conjunction with cattle figurines. At Leopard's Kopje and Montevideo Ranch they are also found together with human Sub-class 1b figurines. No goats or sheep figurines have been reported elsewhere.

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Wild animals

The largest assemblages of wild animals come from two undated sites, Everton Farm and the Mutare Altar site. The rest are single occurrences from six sites and two from Wazi Hill. At 2 sites, one in the southwest and another in south-central, single specimens were found in conjunction with cattle figurines in Woolandale and Gumanye facies. The figurines from Wazi Hill were obtained from Musengezi levels. The single wooden example from Whange West could date to as late as the beginning of the 20th century. The tortoise and crocodile are confined to two sites, Everton Farm and the Mutare Altar site. It may be mentioned here that one of the pillars surmounted by the Zimbabwe birds has a crocodile creeping up in carved relief below the bird. The presence of wild animal figurines at Zimbabwe ruins as seen at Great Zimbabwe (the pillar birds and friezes on bowls), Mutare Altar site and Khami Ruins (2 ivory lions and the zoomorphic pot) deserve consideration as an artistic feature of this tradition.

Raw material

From the beginning of the FC culture clay was used for making both figurines and household utensils. Between the 12th and 16th century the zimbabwe people carved soapstone figurines as at Great Zimbabwe, Dhlodhlo and the Mutare Altar site. However its adoption was not widespread and ordinary people living outside the stone settlements continued to use clay. At Great Zimbabwe stylized life-sized birds were also made and these represent the most celebrated achievement of the farming communities artists. Ivory figurines were probably only made by residents at zimbabwe sites. It is tempting to conclude that craft in these two raw material must have been held in monopoly by the zimbabwe rulers. Ethnographic research and collections reveal that wooden and fibre figurines were being made throughout Zimbabwe in the recent past and are still made today. There is only one possible wooden archaeological figurine, a wild animal which is likely to be less than 100 years old. There is little doubt, therefore, that wooden figurines have been made but have disappeared as a result of poor durability.

Conclusion

Figurines were made during the entire duration of the FC culture. At least one type of figurine appears to have persisted from the early phases of the cultural sequence to the 17th-18th centuries AD, ie. the human torso (Cat. 1, Sub-class 1b). Wild animal figurines are more common in northern Mashonaland, but most of these have not been dated. Carving in soapstone and

ivory appears to have been introduced during the Zimbabwe tradition. The evidence so far shows that they were mostly used at Zimbabwe sites.

Site numbers reach a peak just before the beginning of the LFC period in northern Mashonaland, and this is earlier than elsewhere. The size of assemblages follow the same trend. There appears to have been a shift from the north a little later to the south-west and south-central. The Great Zimbabwe state system developed during the peak of figurine production, but just before or soon after its demise the art began to lose popularity. Zimbabwe sites have the finest work of art which was executed in soapstone and ivory, but at peasant settlements the use of pottery figurines continued during and after the Zimbabwe period. The rise and fall of the figurine art might perhaps be explained in terms of ideological developments within the iron-using farming communities. This subject will be explored in Chapter 6. Fig. 40. Model of an iron smelting furnace and 2 archaeological human figurines (Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b), from left: No 555, 9.2 cm, Chivowa Hill, Masvingo, note scars of broken breasts; model of a furnace with furrow cicatrization, average ht 50 cm; No 1011 ht 6.7 cm Lemon Grove, Bulawayo, note furrow cicatrization (see also Figs 6 & 8).

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Table 20. Figurine sites dealt with in Chapters 3, 4 & 5.
(Arranged by locality, column 5)

No	Site	SiteNo	Tradition	Loc	MR	Co	Total
118	Mukwine Hills	1832 BA	?	E	?	?	1
120	Rhodes Nyanga	1832 BA	?	E	LEX	?	1
119	Place of Offerings	1832 BA	1	EFC Ziwa	E	REX	5
121	Hawkshead Farm	1832 DC	34	LFC Ref?	E	S	?
122	Mutare Altar	1932 B	14	LFC Zim	E	REX	C
123	Chiwona Ruins	1931 BC	1	LFC Zim	E	LEX	R
124	Kagumbudzi Ruin	1931 BD	1	LFC Zim	E	S	R
3	Everton Farm	1631 CB	1	?	N	REX	C
4	Guruve	?	?	N	?	?	144
5	N. Mashonaland	?	?	N	?	?	1
11	Mazowe	?	?	N	?	?	1
13	Three Skids Claim	1731 BB	1	?	N	?	?
14	Chipoli Farm	1731 BC	8	?	N	REX	C
15	Atherstone Farm	1731 AD	4	?	N	REX	C
19	Murehwa	?	?	N	?	?	13
27	Kutama Kop	1829 BC	1	?	N	?	?
29	Dutchman's Pool	1829 DD	8	?	N	S	R
32	Marondera Burial	1831 BA	?	N	?	?	1
17	Dillon Farm	1731 BC	5	EFC Cor	N	REX	B
23	Little Over	1731 CC	32	EFC Cor	N	REX	R
24	Golden Shower	1731 CB	1	EFC Cor	N	LEX	R
30	Three Mile Water Site	1829 DD	1	EFC Cor	N	REX	M
33	Merry Hill	1831 AD	1	EFC Gok	N	REX	R
7	Perth Farm	1730 AB	29	EFC Max	N	LEX	R
9	Doxford Farm	1730 BD	27	EFC Max	N	S	R
10	Bojum Claims	1730 BD	1	EFC Max	N	REX	R
16	Maxton Farm	1731 BC	2	EFC Max	N	S	R
20	Siso Hill	1729 BD	3	EFC Max	N	LEX	R
21	Christon Bank	1731 CA	128	EFC Max	N	S	R
22	Berkley Hill	1731 CC	7	EFC Max	N	S	R
25	Umfuleni Farm	1731 CD	1	EFC Max	N	S	R
28	Kasama	1829 BB	14	EFC Max	N	S	R
1	Wazi Hill	1631 CA	12	LFC Mz	N	S	R
2	Zvongombe Ruins	1631 CA	2	LFC Mz	N	BEX	R
6	Mvuradonha Farm	1631 AC	5	LFC Mz	N	BEX	R
8	Mbidzi Farm	1730 AB	25	LFC Mz	N	S	R
12	Ruanga Ruins	1731 BA	1	LFC Mz	N	S	?
18	Denje Hill	1732 AC	15	LFC Mz	N	BEX	R
26	Chadshunt Ext.	1829 BB	8	LFC Ref	N	S	R
31	Tsindi Ruins	1830 BA	3	LFC Zim	N	S	R
39	Naba 1	1629 DC	1	LFC Zim	N	BEX	R
40	Sinoia Caves	1731 AC	1	EFC Chi	NW	R	4
34	Lake Kariba	1629 CA	3	EFC Chi	NW	REX	R
35	Nyarinde	1629 BD	1	LFC Ing	NW	LEX	R
36	Protea Farm	1629 DA	1	LFC Ing	NW	S	R
37	Laughing Hills	1629 CB	1	LFC Ing	NW	S	R
38	Rydings Farm	1629 DC	5	LFC Ing	NW	LEX	R
95	Gokomere Mission	1930 DD	1	LFC Ing	NW	S	R
102	Mushonga	2030 CB	41	EFC Gok	SC	LEX	R
108	Mabveni EIA	2030 AD	5	EIA Gok	SC	BEX	R
98	Ngezi	2030 CB	12	EFC Gok	SC	S	R
100	Buhwa	2030 CB	1	EFC Zh	SC	LEX	R
103	Matibi Mission	2030 CB	1	EFC Zh	SC	S	R
117	Bompst Ruin	2030 BD	116	EFC Zh	SC	?	R
93	Inkwabene	2030 DC	12	EFC Zh	SC	S	R
96	Chivowa Hill	2030 BA	20	LFC Gum	SC	S	R
97	Chamabvepfa	2030 AA	1	LFC Gum	SC	BEX	R
99	Chirere	2030 AA	28	LFC Gum	SC	LEX	R
101	Gumanye	2030 CB	60	LFC Gum	SC	S	R
105	Chizukwe	2030 CD	2	LFC Gum	SC	S	R

MR	Co	Total
LEX	R	27
LEX	R	3
S	R	3
S	R	7
BEX	R	47
S	R	3
S	R	1
LEX	R	3
S	R	3
LEX	R	19
BEX	C	16
S	R	1
S	R	2
?	R	3
?	R	4
?	R	2
?	R	1
REX	R	1
LEX	R	1
S	R	1
LEX	R	12
LEX	R	20
S	?	1
S	R	2
BEX	R	3
S	R	1
LEX	R	3
LEX	R	1
LEX	R	4
LEX	R	6
S	R	1
LEX	R	3
LEX	R	2
LEX	B	3
BEX	R	110
BEX	R	9
LEX	R	1
BEX	R	2
LEX	R	12
BEX	R	14
S	R	1
?	R	2
?	R	2
S	R	1
S	R	1
S	R	1
LEX	R	2
?	?	1
LEX	R	1
?	R	1
REX	R	17
REX	?	1
S	R	1
S	R	1
REX	R	1
REX	R	16
S	R	6
REX	R	1
S	R	10
S	R	2
S	R	5
S	R	1

No	Site	SiteNo	Tradition	Loc	MR	Co	Total
41	Z/Luzilikulu	1727 BD	1	LFC?	SW	S	?
81	Fort Usher	2028 BC	40	LFC?	SW	S	R
Total							1180

Abbreviations:

?	Uncertain	N	Northern parts of the country
B	Burial	NO	Site number on maps 1-12
BEX	Large excavation	NW	North-west parts of the country
C	Cached figurine deposit	R	Residential site
Co	Cultural context	REX	Rough excavation
E	Eastern parts of the country	S	Surface collection
LEX	Little excavation	SC	South-central parts of the country
Loc	Locality	SW	South-west parts of the country
M	Pre-industrial mine working	Tot.	Total number of figurines
MR	Method of recovery		

Table 21. Alphabetical list of sites shown on Maps 1-12.
(see Table 20 for abbreviations)

Site	No on map	Map No	MR	Cont	Figurines
2030 BB 15 ?	116	5	S	R	3
Near Leopard's K	49	12	?	R	3
Adair Farm	43	10	S	R	2
Anderson's Plot	76	6	REX	R	16
Atherstone Farm	15	12	REX	C	41
Berkley Hill	22	7	S	R	3
B J Bunting Close	65	4	LEX	R	12
Bojum Claims	10	7	S	R	4
Bompst Ruin	117	2	S	R	5
Buhwa	100	2	LEX	R	5
Butchers Plot	64	6	REX	R	17
Byo Hill Cross	70		?	R	2
Unknown	69		?	R	4
Carleon Estate	67	6	REX	?	1
Chadshunt Ext.	26	11	S	R	1
Chamabvepfa	97	5	LEX	R	1
Chamakwangwadza	106	5	LEX	R	27
Chipoli Farm	14	12	REX	C	13
Chirere	99	5	S	R	1
Chiwona Ruins	123	10	LEX	R	2
Chivowa Hill	96	5	BEX	R	83
Chizembe	110	5	S	R	3
Chizukwe	105	5	S	R	1
Chomuruvati	107	5	LEX	R	3
Christon Bank	21	7	S	R	3
Chumungwa Ruin	94		S	R	2
Collation Farm	58	2	LEX	R	12
Denje Hill	18	11	S	R	2
Dillon Farm	17	3	REX	R	2
Doxford Farm	9	7	REX	R	1
Dutchman's Pool	29	12	?	R	2
Everton Farm	3	12	REX	C	144
Fort Usher	81		S	R	1
Fundesj Farm	48		LEX	R	2
Gliding Club	80	6	S	R	2
Gokomere Mission	95	1	BEX	R	3
Golden Shower	24	3	REX	M	28
Gorongwe Ruins	104	10	S	R	3
Greater Kyalami	87		S	R	1
Gt Zimbabwe II	113	5	BEX	R	47
GZ Peripheral S.	115	10	S	R	1
Gt Zimbabwe IV	114	10	BEX	C	16
Gumanye	101	5	S	R	2
Guruve	4	12	?	?	1
Hawkshead Farm	121	11	S	?	1
Hazelside	61	6	?	?	1
Hillside	77	6	S	R	6
Hillside UE Dam	71	12	?	R	1
Inkwabene	93	5	S	R	2
Insindi Ranch	85	2	LEX	R	20
Kagumbudzi Ruin	124	10	S	R	1
Kalanyoni	84	4	S	R	1
Kasama	28	7	S	R	1
Khami Burial	51	4	LEX	B	3
Khami Dam	57	2	S	R	1
Khami Dam Wall	56	2	LEX	R	1
Khami Kraal	55	4	BEX	R	2
Khami Ruins IV	50	10	BEX	R	3
Khami St. Kopje	54	4	LEX	R	1
Khami Waterworks	53	4	BEX	R	9

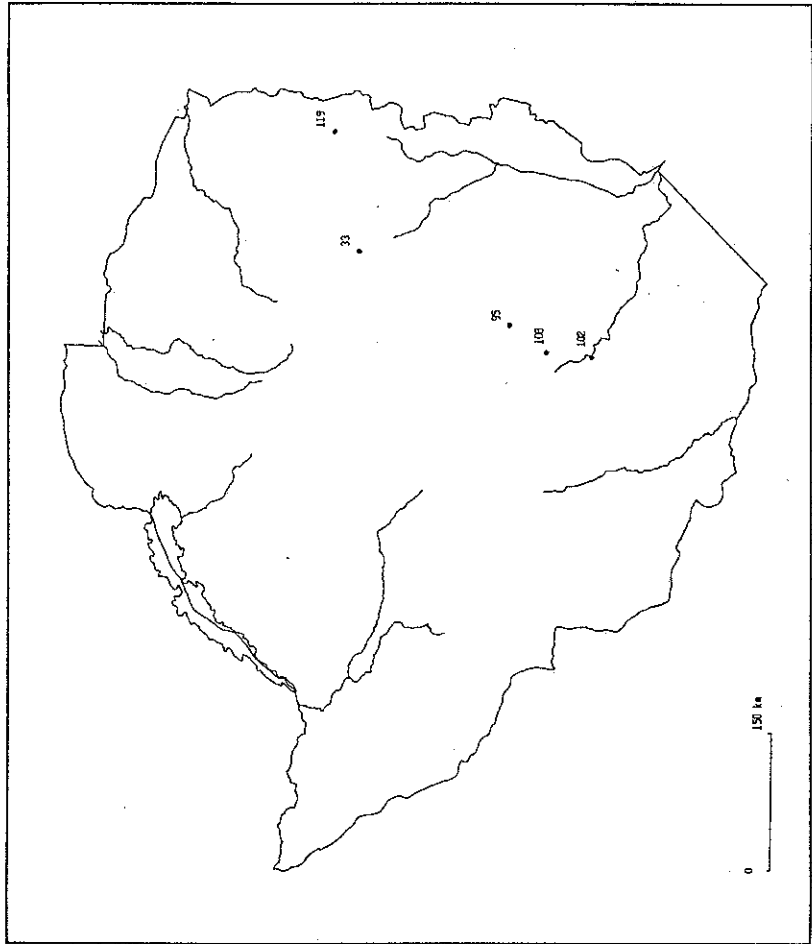
<i>Site</i>	<i>No on map</i>	<i>Map No</i>	<i>MR</i>	<i>Cont</i>	<i>Figurines</i>
Killamey	74	6	S	R	1
Kutama Kop	27	12	S	R	1
Lake Kariba	34	8	S	R	1
Laughing Hills	37	8	S	R	2
Lemon Grove	63	6	?	R	1
Leopard's Kopje	52	4	BEX	R	110
Little Mapela	90		LEX	R	1
Little Over	23	3	LEX	R	1
Mabveni I	108	1	LEX	R	4
Mabveni II	109	11	S	R	1
Macardon Claims	91		LEX	R	4
Magazine Hill	75	6	REX	R	1
Malindela	72	4	?	R	2
Mapela Hill	89		LEX	R	3
Marondera Burial	32	12	REX	B	3
Matibi Mission	103	2	?	R	1
Matsheumhlope	66	4	BEX	R	14
Mawala Hill	47	4	LEX	R	3
Maxton Farm	16	7	LEX	R	1
Mazowe	11		?	?	1
Mbidzi Farm	8	9	S	?	1
Merry Hill	33	1	LEX	R	4
Montevideo Ranch	112	10	LEX	R	19
Mt Alice	79	6	S	R	10
Mudadi	111	5	S	R	7
Mudene Ruins	83		?	R	2
Mukwine Hills	118	12	?	?	1
Murehwa	19	12	?	?	1
Mushonga	102	1	S	R	1
Mutare Altar	122	10	REX	C	149
Mvuradonha Farm	6	9	S	R	2
N. Mashonaland	5		?	?	1
Naba 1	39	3	REX	R	7
Nali Hill	78	6	REX	R	1
Nebraska Ranch	92	10	LEX	R	3
Ngezi	98	2	S	R	8
Njenile	73	6	S	R	1
Nyarinde	35	8	S	R	1
Perth Farm	7	7	S	R	1
Place of Offerings	119	1	REX	R	5
Protea Farm	36	8	LEX	R	2
Reanydene Farm	62	6	LEX	R	1
Rhodes Nyanga	120	12	LEX	?	1
Ruanga Ruins	12	9	BEX	R	18
Rydings Farm	38	8	LEX	R	18
Simoa Caves	40	3	LEX	R	1
Siso Hill	20	7	S	R	2
Thabasikamambo	44	4	LEX	R	6
Three Mile Water S.	30	3	REX	R	3
Three Skids Claim	13	12	REX	C	57
Tshelanyemba	88	12	REX	R	1
Tsindi Ruins	31	10	BEX	R	4
Umboza Hill	45	6	S	R	1
Umfazimiti Hill	46	4	S	R	1
Umfuleni Farm	25	7	S	R	2
Umvutch Farm	68	4	S	R	1
Wankie West	42	11	S	?	1
Wazi Hill	1	9	BEX	R	83
Westacre Creek	59	6	S	R	1
Woolandale Mound	60	6	LEX	R	2
World's View	82		S	R	5
York Farm	86	6	S	R	1

<i>Site</i>	<i>No on map</i>	<i>Map No</i>	<i>MR</i>	<i>Cont</i>	<i>Figurines</i>
Z/Luzilikulu	41	12	S	?	2
Zvongombe Ruins	2	9	BEX	R	3
Total:					1180

On the following pages:

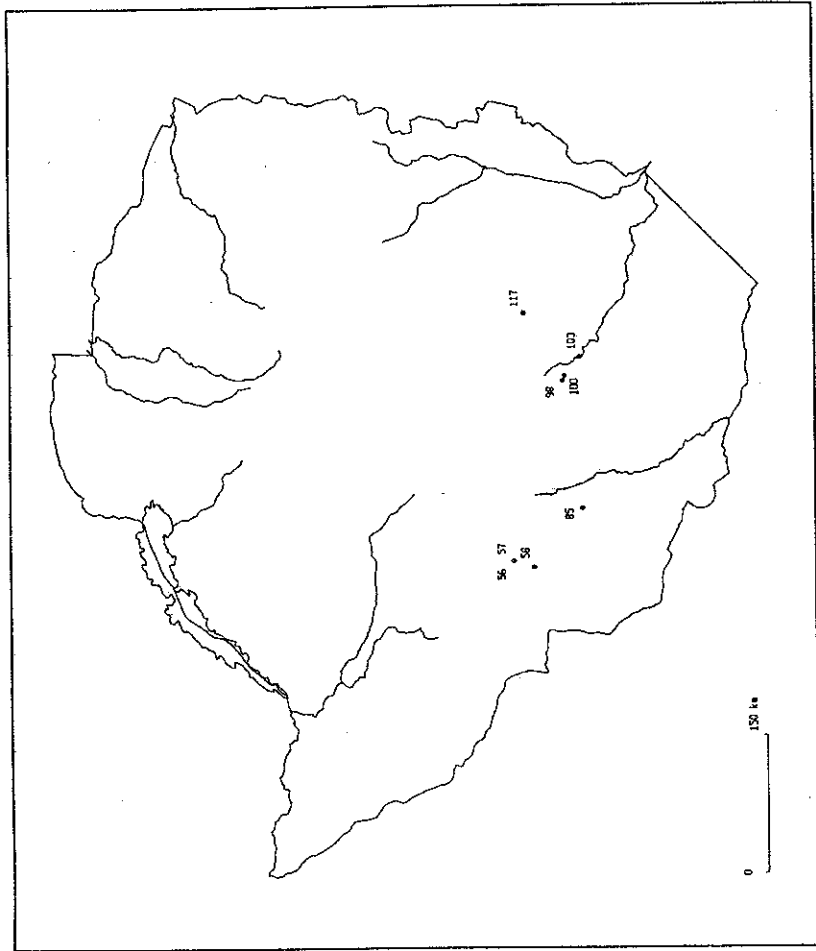
Maps of Zimbabwe. Nos 1–12 show figurine sites. Maps 1–11 each represent a chronological unit. For the chronological and spatial relationships of these units see Table 17. Map 12 shows undated sites. Sites were assigned numbers consecutively. For site names, refer to Table 21.

