

AFRICAN CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION

FIRST GLOBAL STRATEGY MEETING
HARARE (11-13 OCTOBER 1995)



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The scientific conception and preparation of the Harare meeting was set up by a scientific committee which met at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris on 9 June 1995.

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Special thanks are to be paid to Professor Jean Devisse and to Mr. Dawson Munjeri for their invaluable assistance to the scientific preparation of the October meeting.

OPENING REMARKS

WELCOMING REMARKS BY THE DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND MONUMENTS OF ZIMBABWE AND CO- ORDINATOR OF THE WORLD HERITAGE CONFERENCE, DAWSON MUNJERI

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Mine is the simplest of tasks ; for those coming from outside our borders, we extend to you a hearty welcome to Zimbabwe; for those coming from within the borders, we welcome you to these deliberations. The sheer magnitude of convening a meeting of this nature, bringing together people from nineteen countries implies that all cannot be smooth sailing. For any problems that you may have had we deeply apologise. Similarly we give you credit for all the solutions to those problems. That you have chosen Zimbabwe as a venue for this Conference is reason enough for us to be proud and we have accepted the challenge with all the consequences that go with that challenge. These may be in form of errors of both commission and omission.

Supreme in our minds is the acceptance of the fact that on Zimbabwean soil has converged the supremos of the cultural heritage industry. While this carries with it certain responsibilities, the residual effects are most certainly going to be beneficial to Zimbabwe. The collective thoughts and contributions emanating from ' the gathering of the eminents' will leave us richly endowed with the best that the world has to offer . By the same vein, through an inevitable osmotic process we are confident you will be able to take in the little that we have to offer.

It is quite a tight programme but I know the constructive spirit within us is the dynamo that will drive us to produce the fruits and deliver the goods.

Once again **WELCOME ABOARD**

ADDRESS BY THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS HON. DUMISO DABENGWA

President of ICOMOS Dr. Roland Silva
UNESCO Representative in Zimbabwe
Representative of Donor Agencies
Members of Diplomatic Corps
Chairman of Board of Trustees and Management of NMMZ
Distinguished Guests
Ladies and Gentlemen

On this auspicious occasion it is my singular honour and privilege to have been given the pleasant task of officially opening this meeting. The Government of Zimbabwe is in empathy with goals and objectives of this meeting. In particular we wholeheartedly endorse your principled commitment to see to it that Africa's cultural heritage assumes its rightful place in the global heritage. After all, it is a fact that Africa is the cradle of both Homo Sapiens and one of the earliest civilisations, that of Egypt.

As you deliberate, it is our earnest hope that you put to the fore those issues that have led to the present anomalous position whereby only seventeen out of four hundred and forty sites are on the World Heritage List.

To redress that anomaly is easier said than done. The criterion that you shall use to make such judgement is crucial in the whole exercise.

Looking at the composition of the participants, I am convinced that there will be less rhetoric and more practical solutions. I must underscore the fact that the problem is REAL. Never before has such an opportunity presented itself and therefore we should never allow it to escape, otherwise posterity will judge us very harshly.

Mr. Chairman, the reason for my optimism is based not only on the calibre of the participants but on the structure of the meeting. On the one hand, the World Heritage Centre (WHC) and on the other the International Committee of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS); the combination is formidable.

We also take heart in knowing that among you are distinguished experts who in 1994, made the bold decision to redress the very imbalance that I have alluded to.

The benefits of having sites on the World Heritage List are immense. Zimbabwe has been privileged enough to have four sites, namely Great Zimbabwe, Khami, Mana Pools/ Chewore and Victoria Falls on the list. The international community both at Governmental and Donor Agency level has been totally supportive of these World Heritage Sites. Support programmes have included the documentation, preservation and fire prevention programmes at Great Zimbabwe; the environmental impact assessment studies at Victoria Falls, the electrification project as well as the training projects at Khami. These tangible forms of support have been matched by the technical expertise availed to these sites. An added effect of this international involvement is that we have all striven to maintain the high standards in accordance with the World Heritage Convention and other relevant instruments. In this, we single out the role of ICOMOS. Against this background Mr. Chairman we feel that this support should spread to those countries that are not beneficiaries of this type of assistance. It is however also noted that for countries to be beneficiaries, they should be signatories of the World Heritage Convention. That only 28 out of possible 48 African countries are signatories is an issue that should not escape this forum.

