The aim of Southern African Field Archaeology is to communicate basic data to professional archaeologists and the public.

Manuscripts of original research undertaken in southern Africa will be considered for publication. These may include reports of current research projects, site reports, rock art panels, rescue excavations, contract projects, reviews, notes and comments. Students are encouraged to submit short reports on projects. Southern African Field Archaeology also welcomes general information on archaeological matters such as reports on workshops and conferences.

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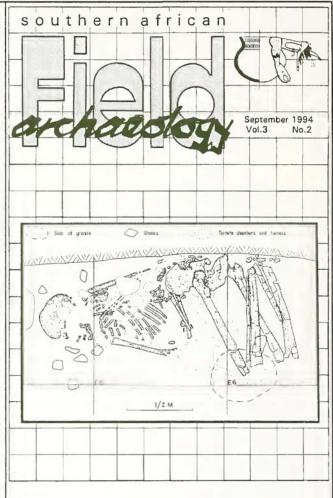
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Logo

Decorated pot from an Early Iron Age site in the Great Kei River valley, eastern Cape, and a painting of a 'trance figure' from the same region.

Cover illustration

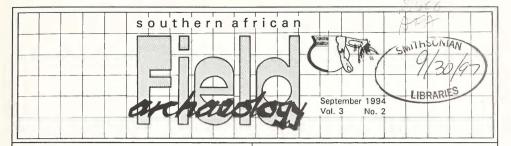
The Nswatugi Cave burial, one of only three possible Stone Age Burials found in Zimbabwe, p. 94.

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Conference held on the growth of farming communities in Africa from the equater southwards.

Tim Maggs & Gavin Whitelaw

OPINIONS

Does it matter that the discipline of South African archaeology is dominated by white middle class males? Does the composition of the profession impact on the kinds of archaeological knowledge produced? Few disciplines today - even the 'hard' sciences - fail to recognise that knowledge is not absolute, but bears traces of the subjectivity of researchers. In archaeology internationally, the surge of interest in matters of gender since the early 1980s can be directly correlated with an influx of women into the archaeological profession, and into positions of influence. The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the composition of the profession does indeed influence research designs and the kinds of questions deemed salient to explore.

At South African universities, women students make up a substantial part of the post-graduate contingent in Archaeology, and women have been the recipients of several of the doctoral degrees recently awarded. Country-wide, academic posts occupied by women include only one professorship, and only one senior lectureship. Although there are women who are qualified for such positions, current employment prospects in Archaeology are such that posts are infrequently available (Miller 1993). This situation clearly does not reflect the range and scale of involvement of women in Archaeology.

Examination of the kinds of work that male and female archaeologists engage in is telling: women tend to be concentrated in laboratories, curatorial positions, and other posts and specialisations which do not necessarily involve protracted fieldwork. We spoke informally to some women archaeologists, who felt that gender, family responsibilities and social roles had inevitably influenced their choice of career path. It was generally felt that career decisions had been made so as to minimise absences from home and family. Another point that was forcibly made was that the career trajectory of male and female archaeologists tends to diverge. Whereas men are freer to gather their degrees in a relatively uninterrupted

fashion, women are often compelled to take time off and work or study part-time in the interest of their children. But the academic system values early high achievement (for example, rewarding 'young researchers', under age 36). Women may take longer to establish their careers, or may only be free to pursue their careers without impediment after children are older. As a result, these women are grossly disadvantaged, and may not receive the benefits of patronage systems.

As noted, women members of SAAA tend - by choice or necessity? - to be located in positions which involve processing work, doing chemical analysis, archaeozoological research, or archival research. The predominance of women in Historical Archaeology has much to do with the fact that this sub-discipline does not necessarily require major expeditions into the country; excavations in and around the City can be more easily accommodated in the ordinary working week. Though some women are willing and qualified to conduct excavations, in some instances, men appear to be better suited to the work. For years, male students emerging from the clutches of the SADF have brought to their careers field skills and confidence acquired in the army. Contract archaeology, which commonly involves lengthy and frequent excursions into the field, is an area which is targetted for growth and future employment opportunities. Yet this is a field which is not particularly practical for many women, with the possible exception of single women. Given that contract work is likely to offer one of the few sources of employment for graduates, the question might be asked: is this an equal opportunity employment scenario for the future? Or will the development of CRM favour men?