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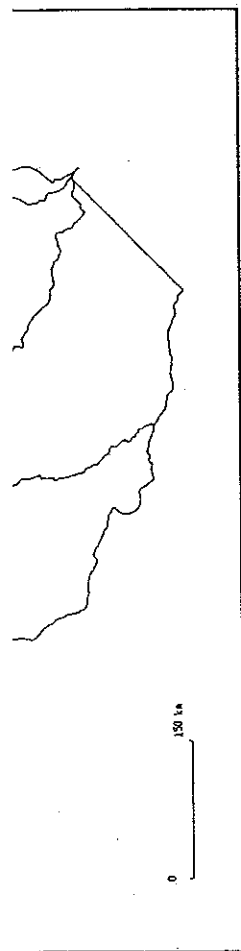


Map 1. Figurine sites of the EFC Gokomere-Ziwa tradition, c. 200–600 AD.

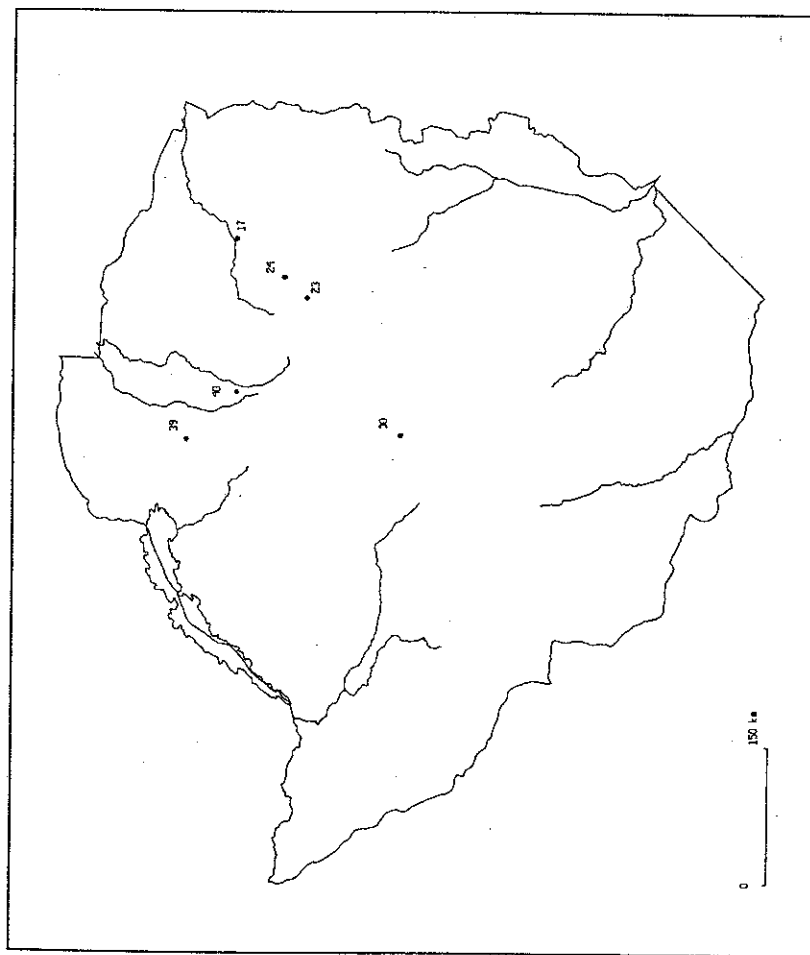
Map 2. Figurine sites of the EFC Zhizo tradition, c. 600-900 AD.



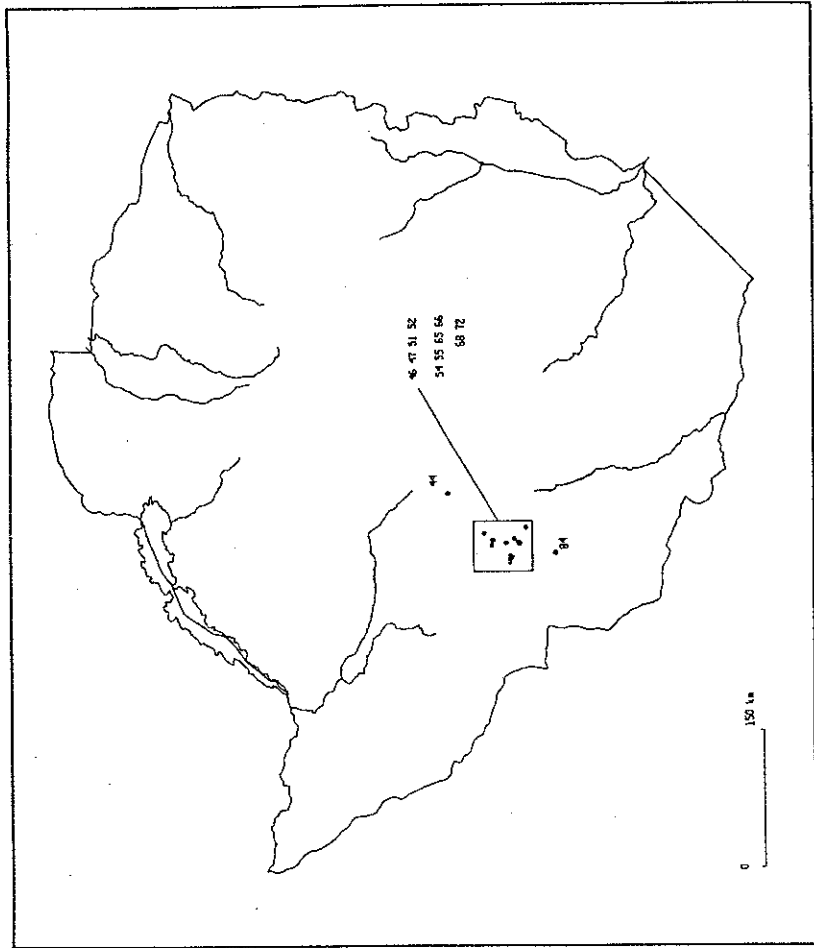
Map 2. Figurine sites of the EFC Zhizo tradition, c. 600-900 AD.



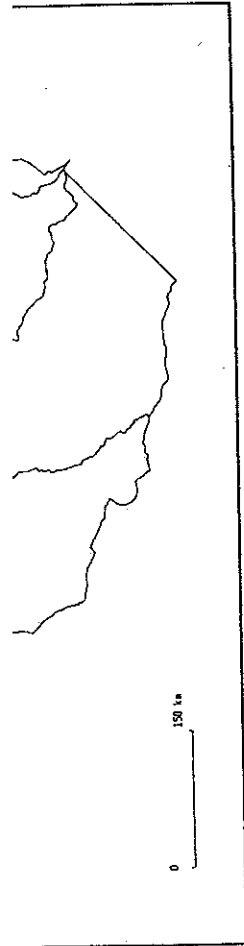
Map 3. Figurine sites of the EFC Coronation and Chintoyi traditions, c. 600-900 AD.



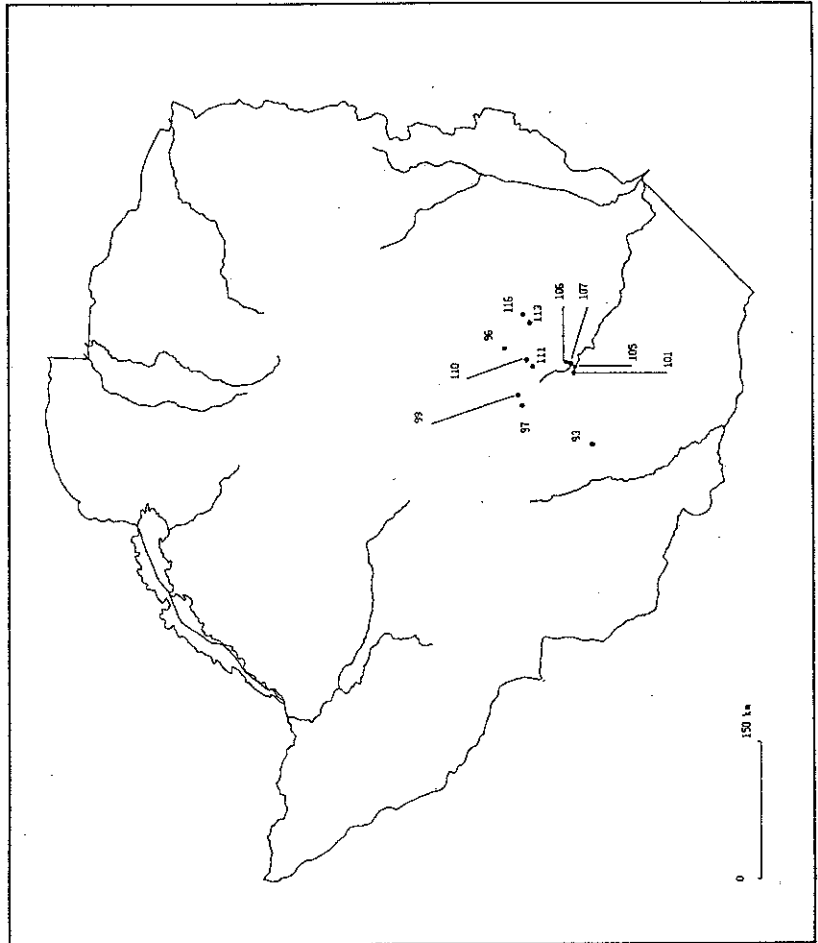
Map 4. Figurine sites of the LFC Mambo (Leopard's Kop-je) tradition, c. 900-12 00 AD.



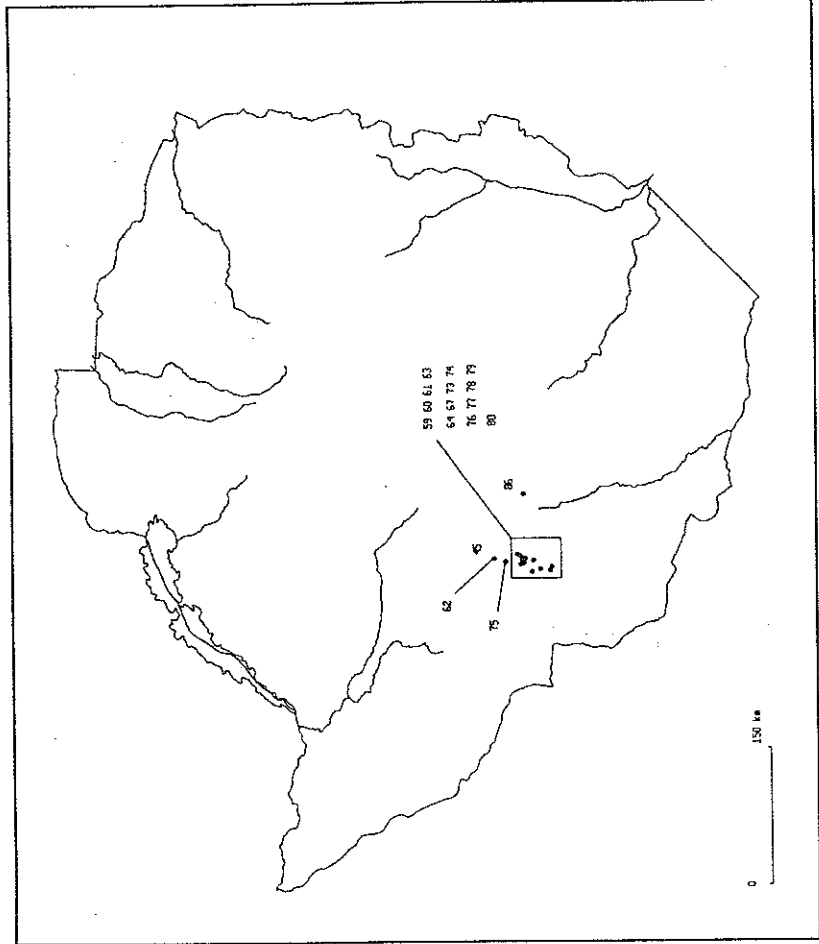
Map 4. Figurine sites of the LFC Mambo (Leopard's Kop-je) tradition, c. 900–12 00 AD.



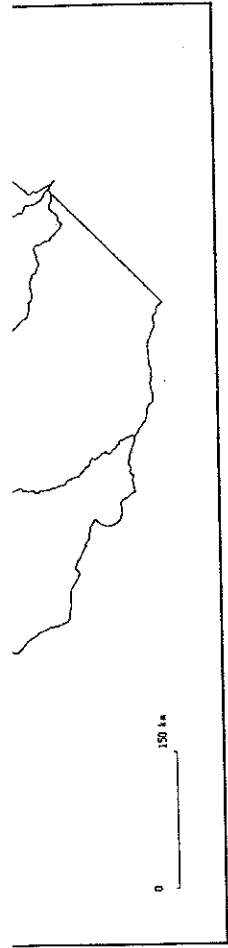
Map 5. Figurine sites of the LFC Gumanye tradition, c. 900–1200 AD.



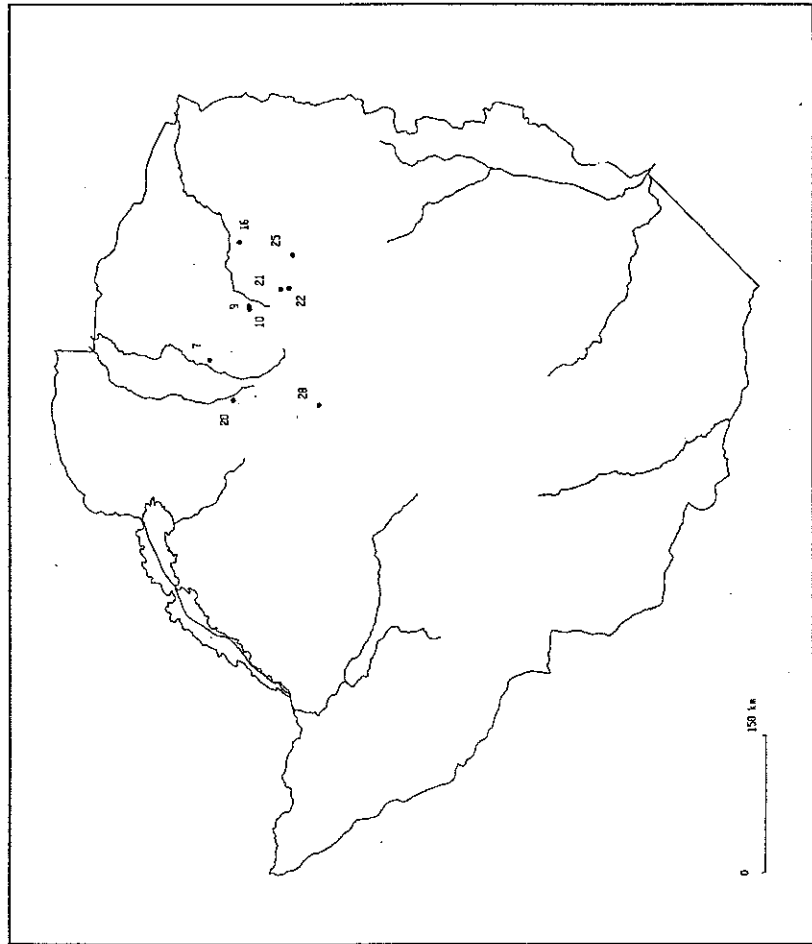
Map 6. Figurine sites of the
LFC Woolandale tradition,
c. 1200-1500 AD.



