Kondoa Rock Art sites (Tanzania)

No 1183 rev

1. BASIC DATA

State Party: United Republic of Tanzania

Name of property: Kondoa Rock Art sites

Location: Kondoa District, Dodoma Region

Date received by the World Heritage Centre: 26 January 2004

Included in the Tentative List: 31 October 2000

International Assistance from the World Heritage Fund for preparing the nomination: 3 December 1999

1st December 2000

Further assistance was provided by the British Authorities for the preparation of further documentation.

Category of property:

In terms of the categories of cultural property set out in Article 1 of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, this is a site.

Brief description:

On the eastern slopes of the Masai escarpment bordering the Great Rift Valley are natural rock shelters, overhanging slabs of sedimentary rocks fragmented by rift faults, whose vertical planes have been used for rock paintings over at least two millennia.

The spectacular collection of images from over 150 shelters, many with high artistic value, display sequences that provide a unique testimony to the changing socio-economic base of the area from hunter-gather to agro-pastoralist societies, and the beliefs and ideas associated with them. Some of the shelters are still considered to have ritual associations with the peoples who live nearby.

2. ACTIONS

Background:

At the 29th session in Durban, the World Heritage Committee referred back the examination of the nomination of Kondoa Rock Art Sites to the World Heritage List to allow the State Party to address the following as a basis for a revised nomination:

a) the preparation of a site record system for the site based on known surveys and site investigations;

b) the preparation of a conservation plan for the painted sites;

c) the appointment of a site manager to undertake the implementation of the management plan;

d) a plan for providing alternative sources of firewood which takes into account the traditions of the local people;

e) the establishment of a buffer zone; and

f) a more detailed comparative analysis of the property.

On 2nd January 2006, the State Party submitted responses to these six points and the following documents:

a) Conservation Plan

b) Revised comparative analysis

c) Inventory documentation form

d) Declaration order for the Conservation Area enclosing the Kondoa site

e) Conservation Area map

f) Map of site showing buffer zone


Dates of request for additional information and of receipt from State Party: None

Consultations: ICOMOS has consulted its International Scientific Committee on Rock Art.


Date of ICOMOS approval of this report: 10 April 2006

3. THE PROPERTY

Description

The nominated site curves round the Masai escarpment on the eastern side of the Great Rift Valley and on the western rim of the Masai steppe. Rocky hills, lightly covered with trees, look outwards over the vast flat expanses of the Rift Valley.

The site covers 2,336 sq km.

The exact number of rock art sites in the Kondoa area is not yet known but it is estimated that there are between 150 and 450 decorated rock shelters, caves and overhanging cliff faces. The sites are located on the steep eastern slopes, an area of spectacular, fractured geological formations, which provided the necessary shelter for the display of paintings.

The property is bounded to the north by the Salanka Forest Reserve; to the east, by the villages of Kisese, Itololo, Kandaga, Masange, Filimo, Itundwi, Mnenia, Pahi, Kitewo, Kundusi, Kinyasi and Keikei and to the west, by the villages of Swera and Sakami. There is no clearly defined landmark to the south. Within the nominated area are four further villages.

In the original nomination, no buffer zone was provided, as it was considered that the area is large enough to protect World Heritage values within the property. In response to Committee concerns, the State Party announced in January 2006 that a buffer zone of approximately 500 metres around the site had been created.

All the paintings are found high up on the hills, perhaps used during raids or warfare as places of retreat – as
happened in recent historical times during Masai raids. Shelters were also used until recently in the wet season by families who had to abandon their houses in the plains. A large proportion of the sites face east and catch the morning sun.

The main concentrations of rock art in the nominated site are:

- Pahi complex – 78 recorded sites
- Kolo complex – 10 recorded sites
- Kandaga – Kwa Mtea – Kises complex – 22 recorded sites
- Thawi – Fenga complex – 25 recorded sites
- Cheke Chungai complex - 29 recorded sites
- Kundusi – Kinyasi complex – 29 recorded sites

The site consists not only of rock paintings but also associated archaeological sites as follows:

- Early red paintings;
- Late white and black paintings;
- Archaeological sites;
- Ceremonial sites.

These are considered in turn.

- Early red paintings:

  The red paintings form the northern limit of the extension of the Southern Africa hunter-gatherer rock art tradition. The red paintings are human and animal figures drawn either in outline or filled in. A few bichrome or polychrome figures exist but these are rare.