The relative position of men and women in Archaeology is the result of historical conditions, not necessarily the result of a sexist plot. Nevertheless, given the predominance of men in archaeology, it is reasonable to question to what extent the discipline has been defined by men and bears the stamp of male interests. There remains, in archaeological understanding, an emphasis on the centrality of field work, especially excavation. Excavation is, of course, the source of primary archaeological materials. As analysts and curators in the second and subsequent stages of research, women are thus not always 'in on the ground floor'. Yet, site reports and excavations alone are not in the forefront of contemporary archaeology, and the most influential work tends to be that which synthesises or presents an overview of developments in archaeological knowledge. Though such analytical work is of equal importance to the research process, there remains a certain elevation of the value of excavation, which is still seen as the fundamental task of the archaeologist. However, the way in which archaeology has developed challenges this perception of the primacy of excavation. The specialisation which has occurred over the past decades has been a consequence of increasing sophistication in the sphere of theories and technologies. The old archaeologist as Renaissance man is an endangered species. Few archaeologists are currently competent to excavate, conduct scientific analysis and stay abreast of theoretical developments in the field. Yet the move towards specialisation seems to have prompted a situation where some specialised skills are valued above others; excavation/field skills remain at the forefront. It may be suggested that this is an archaic understanding; though there will always be a need for excavators, there is not reason why archaeologists with other specialities should not have the status of the fullyfledged archaeologist. Rock art research, for example, is as 'archaeological' as research which is excavation-based, although it does not necessarily posit excavation as the starting point of archaeological knowledge. It is not excessive to suggest that the primacy accorded to excavation is out-dated, and that its ongoing centrality to the definition of what archaeology 'is' may be a product of male perceptions and a male-defined disciplinary status quo. Given that excavation is one of the more narrowly technical activites of archaeology, there seems to be no reason why every archaeologist should be an excavator; might not CRM fieldworkers be contracted as specialist surveyors/excavators to those professionals who might otherwise find field work difficult to incorporate? It is time that excavation be acknowledged as one archaeological speciality, not the defining feature of an archaeologist's competence.

Do women in Archaeology need affirmative action? Probably not, since women have shown themselves to be perfectly competent in all realms of archaeological research. Unquestionably, women choose to specialise in those areas of Archaeology that are compatible with their commitments. The problem is not that women are being denied access to certain realms of archaeology. Rather, it must be recognised that, while constraints arising from the organisation of society and the family remain the same, many women will need to select for career niches that are compatible with their life situation. As such, to privilege excavation is to subordinate the contributions of researchers (not only women) in other aspects of archaeological research. What is required is not 'equality', but acknowledgement of the equal importance of the services that different specialists provide, and an understanding of the determinants of different career choices and contributions.

Anne Solomon & Jeannette Smith.

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REPORTS

REPORTS ON THE SAfA AND SA3 CONFERENCES

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THE 12TH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR AFRICANIST ARCAEOLOGISTS (SAFA)

This conference was held at the Indiana University, Bloomington, in the United States of America between April 28 and May 1. The organising committee Kathy Schick, Nicolas Toth, Jeanne Sept, Kevin Hunt and Desmond Clark must be congratulated on an excellently organised conference. Some 150 delegates from North America, Europe and Africa including a strong South African contingent, attended. Due to the many papers, 110 in three days dealing with all aspects of African archaeology, the conference was organised in plenary and parallel sessions.

The usual conference modus operandi was followed, starting with Human Origins as a plenary session followed by parallel sessions on Iron Age studies in east, west and central Africa, Stone Age studies in Ethiopia and Zooarchaeological studies. The second day started with a plenary session on Ethnoarchaeological perspectives of living foragers followed by parallel sessions dealing with Iron Age and Stone Age research in various parts of Africa. The third day followed a similar trend and the proceedings ended with a plenary session on "Integrating African prehistory with Africa's present and truture: some problems and prospects". The discussions in this session dealt mainly with Cultural Resource Management and the problems surrounding it.

The conference proceedings ended on a high note with a field excursion to the Cahokia Mounds in Ilinois, the largest ceremonial centre and earthworks in North America.