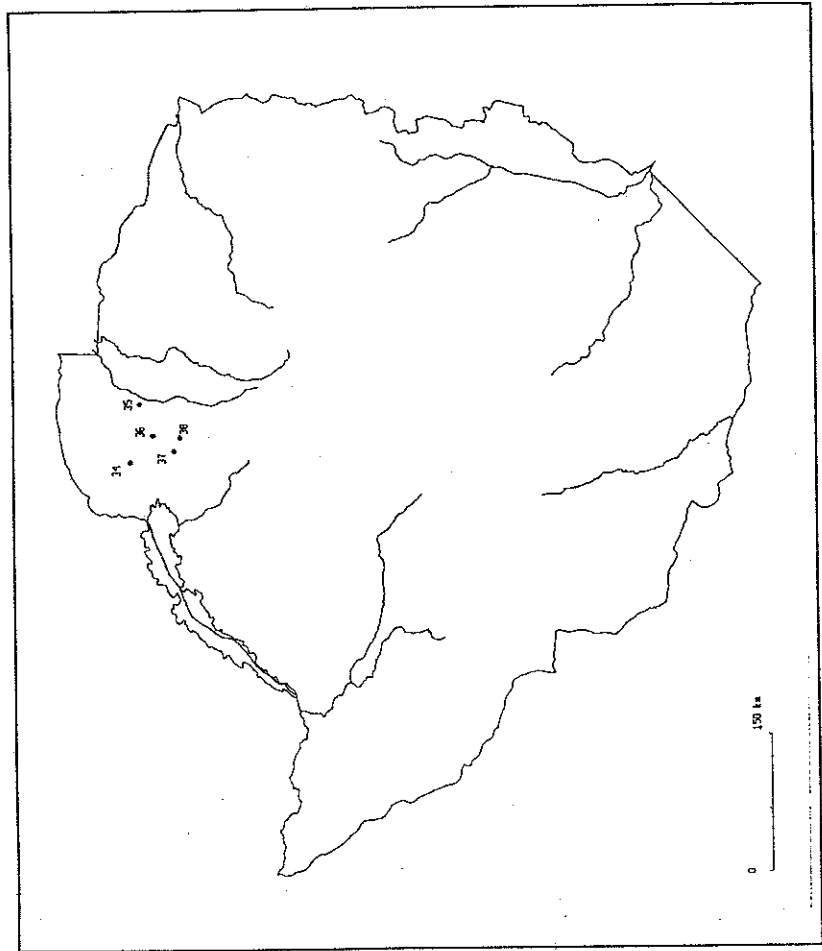
Map 6. Figurine sites of the
LFC Woodlandale tradition,
c. 1200–1500 AD.



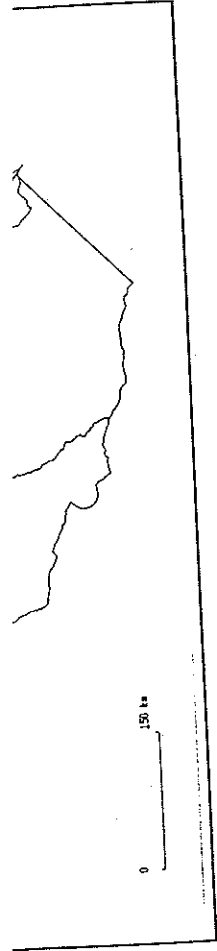
Map 7. Figurine sites of the
EFC Maxton tradition,
c. 900–1200 AD.



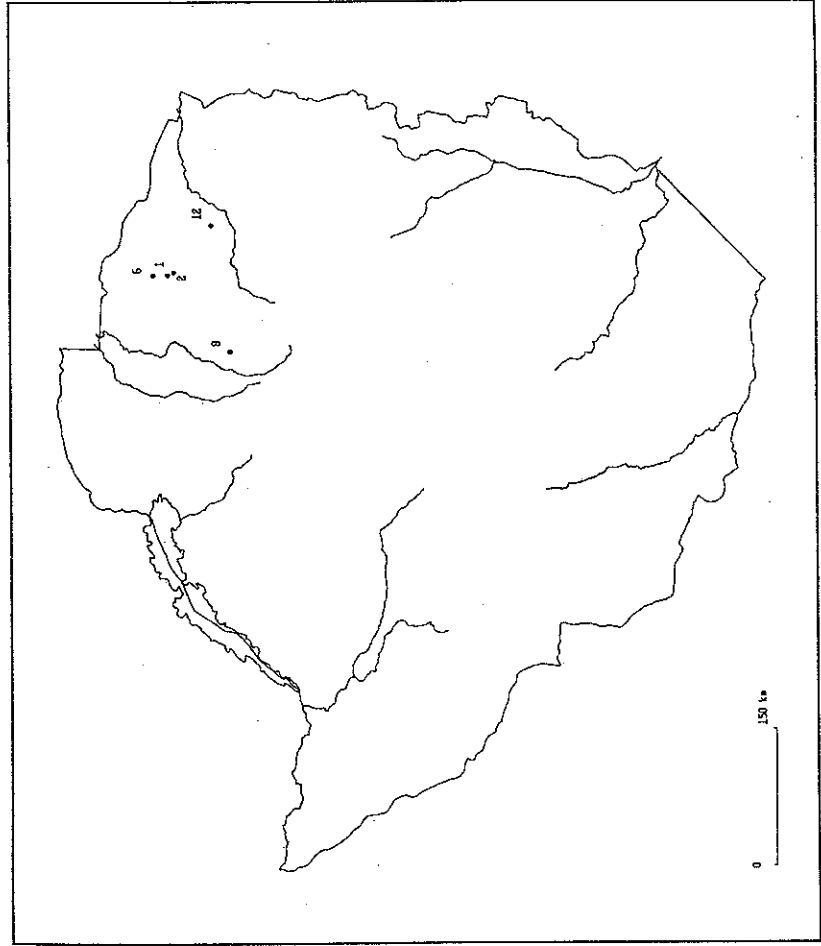
Map 8. Figurine sites of the LFC Ingombe Ilede tradition, dating from around the 11th century AD.



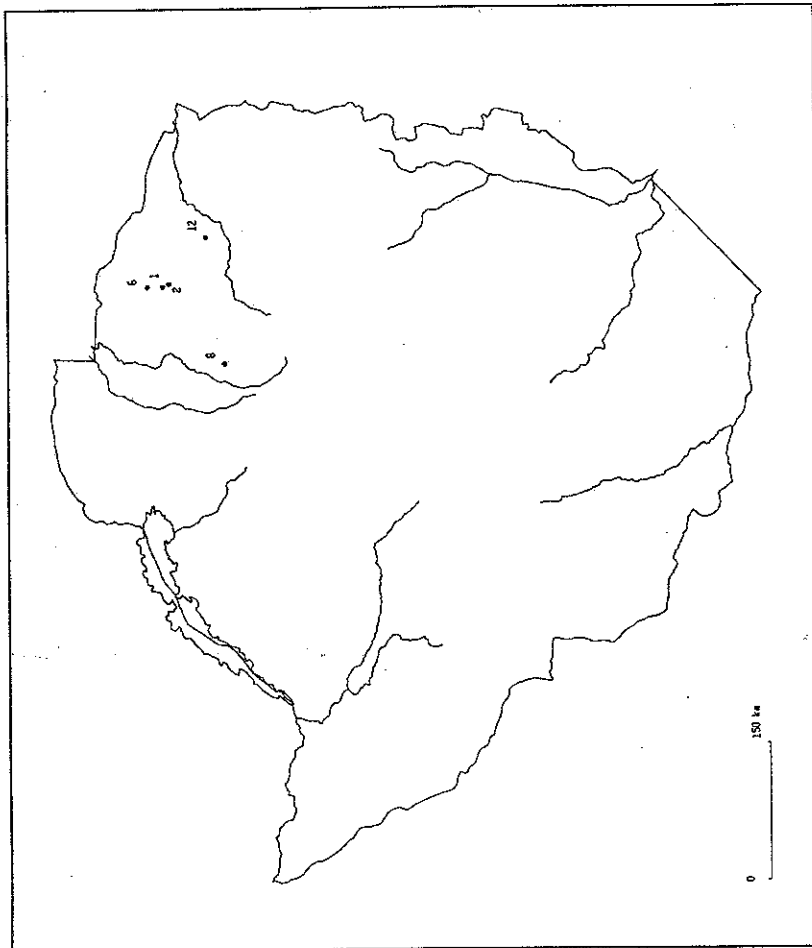
Map 8. Figurine sites of the LFC Ingombe Ilede tradition, dating from around the 11th century AD.



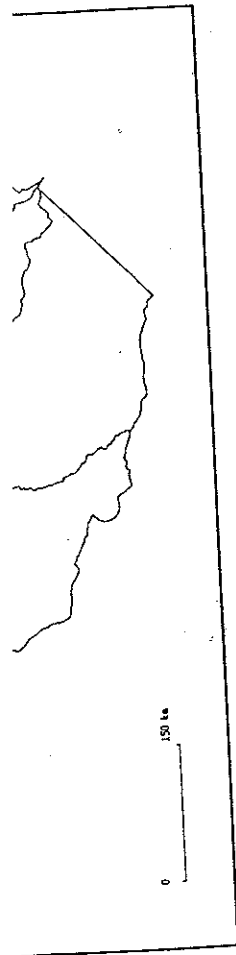
Map 9. Figurine sites LFC Musengezi tradition, c. 1200–1500 AD.



Map 10. Figurine sites of the
LFC Zimbabwe tradition,
c. 1200-1500 AD.

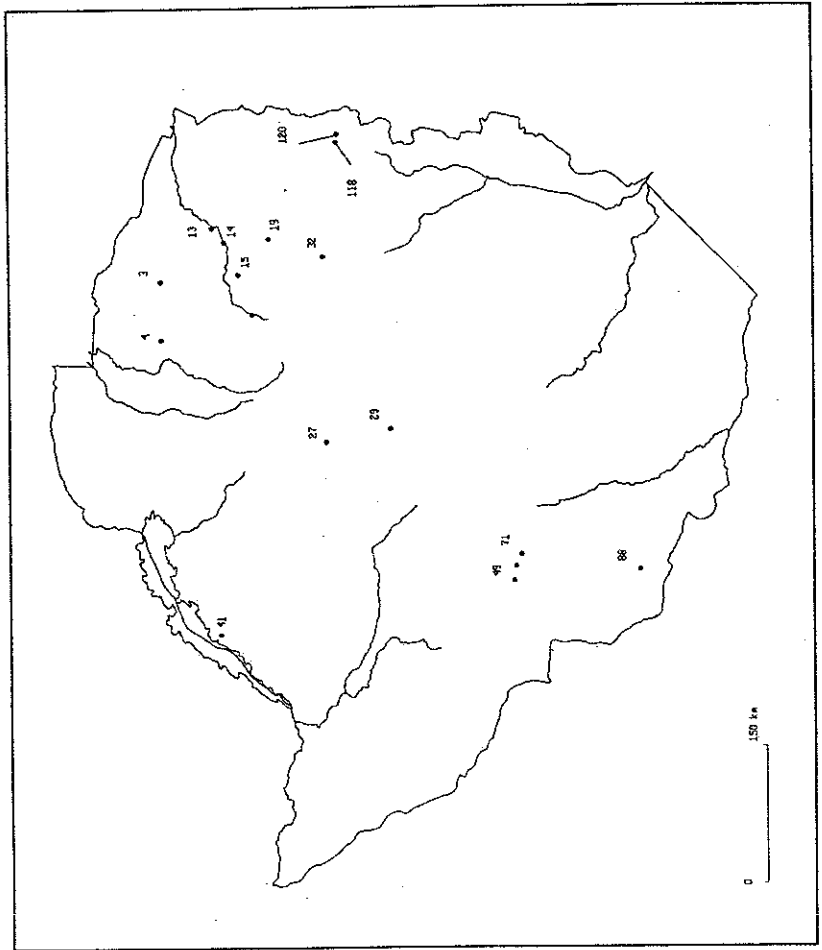


Map 10. Figurine sites of the
LFC Zimbabwe tradition,
c. 1200-1500 AD.



Map 11. Figurine sites of the
Terminal FC tradition,
18th-19th centuries AD.





Map 12. Undated figurine sites.

Chapter 6

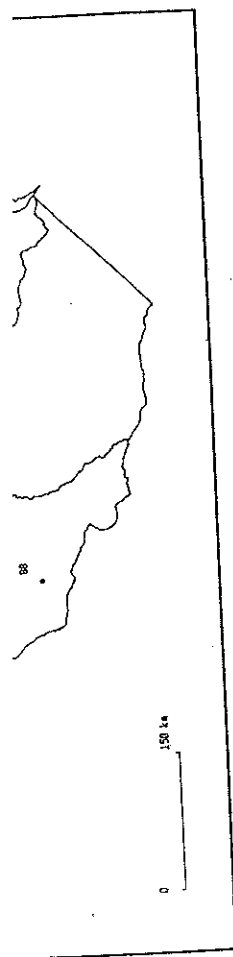
The postulated meaning of archaeological figurines from Zimbabwe

In Chapter 5 I showed that figurines were associated with the iron-using farming communities who probably came to southern Africa around AD 200 and who made figurines up to the 18th or 19th century. I also tentatively indicated the specific activity areas in which these figurines lie or where they may have been used. This information alone, however, tells us nothing about the actual meaning of figurines to the people who made them. Indeed archaeology is, in this respect, least informative. Any knowledge we might want to profess on this issue would imply that we know the people who made or used the figurines, and therefore the way of life and the system of thought behind their manufacture and use. In this regard, the only people, which we know by name, who have occupied the Plateau are the Shona, whose descendants constitute nearly 90% of the population of Zimbabwe today. It is therefore necessary to briefly describe the place of the Shona people in the history of the Zimbabwe plateau before we can invoke Shona world view for possible clues to the meaning of archaeological figurines. It is likely that commercial stone and wooden carving which thrives today in Zimbabwe exploited existing artistic experience although there is lack of precise documentation of the nature of the transition to commercial art. On the other hand oral traditions about the way of life of ancestral Shona cannot recall clay figurines (cf. Aschwanden 1982, p. 131). The main object of keeping oral traditions is political. They tend to focus on dynastic genealogies and historic place names to support territorial claims and rights to succession. In societies in which nothing was committed to writing it is not surprising therefore that information about other aspects life were probably not recorded at all. Portuguese travellers in the 16th and 17th centuries, more often public guests at the courts of the Shona rulers, cannot be expected to have noticed secret or private rituals.

Historical background: the Shona people and the iron-using farming communities

Shona is primarily a linguistic group of six or more closely related dialects spoken in Zimbabwe and central parts of Mozambique bordering on Zim-

Map 12. Undated figurine sites.



babwe. Shona today is probably the largest linguistic group in southern Africa in terms of both popularity and colony. The Shona people do not put any explicit claim to a common historical origin, but the existence of this expansive area of cultural and linguistic homogeneity is particularly remarkable. Neither do we know exactly when the Shona came to this part of southern Africa. The earliest historical date for the Shona is c. 1490. This was given by the Portuguese traveller, Diogo d'Alcaçova, in 1506 in connection with a rebellion by Changamire (presumably a progenitor of the Changamire dynasty of the 17th–18th centuries' Rozvi state) against the Mutapa rulers of Mukaranga (Beach 1980, p. 228). Oral traditions are at best vague. Many clans claim to have originated from a place somewhere in the north sometimes actually named as 'Guruuswa' (Bullock 1927; Hodza 1979). When all these traditions are considered it has been thought that the area in question is the lakes region of central and east Africa. Oral traditions, as is often the case, do not indicate any certain period in time during which the Shona clans migrated to this area. Turning to archaeology Shona intrusion may be associated with the later iron-using farming communities from the 11th century onwards (see Chapter 5), although current archaeological thinking rejects the migration paradigm. It must be stressed that the fundamentals of iron using and farming culture were already in place and the Shona, if they were new comers, probably assimilated pre-existing African populations practising varying degrees of the iron-using culture for the previous 1000 years or more. It is interesting to note that the extent of Gokomere-Ziwa ceramics is coincident with present Shona speaking peoples, especially in Mozambique, which could stretch Shona chronology back to the early centuries of the first millennium AD (Sinclair, pers. com).

Between the 11th century and the 19th century the Shona achieved statehood. There is little said in oral traditions about the Shona state based at Great Zimbabwe. The archaeological remains of Great Zimbabwe and several abandoned settlement structures found throughout the country have been extensively studied to reconstruct its history (Caton-Thompson 1931; Huffman 1972; Garlake 1973a; Sinclair 1987). While the extent of the Zimbabwe state may never be precisely established it is often estimated to be quite extensive on the basis of the imposing grandeur of its capital and the occurrence of similar structures such as Manyikeni in southern Mozambique (Sinclair 1987). Zimbabwe is believed to have flourished from about 1250 AD to the end of the 15th century after which it gradually declined.

In the most vague of oral traditions a Shona people, the Torwa, are named as the rulers of Great Zimbabwe (Bullock 1927, p. 31 footnote). On the other hand current opinion is that the Torwa ruled a successor state centred on the Khami Ruins (Beach 1980, p. 36).

group in southern people do not put existence of this particularly remarkable to this part of is c. 1490. This in 1506 in connection of the Chan against the Mutapa s are at best vague. where in the north 927; Hodza 1979). ight that the area in oral traditions, as is e during which the ogy Shona intrusion mmunities from the rchaeological think- at the fundamentals nd the Shona, if they African populations or the previous 1000 of Gokomere-Ziwa eoples, especially in ack to the early cen-

Shona achieved state- Shona state based at t Zimbabwe and sev- the country have been hompson 1931; Huff- tent of the Zimbabwe estimated to be quite capital and the occur- southern Mozambique shed from about 1250 ally declined.

, the Torwa, are named footnote). On the other sor state centred on the

As we saw in the previous chapters, figurines were made at Great Zimbabwe, certainly soapstone figurines, commonly called phalli, which I have decided to call stylized human figurines (Cat. 1 Class 3), and the larger emblems, the birds on pillars. The exact chronological status of the clay cattle figurines (Cat. 3 Class 1) from Great Zimbabwe is uncertain. Robinson (1958) concluded they were made by previous Gumanye populations although I think it is not unlikely that they were made during the Zimbabwe period. Soapstone figurines have also been collected from the Mutare Altar site, a Zimbabwe period site (Bordini 1974).

When the Zimbabwe state went into a state of progressive decline around the end of the 15th century political power seems to have been polarized between the Torwa state in the southwest and the Mutapa state in the northeast. The history of the Torwa is largely obscure. This was perhaps the kingdom of Butua mentioned in Portuguese documents (Beach 1980, p. 198) which was most likely to have been based at Khami. Ivory figurines have been recovered from the Khami Ruins.

By the time the Portuguese arrived on the coast of Mozambique in the early 16th century, the Mutapa state was already in place. It was dominated by the Mutapa dynasty. Some oral traditions claim that the Mutapa dynasty was an offshoot from Great Zimbabwe forced to march northwards because of a craving for salt (Abraham 1959, p. 60). The last phase of Shona state politics was dominated by the Rozvi led by the Changamire dynasty. I mentioned earlier that the Portuguese refer to Changamire in 1506 in connection with a rebellion against the Mutapa state around 1490 AD. The Rozvi eventually grew in political strength to overshadow both the Mutapa and the Torwa state at the end of the 17th century (Mudenge 1988).

The Rozvi state was a confederacy in which local government was left in the hands of local chiefs (*sadunhu*). The Rozvi rulers were the supreme allocators of land, collectors of tribute and officially recognized, rather than chose *sadunhus*. For a long time the Rozvi state had been threatened by civil war before disaster finally came with the Nguni incursions from South Africa in the 1830's. The Rozvi were hardest hit by the AmaSwazi led by the woman soldier, Nyamazana, who killed Mambo Chirisamhuru, the Rozvi king, in 1831. Thus it was much easier for Mzilikazi, leading another Nguni invasion, to establish the Matabele state at the heart of the Rozvi state (Mudenge 1988).