  Three basic forms of figures have been identified: lifelike animal figures, stylised geometric streaky figures and stylised human figures. Figures are sometimes shown wearing a mask, perhaps a hunter’s disguise, and often with bows and arrows or in conjunction with animals, suggesting hunting activities.

  Antelopes are the most common animals and these include eland, toan, reedbuk and kudu. Elephants and giraffe also appear. Around 70% of the images studied show game animals.

  Human figures are nearly all drawn with elongated bodies. *Euphorbia candelabrum* trees are common. Other depictions include concentric circles with radiating lines.

  The paintings overlap one another representing a continuing tradition perhaps spanning many millennia.

  Dating of these early paintings is unsolved. A hypothesis was put forward by Louis Leakey in 1951, which suggested an early date, and this has been much debated since. Systematic study of the images is needed to establish sequences, which can be supplemented by material from excavations. Geophysical and chemical techniques have not been used for dating.

  A number of researchers listed in the nomination have argued compellingly that this art was made by the ancestors of modern Sandawe and Hadza peoples; indeed one researcher, Ten Raa, was even present when a rock painting was made by a Sandawe speaking man, thus showing a remarkable persistence of traditions over perhaps several millennia.

  - Late white and black paintings:

    In distinct contrast to the red paintings are the so-called late white and black paintings. These are finger paintings representing lines, circles, squares, dots, and non-geometric signs and symbols. They also depict domestic animals and there is an absence of hunting scenes. The most common images are circles, checks and ladders. They are far less sophisticated than the red images. Many overlay the red paintings. However the order of superimposing is inconsistent. These paintings have been attributed to agro-pastoralist communities who arrived in the area around 1,500 years ago and displaced some of the earlier hunter-gather communities. As with the ‘earlier’ paintings, no dating has been established and the tradition could have existed alongside the continuing practice of the red paintings.

    However it has been noted that ‘late white’ tradition appear to be similar to the geometric designs on the Lake Turkana area engravings (*Konda* is void of engravings) said to be as old as three millennia. Some of these designs are also said to reflect the cattle brands of these people.

  - Archaeological sites:

    Excavations at three sites have yielded materials belonging to the Middle Stone Age, Late Stone Age and the Iron Age, including red ochre ‘pencils’. Recently fieldwork by the University of Dar as-Salaam has recovered evidence of iron smelting industries at Kisese and Pahi.

    Radiocarbon dates from excavated charcoal from the Kisese 2 rock shelter suggests that the first pastoralists occupied the area approximately 1,500 years ago. The white and black paintings of cattle presumed to belong to the agro-pastoralists and superimposed on the earlier red hunter-gatherer paintings is an indication that the red paintings are much older than 1,500 years. This is supported by excavation results which indicate that some of the shelters were inhabited from the period of middle Stone Age. Examples of such sites are Kandaga and Kinyasi which have yielded materials belonging not only the Middle Stone Age but also to the Late Stone Age and the Iron Age.

  - Ceremonial sites:

    Some of the sites are still associated with strong living traditions of the local population. For instance the Irangi people use the shelters as initiation sites, and for healing, rainmaking and divining rituals. Other sites are considered sacred by the Hadza and Sandawe peoples who also live in the area. However it should be noted that it is not necessarily the presence of rock paintings that makes these sites sacred. Not all sacred sites have paintings; and paintings may have been executed in sites that were already considered sacred.

    Many of the Bantu-speaking people living in the area associate the paintings with earlier people they displaced. Oral tradition associates the Sandawe with some of the sites and authorship of the paintings. The Sandawe, together with the neighbouring Hadza, are closely linked
linguistically through their Khoisan language with the Bushman people in South Africa who are in turn associated with the authorship of South African petroglyphs and paintings.

\textbf{History}

The existence of rock paintings in the area was first reported in 1908 by missionaries working near Bukoba. The first published account appeared in 1929 when T.A.M. Nash published an article in the \textit{Royal Anthropological Institute Journal}. Louis Leakey explored the site in the 1930s and in 1936 put forward an attempt at stylistic classification in his book \textit{Stone Age in Africa}. The first survey and recording programme was undertaken by H. Fosbrooke in the late 1940s, which resulted in a publication in the \textit{Tanganyika Notes and Records Special Publication series}. Louis Leakey continued his interest in the site and developed a theoretical scheme of styles, suggesting the art was of great antiquity. Few scholars agreed with these dates and others considered the paintings to be of ethnographic rather than archaeological significance.