On our part, we have not sat back. In fact the international support outlined has been anchored on our own initiatives. Such initiatives include the placing of the World Heritage Sites under our recurrent budget as well as the Public Sector Investment Programmes so as to sustain the preservation and development of these sites. I am happy to note that your programme includes a visit to Great Zimbabwe where you will be able to assess the success or failure of our initiatives

Realising that these sites are only a part of a wider heritage. The Government of Zimbabwe with the support of UNESCO and UNDP produced a blueprint for this heritage. Entitled, **A MasterPlan for Resource Conservation and Development**, the plan launched in July 1992 seriously addresses the issue of preserving these sites. It also sees this heritage as an important resource particularly for cultural tourism. Because most of these sites are in rural areas, the benefits accruing to rural communities are immense. To date, the implementation of the plan has been on course. In part this is because of the inputs from the Government and partly because of the inputs from the Donor community and the private sector. We have been reviewing some aspects of the Plan and I am happy to say a few days ago the plan was revitalised by the production of a strategic plan to cover the year 1996 to 2000. Again we are most grateful to the Donor countries that have pledged funds for the implementation of the strategic plan.

Lastly Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to note that this forum will have a re-look at the definition of the cultural heritage sites. The present definition has been an impediment to the enlistment of World Heritage Sites. With its emphasis on the built up physical heritage it has not fully addressed the bulk of our sites that are not built-up. I refer here to our sacred sites which are the dynamo of our cultural heritage. I am pleased to note that in Zimbabwe, the blueprint document entitled **Natural Cultural Policy** does address this area.

There is indeed an anomaly when sites like Njelele, the heart for our rain-making activities are not even recognised as monuments while all buildings built before 1910 are automatically protected. It is long overdue for all such sites to be well documented and protected for their intrinsic and spiritual value. It is an exercise that we expect the National Museums and Monuments to undertake as a matter of urgency. It is also our hope that the relevant authorities will entertain such sites on the World Heritage List. Our traditional values are enshrined in these sites.

You have come a long way and you are going a long way. This week, the eyes of the continent and the world are on you. I am very confident that you will live up to your reputation and up to our expectations as the true custodians of our heritage. I therefore wish you well in your deliberations. At the same time, I enjoin you to enjoy our country and find time to explore the length and breadth of Zimbabwe. That way you will truly experience and appreciate that heritage which happens to be at the bottom of your hearts.

With those few words, it is my pleasure to declare the meeting duly opened.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE UNESCO HARARE OFFICE REPRESENTATIVE ANDERSON SHANKANGA

On behalf of the Director-General of UNESCO and myself, I would first like to warmly thank the Zimbabwe authorities for their kind welcome and generous hospitality and welcome you all. I should like to add that we are very pleased to be here at this meeting, for three reasons .

First, because of the exceptionally talented group of experts who have been brought together thanks to the work and advice of our colleagues Professor Jean Devisse, the distinguished Africanist and chief editor of The General History of Africa, Isabel de Castro Henriques, Professor of African History at the Faculty of Letters at Lisbon University and, last but not least, Mr. Dawson Munjeri, Executive Director of the National Museum and Monuments of Zimbabwe, who also perfectly set up with the greatest competence and efficiency this meeting. I know you all have the highest scientific qualifications and that your participation here will bring us the enlightenment about the cultures of central and southern Africa in various fields which is essential for the success of this meeting.

I am also pleased to be here because the application of the Global Strategy to make the World Heritage List more representative is at the centre of the practical, intellectual and scientific considerations of applying the Convention, as I shall try to explain.

And finally, because this meeting, the most important one held so far by the Centre in central and southern Africa, will for the first time be much more a discussion about the categories of cultural properties which might be included in the World Heritage List, than a meeting about a specific site, its problems and their solution. So in a way, this meeting strikingly shows that the Convention is not just about practicalities but also about intellectual and scientific discussion of the notion of the world's human cultural heritage and the kinds of properties which could be part of it.

In fact, very soon after the World Heritage Committee began putting the first sites on the List, it started thinking about the best way of compiling a balanced List which faithfully reflected humanity's heritage. That was where the idea came from for a study, and then a Global Strategy, to identify in the world's different cultures all the categories of properties which might be put on the List. In a way, it was a matter of defining the ideal conceptual framework which the List should aim at and which could guide States Parties in choosing possible sites.