It is difficult to assess how political instability disrupted the day-to-day life style of the Shona people in the period up to the late 19th century. Life in villages was probably little affected. This is not to say that socio-economic institutions were more or less static. Cultural change is for instance reflected in the rise and fall of the stone building tradition. But cultural continuity is

also evidenced by the remains of Shona household artefacts, and the pole and daga houses which were in use from EFC times through to the 20th century (Robinson 1966a, p. 18). As for the figurines, the time overlap between their occurrence and Shona settlement of the plateau leaves no doubt that the Shona made these figurines although, as mentioned above, this information is not explicitly recorded in oral traditions. But the figurines seem to have disappeared suddenly during the 19th century.

Probably some dominant cultural ideas, thought patterns and ritual values were commonly shared by, for instance, the Shona of the late 19th century and the people who inhabited the same area two or three hundred years before. Cultural continuity would imply much more than a continuity of patterns and forms of artifacts and spatial constructions. Since the concept of culture refers to a system of interrelated ideas and values, it is also implied that meanings associated with these forms are part of culture. Culturally established meanings which are generally accepted in society often express the dominating social order. This dominating social order is usually supported and reinforced by a particular cosmology, which is expressed in religious beliefs as well as in the classification of social categories, such as the relationship between male and female, or ruler and ruled. An important part of the cosmology of a culture is the definition of the conditions that makes it possible for society to reproduce itself. It thus contains information about the generation and regeneration of life.

Such ideas and values are generally reflected in spatial arrangements and artistic forms that constitute the 'material setting' of everyday life. To establish the prevalence of message a certain structure of values and ideas in a culture demands more than a comparison of specific objects. It demands a comparison of a whole range of spatial arrangements of villages, houses, ritual centres etc. In any particular culture we find that the basic ideas and values are expressed in recurrent structures or 'folk models' that tend to be repeated over and over again (Jacobson-Widding 1984). Thus, for instance, in Shona culture we discern a basic classification of male and female into two spatial categories: high/low. This is primarily expressed in the current saying about husband and wife that 'The man must always be above the woman' (Jacobson-Widding 1993, p. 7).

We can find the same basic structure of values expressed in virtually every domain of male and female symbolism. We find it in the sitting order (the man must always be seated higher than the woman), in the body postures in connection with greetings and in the placement of crucial artefacts. One body of ideas may find expression in various artefacts and spatial constructions. An artefact may, for some reason, cease to be made or to be used as an expression of certain values. This does not necessarily mean the extinction of

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the ideas reflected. In figurines we are likely to find the expression of a fertility 'folk model' and we should not assume that since clay figurines are no longer made today the ideas do not exist any more. As we shall see they have continued to be expressed in various social spheres of the everyday life of the Shona people and perhaps even in stone and wooden figurines although today this art has largely been commercialized.

Shona world view of fertility

I have shown that, before the 19th century, the Shona had at least five centuries of history on the plateau. If the Shona people can be identified with the archaeological Later iron-using farming communities, there were Shona settlements on the Plateau by the 11th century.

If the archaeological evidence is accepted, there is sufficient time overlap between Shona occupation and the occurrence of archaeological figurines to cause us to believe that the Shona people made the bulk of the figurines in our collection. Figurines are primarily a work of art. But when forms of art, such as dancing performances and two or three dimensional material art, lend themselves as media to express social ideals and values, they operate as symbols. Visual symbols are useful in portraying abstract human processes such as religious ritual and social psychology.

Symbols are the building blocks of folk models. . .

(Jacobson-Widding & van Beek 1990, p. 17)

A 'folk model' is a community's idealized image of itself and the world that surrounds it. Through the exploration of symbols we learn about the ideas and values that intrigue and inform people. Figurines may inform on belief systems and, if so, they reflect some aspects of a people's world view.

Although some archaeological figurines may have been connected with fertility they must not automatically be assumed to have been used in rituals of puberty or marriage. Marriage is, indeed, at least a ritual, but the Shona do not perform any puberty or marriage rites comparable, for example, with the Chisungu rite of the Bemba, Zambia (Richards 1954, briefly described below). A fundamental point of the argument in this thesis is that social values and related expressions do not necessarily ossify into institutions. In other words the absence of discrete institutions of fertility among the Shona does not necessarily imply the absence of such values and observances which elsewhere may be found to support such institutions. Below I will show that among the Shona a fertility model exists in a number of social spheres which, considered separately or together, are far from constituting discrete institutions. Then I will select a proportion of the archaeological figurines i.e.

human figurines (Cat. 1 Classes 1 and 3, conical human figures) and the soapstone carvings of female genitalia (Cat. 1 Class 4). We saw that semi-naturalistic human figurines from the Mutare Altar site tend to have a liberal display of female genitalia. Soapstone objects which solely dwell on female genitalia are also found at the same site. The Class 1b female torso has been described at length. The focus of these models seems to be enlarged feminine buttocks, a curved spine, navel hernia which sticks out and, sometimes, a portrayal of pubic characteristics and the genitalia itself. We also discussed the ambiguous nature of the female torsos and conical figurines. There is a phallic and nubile element in these figurines which echoes the fertility model which I have proposed.

Fertility and the cult of ancestral worship

The male conception of fertility is fused with strong religious devotion to the ancestral spirits. Shona religious beings are hierarchically ordered into three ranks. At the top is the cult of Mwari who is conceived as a supreme, monolithic deity usually detached from day-to-day life (Bullock 1927, p. 123). The second order consists of the tribal spirits called *Mhodoro*. The family spirits *Mudzimu*, the lowest order, are more important to the individual than any other religious obligation. A man believes that he continues to live as a family guardian spirit if he has left off-spring. Fatherhood is therefore, a pre-requisite for a person to acquire the full status of an elder spirit after death. Bourdillon writes,

. . . a man can only live through his son: thus a man's position and name is inherited by a son, his spirit enters his son's children, and, most of all his spirit is remembered and honoured by his patrilineal descendants on ritual and other occasions. In theory the spirit of an unmarried person is powerless and unimportant. . . . The spirit of a person who dies without children can never be fully mature . . . parenthood rather than puberty or age gives status to the spirit. . . .

(Bourdillon 1987, p. 220-1)

Bullock also noted that,

. . . the idea of continuity in spirit life has its counterpart in the conception of physical life. It is here where the Mashona's hope for everlasting life lies. He goes further than modern biologists in their theory of continuity of life of the germ plasma. His son will be him. . . . Death loses its sting, it cannot reduce him to nothingness. He lives on. . . .

(Bullock 1927, p. 131)

It is this religious conviction that the persistence of life after death lies solely in the ability to produce offspring which impels a man or his relatives

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to make arrangements for a close member of the family to impregnate his wife for him if impotency is suspected. The children begot of this secret contract will be his (Bourdillon 1987, p. 47).

In social circles a married couple drops 'Christian names' and each is named after their first child, and thus will be called *Mai vaFarai*; and *Baba vaFarai* (English translation: Mother of Farai; and Father of Farai) (Jacobson-Widding 1993 p. 7). It is thought to be in bad taste to continue to call a couple by their first names in spite of their new status of parenthood.

The significance of the ability to beget children is also illustrated by the fact that a final funerary ceremony, intended to domesticate or to bring home the spirit of the dead person, only takes place if the deceased had children (Bourdillon 1987, p. 47). Jacobson-Widding, on the strength of fieldwork done recently in Zimbabwe (Jacobson-Widding 1990), shows that Bourdillon may have been wrong to think that fatherhood is the only requirement. If a young man dies before having begotten children of his own, his brother's son may install him as an ancestral spirit – provided the man had reached sexual maturity, thus the potential ability to procreate. The status of the ancestral spirit in relation to its deceased is clearly illustrated in an interview with Mrs Sauramba recorded by Jacobson-Widding:

AJW*: Can you become a *mudzimu* (ancestor) if you die without children?

S*: No, you cannot.

AJW: If a man of twenty-five dies before he has a wife or children – can he become a *mudzimu*?

S: Yes, but a boy up to fourteen cannot become a *mudzimu*.

AJW: Has this to do with the boy's capacity to bear children? Can a boy become a *mudzimu* if he has started producing semen?

S: Yes, because he has reached the age of making children.

AJW: If a woman has born children – can she become a *mudzimu*?

S: No, only a man.

AJW: But there are female spirits who come and possess people, aren't there?

S: Yes, but it is rare. The spirit who comes and is a woman is *tete* (paternal aunt). She is like a man.

(Jacobson-Widding 1990, p. 50-1)

(*Jacobson-Widding and the informant Mrs. Sauramba)

Thus a sexually mature male can become a *mudzimu* on condition of being accepted by his next of kin. Once a person has married he must produce off-spring in order to qualify as a *mudzimu*. He can always offset the problem of possible infertility by engaging his brother to impregnate his wife for him.

Fertility is the very embodiment of life and eternity. The final test of an individual's adulthood and social development is the ability to have off-

spring. Shona revulsion to infertility clearly shows that marriage is not so much a consummation of a sexual relationship but primarily a contract to produce children. This forms the basis of the fertility model which I will explore further.

The cult of Mwari controls the universe of fertility: agricultural and human fertility

I mentioned earlier that Shona religious beings may be ranked into three orders consisting of *Mwari*, the tribal *Mhondoro* spirits and the *mudzimu* (the family guardian spirits). Except for a dubious example cited by Aschwanden (1982) in reference to the southern Shona figurines were not used in any of these observances.

One tradition cited by Daneel (1970, p. 22) claims that the cult of *Mwari* was brought by the Mbire tribe from the north although its origin remains largely obscure. The cult has proved to be adaptable to changing political circumstances: it is believed to have been adopted at Great Zimbabwe before it was later moved to the Matopo Hills outside the modern town of Bulawayo; with the shift of the shrines to the southwest of the plateau the cult became increasingly patronized by the Rozvi rulers. The Matabele, settling near the Matopos in about 1840, allowed the practice of the cult in the Matopos.

Mwari is regarded as a Supreme Being, a creator of things, *musiki*; a creator of mankind, *Musikavanhu*. *Mwari* has a monolithic appearance which may have startled early European missionaries so much that no word could have been so close to conveying the sense of the Christian God when the bible was translated into Shona. The territorial jurisdiction of the cult of *Mwari* is less clearly defined, but it is certain that its most devoted adherents were in the south and south-western parts of the Plateau including the VaVenda in the Limpopo valley. The principal religious authority in the north of the plateau was the *Mhondoro* cults. Daneel argues that the *Mhondoro* cults were syncretized with the *Mwari* cult at Great Zimbabwe (Daneel 1970, p. 24). It was customary for subordinate chiefs throughout the country to demonstrate allegiance to the Rozvi by sending messengers, *Vanyai*, to Matonjeni, the most important shrine in the Matopos.

The primary concern of *Mwari* was the fertility of crops and people. *Mwari* therefore controlled the universe of fertility. He was the rain giver and hence one of his praise names was *Dzivaguru* (the Great Pool), a praise name which carries some allusion to a woman's physical sexual characteristics. Affiliated chiefs were sometimes required to dedicate young men and women, *hossanah* and *mbonga*, to the service of *Mwari*. These sacrificial individuals in a sense became priests and priestesses (Bourdillon 1987, pp.

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278–9). They lived at the shrines as resident custodians and were the mediums of the *jukwa* spirits which visited them during the dance ceremony thought to lure the rain (Bourdillon 1987, p. 281). It is the rain making ceremony which clearly illustrates that *Mwari* symbolizes divine fertility.

The rain-bringing ceremony called *mukweverera* or *mushosho* is still held in many parts of Zimbabwe in November, the beginning of the rain season. The ritual has recently been described by Jacobson-Widding (1990) in Chief Mutasa's area. In this chiefdom alone many ceremonies are held in the smaller units that make up the chiefdom. But the central ceremony is organized by the chief and his *machinda*, princes and princesses. When the day of the ceremony is announced women past menopause assist in the making of beer for this ceremony. Beer for the consumption of people who attend the gathering goes through seven days of processing. The beer which is sacrificed to the ancestors is withdrawn from the cycle on the sixth day and does not go through the final maturation. But the sacrificial ritual takes place on the seventh day when the ancestors are entertained with the 'sixth day beer' and the ordinary people take the mature beer. The procession to the hills where the rain bringing ancestors were buried is made up of princes and princesses. During the journey they stop from time to time to take draughts of the beer, thus arriving at their destination when they are well drunk. The dance and songs are often of the kind that have been called 'obscene' but are regarded as proper for this particular occasion. The bodily contortions overtly speak of intercourse as does the seductive songs led by the women attendants. Thus Jacobson-Widding comments about the sudden inversion of social decency:

Normally a woman's prime duty is to behave decently and demonstrate passivity towards men. . . . Here, though, normal social practice is turned upside down and roles are exchanged. The women are the active ones and they use words that are normally proscribed.

(Jacobson-Widding 1990, p. 52)

The seduction rite is supposed to continue until clouds crystallize into rain. In practice, however, people retire to the village and drink the rest of the beer. *Mwari* or the ancestral spirits, the bearers and givers of rain can be imagined to have been seduced by the princesses into a relationship. This consummation is the coming of the rains and the allusion to the sexual act is quite obvious. The birth of children is equated therefore to successful crop cultivation coming, as it does, after good rains. In the words of Jacobson-Widding and van Beek,

In these ceremonies, . . . the male ancestors in the sky are enticed to fertilize the earth by releasing their water from heaven. These rituals are publicly recognized, and may be regarded as public enactments of an official, patrilineal ideology of how male powers of fertility relate to those considered female.

(Jacobson-Widding & van Beek 1990, p. 21)

Shona view of agricultural fertility influenced attitudes towards miscarriages and prematurely born babies. An aborted foetus was put in a big pot, *gambe*, and buried on the edge of a stream. This was done to cool the blood of the mother and thus to prevent a possible drought. Indeed most deaths which were regarded as unnatural, were disposed of near a stream edge. The birth of twins was a bad omen. The two were strangled and their bodies put in a big pot and interred in the same manner. The body of a victim of murder required the same ritual to prevent a drought (Bullock 1927, p. 258, 264). Perhaps this could account for the burial figurines found in graves Khami and in Marondera (see Chapters 3 and 5) This, according to Bullock, was probably done to all deaths under puberty. A male adolescent who died unmarried was buried with a symbolic wife in the shape of a female of some small animal, or with a roofing pole, or a grinding stone or other indication of marriage so that he may not be troubled in his after-death (Bullock 1927, p. 264). The Shona definition of unnatural death seems to have been when it happened before marriage and, therefore, before one had begotten children. Such unnatural events, as it were, might cause cosmic instability manifest in recurrent droughts and thus crop failure. There is an implicit equation between the unfulfilled role of procreation resulting from death and crop failure resulting from a drought.

The chief derives political charisma from sexual virility

A fertility complex surrounded the institution of kingship or paramount chieftaincy and was observed by Portuguese travellers in Mukaranga (Mutapa state), Barwe and Manyika in the 18th century (Randles 1979, p. 61). A king employed various instruments of power, real or imagined, intended either to inspire respect or fear to protect his position. Sexual potency was equated with political potency. To parade his potency a king aspired to have, and usually had, more wives than any other citizen in his domain. Thus one Chief Makoni is reported to have had 110 wives (Bullock 1927, p. 229). I personally remember in 1973 the then Chief Nyashanu, Makiwa Muradzikwa, boastfully claiming that he had 40 wives on the occasion of installing a headman in his chiefdom. In any case his status is also judged by the number of children he fathers. Sexual prowess was often blown up to mystical proportions by linking it to magical or ritual performances. Thus Portuguese travellers observed that the principal wife of the Mwenemutapa was

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his own sister or other near relative. From this report it appears that this was a common practice. In Manyika and Barwe royal incest was committed over the body of a living crocodile, tied so that it did not harm the initiates (Randles 1979, pp. 61–2). The sexual health of the king embodied the health of the nation. The king therefore breaks one of the most unspeakable taboos: incest with a sister and thus builds around himself a powerful mystical and magical aura. I must point out that this practice has not been observed among the Shona today, but Jacobson-Widding (1990) records that the myth about royal incest is frequently told by ordinary people. The organization of the Mutasa and Makoni chiefdoms, for example, are such that the king allocates districts, *dunhu*, to his sisters to which they become subchiefs. The incumbents are not allowed to marry but should bear many children who regard the king as their symbolic father (Jacobson-Widding 1990, p. 55).

*A man multiplies his crop through aberrant sexual behaviour:
magical incest.*

There is another variant of magical incest which is connected with agricultural fertility, *divisi* (Jacobson-Widding 1990, pp. 54–6). In this furtive practice a man under the instruction of a traditional doctor commits incest with his daughter in order to bring an abundant harvest. Some of the accounts explain that the initiate multiplies his yield by a debilitating effect on rival crops in the neighbourhood. This was and still is a punishable offence under Shona customary law. *Divisi* today largely exists as a belief or suspicion and often accusation cannot be substantiated.

*Totemic laudatory poetry praises the potential fertility and virility of
members of the patri-clan*

The Shona view of procreation is conveyed in an anthology of Shona communal poetry. Such poetic recitations are of remarkable diversity to which may be added a miscellany of lyrics which sometimes grade into songs. These poems are too many to be enumerated here, but to illustrate this dimension of poetry I have chosen totemic poetry. The main attributes of Shona totems (*mutupo*) are summarized by Bullock (1927, pp. 78–9):

It is cognomen . . . and serves as such as a ceremonial, and as a laudatory form of address . . . it acts (with modification) as a bar of consanguinity to ensure exogamy in the sense of agnatic relationship; the *mutupo*, in these tribes, descending from father to son . . ., is a social bond between members of the same clan . . . a taboo, or partial taboo, is attached to the animal, part of carcass, . . . or even elements whose name is used or implied . . . there are magical sanctions enforcing such taboo, eg, the loss of teeth by the eater or an animal tabooed.

(Bullock 1927, p. 78–9)

So central to the concept of *mutupo* is the assumption, though not always true, that persons of the same *mutupo* and *chidawo* (group praise poetry), even when they do not belong to the same immediate clan, stem from the same patrilineal genealogy. The *chidawo*, an external laudatory appendage of the *mutupo* makes further differentiation since different clans may have similar *mutupo* but different *chidawo*. But similar *mutupo* with different *zvidawo* have been said to reflect the break-up of large clans and creation of new clans.

A majority of the items which form the main element of Shona totems are animals, mostly wild animals. The following is a list of some of the Shona totems adapted from Bullock 1927, pp. 96-115; Hodza 1979, pp. 120, 178, 216.