Excavations were undertaken by West in 1964 and then by Masao in the late 1970s. More recently Mapunda and Kessy have excavated several sites at Pahi and Baura where remains of Iron Age smelting furnaces, tuyeres, slag and pottery were recovered.

The site was brought to public attention through the publication of Mary Leakey’s book \textit{Africa’s Vanishing Art: The Rock Paintings of Tanzania} in 1983. This was based on tracings of some of the images. The most recent work has been carried out by Fidelis Masao in 1979 and 1980, and by Emmanuel Anati in 1980 and 1981.

Unfortunately the records of all these interventions are scattered and the information gained from them is not easily accessible. The dossier acknowledges the ‘need for the Department of Antiquities to create a database for all the documentation done so far’. Until that is achieved, any overall assessment of the scope and content of the site is possible. The nomination dossier is not even able to say how many sites or images exist on the site, nor how the documentation done so far’. Until that is achieved, any overall assessment of the scope and content of the site is possible. The nomination dossier is not even able to say how many sites or images exist on the site, nor how the documentation done so far’.

The practicalities of implementation are the responsibility of the Site Manager and his assistant, two skilled and knowledgeable Antiquities personnel who were appointed in April 2005. They live within the proposed World Heritage Site area.

The process of preparing an inventory of the sites was begun in 2001. The documented sites are Munguni wa Kolo (site B1), Kinyasi 15, Masange A13, Pahi 27, Kandaga A9, Kisse A3, Chora I and Kisse A4. A Standard Inventory form has been developed and used. Photographic documentation, video pictures and analogue records are still in the process of preparation. Maps showing boundaries of the Kondoa-Irangi rock art sites as well as the areas with high concentration of rock art sites have been prepared.

A Conservation Plan started in 2001 has been completed by the Site Manager with antiquities staff.

\textbf{Protection and Management}

\textbf{Legal provision:}

Every rock art site in Tanzania is automatically protected by the Antiquities Act of 1964 (amended 1979). The Act makes it illegal to destroy, injure, deface, alter, excavate, dig, probe, remove, add to, repair, write upon, carve upon or draw upon rock art. It also forbids people from herding animals within a rock art site or expanding farming practices to the detriment of a rock art site.

There is thus a good level of legislative protection. A problem with the Act is that the level of fines it allows is no longer large enough to deter transgression and very few contraventions of the Act have ever been prosecuted. Above the provisions of the Act, twelve Kondoa rock painting sites were given a special status and level of protection when they were scheduled as National Monuments in 1949. These sites were re-listed in 1981 along with a further seven new sites.

In 2002, the Department of Antiquities began the process of declaring the area Kondoa rock art sites area as a ‘Conservation Area’ and the State Party confirmed in 2006 that this came into force in October 2004. A unique set of rules and regulations is drafted for each Conservation Area. These will be drawn up in collaboration with local stakeholders, such as the Village Chairmen and the District Officers, and they will be legally binding. Once put into place, the rules and regulations for the Kondoa rock art sites will give the Department of Antiquities and the local authorities a much stronger legal mandate which they can use to enforce good management practices within the Conservation Area.

The boundary of the Conservation Area is the same as that proposed for the World Heritage Site. The boundaries are determined by the extent of the main Kondoa rock art site concentration and the Tanzanian legislative requirement that each site is protected by a 400-metre buffer-zone. The boundaries do not follow any recognisable feature on the ground, although they are marked with embedded concrete posts. The boundary needs to be more clearly marked.

\textbf{Management structure:}

The management plan presented in the nomination dossier has grown out of a process of national and local consultation. Its recommendations are practical and appropriate to the area.

The plan has been formally approved by all of the key stakeholders. Many stakeholders have expressed the need for sections of the plan to be expanded and fleshed out with more detail, once the process of implementation is underway.

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\textbf{Resources:}

There is no specific recurring budget for the Kondoa site. From time to time the government allocates funds for specific projects.
Conservation Plan should be prepared to address the conservation concerns of the painted surfaces and this needs to be carried out as soon as possible.

Protection and Management:
A management plan has been prepared and this proposes that the management of the area will be the direct responsibility of a newly appointed manager for the Kondoa rock art sites. The manager will live within the declared area and will have an office in the new Kolo Rock Art Visitor Centre.