During the conference delegates had the opportunity of visiting the research laboratories and teaching facilities of the CRAFT Research Centre (Centre for Research into the Anthropological Foundation of Technology) in the Department of Anthropology. Of special interest were the displays and talks on research into organic residues on stone tools, video footage of studies of a bonobo (pygmy chimpanzee) making stone tools, experimental studies of stone tool manufacture, video footage of ethnoarchaeological research among some of the last stone tool

makers in New Guinea and a demonstration of a computer teaching/learning program "Investigating Olduvai".

It was a most stimulating and enjoyable conference, academically as well as socially. Important was the many new acquaintances made and the several old ones which were renewed after a long absence. The next SAfA conference in two years time is schedueled to take place in Poland and I would strongly recommend that as many South African archaeologists as possible attend.

Abstracts of the conference papers are available. Papers presented by the South African delegates:

Binneman, J. The Holocene lithic industries at Klasies River Cave 5, South Africa: an example of group identity maintenance.

Henderson, Z. Florisbad: a Middle Stone Age scavenging, hunting and processing location.

Henshilwood, C. Blombos Cave: new insights on the MSA Still Bay Industry in South Africa.

Huffman, T. & Van der Merwe, H. The Thakadu copper trade.

Jerardino, A. Changing social landscapes over the past 4000 years: coastal hunter-gatherer intensification in the south-western Cape.

Kuman, K. & Clark, R. Stratigraphy and archaeology of Sterkfontein (1992-1994).

Smith, A. & Woodboune, S. The seals of Kasteelberg: seasonal indicators for pastoralist occupation in the south-western Cape, South Africa.

Van der Merwe, H. & Huffman, T. The Thakadu copper project.

THE 13TH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN ASSOCIATION OF ARCHAEOLOGISTS (SA3)

This conference and post-conference excursion was hosted by the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg and KwaZulu Monuments Council in Ulundi between 17 and 24 July. The organisers Tim Maggs, Aron Mazel, Gavin

Whitelaw and Frans Prins, supported by Val Ward, Len Van Schalkwyk, Frans Roodt and Gugu Mtethla must be congratulated on an excellent, well organised conference.

The conference took place in the Imperial Hotel, a perfect venue with a pub close at hand which created a relaxed atmosphere for many informal discussions and debates. Regarded by many as one of the more interesting and successful conferences in recent years, it was attended by more than a hundred delegates. Some 60 papers were delivered and several posters were on display. This year's conference was marked by a strong delegation from other parts of southern and east Africa and overseas. Most disappointing to the organisers must have been the absence of many senior collegues and students. However, it was refreshing to have seen so many new faces attending the conference.

The conference was organised in five sessions, Origins of Anatomically Modern Humans, Beyond Stone Tool Typology, Interactions, Past Environment and Research Reports. Three workshops were also held on Regional Recording Centres and the application of minimum standards, Cultural Resource Management and Human Remains.

Apart from a number of local papers which presented fresh 'new' and interesting data, it was stimulating to hear presentations from research conducted in other parts of Africa. Abstracts of the papers are available to those who could not attend and will not repeated here.

Unfortunately little was achieved during the workshop session on Regional Recording Centres and the majority of the issues which were discussed are still unresolved. Discussion of these issues would have been more productive if conducted by a small interest group. The other two workshops on Cultural Resource Management and Human remains were more productive.

In both sessions speakers have highlighted the sensitivity of our cultural resources and the need for well-planned conservation of these resources. Len van Schalkwyk of the KwaZulu Monuments Council addressed the very important issue of archaeological site stabilisation and conservation. He reported on the stabilisation programme of Border Cave and provided useful information on materials and techniques employed to stabilise archaeological sites.

A major point of discussion in this workshop session was the issue of contract archaeology and the future of

this profession (also see 'Opinions' in the April 1994 issue of Southern African Field Archaeology). Some delegates were of the opinion that, in order to protect the profession, an institute of consultant archaeologists should be established separate to the Southern African Association of Archaeologists. After discussion it was decided that such an organisation will operate as a section of SA3, rather than separate.

The workshop on Human Remains was a report-back by a sub-committee established in 1993 by SA3 to look into the treatment of archaeological human remains. A draft document was circulated before and at the SA3 meeting in Pietermaritzburg for discussion. Alan Morris summarised some of the interesting aspects of the Human Tissue Act, which excludes museums as authorised institutions to hold human tissue and skeletons. It was also reported that cemeteries in the northern Transvaal are being deliberately destroyed by white farmers fearful of future land claims. This raised the important question of who owns the right over archaeological human skeletons. Tom Huffman suggested a hierarchical scheme whereby a family or even possibly an ethnic group may claim ownership over 'recent' skeletal remains. Little, if any claims could be made on 'older' human remains by anyone and are nationally owned.