<i>Totem</i>	<i>Praise/Chidawo</i>	<i>Clan</i>	<i>Locality</i>
Soko (monkey)	Wakatakwa	Zezuru	Mazowe
Soko	Murewa	Chinamhora	Harare
Soko	Vhudzijena	Svosve	Wedza
Soko	Mbereka	VaZumba	Mberengwa
Soko	Mukanya	Jindwi, Zimunya	Mutare
Soko	Wafawanaka	Korekore	Mt Darwin
Mbizi (zebra)	Tembo	Mutasa	Mutare
Shumba (lion)	Mhazi	Chirumhanzi	Chirumhanzi
Mbizi	Muhlanga	Mapungwana	Chipinge
Mbizi	Mazwimbakupa	Chihota	Seke
Mbizi	Mubayiwa	Bushu	Lake Kariba
Nyati (buffalo)	Chirombowe	Makoni	Rusape
Moyo (cow heart)	Moyondizvo	VaRozvi	Bikita
Moyo (heart)	Nematombo	Negomo	Mazowe
Moyo (heart)	Sinyoro	Vanjanja	Buhera
Moyo (heart)	Wakapiwa	Samuriwo	Marondera
Moyo (heart)	Muzukuru	VaNhowe	Marondera
Moyo (cow heart)	Chirandu	Mukanganwi	Bikita
Moyo (cow heart)	Sithole	Ngorima	Chimanimani
Moyo	Wadyegora	Rusike	Goromonzi
Moyo	Dhewa		Mberengwa
Hungwe (fish eagle)		Mberengwa	
Tsvara (guinea fowl)		Mutare	
Mhara (impala)			Chivu
Nondo (hartebeest)	Chirau	Makonde	
Humba (wild pig)		Nyanga	
Magondo (hyena)			Nyanga
Shato (python)	Meta	Manyika	Mutare

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<i>Totem</i>	<i>Praise/Chidawo</i>	<i>Clan</i>	<i>Locality</i>
Ndoro (conus shell)	VaDuma	Buhera	
Chuma (beads)		VaRozvi	Bikita
Hwai (sheep)	Nyachuma		Nyanga
Chiremba (doctor)	Maongera	Maongera	Makonde
Unendoro (conus)	Nhari	Chinhoyi	Makonde
Ngara (porcupine)	Zimuto	Zimuto	Masvingo
Gurwe (cricket)		Jeta	Gutu
Ishwa (termites)	Dhliwayo	Chikukwa	Chimanmani
Mbeva (mouse)	Madzingira	WaRemba	Nyanga
Ingwe (tiger)	Newa	VaBarwe	Nyanga
Tshauke (fire)		Shangaan	Bikita
Mumi (wild dog)	Sigauke	Mapungwana	Chpinge
Ngonya (vagina)	Gushungo	Zvimba	Makonde
Gumbo (leg)	Madyirapazhe	Guru	Gutu
Tsiwo (female genitals)			Mutare
Dziwa (pool)	Musaigwa	Negove	Masvingo
Mvuwu (hippo)		Mukome	Mutare
Mbedzi (pool)		VaVenda	Gwanda
Mlambo (pool)		Ganda	Chipinge
Shumba (lion)	Masinire	Charumbira	Masvingo
Shumba	Nyamuzihwa	VaBudja	Mutoko
Chibgwa (lion)	Murambwe	VaMhari	Masvingo
Shumba	WeMhazi	Vagonera	Chirumhanzi
Shumba	Nechinanga	VaBudja	Mazowe
Imbwa (dog)	Chihwa	Mutambara	Chimanimani
Ingwe (leopard)	Nhehwe	Mutambara	Chimanimani
Shava (eland)	Mufakose	Hwata	Harare
Shava	Mutenhesanwa	Chiweshe	Chiweshe
Shava	Mwendamberi	Chivero	Chegutu
Shava	Wanonoka	Munyaradzi	Gutu
Shava	Nhuka	Marange	Mutare
Nzou (elephant)	Samanyanga	Makorekore	Mt Darwin

A majority of these totems have sexual and fertility connotations either derived from the totem object or implied in the praise poetry. Thus for instance the *Dumbo* (leg) totem is euphemism for phallus (Aschwanden 1982, p. 113), while *Shumba* (lion) symbolizes virility, and *Dziva* (pool) alludes to female genitalia. Some of the animal species identified among the figurines are in fact totem animals, eg, elephant, porcupine, baboon, tortoise, hippo, sheep and cattle. There is little, however, to suggest that the motive

behind their modelling could have been to portray totem animals, although it is not unlikely. The Shona are not known to have practised any kind of 'idolatry'. One also faces a dilemma to explain why non-totemic animals occur among them.

Totem related poetic recitations, called *nhetembo dzemadzinza*, more than the totem animals, contain various expressions of group ideology. One subject which forms part of these group expressions touches on the related phenomena of fertility, sex and stereotypes of feminine beauty. The recitation of totemic praise poetry is often restricted to one particular situation. This is one of love making, provided that the couple is properly married to each other. During the act of love, and especially after the conclusion of it, husband and wife should recite each other's clan praise poetry. Below I will cite examples to show that the poems reflect aspired or achieved stereotyped images of the noble manhood and femininity of individuals who bear a particular totem, or they were intended to promote such stock models. The language used is more often subtly allusive and metaphors are often derived from the behaviour or physical appearance of the totem animal or object. A major problem that we may face is language. I will use the English translation of the poems and it is regrettable that in this rendering the poetry loses some of the vitality and flavour of its Shona idioms.

A comprehensive guide to Shona totem-related poems was compiled by Hodza (1979). Of the various genre of praise poetry he deals with I will cite clan praises, praises of the unmarried girls of the clan, praise poetry for love making under the blanket. I shall examine *Mbizi-Tembo* (zebra) of Chief Mutasa, the *Soko* (monkey) of Chief Chinamhora, Harare, and the *Ngonya* (female genitalia) of Chief Zvimba, Chinhoyi.

The Clan totem praise of the people of Mutasa (totem: lion) has been translated thus:

You have done as service, Zebra. Hornless beast of Renje; Adorned with your own stripes. . . . Tembo, The one who does good. A service has been rendered, Muroro; Weaver of lines; Who wear your skin for display; Masters of Mahemasimike. You have made a service, You who is made to lie intertwined with another; Stumps of sugar cane for maidens. Kindly done, Zebra, a name stretching from Chikanga; a real Manyika. We thank you, Son of Chifambausiku, Tendai, the Son of Mutasa; . . . Kindly was it done, Dube; Striped One; You have acted kindly, Lion; . . . (To look at a Zebra, you must look at its legs. If you look at its colouring, you are overcome with admiration.) A service has been done, Dube, who are covered all over with black and white stripes; . . .

(Hodza 1979, pp. 130-7)

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Notes: 'You who is made to lie intertwined with one another' refers to the position of husband and wife in love making.
'Stumps of sugar cane' refers to phalli.

Praise poetry for the girls of the zebra totem

You have done a service, Tembo. . . . Done a real service, Large-lipped ones (Dont call this an insult, it is you totem). . . . A service has been rendered, Lady Nyemba, Poor woman to whom our sympathy goes out; You who slew yourself, with your servants, out of enraged feeling; You who were ashamed to look your fathers in the face, poor woman, through Gunguwo's fault, who trespassed on the sacred grove;. . . Your totem sounds as sweet as the small hand piano in the calabash. You have done a service, daughter of Chiota; Zebra; One with alluring skin. . . . You who give away as if out of pique; You show pity like that of the honey guide (honey bird), Poor Lady, which exerts itself to feed children other than its own. You whose round stones seal the granary which purchased our country. . . . We thank you.

(Hodza 1979, pp. 148-50)

Notes: 'you who slew yourself. . .' may be referring to a characteristic desire by the girls of the clan to have an enormous craving for a fulfilling sexual relationship.
'You who were ashamed to look your fathers. . .' may be a reference to incest resulting from the fact that they are irresistibly attractive.
'You give away as if out of pique;. . .' is a reference to their supposed sexual generosity.
'Your pity like that of the honey guide. . .' is an allusion to the honey guide bird which voluntarily, as it were, betrays the presence of honey.
'round stones that seal the granary', a reference to buttocks and the womb.

Totemic praise poetry of husband to his 'zebra' wife:

Thank you ground horn bills. Thank you Lady Nyemba, . . . like a sweet spotted pumpkin in taste. If you die and leave me alive, They will bury your torso and I will keep your loins. Thank you my dear Tembo. Thank you Zebra. Interwoven with me. . . What you have is something denied to the tastiest relish; If it could be used for relish, No one would pass whom I would leave unchallenged.

(Hodza 1979, pp. 160-1)

Notes: 'If you die and leave me alive . . .' highlights the regions of the loins.
'Interwoven with me . . .', refers to the position of husband and wife in love making.

Wife to husband of Soko (monkey):

A service has been rendered, Monkey; . . . Thank you, You who bear up those you love, Who strikes the ground and it resounds;. . . One with no rear skin; . . . Who have many a one as in a bandoleer around your waist; Who lean the worn-out tool against its support, and take another, and use it until its tired from climbing the rise of Mahumwi; You who said, 'Continual straightening broke the chief's male part. Thank you He-goat that goes up the Mubvinzi River,

playing with the Mubvinzi as one humours a child; No sweat even appearing.
Take your rest while you are in your lair, . . .

(Hodza 1979, pp. 202-3)

Notes: 'Who have many a one. . . .' It is imagined here that the monkey has several penes arranged in a row, these are used in turns as each tires out.

'Continual straightening . . .' a reference to the posture of the baboon which is imagined to be unsuitable for love making; the monkey wants to straighten itself up.

' . . . climbing up the Mubvinzi River . . .' refers to the Mubvinzi is a river near the modern town of Harare. Climbing is a metaphor for intercourse.

The Clan praise of Zvimba totem: female genitalia

You have done a service, Gushungo; Those of the wild fruit groves; . . . She of the soft and flaccid lips; . . . Masters of the water boom groves; My dear Tsiwo, present to me; She who boasts of Hwera, s long lip, Her pride; Often sitting down on rising up they lift (suck) a handful of soil (Apologies, the totem is yours, Do not call it abuse). She of the soft flaccid lips, the relish of other men; Those of the prolific ground nut; . . . Indeed this kind service has been seen, Clan of Zvimba, Lady Ngonya.

(Hodza 1979, p. 263-5)

Notes: The allusion to female genitalia is apparent.

Other totemic poems of this kind may be cited here: the Shiri (fish eagle from Gutu District) and the Gumbo (leg) also from Gutu (Hodza 1979 p. 263-4; Bullock 1927, p. 92-3)

A totem and the attendant totemic poems whenever they are invoked seem to be, among other things, asserting the potential fertility of the male and female members of the community. The people and their totem are inextricably bound together by a complex of sexual allusions which make the totem, at least in the examples cited above, an embodiment of the fertility and viability of the patri-clan. A totem is a hard and fast rule sanctioning or prohibiting courtship and marriage by the rules of exogamy. Otherwise people have to use genealogies which a few people could remember through many generations. In the words of Aschwanden (1982, p. 113),

. . . every totem word has two meanings, a sexual one (referring to fertility) and an historic one.

. . . the mutupo-word prohibits incest, for to commit incest means, in their language, 'to eat the totem (*kudya mutupo*). . . . Thus when they prohibit eating of the totem they give symbolic expression to the taboo on sexual relations between consanguines.

Shona marriage, kinship and fertility

Shona conception of marriage centres on the twin subjects of fertility and sexual potency. There are three basic properties of marriage: that the primary object of marriage is to bear children; that marriage is essentially a contract between clans and that these are the sole bases of its legitimacy. These attributes of Shona marriage were observed by the earliest scholars and one of the most incisive commentary is made by Bullock to open a chapter on marriage (1927, p. 214).

In our book of Common Prayer, the Marriage Service enjoins that marriage is ordained firstly for the procreation of children. . . with the Mashona, that is the object of marriage, and of their lives firstly, secondly and thirdly. . . . We may put in a poor fourthly and fifthly – that the wife must cook for her husband and cultivate his lands.

This is only rational, for the survival and continuity of people depends on procreation. The will to survive is more than a personal responsibility. The clan has to invest in it. The whole of each clan becomes related to the whole of the other family and Shona vocabulary has specific words defining this affinal relationship for the various members and different generations. But in order to understand the particular connection between marriage, fertility and ancestral spirits, we must be aware that the unit that is being sealed and continued by procreation inside marriage is the patri-clan rather than the joint family of husband and wife.

Since marriage is a clan affair which ensures procreation and the continued secular and spiritual existence of the patri-clan the payment of brideprice is the responsibility of the clan rather than the individual who is marrying. A man pays bride price in order to win rights over the children, for without children, he cannot graduate into a *mudzimu*.

The institution of bridewealth today is experiencing rapid transformation with money and industrially made goods replacing cattle as the item of bridewealth. Many people have complained, not without justification, that the institution has been commercialized. The fact that in the past the main item of bridewealth was cattle had religious and symbolic associations (Bourdillon 1987, p. 41). Cattle were considered to be the most stable form of wealth and a man's standing in society was measured by his herd of cattle. It was more so since cattle as bridewealth were the means by which a family could acquire a wife and ensure the spiritual eternity of the family. Yet even if the custom of bridewealth has become somewhat commercialized some of the bridewealth must still be paid in cattle. Furthermore, even if money is given instead of cattle, the accounting is put in terms of the cost of the beasts

which the father-in-law was supposed to receive. Hence cattle is conceived to be intrinsically connected to the conclusion of a marriage contract. The status of cattle figurines is a little intriguing.

If a couple is only married by civil law and no cattle have been given to the wife's family, the husband does not have any right to the children. He is not regarded as their father and the children will not belong to his patri-clan. Cattle thus stand for patrilineal fertility and continuity. It is a common, if sarcastic, Shona saying that, *Gomba harina mwana*, literally, a child of an illegitimate relationship does not belong to its father. This saying is often invoked in reference to children begotten of unmarried people or an adulterous relationship. The subject of paternal rights to such a child are described in detail by Holleman (1952, pp. 242-64). Paternal rights will be determined by the question whether the claimant has paid cattle to its mother's family. Otherwise the latter reserve such rights. In the case of an adulterine child Holleman observed that paternal rights were recognized upon payment of compensation to the legal guardian. In either case the compensation was usually made in cattle called *maputiro*, which literally means wrapping up (a scandalous incident).

The question as to who made archaeological figurines is often asked with reference to cattle figurines. That these figurines may have been made by children has been suggested by Soper and Pwiti (1988, p. 20). If this was the case, then the children were documenting their experience. But the story may not be so simple. There must have been something to urge them to model cattle in particular instead of other subjects within their day-to-day experience. Cattle were an economic asset, but the most popular children's playthings may not necessarily be models of the most valuable things or the most available economic assets. The choice seems therefore to be culturally determined. Cattle figurines are found in association with human female torsos which would imply that these too were made by children. Some of the female figurines are marked with genitalia. Today a child would not indulge in such obscenity without risking punishment.

Human activity areas as local fertility universes

Most activity areas are universes of fertility. In other words, the Shona found avenues to express their world view of fertility in a number of social and economic activities.

The Shona living house or kitchen was one such domain (Aschwanden 1982; Huffman 1981, 1984b). This is one of the most important spatial units on a homestead. Therefore, it is important to identify the dominant symbols associated with the kitchen. Apparently most of the symbols elaborate the

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A Shona kitchen is almost always round. As we enter the kitchen, men turn to the right and sit on an elevated kerb (*chigaro*) built along the wall and women turn off left to sit on mats on the floor. The *chikuva* is another elevated platform, more often a little higher than the *chigaro*. The *chikuva* is not only a pot stand, it is the domain of the *mudzimu* of a deceased ancestor. The word *chikuva* is diminutive for *guva* (grave). Thus all fertility elements are each given a place in the household: the *mudzimu*, the father and the mother, each with a domain defined by space and elevation.

When the head of the household dies he is brought into the living room where his body is placed on the *chikuva*, the domain of the deceased ancestors, for soon he will be a *mudzimu*. The body is led out of the house with the head first. This reminds us of the natal sequence when the head comes out first. Thus the house is imagined to be the mother's womb (Jacobson-Widding pers. com.).

The wife's effects largely consists of pots sitting one on top of the other on the *chikuva* and adjacent area. A man's equipment is usually put high up in the roof: bows and arrows, musical instruments, chissel, adze, etc (Jacobson-Widding 1992, pp. 8-9). A woman's utensils are sacred and so are put on the platform where the spirit 'father' resides. The right-left and high-low binary oppositions are used here not so much to demonstrate a class difference between the phenomena as to show a 'role difference'. When one realizes the different roles that each component plays one recognizes their interdepend-

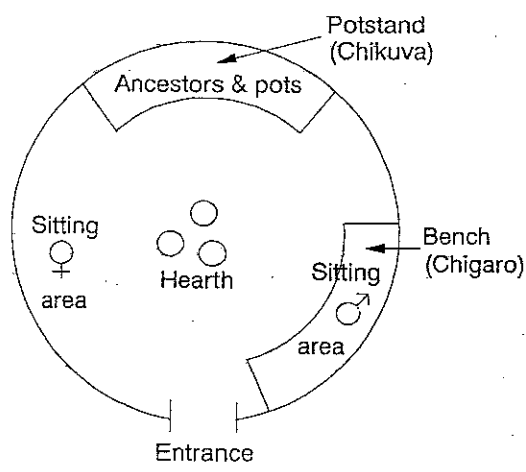


Fig. 38. Plan of a Shona kitchen.

ence. The *mudzimu* is important because it guides and protect the family, if the *mudzimu* fails its children then there is no offspring. Ironically, if the children fail to produce offspring the *mudzimu* has committed suicide.

A woman's utensils are sacred because they represent her motherhood. The pots, in particular, are a symbol of her maternity (Jacobson-Widding & van Beek 1990, p. 25; Collett 1993, p. 510). Collett argues that women, pots and furnaces are linked in a triangle of metaphors among the Karanga of south-central Zimbabwe where pots take the decoration on women's clothing and items of arduement. When the woman arrived as a bride she had carried a pot of water which she presented to her husband. Before she left her home, her paternal aunt had checked her virginity. If she was a virgin the girl would present a pot full to the brim; if, however, she was not she would spill some of the water before the presentation (Aschwanden 1982, p. 189; Jacobson-Widding 1992, pp. 12-3).

If a man breaks his wife's pots, absolute proof must be furnished that it was an accident. Otherwise breaking your wife's pots is one of the most serious violations of a her motherhood and is often interpreted to suggest a divorce. In like manner, if a man refuses food (prepared and served in pots and other utensils) from his wife, he is certainly not going to ask her for sex until the boycott is explained and resolved. This brings in another metaphor, 'eating'. Eating is an idiom of intercourse. The most credible oath a man may take is by something that is tabooed. Thus a man swears by his sister or mother, for if perjury can be proved after making such an oath then it would look as if he has sexually profaned his mother or sister (symbolic incest). He swears by his totem because it is unthinkable that he can eat his totem in as much as he cannot 'eat' (in the metaphorical sense) his 'sister' by the same totem, blood sister, or his mother. If a man has committed incest people often put it euphemistically, often with a tone of sarcasm, that he has 'eaten his totem', because the totem is a symbol identifying the fertility of his own clan.