The manager reports directly to the Department of Antiquities Head Office in Dar es-Salaam. He will need to establish the network of management structures and routine management practices for the area. The management plan recommends a three-tier management system consisting of a management committee, village committees and local custodians.

Of these three tiers the top level, the Management Committee, has been formed and is now functioning under the new Manager. This includes district, ward and village authorities.

For the second tier, there are a series of village committees functioning in every village as a routine part of the Tanzanian democratic process. This ensures grass-roots level participation in all village decision-making. The manager will establish the second tier of management within this existing system by 2007 for specific sites.

The third tier comprising site custodians still needs to be established. The difficulty here will be to find some two hundred or so custodians willing to work on a voluntary basis. The aim is to appoint these by December 2006.

There are currently two guides employed by the Department of Antiquities in Kolo. They accompany visitors to a range of rock art sites. The guides have no formal training; the management plan identifies the need for this guide training. The aim is to recruit 8 further qualified staff for various roles and to train 6 staff in heritage management by 2010.

The average visitation figures are around 200 visitors per month and many of these are international tourists. This is high given the remoteness of the area, and the lack of any nearby tourist facilities.

The Leakey family, with the financial support of Norwegian Aid, organised the construction of a small rock art visitor centre at Kolo in the 1970s. As part of its investment in the area prior to World Heritage Nomination, the Department of Antiquities has funded the construction of a new and larger visitor centre behind the older building. This building will also houses records for the site.

A cultural tourism plan needs to be developed to ensure that tourism benefits local communities and that facilities for visitors are sited appropriately. Such a plan could be a major impetus for local farmers to gain sufficient benefit from tourism to allow them to undertake more sustainable agricultural practices.

Overall the management of the site cannot be considered in isolation from the dynamics of the farming communities. There is a need for management to be integrated into a local development plan that sees the rock art as having potential to deliver benefits and offer opportunities.
There is a significant challenge ahead to see the plan through to full implementation. There is however a clear intention on the part of the State Party to fund the implementation of the core sections of this plan.

A Conservation Plan was submitted in January 2006. It sets out a brief assessment of the state of conservation of the groups of paintings, factors affecting the sites, a SWOT analysis, objectives to address future use and guiding principles for involving the local community, access and protection and an Action Plan to put in place an inventory and documentation, appropriate staff and appropriate presentation. The Plan is really a useful supplement to the Management Plan rather than being a conservation plan which addresses the conservation needs of the painted surfaces.

Risk analysis:
The rock art has survived for perhaps millennia through the natural protection of the rock shelters, combined with the protective effect of trees and the sanctions afforded by local people. These protective layers are now vulnerable through a variety of pressures on the area. These are highlighted in the nomination dossier as follows.

- Deforestation:
The woodland areas around the rock art sites have been designated for protection, not just because they give vital protection to the rock art, but also because they are essential to the control of soil erosion and the retention of ground water and deforestation can also seriously damaging the aesthetic value of the setting of the rock art.

However, in spite of efforts by the District Forest Officer and Village Chairmen, the trees around the rock art sites continued to be cut for firewood, building materials and charcoal at a significant rate. As there are few alternative sources of wood, it is difficult to control the problem, given the needs for wood by the community, unless an alternative source of wood or fuel is provided.

In January 2006, the State Party announced a new package of initiatives to address this issue. Working together with the forest authority in Kondoa, the village governments and communities have now identified areas where trees could be grown for firewood purposes. These areas are located in Mnenia, Kandaga, Pahi, Kolo and Thawi juu villages. Communities at family levels have also been made aware of the need to set aside portions of their land for planting fuel wood trees and forest experts have identified fast maturing tree species for fuel wood.

With assistance of forest experts, NGOs, the district authority and other stakeholders of environment conservation, nurseries have been established and distribution to communities will be enforced during the wet season starting from the year 2006. This was made part of the new year’s eve, 2006 campaign on tree planting.

Forest authorities in Dodoma and Kondoa district have been consulted and permission has been granted for communities to collect dry fallen branches from both natural and planted forests under supervision of foresters, while restricting themselves away from the 500m, core zones around the rock shelters.