The forum, Issues of concern to post-gaduates, apart from the report on the excellent work done by the Archaeology Workshop (Jeanette Smith and her team need to be congratulated) was disappointing and frustrating as some students seem uninformed and ignorant of the 'real archaeological world'. Many share their concerns in certain matters such as very few job opportunities, however, on the other hand when jobs are advertised as was recently the case, very few aplications were received.

The venue was followed by an excursion to a variety of sites in Natal/KwaZulu which included among others Magogo and Mhlopeni Early Iron Age sites, the battlefields of Rorke's Drift and Isandlwana, Maqonqo Shelter, Border Cave, Ondini and uMgungungluvo. At Border Cave we witnessed the excellent efforts and enormous amount of work Len van Schalkwyk and his team have put in to conserve this important cave. Equally impressive were the reconstructions of the Zulu capitals of Ulundi (KwaZulu Monuments Council) and uMgungungluvo (Natal Provincial Museum Services).

CONFERENCE HELD ON THE GROWTH OF FARMING COMMUNITIES IN AFRICA FROM THE EOUATER SOUTHWARDS

TIM MAGGS & GAVIN WHITELAW

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The conference took place at Newham College, Cambridge, from 4-8 July 1994. This conference, organised on a specific topic close to much of the research of us Iron Age specialists in KwaZulu-Natal, was clearly a 'must'. Organised jointly by the British Institute in East Africa and the African Study Centre, Cambridge, it brought together a wide range of academics from many different countries. We were able to meet many well known colleagues for the first time and others after a long interval, because of the new political climate in South Africa. Indeed the conference organisers made a particular point of welcoming the South African delegates as well as the return of this country to the Commmonwealth.

An early session examined agricultural and ecological aspect. We learnt much about tropical agriculture and in particular on how early and in what surprising variety the banana/plantain is found in Africa, although its origins as a crop are in the Far East. This is only one aspect of the evidence for more Asian-African interaction than we generally recognise. We were able to report that domestic chickens (also from the Far East) are now being identified in our Early Iron Age sites; a point which provoked considerable interest.

The linguistic contributions, as usual, attracted much controversy and it seems that a number of cherished ideas, for example the subdivision of Bantu into Eastern and Western, are no longer acceptable. It was refreshing to see in general a far less dogmatic and more experimental approach to historical linguistics than the old orthodoxy.

Chief iconoclast of the conference was undoubtedly Jan Vansina who, in a dazzling public lecture, picked holes in many of our fondly held beliefs and brought a new fluidity back into the interpretations of the Early Iron Age dispersal.

The picture that emerged from the regional sessions was new and very interesting. Until recently we have tended to see the Great Lakes region as most important in the development and dispersal of the Iron Age

southwards. At this conference it seemed as if this region is of less importance compared with those to the east and west. New work on the East African coast is producing much more interest here and indeed much that may be relevant to our own work now that we have established trade contacts with the Islamic world reached as far south as Durban in the eighth or ninth century. Similarly in western Central Africa, notably Gabon, new evidence is now available for the arrival of ceramics and Iron smelting which gives this previously little known region a new importance. Iron is now well established from around 2300 years ago and De Maret posits a Stone-to-Metal Age of transition between 2900 and 2600 years ago.

The KwaZulu-Natal contingent made a substantial contribution and it was noticeable that we were able to give much greater precision and depth of information than that available from most other areas.

Papers presented by the KwaZulu-Natal contingent and other South African delegates:

Magg, T. The Early Iron Age in the extreme South: some patterns and problems.

Prins, F. Climate, vegetation and early agriculturist communities in Natal and Transkei (presented by Tim Maggs in his absence).

Van Schalkwyk, L. Settlement shifts and socio-economic transformations in early farming communities: a model from the Thukela Basin, Zululand.

Whitelaw, G. Modelling an Early Iron Age world view: some ideas from Natal.

Argyle, J. The linguistic evidence for Khoisan-Southern
Bantu livestock exchanges: a dissenting view
(University of Natal).

Huffman, T. & Herbert, R. New perspectives on Eastern Bantu (University of the Witwatersrand).

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