Because pots belong to a woman, it is symbolically logical that several taboos linked with the manufacture and care of pots are such that when they are disregarded the fertility of male members of the household is threatened. Pot making is a women's trade. Boys and men are not allowed at the clay quarry lest they become impotent. Before a pot is used in the household after firing it is conditioned and strengthened. In this initiatory rite maize or millet powder is boiled for a few minutes in the new pot, a rite at which men should not be present lest they become impotent. A woman should not leave a ladle idle in the pot while cooking the staple porridge. The ladle will burn and thus destroy the potency of the men in the homestead (Jacobson-Widding 1992, p. 11). In this case cooking is conceived as an act of intercourse where the ladle, *mugoti* is a phallus and the pot the maternal symbol.

Heat as metaphor of fertility

It is said that once a year the chief instructed his subjects to extinguish their fires and fetch a 'new' fire from the chief's residence. Fires were also put out when a village had been ravaged by an epidemic. People would rekindle their household fires from the royal fire. The king as the fertility father of the nation must from time to time rekindle the fertility of his subjects. The process of making fire, as Jacobson-Widding (1990, p. 68) observed, is loaded with sexual metaphors. The equipment consists of a stick called the 'man', *murume*, and a larger piece of wood with a depression called the 'woman', *mukadzi*. To drill the fire the 'man' is held vertically with one end in the 'woman's' depression filled with small pieces of dry grass and lying horizontally. The process is called *kusika* which literally refers to the act of procreation.

The sexual symbolism of fire is also found in iron metallurgy, an important industry in Shona communities, so far as archaeological evidence can tell, an essential industry as early as the coming of early farming communities. The iron hoe was among the products of iron working. It was the sole tool of tillage and was so valuable that one hoe blade constituted a bride price.

The procreative connotations of iron smelting are perceived by many communities in eastern and southern Africa (Collett 1993, p. 502). The furnace is built of daga in the shape of a female torso often with breast protrusions, and the base suggesting the thighs. The bellows and pipes, which look like testis and phallus, lead the draught into an opening at the base. The furnace is called *chido*. In common usage, the term loosely denotes the whole iron workshop. The word literally means 'love' or 'longing'. Iron smelting is thus a metaphor of love making. Jacobson-Widding (1990, p. 68) explains that the heating process which results in the melting of the iron is thought to enact what happens in the womb during procreation.

Collett observed that iron smelting and pots symbolized women in different but complementary ways. A furnace took a woman's body decoration such as furrow cicatrization and depicted a fertile woman's physical features while pottery portrayed her items of adornment. Thus incised neck decoration stands for the waist band, *mutimwi*; the triangular panel decoration is usually found on a woman's apron or skirt (Collett 1993, pp. 506-7).

Symbols of fertility apparently occur in so many domains of Shona thought, and several social and economic activities of which I have mentioned the more common ones. All figurative space and objects which have been identified are functional objects as well, used in day to day activities. I have argued that Shona expression of this aspect of their existence does not

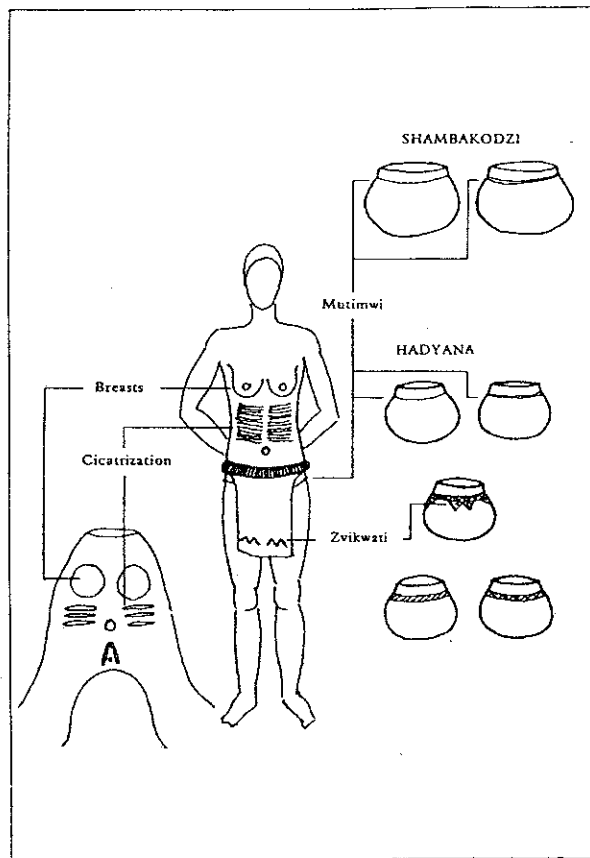


Fig. 39. Adornment of furnaces, women and pots (adapted from Collett 1993, p. 507).

crystallize into a cult or institution. Now we can speculate on the possible function of archaeological evidence in the light of this body of ethnographic evidence.

Shona fertility folk model: thought and belief system versus practice

Above I described the symbolic nature of the fertility complex among the Shona. It exists in a man's conception of fatherhood, and it is enacted in the rain bringing ceremony, in iron smelting and in making fire. It is possible, especially in this limited context of a dissertation, to confuse Shona fertility folk model with a liberal attitude towards sex. This folk model is however in

reality not exhibited in the day-to-day external behaviour or practice of the Shona people. This may sound ironical, yet there are in fact many such instances of inversion. We encountered one such twist with regard to the rain bringing ceremony when women break their traditionally accepted disposition of reticence.

It is safe to refer to those sources which have attempted to describe Shona culture in its totality (eg. Bullock 1928; Holleman 1952; Bourdillon 1987) to counter possible generalizations. The opposition between a world of ideas rich in fertility symbols and actual practice may be illustrated by Bullock's observation that:

The Mashona are certainly among those Africans who yearn for family life; even if their motive has been shown to be other than those named. There is not a jot of evidence, or even tradition, to show that promiscuity was ever a condition existent among their forefathers. Their interdicts and supernatural sanctions are all against it and the proportion of the population which favours it, even now, is far greater in civilized races than in the Mashona tribes.

(Bullock 1928, p. 63)

Ceremonial use of figurines in Zimbabwe in recent times

There are only two ethnological references to the use of figurines by the Shona during this century. Until some field work is done, in my opinion these are isolated and uncorroborated reports.

Robinson (1988, p. 51) contends that the status of different forms of images varied. He cites modern examples among the Ngoni and Chewa in Malawi and among the Kalanga (south-western Zimbabwe) to support the view that the conical objects or phalli were made by herd boys and soon discarded. He also relates a testimony given by Leonard Jere, a member of the Mari clan of the Shumba (Lion) totem in Chibi District, south-central Zimbabwe. Jere claimed that clay models of ancestors played a part in reverence ceremonies.

Aschwanden relates that::

... one day we met an old Kalanga (he was about 90 with all his faculties) who told us that, in the past, the Karanga used to make wooden or clay images of their totem animal (he used the Shona term 'mutupo', and place them on top of the sacred hill. With the arrival of the Europeans they took to keeping the image (it is said to be a bull) in the hut of the tribe's medium. This man-made totem animal is a symbol of the Karanga' famous mudzimu, the old man said.

(Aschwanden 1982, p. 131)

Aschwanden asked the old man to clarify the contradiction between his totem-heart (*Moyo*) of the Nyajena people and the bull, upon which the old man answered that cattle were mentioned in their totemic recitations, or praises. The *Moyo Chirandu* is the heart of a cow. Aschwanden was a physician at Musiso Hospital, Zaka District (south-central Zimbabwe). Although he was not an anthropologist, he discovered that Shona concepts of health, pathology and cure were influenced by cosmological beliefs and superstition without knowledge of which it was difficult to diagnose many cases of illness brought to him.

Shona ethnography and archaeological figurines

A description of archaeological figurines from Zimbabwe in the context of Shona 'world view': the fertility hypothesis

A fertility theme seems to run through many socio-economic activities of the Shona of the 20th century as we have seen above. It is not unlikely that some (certainly not all) figurine types operated as fertility symbols. We may try to isolate figurines which may have been fertility symbols. Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b female torso, is a stereotype of a woman with a small head, stylized legs but with a remarkable lumbar lordosis, a navel protuberance and steotopygea (Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b). The focus of attention therefore seems to be the middle aspect of the body (lower trunk, hip, buttocks and genitalia) (Fig. 4–10). That this is at least a stereotyped conception is evidenced by the fact that it is widely distributed and prevailed for at least thirteen centuries (200–ca 1500 AD). This is the work of many generations of artists who were at the service of communal ideology to transmit inherited perceptions probably at the expense of individual and creative invention. It portrays a femininity, where apart from the more obvious sexual characteristics, an ideal woman had to have the physical morphology described above. These properties may also have idealized fertility and nubility.

Another observation is that Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b human figurine double-plays a feminine and phallic role: the torso and small head, often rounded, represents a phallus, whilst the buttocks represent the testis (Sinclair pers. comm.).

Some scholars have apparently dismissed archaeological figurines as children's playthings. Summers writes:

The frequent appearance of figurines in a domestic context is probably the strongest evidence for refusing to accept them as part of ancient initiation ceremonies, whose essence on analogy of their modern counterparts, was their secret nature.

(Summers 1957, p. 75)

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It is important to realize, for example, that several archaeological iron smelting furnaces reported look like these torso figurines (Fig. 40). We saw above the procreative symbolism conveyed by furnaces today. This iconic link between iron metallurgy, one of the most important production activities in farming community and archaeological figurines makes a serious point for a fertility hypothesis to explain the function of the latter, and discounts the notion of child's play in the particular case of Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b human figurines.

One such furnace in the Chibi District was described by Robinson (1961a, 1967). It is made of clay and is a truncated cone standing two feet above the ground. The front aspect has breasts below which is a protuberance marking the umbilical hernia. Below it there is a circular boss at the base of which are four parallel vertical grooves about three inches long representing female genitalia. On each side of the hernia are several horizontal grooves representing furrow cicatrization or scarification. All features described are situated above an arch opening, through which the ore and fuel were put into the furnace, which from the front view apparently produces the visual impression of legs (Robinson 1961a, pp. 20-1). A similar 'torso furnace' reported by Cooke (1959, pp. 118-9) from the Matopos had breasts but did not have body markings.

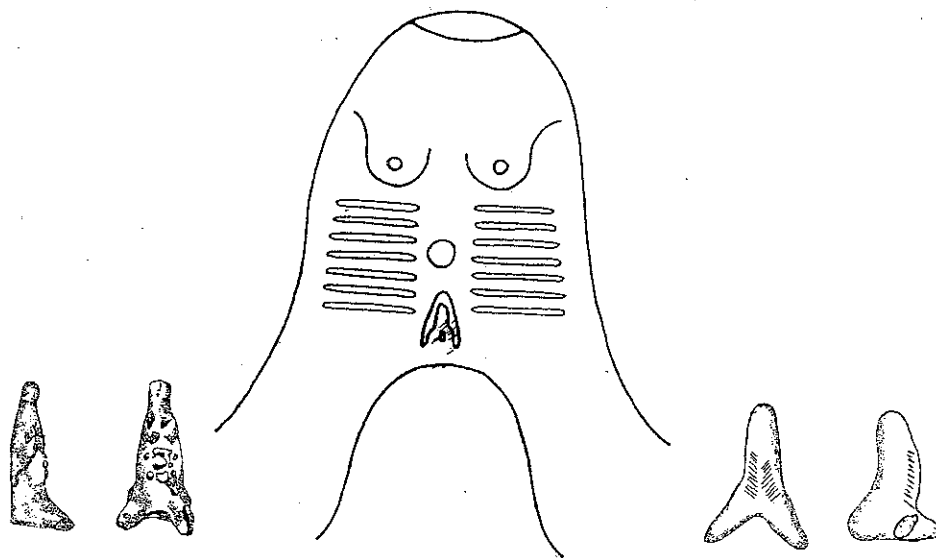


Fig 40. Iron smelting furnace and figurines from Chivowa Hill (SC) and Lemon Grove (SW).

Cooke (1959, p. 118) makes reference to a photograph from Nyanga he was shown by F. O. Bernhard in which 'a small completely naked female figure with legs apart' was fixed at the rim of a furnace. This provides at least provides the link between figurines and furnaces. Sinclair excavated a 19th century furnace at Gokomere Mission, near the town of Masvingo. It was a woman with breasts (Sinclair 1984, p. 17). A pair of torso furnaces believed to date to the 19th century were excavated 4 km south-west of Great Zimbabwe. Each had a pair of breasts, one had genitalia marked and each had parallel horizontal grooves marking furrow cicatrization (Ngoro 1991, p. 62).

The conical tower in the Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe is believed to have been a large phallus (Huffman 1984a; Jacobson 1992, p. 6) or a symbol of a granary (Garlake 1973). In either case it carries the fertility symbolism.

Human female torsos (Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b) often occurs together with human Class 3 (cones). The uncertainty with regard to the subject of the conical figures has been noted. If they were intended as human figures then they were void of any obvious sexual characteristics. A point of antithesis could be that while the female torsos show the upper and lower portions of the body, the latter show the body above the hip. One of the enigma is the fact that there is hardly a single obvious male figurine occurring in the same context with female torsos. It is therefore likely that some of the conical figures may in fact be stylized human males and phallus. Yet one is also persuaded to think that the shape of the female torso above the waist, as in for example Fig. 5 Nos 453 and 478, resembles the human phallus. The possible symbolic relationship between Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b and Class 3 is complicated by this ambivalent nature of Class 1b figurines. The Class 1b stereotype contrasts on another plane with Class 2a and 2b.i where head features, albeit stylized, are rendered in substantial detail. The majority of these figurines are without sexual characteristics and seem to draw attention to their grotesque facial features. This stereotype seems to be localized geographically to northern Mashonaland while, as we have seen, Class 1b is found throughout the country.

The species of domestic animals portrayed are those which have been reported from bone analysis of excavated assemblages. Minimum individual counts for domestic animals slaughtered at sites show that more cattle than sheep/goats were slaughtered at FC-sites. Bones of the latter have been found at very few sites. A similar picture is reflected by the number of sheep and goat figurines vis a vis cattle figurines. At most excavated sites where cattle figurines have been obtained cattle bones have also been found (Great Zimbabwe, Chivowa Hill, Montevideo Ranch, Ruanga Ruins, Wazi Hill, etc)

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symbol for even if one had children they could never be legitimately his if he does not pay out cattle in bride price. This crucial role of cattle contribute to make them a fundamental symbol of status in Shona society. The correlation between women and cattle figurines at archaeological sites in the south and south-western parts of the country may be reviewed in the light of these ethnological facts. The rise and fall in the production of women and cattle figurines especially in the south-west between 900 and 1500 AD may appear to reflect a rise and fall in a fertility ideology. Otherwise if the fertility ideology survived, as it probably did, it must have continued to be expressed in media other than clay figurines.

A third alternative theory would be that it reflects the rise and fall of political systems. This is most likely since we saw that the Shona kings, and chiefs patronized the fertility ideology. It is probably not mere coincidence that figurines of birds have been found at three Zimbabwe ruins, namely, Great Zimbabwe, the Mutare Altar site and the Vukwe Ruins (Botswana). The symbolism of birds would need a detailed description. For the purpose of this thesis I will only mention that birds, for example, the bateleur eagle, are associated with the spirit world (Jacobson-Widding 1992).

The figurine art as a reflection of the rise and fall of state systems of the later iron-using farming communities

The desire to sustain fertility of men and the fields was not just a matter of individual concern. It was a 'national' issue. Fertility of men meant eternity. It is not surprising therefore that kings and chiefs wanted to control it and claimed to be more sexually potent than the ordinary subjects.

The rise in the manufacture of archaeological figurines, especially human and cattle figurines seem to coincide with the transition from the EFC to the LFC period. Economic diversification into long distance trade and pastoralism marked this change (Sinclair 1987). Chiefs became more powerful through the control of trade and cattle and created a stronger state system. As the kings accumulated more and more power they began to exhibit it in style by building magnificent zimbabwe stone settlements. A king certainly claimed to be a patriarch of the nation with enormous sexual powers. This may have induced people to produce more figurines to express fertility as probably did many social functions then.

As the Great Zimbabwe state system matured figurines were made at the capitals. Thus at Great Zimbabwe a crocodile is carved underneath one of the birds on a pillars. Huffman makes reference to the figurine of a pregnant women found in the Great enclosure (Huffman 1984a). At the Mutare Altar site the 25 soapstone woman and crocodile figurines represent this theme.

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Since a few zimbabwe sites have been investigated in detail it is difficult to assess how popular the art was at the capitals. But at peasant sites, eg at Montevideo Ranch, women and cattle figurines were made (Sinclair 1987).

Huffman (1984a) thinks that figurines from the Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe, especially those that lay around the Daga Platform, were used in an initiation ceremony, and the title of his article on the Great Enclosure, 'Where you are girls gather to play' illustrates his dependence on Venda ethnological analogy by Stayt (1931) and Blacking (1969). However Blacking himself questions the relevance of Venda analogy in Zimbabwe. A fundamental point of contrast, says Blacking, is that all ritual objects including the living lodge, *murundu*, were destroyed at the end of the rites leaving no monument comparable with the Great Enclosure (Blacking 1985, pp. 542-3). The only Shona people who practise circumcision, the VaRemba are relatively recent arrivals (18th-19th centuries) in Zimbabwe. Otherwise the Shona, in the recorded past, did not have formal institutions of initiation, nor did they practice circumcision.

The VaRemba, also called VaMwenyi or Waislam, have settled in small units in Mberengwa, Nyajena, Gutu and Buhera (Mahachi 1990, p. 22). Oral traditions are explicit about the fact that they came from the east coast. However various places are cited as their original homeland, Persia, Israel or Egypt, thus the contention that they are of Jewish or Arab ancestry. They claim to have settled temporarily at Sena in Mozambique, before they came into Zimbabwe. The VaRemba also claim to have assisted (with an Arab traveller) in the construction of Great Zimbabwe; and that they taught the Venda circumcision. The VaRemba term for circumcision, *murundu* occurs in Venda vocabulary (Blacking 1985). Nothing has made the VaRemba so distinctive as their exclusive tendencies: they are endogamous and prohibit marriage outside their own group. They practise circumcision, but no figurines are used. The Venda excepted, the VaRemba have not influenced Shona customs, perhaps because they are an exclusive community. Beach argues that even if we allow for the abandonment of circumcision and subsequent obliteration of evidence due to 18th century intrusions of the Duma, the Nini and southern Hera, surely the practice (or oral traditions about its practice in the past) should have survived in relatively stable areas such as Maungwe, Manyika, northern Mashonaland and Buhera (Beach 1991, p. 11). Beach also argues that the fact that the Portuguese, some of whom married

among the Shona and had daughters, hardly mentioned initiation shows that it did not exist. Thus a fundamental problem with Huffman's 'initiation hypothesis' is that there is no evidence, historical or archaeological to suggest that the Shona ever practised initiation.