At its 16th session in Santa Fe in 1992, on the 20th anniversary of the Convention, the Committee stressed the very great importance it attached to this matter by defining, among its five "Strategic goals and objectives," a Goal No. 1, to "Promote completion of the identification of the World Heritage," to be achieved by completing "the global study and appropriate thematic studies." Goal No. 2, to "Ensure the continued representativity and credibility of the World Heritage List" means that this rethinking be supported by all necessary means. Recommendation No. 18 also asked the World Heritage Centre — with ICOMOS and all the other experts in the field — "to make the List more representative, and examine the List's deficiencies and ways of correcting them".

The Centre and ICOMOS accordingly assembled from 20th to 22nd June 1994 at UNESCO Headquarters a cross-section of experts from the regions of the world and the fields concerned, to look at the state of the cultural part of the List. They were asked to re-examine it in the light of discoveries and developments in scientific thought over the past 20 years and to consider the content and the extension of the idea of cultural heritage today.

The conclusions and recommendations of that meeting of experts — attended by or with which were associated my colleagues Léon Pressouyre, vice-president of the University of Paris, Michel Le Berre, Professor of socio-ecology and I — were enthusiastically and unanimously adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 18th session last December.

The experts drew attention in particular to:

the overwhelming over-representation on the List of cultural properties in Europe and those concerning Christianity and certain historical periods, all presented as the great "monument" of the history of "classical" art.

the almost complete absence of the heritage of living cultures, especially the so-called "traditional" ones. Africa, with less than a five per cent share of the properties listed, appeared as the top priority for the future.

As a result, the experts recommended, among other things, the dropping of the excessively "monumentalist" view and the adoption — as scientists around the world had done — of a much more anthropological and global approach. This would no longer view material objects in isolation but in their entire economic, social, symbolic and religious context. It would also take into account the numerous links cultural properties share with their physical and non-physical environment. Also, the simplistic idea of a sharp distinction between nature and culture would be put aside. In most societies, especially those in Africa, the two are not isolated from each other, but on the contrary are interwoven, with links which are extremely rich.

So we are gathered here with the aim of helping to find answers to these requirements raised by the World Heritage Committee. This is why we shall speak of categories of properties rather than particular sites, except when we need them to illustrate our remarks.

My European colleagues will introduce the discussion of each topic on the programme, not as specialists in central and southern Africa — on which the experts here from Africa itself are the best authority — but to present this heritage in the context of the Global Strategy, the World Heritage Convention and eligibility for the List. You, who know better than anyone the cultural heritage of the region, can enrich these discussions with specific examples. This should result in tentative lists, drafted as part of a sub-regional co-ordination, and eventually proposals for inclusion on the List.

Many aspects of cultural heritage we shall talk about have been too often ignored in the application of the Convention and our discussion — more intellectual and long-term than practical in the short-term — will break new ground here too.

This complicates the meeting which opens here today, but it is also something which will make it vital and fascinating. For the development and application of the Global Strategy and the opening of the List to new cultures and new categories of properties is one of the best guarantees in the end of the credibility and dynamism of the grand and universal concept of the heritage of humankind.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE WONDERS OF THE WORLD OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

By the President of ICOMOS, Roland Silva

It is indeed our honour to address such a gathering of the friends of culture, from the areas of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa. If our colleague Dr. Von Droste has spoken about two types of "wonders of the world namely "natural "and "man-made", then it is on the latter that we will speak about.

It was the Greeks that first referred to the "seven wonders of the world "in the second century BC. These wonders of the ancient world were centred on the Mediterranean sea. Two of these were in Africa, two in Asia and three in Europe. UNESCO in it's wisdom and inspired by its sister organisations like ICOMOS, launched a campaign in 1992 to list the additional monuments and sites beyond the "seven wonders of the ancient world ". We are glad to note that the "anchor person" on whom this major task was thrust upon is here in this August assembly and we are privileged to hear him speak. He is Prof. Léon Pressouyre, the vice-chancellor of University of Paris .This important task of identifying researching and presenting such monuments and sites of world stature fell upon Dr. Henry Cleere, formally the chairman of the council of Archaeology, Great Britain as the successor to Prof. Pressouyre.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Dr. Von Droste has outlined the many conventions and criteria that cover the listing of Monuments and Sites. Our efforts today are to collate some of these thoughts to the many treasures hidden in the Southern African region and which, we need to identify and list. Our journey to this meeting had the haunting charm of the history of human being at it's prime. In the room of this very hotel we found the August-October issue of the "Impressions of Africa " and page six of this paper records the article "Olduvai Gorge- The cradle of mankind". In the plane that flew to Southern Africa and in the Herald Tribune of 7th-8th October 1995 , there was the article "Why 'man' climbed down out of trees ". It was then that it stuck my thoughts, why we should not declare these important sites of the "cradle of man" as monuments of World Heritage.