- Field encroachment:
Every year fields move closer to the rock art sites as new lands are tilled for crop production. This intensive agriculture is tending to increase soil degradation, and lead to a lowering of the water table, silting of rivers and the transformation of perennial water-courses into seasonal water-courses. The effects on the rock art are to leave it dangerously exposed to sun, wind and rain.

This threat needs to be addressed as part of a wider policy to move towards more sustainable agricultural practices and may need subsidies to encourage farmers to make the necessary changes. To implement any change will need good working relationship with the village committee structures.

The Management Plan needs to be coordinated with a local development plan in order that the management of the rock art sites relates to the needs of the local communities in a sustainable way.

Both field encroachment and the cutting of firewood point to the need for a buffer zone to be established to offer better protection to the nominated site.

- Graffiti:
New graffiti can be seen at some sites. At present this is rare but emphasises the need for a local management presence and a programme of regular site monitoring. If visitor numbers increase, there will be a need for more structured guiding and for all visitors to be accompanied by an official guide.

- Illegal quarrying and treasure hunting:
An alarming number of sites have been illegally excavated and illegal excavation is apparently still continuing. There is indeed a mistaken belief that while the German forces were retreating during World War I they buried gold below a rock art site near Kondoa. German records and direct testimonies confirm that this belief is false. Nonetheless, hundreds of archaeological sites have been destroyed by treasure hunters and there are very few intact shelter deposits remaining.

As understanding of the archaeological context of this area is poor, this is an irreplaceable loss of contextual information. There is an urgent need for further, professional, excavation in the area to determine the sequence and history of settlement.

Stopping illegal excavation must be the first priority for the new site manager.

- Ritual usage of site:
One of the key qualities of the Kondoa rock art sites is that they still play an active role in the rituals of local communities. The sites are used for instance for weather-divination, healing and initiation.

Whereas it is essential to sustain the links with local communities, there is also a need to ensure that use and conservation do not conflict. For instance in some of the rain-making rituals, animal fat and beer are thrown over the rock art paintings, perhaps a recent adaptation of older practices.
The manager will need to tread a careful path between supporting the living heritage values of the sites and supporting the physical preservation of the sites.

- Water throwing:

The damage done in the past by visitors throwing water over the art to enhance the colours for photography is clearly visible at many sites. The guides are aware of this problem and have managed to stamp out this practice at most sites.

**Authenticity and integrity**

The authenticity of Kondoa rock art is beyond question. It has never been restored or enhanced in any way. What is of special importance about Kondoa is that the rock art exists, largely in its original natural environment, and in the context of a rich living heritage. The places where ancient hunter-gatherers painted rock art perhaps to influence the weather are still used today by local farmer communities in modern rain-making ceremonies. Modern versions of boys’ initiation ceremonies, which a few centuries ago may have led to the creation of certain white paintings, are still held every year in most of the villages in the nominated area. Descendents of the Maa-speaking pastoralists, who once perhaps painted at a number of rock art sites in the area, still visit the area to graze their cattle during periods of drought.

**Comparative evaluation**

The rock art of Kondoa belongs to the rock art traditions of central and southern Africa which are very different from those of West Africa and the Sahara.

There are broadly three major ‘styles’ of hunter-gatherer rock art in sub-Saharan Africa:

- South of the Zambezi, in southern Africa, fine line polychrome rock art made by the ancestors of the San;
- Across central Africa, stretching into southern Tanzania and up to Lake Victoria, geometric rock art that has been linked to the ancestors of modern BaTwa/Pygmy groups;
- Stretching 100 kilometres west and north of Kondoa town stylised human and animal forms.

On the World Heritage List, San rock art is represented by the uKhahlamba– Drakensberg Park (South Africa), the Mapungubwe Cultural landscape (South Africa), Matobo Hills (Zimbabwe) and Tsodilo Hills (Botswana).

The first nomination for rock art from the BaTwa/Pygmy rock art zone was considered by the Committee at its 29th session: the Dedza – Chongoni hills (Malawi).

Thus the third type, the Hadza/Sandawe rock art zone, is not currently represented on the World Heritage List.

In manner of execution Kondoa rock-art has been seen to be more closely related to the southern African zone’s San rock-art than any other closer central African traditions. The paintings are fine-line in manner suggesting the use of a delicate instrument such as brush or the like, and not finger-painted or thickly applied on rock surface like most other central zone rock-art traditions. This stylistic aspect, at least superficially, places Kondoa rock-art on the same comparative plane with the southern African San fine-lines.