Ethnographic figurines from other parts of southern Africa

While the symbolic meaning of archaeological figurines from Zimbabwe can only be guessed at, elsewhere in southern Africa figurines are linked with discrete institutions of the kind that has been called *rites de passage*. The following is a catalogue of communities in southern Africa known to have been using figurines in some group ritual. These examples may illustrate the possibilities surrounding the archaeological figurines from Zimbabwe.

Clay figurines used in *Chisungu*: initiation of Bemba girls, Zambia

Chisungu is a girls' nubility rite presided over by women. Related versions of *Chisungu* are found in Malawi, Zaire, Angola and other parts of Zambia (Richards 1954). The ritual process is conducted in several phases of teaching and training, and lasts more than a fortnight. From the third day to the sixth day the women ministers make clay figurines called *mbusa*. This assignment is given by the woman president, *nachimbusa* and is compulsory. Defaulters are made to pay a fine. The most important *mbusa* were modelled by the presiding officer herself, the *nachimbusa*. On the ninth day a large coiled snake was modelled which covered the floor of the initiation house. The smaller *mbusa* were a prominent feature of the rites of the last night. On this occasion each image was held out while a related song was being performed. Subsequently forty-three different images were presented to the two initiates while the rest of the figurines were handled with appropriate mimes and singing (Richards 1954). These observations were made by Audrey Richards in Zambia in 1934.

Figurines used in ceremonial rites in Tanzania

We saw the tendency for some types of figurines to be found in certain contexts but not in others. This suggests that no single function for all kinds of figurines can be postulated. This opinion is supported by ethnological experience from Tanganyika where at least five different rites de passage using figurines were identified (Cory 1956) These related to initiation of both boys and girls, marriage, birth of the first child, entry into societies and magic was quite widespread on the mainland of Tanzania. Corey collected about 2900 specimens from 21 communities.

<i>Purpose of figurines</i>	<i>No of user communities</i>
Puberty initiation	7
Wedding ceremony	1
First born child	6
Entry in societies	2
Total	21

Based on Cory (1956, p. 172).

Figurines used in connection with puberty were made of clay by men and women assisting in the supervision of the initiates. Some were displayed in conjunction with songs of a didactic nature as was the case among the Bemba; some were intended to frighten the initiates to season them for the challenges of the aspired status. The subjects represented are stylized humans, hare, cat etc. (Cory 1956).

Domba: BaVenda girls' and boys' initiation ceremony, South Africa

This ceremony brings together boys and girls who, by tradition, are nurtured separately until then, in preparation for marriage. The ceremony is presided over by a man *Nemungozwa* assisted by a woman *Nyamatei*. A central feature of the ritual is the python dance and subsequent modelling of a python decorated with stripes of red, white, yellow and black. The lesson presented is that a girl is like a snake and dangerous if one has intercourse with her after an abortion and before she is purified. The model of a dwarf bull is also displayed apparently to highlight the sexual potency of man (Stayt 1931, pp. 119–20, Blacking 1969, p. 158).

Ambutsa: Valenge girls' initiation, southern Mozambique

The Valenge inhabit the wedge of territory between the Limpopo River and the Indian Ocean. Their tribal affiliations according to tradition are with the Chopi who border on them in the north. Figurines were used together with other artifacts such as drums and horns in the group initiation of girls. The ceremony was a tribal event held at the chief's residence. It was a chief's prerogative to make the initial announcement of the event. The ritual was compulsory for all girls at the time of puberty and their fathers would pay an entrance fee. The girls' instructor, *nyambutsi*, whose role as mistress of the function was hereditary and passed on to the eldest daughter, presided over the ceremony. The wooden figurines used as symbols were carved by a member of the family of the mistress. The importance of the human portrait is described by Earthy:

The carver had to make sacrifice before he began his work, for it was considered a very great work indeed, and not to be undertaken lightly. Would it not affect the lives of hundreds of young girls yet unborn? He made offerings to ancestral spirits of the seeds of ground nuts, beans, Kaffir corn.

(Earthy 1933, p. 113)

The preparation of these objects was shrouded in secrecy. They were made in the bush and the nyambutsi came by night to collect them. At the chief's residence a great sacrifice was offered and the figurines were consecrated by a selected panel of elderly people.

Later during this initial ritual the objects were daubed with red ochre and the semi-digested food from a slaughtered goat. The objects were passed on from mother to daughter and could be used by many successive generations (Earthy 1933, p. 115). Earthy observed that the human figurines, called *mayika*, were

... used in explaining to the girls the physiology of sex. But their function in the rites are not confined to this. They are of high religious value as they become the vehicles of ancestral spirits by means of sacrifices which have been offered.

(Earthy 1933, p. 119)

The examples cited above show that outside Zimbabwe human figurines were used in group initiation and are communal rather than individual property

APPENDICIES

Fig. 24

Abbreviations:

?	Uncertain
Trad	Tradition
Loc	Locality
Mr	Method of recovery
1.1a	Human figurines Cat. 1 Sub-class 1a
1.1b	Human figurines Cat. 1 Sub-class 1b
1.2a	Human figurines Cat. 1 Sub-class 2a
1.2b.i	Human figurines Cat. 1 Sub-class 2b. i
1.2b.ii	Human figurines Cat. 1 Sub-class 2b. ii
1.3	Unique human figurines Cat. 1 Class 3
1.4	Human genitalia
1. broken	Broken human figurines

Table 24 on the next pages has the total amount of both Human figurines and Animals on the last column on the right pages. Number of the sites can be found on the Maps 1-12.

Table 24. Site yields.

Map No	Site	Trad	Loc	MR	1.1a	1.1b	1.2a	1.2bi	1.2bii	1.3	1.4	1. broken
1	Wazi Hill	LFC Mz	N	BEX	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	59
2	Zvongombe Ruins	LFC Mz	N	BEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Everton Farm	?	N	REX	1	-	3	22	-	6	-	36
4	Guruve	?	N	?	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
5	N. Mashonaland	?	N	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	Mvuradonha Farm	LFC Mz	N	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
7	Peth Farm	EFC Max	N	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
8	Mbidzi Farm	LFC Mz	N	S	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
9	Doxford Farm	EFC Max	N	REX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	Bojum Claims	EFC Max	N	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
11	Mazowe	?	N	?	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
12	Ruanga Ruins	LFC Mz	N	BEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
13	Three Skids Claim	?	N	REX	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	4
14	Chipoli Farm	?	N	REX	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	2
15	Atherstone Farm	?	N	REX	-	-	-	-	4	10	-	6
16	Maxton Farm	EFC Max	N	LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	Dillon Farm	EFC Cor	N	REX	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	Denje Hill	LFC Ref	N	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	Murehwa	?	N	?	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	Siso Hill	EFC Max	N	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
21	Christon Bank	EFC Max	N	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	Berkley Hill	EFC Max	N	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
23	Little Over	EFC Cor	N	LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
24	Golden Shower	EFC Cor	N	REX	-	-	-	-	-	16	-	2
25	Umfuleni Farm	EFC Max	N	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
26	Chadshunt Ext.	LFC Ref	N	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	Kutarna Kop	?	N	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
28	Kasama	EFC Max	N	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
29	Dutchman's Pool	?	N	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	Three Miles WaterS.	EFC Cor	N	REX	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
31	Tsindi Ruins	LFC Zim	N	BEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	Marondera Bur.	?	N	REX	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
33	Merry Hill	EFC Gok	N	LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	Lake Kariba	LFC Ing	NW	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	Nyarinde	LFC Ing	NW	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	Protea Farm	LFC Ing	NW	LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
37	Laughing Hills	LFC Ing	NW	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	Rydings Farm	LFC Ing	NW	LEX	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	12
39	Naba 1	EFC Chi	NW	REX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
40	Sinoia Caves	EFC Chi	NW	LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	Z/Luzilukulu	LFC LK?	SW	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
42	Hwange West	LFC Ref	SW	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	Adair Farm	LFC Zim	SW	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
44	Thabasikamambo	LFC Mbo	SW	LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	Umboza Hill	LFC Wool	SW	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	Umfazimiti Hill	LFC Mbo	SW	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	Mawala Hill	LFC Mbo	SW	LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	Fundesii Farm	LFC Mbo	SW	LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
49	Near Leopard's Kopje ?	?	SW	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
50	Khami Ruins IV	LFC Zim	SW	BEX	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	Khami Burial	LFC Mbo	SW	LEX	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	Leopard's Kopje	LFC Mbo	SW	BEX	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	76
53	Khami Waterworks	LFC Mbo	SW	BEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	Khami St. Kopje	LFC Mbo	SW	LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	Khami Kraal	LFC Mbo	SW	BEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
56	Khami Dam Wall	EFC Zh	SW	LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	Khami Dam	EFC Zh	SW	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
58	Collation Farm	EFC Zh	SW	LEX	2	-	-	-	-	-	10	12
59	Westacre Creek	LFC Wool	SW	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
60	Woolandale Mound	LFC Wool	SW	LEX	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

b.ii 1.3 1.4 1. broken

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Map No	Site	Trad	Loc MR	Cattle	Sheep	Goat	Dog	W.ani	Misc	Total
1	Wazi Hill	LFC Mz	N BEX	8	-	-	-	2	5	83
2	Zvongombe Ruins	LFC Mz	N BEX	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
3	Everton Farm	?	N REX	-	-	-	-	48	3-	144
4	Guruve	?	N ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
5	N. Mashonaland	?	N ?	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
6	Mvuradonha Farm	LFC Mz	N S	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
7	Perth Farm	EFC Max	N S	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
8	Mbidzi Farm	LFC Mz	N S	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
9	Doxford Farm	EFC Max	N REX	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
10	Bojum Claims	EFC Max	N S	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
11	Mazowe	?	N ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
12	Ruanga Ruins	LFC Mz	N BEX	3	-	-	-	-	9	18
13	Three Skids Claim	?	N REX	-	-	-	-	-	49	57
14	Chipoli Farm	?	N REX	-	-	-	-	-	6	13
15	Atherstone Farm	?	N REX	-	-	-	-	-	14	41
16	Maxton Farm	EFC Max	N LEX	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
17	Dillon Farm	EFC Cor	N REX	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
18	Denje Hill	LFC Ref	N S	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
19	Murehwa	?	N ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
20	Siso Hill	EFC Max	N S	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
21	Christon Bank	EFC Max	N S	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
22	Berkley Hill	EFC Max	N S	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
23	Little Over	EFC Cor	N LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
24	Golden Shower	EFC Cor	N REX	-	-	-	-	1	9	28
25	Umfuleni Farm	EFC Max	N S	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
26	Chadshunt Ext.	LFC Ref	N S	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
27	Kutama Kop	?	N S	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
28	Kasama	EFC Max	N S	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
29	Dutchman's Pool	?	N ?	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
30	Three Miles Water S.	EFC Cor	N REX	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
31	Tsindi Ruins	LFC Zim	N BEX	2	-	-	-	-	2	4
32	Marondera Bur.	?	N REX	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
33	Merry Hill	EFC Gok	N LEX	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
34	Lake Kaniba	LFC Ing	NW S	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
35	Nyarinde	LFC Ing	NW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
36	Protea Farm	LFC Ing	NW LEX	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
37	Laughing Hills	LFC Ing	NW S	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
38	Rydings Farm	LFC Ing	NW LEX	-	-	-	-	-	3	18
39	Naba 1	EFC Chi	NW REX	-	-	-	-	-	5	7
40	Sinoia Caves	EFC Chi	NW LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
41	Z/Luzilukulu	LFC LK?	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
42	Hwange West	LFC Ref	SW S	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
43	Adair Farm	LFC Zim	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
44	Thabasikamambo	LFC Mbo	SW LEX	-	-	-	-	-	6	6
45	Umboza Hill	LFC Wool	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
46	Umfazimiti Hill	LFC Mbo	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
47	Mawala Hill	LFC Mbo	SW LEX	1	-	-	-	-	2	3
48	Fundesl Farm	LFC Mbo	SW LEX	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
49	Near Leopard's Kopje ?	?	SW ?	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
50	Khami Ruins IV	LFC Zim	SW BEX	-	-	-	-	2	-	3
51	Khami Burial	LFC Mbo	SW LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
52	Leopard's Kopje	LFC Mbo	SW BEX	13	-	3	-	-	13	110
53	Khami Waterworks	LFC Mbo	SW BEX	1	2	-	-	-	6	9
54	Khami St. Kopje	LFC Mbo	SW LEX	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
55	Khami Kraal	LFC Mbo	SW BEX	6	-	-	-	-	-	2
56	Khami Dam Wall	EFC Zh	SW LEX	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
57	Khami Dam	EFC Zh	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
58	Collation Farm	EFC Zh	SW LEX	2	-	-	-	-	1-	12
59	Westacre Creek	LFC Wool	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
60	Woolandale Mound	LFC Wool	SW LEX	-	-	-	-	-	1	2

Map No	Site	Trad	Loc MR	1.1a	1.1b	1.2a	1.2b.i	1.2b.ii	1.3	1.4	1. broken
61	Hazelside	LFC Wool	SW ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	Rennydene Farm	LFC Wool	SW LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
63	Lemon Grove	LFC Wool	SW ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	Butchers Plot	LFC Wool	SW REX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
65	B.J.Bunting Close	LFC Mbo	SW LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
66	Matsheurnhlope	LFC Mbo	SW BEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
67	Carleon Estate	LFC Wool	SW REX	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	Umvutcha Farm	LFC Mbo	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	Unknown 1	?	SW ?	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
70	Byo Hill Cross	?	SW ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	Hillside U. E. Dams	?	SW ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	Malindela	LFC Mbo	SW ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	Njenile	LFC Wool	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	Killarney	LFC Wool	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	Magazine Hill	LFC Wool	SW REX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
76	Anderson's Plot	LFC Wool	SW REX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
77	Hillside	LFC Wool	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
78	Nali Hill	LFC Wool	SW REX	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	Mt Alice	LFC Wool	SW S	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5
80	Gliding Club	LFC Wool	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
81	Fort Usher	LFC ?	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
82	World's View	LFC Wool	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
83	Mudene Ruins	LFC Mbo	SW ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
84	Kalanyoni	LFC Mbo	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
85	Insindi Ranch	EFC Zh	SW LEX	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
86	York Farm	LFC Wool	SW S	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
87	Greater Kyalami	LFC Map	SW S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
88	Tshelanyemba	?	SW REX	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
89	Mapela Hill	LFC Map	SW LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
90	Little Mapela	LFC Map	SW LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
91	Macardon Claims	LFC Map	SW LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
92	Nebraska Ranch	LFC Zim	SC LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
93	Inkwabene	LFC Gum	SC S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
94	Chumungwa Ruin	LFC Map	SC S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
95	Gokomere Mission	EFC Gok	SC BEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
96	Chivowa Hill	LFC Gum	SC BEX	-	11	-	-	-	7	-	49
97	Chamabvepfa	LFC Gum	SC LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
98	Ngezi	EFC Zh	SC S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
99	Chirere	LFC Gum	SC S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
100	Buhwa	EFC Zh	SC LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
1-1	Gumanye	LFC Gum	SC S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
1-2	Mushonga	EFC Gok	SC S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1-3	Matibi Mission	EFC Zh	SC ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1-4	Gorongwe Ruins	LFC Zim	SC S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
1-5	Chizukwe	LFC Gum	SC S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1-6	Chamakwangwadza	LFC Gum	SC LEX	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
1-7	Chomuruvati	LFC Gum	SC LEX	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
1-8	Mabveni II	EFC Gok	SC LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1-9	Mabveni II	LFC Ref	SC S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
110	Chizembe	LFC Gum	SC S	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
111	Mudadi	LFC Gum	SC S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
112	Montevideo	LFC Zim	SC LEX	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	5
113	Gt Zimbabwe II	LFC Gum	SC BEX	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-
114	Gt Zimbabwe IV	LFC Zim	SC BEX	-	-	-	-	1	6	-	-
115	GZ Peripheral S.	LFC Zim	SC S	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
116	2030 BB 15 ?	LFC Gum	SC S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
117	Bompst Ruin	EFC Zh	SC S	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
118	Mukwine Hills	?	E ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
119	Place of Offerings	EFC Ziwa	E REX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
120	Rhodes Nyanga	?	E LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Map No	Site	Trad	Loc	MR	1.1a	1.1b	1.2a	1.2b.i	1.2b.ii	1.3	1.4	1. broken
121	Hawkshead Farm	LFC Ref?	E	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
122	Mutare Altar	LFC Zim	E	REX	34	1	-	-	-	4	5	-
123	Chiwona Ruins	LFC Zim	E	LEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
124	Kagumbadzi Ruin	LFC Zim	E	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Total					39	33	82	4	21	84	5	381

3	1.4	1. broken
-	-	
5	-	
-	-	
-	-1	
4	5	381

Map No	Site	Trad	Loc	MR	Cattle	Sheep	Goat	Dog	W.ani	Misc	Total
121	Hawkshead Farm	LFC Ref?	E	S	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
122	Mutare Altar	LFC Zim	E	REX	8	-	-	-	14	83	149
123	Chiwona Ruins	LFC Zim	E	LEX	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
124	Kagumbudzi Ruin	LFC Zim	E	S	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total					144	3	14	1	73	350	1180

Table 25. All figurine sites.

MapNo	Site	SiteNo	Trad	Grid	East	North
1	Wazi Hill	1631 CA 12	LFC Mz	US	95	563
2	Zvongombe Ruins	1631 CA 2	LFC Mz	US	92	523
3	Everton Farm	1631 CB 1	?	US	145	560
4	Guruve	?	?			
5	N. Mashonaland	?	?			
6	Mvuradonha Farm	1631 AC 5	LFC Mz	US	768	18
7	Perth Farm	1730 AB 29	LFC Max	TS	220	553
8	Mbidzi Farm	1730 AB 25	LFC Mz	TR	268	929
9	Doxford Farm	1730 BD 27	EFC Max	TR	768	670
10	Bojum Claims	1730 BD 1	EFC Max	TR	774	657
11	Mazowe	?	?			
12	Ruanga Ruins	1731 BA 1	LFC Mz	US	593	173
13	Three Skids Claim	1731 BB 1	?	US	710	130
14	Chipoli Farm	1731 BC 8	?			
15	Atherstone Farm	1731 AD 4	?	UR	261	8015
16	Maxton Farm	1731 BC 2	EFC Max	UR	481	816
17	Dillon Farm	1731 BC 5	EFC Cor	UR	600	900
18	Denje Hill	1732 AC 15	LFC Ref	UR	957	820
19	Murehwa	?	?			
20	Siso Hill	1729 BD 3	EFC Max	RL	180	786
21	Christon Bank	1731 CA 128	EFC Max	UR	884	553
22	Berkley Hill	1731 CC 7	EFC Max	UR	6	356
23	Little Over	1731 CC 32	EFC Cor	UR	5	125
24	Golden Shower	1731 CB 1	EFC Cor	UR	210	371
25	Umfuleni Farm	1731 CD 1	EFC Max	UR	312	255
26	Chadshunt Ext.	1829 BB 8	LFC Ref	RL	66	39
27	Kutama Kop	1829 BC 1	?	QK	886	796
28	Kasama	1829 BB 14	EFC Max	RK	108	911
29	Dutchman's Pool	1829 DD 8	?			
30	Three Mile Water Site	1829 DD 1	EFC Cor	QK	910	20
31	Tsindi Ruins	1830 BA 3	LFC Zim	UR	634	995
32	Marondera Bur.	1831 BA ?				
33	Merry Hill	1831 AD 1	EFC Gok	UK	366	620
34	Lake Kariba	1629 CA 3	LFC Ing	QM	156	605
35	Nyarinde	1629 BD 1	LFC Ing	RM	137	112
36	Protea Farm	1629 DA 1	LFC Ing	QM	810	703
37	Laughing Hills	1629 CB 1	LFC Ing	QM	633	474
38	Rydings Farm	1629 DC 5	LFC Ing	QM	791	426
39	Naba 1	1629 DC 1	EFC Chi	QM	854	328
40	Sinioa Caves	1730 AC 1	EFC Chi	SR	950	790
41	Z/Luzilukulu	1727 BD 1	LFC ?	NL	800	890
42	Wankie West	1826 AD 6	LFC Ref	MK	460	770
43	Adair Farm	1928 BB 6	LFC Zim	QJ	970	700
44	Thabasikamambo	1929 CA 1	LFC Mbo	QJ	173	413
45	Umboza Hill	1928 DC 30	LFC Wool	PH	670	997
46	Umfazimiti Hill	1928 DC 32	LFC Mbo	PH	683	926
47	Mawala Hill	1928 DC 38	LIALK Mbo	PH	693	943
48	Fundesai Farm	1928 DC 34	LFC Mbo	PH	683	926
49	Near Leopard's Kopje	2028 AB	?			
50	Khami Ruins IV	2028 AB 1	LFC Zim	PH	491	719
51	Khami Burial	2028 AB 1	LFC Mbo	PH	491	719
52	Leopard's Kopje	2028 AB 3	LFC Mbo	PH	489	732
53	Khami Water Wks	2028 AB 5	LFC Mbo	PH	490	720
54	Khami St. Kopje	2028 AB 41	LFC Mbo	PH	490	730
55	Khami Kraal	2028 AB 42	LFC Mbo	PH	420	730
56	Khami Dam Wall	2028 AB 75	EFC Zh	PH	430	730
57	Khami Dam	2028 AB 76	EFC Zh	PH	492	713
58	Collation Farm	2028 AD 4	EFC Zh	PH	444	506
59	Westacre Creek	2028 AD 11	LFC Wool	PH	540	440
60	Woolandale Mound	2028 AD 23	LFC Wool	PH	529	553
61	Hazelside	2028 Ad 79	LFC Wool	PH	560	382

MapNo	Site	SiteNo	Trad	Grid	East	North
62	Rennydene Farm	2028 BA 17	LFC Wool	PH	639	871
63	Lemon Grove	2028 BA 28	LFC Wool	PH	630	650
64	Butchers Plot	2028 BA 30	LFC Wool	PH	662	652
65	B.J. Bunting Close	2028 BA 31	LFC Mbo	PH	691	657
66	Matsheumhlope	2028 BA 36	LFC Mbo	PH	695	665
67	Carleon Estate	2028 BA 37	LFC Wool	PH	687	662
68	Umvutcha Farm	2028 BA 51	LFC Mbo	PH	667	798
69	Unknown 1	?	?			
70	Byo Hill Cross	2028 BA	?			
71	Hillside U.E. Dam	2028 BA	?			
72	Malindela	2028 BA 44	LFC Mbo	PH	678	678
73	Njemle	2028 BA	LFC Wool			
74	Killamey	2028 BA 115	LFC Wool	PH	729	725
75	Magazine Hill	2028 BA 137	LFC Wool	PH	622	694
76	Anderson's Plot	2028 BA 166	LFC Wool	PH	689	657
77	Hillside	2028 BA 168	LFC Wool	PH	697	656
78	Nali Hill	2028 BA 170	LFC Wool	PH	670	650
79	Mt Alice	2028 BD 2	LFC Wool	PH	963	592
80	Gliding Club	2028 BC 7	LFC Wool	PH	669	542
81	Fort Usher	2028 BC 40	LFC ?	PH	665	397
82	World's View	2028 BC 41	LFC Wool	PH	583	327
83	Mudene Ruins	2028 BC 132	LFC Mbo	PH	820	570
84	Kalanyoni	2028 CB 2	LFC Mbo	PH	546	281
85	Insindi Ranch	2028 DD 8	EFC Zh	QG	70	970
86	York Farm	2029 AB 7	LFC Wool	QH	375	667
87	Greater Kyalami	2029 AB 10	LFC Map	QH	462	728
88	Tshelanyemba	2128 AD 1	?	PG	550	380
89	Mapela Hill	2128 DB 1	LFC Map	PF	860	982
90	Little Mapela	2128 DB 2	LFC Map			
91	Macardon Claims	2129 AB 2	LFC Map	QG	450	710
92	Nebraska Ranch	1930 CB 2	LFC Zim	TP	210	190
93	Inkwabene	2030 DC 12	LFC Gum	QG	820	820
94	Chumungwa Ruin	2029 DC 4	LFC Map	QG	821	818
95	Gokomere Mission	1930 DD 1	EFC Gok	TN	671	922
96	Chivowa Hill	2030 BA 20	LFC Gum	TN	578	765
97	Chamabvepfa	2030 AA 1	LFC Gum	SN	950	615
98	Ngezi	2030 CB 12	EFC Zh	TN	172	237
99	Chirere	2030 AA 28	LFC Gum	TN	38	609
100	Buhwa	2030 CB 1	EFC Zh	TN	267	196
101	Gumanye	2030 CB 60	LFC Gum	TN	317	52
102	Mushonga	2030 CB 41	EFC Gok	TN	381	39
103	Matibi Mission	2030 CB	EFC Zh	TN	385	35
104	Gorongwe Ruins	2030 CC 2	LFC Zim	TN	101	946
105	Chizukwe	2030 CD 2	LFC Gum	TM	370	830
106	Chamakwangwadza	2030 CD 12	LFC Gum	TN	448	145
107	Chomumvati	2030 DA 16	LFC Gum	TN	435	113
108	Mabveni I	2030 AD 5	EFC Gok	TN	366	508
109	Mabveni II	2030 AD 5	LFC Ref	TN	366	508
110	Chizembe	2030 AD 21	LFC Gum	TN	372	507
111	Mudadi	2030 AD 4	LFC Gum	TN	348	467
112	Montevideo Ranch	2030 BC 2	LFC Zim	TN	594	590
113	Gt Zimbabwe II	2030 BD 1	LFC Gum	TN	850	570
114	Gt Zimbabwe IV	2030 BD 1	LFC Zim	TN	850	570
115	GZ Peripheral Site	2030 BD 1	LFC Zim	TN	850	570
116	2030 BB 7050	2030 BD 70	LFC Gum			
117	Bompst Ruin	2030 BD 116	EFC Zh			
118	Mukwine Hills	1832 BA	?			
119	Place of Offerings	1832 BA 1	EFC Zwa	VQ	625	944
120	Rhodes Nyanga	1832 BA 7				
121	Hawkshhead Farm	1832 DC 34	LFC Ref?	VQ	610	130
122	Mutare Altar	1932 BA 14	LFC Zim	VP	658	985
123	Chiwona Ruins	1931 BC 1	LFC Zim	UP	611	568
124	Kagumbudzi Ruin	1931 BD 1	LFC Zim	UP	816	462

MapNo	Site	SiteNo	Trad	Grid	East	North
	Muyove Extension	1629 AD 1		QM	521	939
	Lanlory	1629 CD 1		QM	632	452
	Matanda Chiwawa	1630 BC 1		TS	576	859
	Musengezi	1631 CA 15		TS	898	738
	Nova Doma	1631 CA 36		US	75	536
	Clear Morning	1631 CA 52		US	49	494
	Nyangawni	1631 CA 58		US	89	521
	Gradvik Farm	1631 DC 14		US	523	318
	Murewa Farm South	1631 DC 40		US	593	418
	Mukweveri Farm	1631 DC 45		US	583	424
	Domboremombe	1631 DC 51		US	645	350
	Siso	1729 BD 2		NL	183	787
	Greycourt III	1730 AD 3		TR	246	649
	Welmode	1730 BB 38		TS	659	147
	Holm Eden	1730 BC 2		TR	564	865
	Dambarare	1730 BD 2		TR	774	657
	Crebilly	1730 DC 30		TR	531	273
	Gordonia	1730 DC 34		TR	494	290
	Swandale	1730 DC 39		TR	507	266
	Crowborough	1730 DD 78		TR	822	268
	Lake MacIlwaine	1730 DD 160		TR	624	203
	Nhunguza Ruins	1731 AC 1		UR	127	776
	Coronation Park	1731 CC 1		TR	991	271
	Liwonde	1731 CD 37		UR	324	241
	Luanze	1732 BA 1		VS	531	131
	Inverness Farm	1732 DC 4		VR	592	288
	Hwonge Nat Park	1826 CA 5		MK	55	285
	Chakula Ruin	1826 DB 2		MK	958	499
	Suri Suri	1829 BB 12		RK	153	968
	Black Adder	1829 DD 8		RK	10	110
	Fort Martin	1830 BA 2		TQ	421	822
	Didcot farm	1830 BB 1		TQ	689	886
	Kurandende	1831 BA 1		UR	425	46
	Harleigh Farm	1832 AC 2		VQ	189	604
	IRF II A-D (3)	1832 BA 30		VQ	640	939
	Comucopia	1832 CA 1				
	Murahwa Hill	1832 DC 2		VQ	624	45
	Ventor Farm	1928 AD 5		PJ	559	509
	Dingaani Farm	1928 DC 24		PJ	746	31
	Thaba's Chau	1929 AC 1		QJ	110	650
	Boggie's Hill	1929 BD 24		QJ	996	508
	Dhlohdlo Ruins	1929 CD 1		QH	440	930
	Mupanutsa Hill	1929 CD 3		QH	440	930
	Hlolo	1929 CD 5		QH	380	880
	Musara	1930 CC 3		SN	958	912
	Chaswingo	1930 CC 6		SP	940	907
	Gimanye	1930 CC 8		SN	943	922
	Khami Dancing Floor	2028 AB 75		PH	430	730
	Cyrene Mission	2028 AD 103		PH	470	510
	Remydene Farm	2028 BA 18		PH	639	871
	Griffiths	2028 BA 32		PH	695	665
	Missionary Tree	2028 BA 52		PH	675	803
	Hillside Dam	2028 BA 63		PH	694	661
	Hillside DGen	2028 BA 157		PH	696	653
	Nketa Sec. School	2028 BA 255		PH	587	660
	Llewelin	2028 BB 20		PH	850	740
	Enyandeni Farm	2028 BC 8		PH	630	530
	Rhodes Matopos	2028 BC 22		PH	588	402
	Desperandum	2028 BC 131		PH	754	446
	Talisman Mine	2028 BC 132		PH	820	570
	Matopo Nat Park	2028 BC 178		PH	589	402
	Mbezingwe	2028 Bd 24		PH	820	370
	Dongwe Dongwe	2028 CD 6		PG	435	858

<i>MapNo</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>SiteNo</i>	<i>Trad</i>	<i>Grid</i>	<i>East</i>	<i>North</i>
	Figurine II	2028 DA 203		PH	578	284
	Hot Cross	2028 DA 205		PH	579	282
	Quartz Rock	2028 DA 232		PH	598	292
	Matopo Nat Park	2028 DA 302		PH	571	210
	Matopo Nat Park	2028 DA 356		PH	658	298
	Esigodini Ranch	2029 AA 1		QH	140	600
	Bala bala	2029 AB 4		QH	150	480
	Greater Kyalami	2029 AB 10		QH	462	728
	Masvingo Ruins	2029 BB 1		QH	99	832
	Kinsale Farm	2030 AC 6		TN	38	609
	New Year Gift	2030 BA 3		TN	542	772
	Madembo Kraal	2030 AD 22		TN	364	500
	Gongwa	2030 AD 27		TN	379	513
	Goddard's site	2030 BB				
	Mzero	2030 BB 65		TN	852	597
	Nyamedzanai School	2030 BC 7		TN	450	560
	Nyaningwe Hill	2030 BC 17		TN	410	510
	Goosebay	2030 BD 37				
	Munene River	2030 CA 22		SN	950	200
	Nenga	2030 CB 49		TN	328	55
	Nenga	2030 CB 53		TN	321	56
	Chizukwe Hill	2030 CD 4		TM	370	830
	Matibi Mission	2030 CD 10		TN	385	35
	Mupuyyu	2030 DA 2		TN	408	122
	New Years Gift	2032 BA 3		UN	565	787
	Ingwezi Hill	2127 BB 1		NS	962	752
	Tshelanyemba	2128 AD 2		PG	550	390
	Mitanye	2129 AD 6		QG	335	332
	Matombotsoko	2229 AB 7		QF	550	470
	Sadengeni	2229 BA 1		QF	582	477

* All figurines without Map No's are not on Maps 1-12

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No	Site	SiteNo		Tradition	Loc	MR	Co	Total
106	Chanakwangwadza	2030 CD	12	LFC Gum	SC	LEX	R	27
107	Chornuruvati	2030 DA	16	LFC Gum	SC	LEX	R	3
110	Chizembe	2030 AD	21	LFC Gum	SC	S	R	3
111	Mudadi	2030 AD	4	LFC Gum	SC	S	R	7
113	Gt Zimbabwe II	2030 BD	1	LFC Gum	SC	BEX	R	47
116	?	2030BB	15	LFC Gum	SC	S	R	3
109	Mabveni II	2030 AD	5	LFC Ref	SC	S	R	1
92	Nebraska Ranch	1930 CB	2	LFC Zim	SC	LEX	R	3
104	Gorongwe Ruins	2030 CC	2	LFC Zim	SC	S	R	3
112	Montevideo	2030 BC	2	LFC Zim	SC	LEX	R	19
114	Gt Zimbabwe IV	2030 BD	1	LFC Zim	SC	BEX	C	16
115	GZ Peripheral S.	2030 BD	1	LFC Zim	SC	S	R	1
94	Chunungwa Ruin	2029 DC	4	LFC Map	SC	S	R	2
49	Near Leopard's Kopje	2028 AB		?	SW	?	R	3
69	Unknown	?		?	SW	?	R	4
70	Byo Hill Cross	2028 BA		?	SW	?	R	2
71	Hillside UE Dam	2028 BA		?	SW	?	R	1
88	Tshelanyemba	2128 AD	1	? S	W	REX	R	1
56	Khami Dam Wall	2028 AB	75	EFC Zh	SW	LEX	R	1
57	Khami Dam	2028 AB	76	EFC Zh	SW	S	R	1
58	Collation Farm	2028 AD	4	EFC Zh	SW	LEX	R	12
85	Insindi Ranch	2028 DD	8	EFC Zh	SW	LEX	R	20
42	Wankie West	1826 AD	6	LFC Ref	SW	S	?	1
43	Adair Farm	1928 BB	6	LFC Zim	SW	S	R	2
50	Khami Ruins IV	2028 AB	1	LFC Zim	SW	BEX	R	3
87	Greater Kyalami	2029 AB	10	LFC Map	SW	S	R	1
89	Mapela Hill	2128 DB	1	LFC Map	SW	LEX	R	3
90	Little Mapela	2128 DB	2	LFC Map	SW	LEX	R	1
91	Macardon Claims	2129 AB	2	LFC Map	SW	LEX	R	4
44	Thabasikamambo	1929 CA	1	LFC Mbo	SW	LEX	R	6
46	Umfazimiti Hill	1928 DC	32	LFC Mbo	SW	S	R	1
47	Mawala Hill	1928 DC	38	LFC Mbo	SW	LEX	R	3
48	Fundesi Farm	1928 DC	34	LFC Mbo	SW	LEX	R	2
51	Khami Burial	2028 AB	1	LFC Mbo	SW	LEX	B	3
52	Leopard's Kopje	2028 AB	3	LFC Mbo	SW	BEX	R	110
53	Khami Waterworks	2028 AB	5	LFC Mbo	SW	BEX	R	9
54	Khami St. Kopje	2028 AB	41	LFC Mbo	SW	LEX	R	1
55	Khami Kraal	2028 AB	42	LFC Mbo	SW	BEX	R	2
65	B.J Bunting Close	2028 BA	31	LFC Mbo	SW	LEX	R	12
66	Matsheumhlope	2028 BA	36	LFC Mbo	SW	BEX	R	14
68	Umvutcha Farm	2028 BA	51	LFC Mbo	SW	S	R	1
72	Malindela	2028 BA	44	LFC Mbo	SW	?	R	2
83	Mudene Ruins	2028 BC	132	LFC Mbo	SW	?	R	2
84	Kalanyoni	2028 CB	2	LFC Mbo	SW	S	R	1
45	Umboza Hill	1928 DC	30	LFC Wool	SW	S	R	1
59	Westacre Creek	2028 AD	11	LFC Wool	SW	S	R	1
60	Woolandale Mound	2028 AD	23	LFC Wool	SW	LEX	R	2
61	Hazelside	2028 AD	79	LFC Wool	SW	?	?	1
62	Remydene Farm	2028 BA	17	LFC Wool	SW	LEX	R	1
63	Lemon Grove	2028 BA	28	LFC Wool	SW	?	R	1
64	Butchers Plot	2028 BA	30	LFC Wool	SW	REX	R	17
67	Carleon Estate	2028 BA	37	LFC Wool	SW	REX	?	1
73	Njenile	2028 BA		LFC Wool	SW	S	R	1
74	Killamey	2028 BA	115	LFC Wool	SW	S	R	1
75	Magazine Hill	2028 BA	137	LFC Wool	SW	REX	R	1
76	Anderson's Plot	2028 BA	166	LFC Wool	SW	REX	R	16
77	Hillside	2028 BA	168	LFC Wool	SW	S	R	6
78	Nali Hill	2028 BA	170	LFC Wool	SW	REX	R	1
79	Mt Alice	2028 BD	2	LFC Wool	SW	S	R	10
80	Gliding Club	2028 BC	7	LFC Wool	SW	S	R	2
82	World's View	2028 BC	41	LFC Wool	SW	S	R	5
86	York Farm	2029 AB	7	LFC Wool	SW	S	R	1