However, the majority of Kondoa images are characterized by distortion of the body form, though sufficient of their defining features remain to allow species identification. This distortion is closer to the central zone’s Twa red animal tradition than to the southern zone’s San imagery. Other defining features of the Kondoa images are the streaky style which appears to be unique to Kondoa and the lack of images of domesticated animals.

When however this analysis of the images is supplemented by an analysis of their imagery, it is suggested that the Kondoa art is closely linked to the beliefs and practices of the Sandawe people, such as rituals associated with *simbo*, a lion spirit possession cult, and its shamanistic elements which are seen to be represented in the images of animal potency and trance. This imagery is quite similar to metaphors known from the San rock-art in the south and central African Twa rock-art both of which have distorted naturalistic subjects, the imagery of trance.

The red images of Kondoa thus have similarities in content and execution with hunter-gather art in south and central Africa, but also marked differences and are found in concentrations that are some of the highest in eastern and southern Africa.

On the other hand the late white finger-painted geometric images of Kondoa do not appear to have any relation to either the white spread-eagled tradition or white zoomorphic tradition of the central African region and are quite unique.

The most recent rock art at Kondoa is very recent and its time-span from living memory back to around thirty millennia could make it one of the longest spans found anywhere.

The nominated rock art may be seen to represent the northern mostly limit of the Southern African hunter-gather rock art, and be a unique variant of that art. The site also contains paintings made by later pastoralists and settled farmers – a tradition that continued right up to the 20th century.

**Outstanding universal value**

The nomination states that the site is of outstanding universal value for a combination of the following cultural qualities:

- The extensive and dense collection of rock paintings represents and embodies the cultures of both hunter-gather and pastoralist communities who have lived in the area over several millennia;
- The similarities with images from southern and central Africa together with their distinctive streaky style and absence of domesticated animals make them distinctive examples of hunter-gather rock art at its northernmost limit;
The continuing living ceremonial practices of the local communities reflect continuity in traditions with those who created the rock paintings.

**Evaluation of criteria:**

The site is nominated on the basis of criteria ii, iii and vi:

**Criterion ii:** It is argued that continuity of use and layering of the paintings contribute to the justification for this criterion. There is not sufficient evidence to suggest that the Kondoa site was influential outside its area or absorbed influences from outside. ICOMOS considers that this criterion has not been justified.

**Criterion iii:** The rock art sites at Kondoa are an exceptional testimony to the lives of hunter-gathers and agriculturalists who have lived in the area over several millennia, and reflect a unique variation of hunter-gather art from southern and central Africa and a unique form of agro-pastoralist paintings. ICOMOS considers that the property meets this criterion.

**Criterion vi:** Some of the rock art sites are still actively used by local communities for a variety of ritual activities such as rainmaking, divining and healing. These strong intangible relationships between the paintings and living practices reinforce the links with those societies that created the paintings, and demonstrate a crucial cultural continuum.

Further, in order to support management and monitoring, ICOMOS encourages all State Parties with relevant records of the rock paintings to allow copies to be made to contribute to a database in Kondoa of existing records of the site, now scattered across many institutions in several countries.

ICOMOS, April 2006

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5. RECOMMENDATIONS

**Recommendations**

Although the Kondoa rock art sites have been much studied over many years, there is no centralised database for the paintings and records remain scattered. There is an urgent need to gather together information from known surveys and investigations of the site and to complete place a site record system, as a basis for management and monitoring.

The State party is to be commended for reacting positively to the recommendations made by the Committee at its 29th session and appointing a site manager and assistant, beginning the process of management involving the local community, working on a detailed inventory, putting in place strategy to deal with the provision of firewood for local communities from areas away from the nominated site and setting out a timetable for trained staff and a database to be in place.

**Recommendation with respect to inscription**

ICOMOS recommends that the Kondoa Rock Art Sites, United Republic of Tanzania, be inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of criteria iii and vi:

**Criterion iii:** The rock art sites at Kondoa are an exceptional testimony to the lives of hunter-gathers and agriculturalists who have lived in the area over several millennia, and reflect a unique variation of hunter-gather art from southern and central Africa and a unique form of agro-pastoralist paintings.
Map showing the boundaries of the nominated property
Early red paintings at the Kolo complex

Late white and black paintings Pahi site