It was on my last visit to Zimbabwe in February 1995 that I had, for the first time been privileged to see the colossus of Great Zimbabwe. During this exciting visit I made enquires about these unique types of architecture and the extent of their presence in Southern Africa. We are told that there were large and small settlements but on account of all, there could be as many as 300 such sites within and outside Zimbabwe. On further inquiry, it was revealed that these extended nearly a 1000 kilometres' north-south and an equal number east- west. This galaxy of sites of a Great Zimbabwe culture are not isolated edifices of accident, but whole civilisations, Mohenjadaró and Harappa are similar sites extending 1500 miles' north-south and an equal number east-west. It is only a matter of some difference in time that the latter was earlier in date, than the Great Zimbabwean civilisation .These are indeed treasures of World Heritage.

Once again, on our visit to Zimbabwe in February 1995 we had the privilege of meeting Mr. Peter Garlake an old but younger colleague from our own Institute of Archaeology, London. He has since the 1960 worked on the "Rock Art" of Zimbabwe dedicating his whole life to it. We asked him how many sites of "Rock Art" existed in this country and his forthright answer was about 30 000. We do not need to document this full collection but what an amazing discovery of shock and delight. Imagine this cultural spread beyond the bounds of Zimbabwe to the neighbouring states? World Heritage should list substantial collection of these sites as a group.

It was once again in our visit to Zimbabwe in February 1995, we travelled miles and miles of very pleasant country and at fortunate punctuation's ,we encountered those amazing clusters of traditional villages of the region. These beautiful round houses of clay and conical roofs of reeds that blend so well, with the green of the jungle that harmonises so peacefully with the simple and happy life of the people. There could not be better sympathy between people and nature than in these age old hamlets of organic evolution. These surely merit listing, as these are perfect examples of the living heritage

of humanity in Southern Africa.

Moving into a different epoch we feel that there are many monuments to Southern Africa bondage. Here we refer to the monuments of colonial phase. There are many important monuments of European character, but adapted to tropical and sub-tropical usage. At the same time these being constructed by artisans of indigenous cultures, we see the "finger prints" of their sweat and toil. The sentiments of the indigenous peoples may have sad tales to relate, but these are part of the history of a nation, a people in bondage and it's memory however bitter it may be, is a brand mark that cannot be erased. The listing of such monuments or fortification will at least be a standing reminder to never ever be in bondage.

Finally, we may also identify some of the industrial heritage elements of people in the Southern African region. The mining of metals and exploiting the hidden treasures of the good earth has been a tradition of the ancient and of the recent past. These mines and the industrial equipment used for such exploits of gold and other minerals can be preserved as being part of the patrimony of human being in this region.

Ladies and Gentlemen, do pardon us if we have exceeded the allocated time, but these treasures of the sub-Sahara form a selection of unique items of patrimony, which we feel are very worthy of this re-discovery of man. Such monuments, in the words of Gray are but ".....flowers that are born to blush unseen and waste it's sweetness in the desert air."

Dear friends of culture, please save these treasures and do not pluck these flowers of the desert.

CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE 1972 CONVENTION: DEFINITION AND EVOLUTION OF A CONCEPT

LÉON PRESSOUYRE

The Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage was adopted by the UNESCO General Conference on 16 November 1972. At the time we meet in Harare, 142 states have ratified it and it has permitted the inclusion of 440 properties in the World Heritage List.

Prior to working upon the identification of African cultural properties likely to be included on this list, it is essential to present and comment upon the 1972 Convention, an international legal instrument drawn up more than twenty years ago, to delimit as strictly as possible its sphere, if only to avoid a proliferation of proposals, which notwithstanding their obvious interest, would remain inoperative.

Likewise it would be useful to acknowledge that, like the concept of cultural heritage, the meaning of some of the reference terms in the original text of 1972 has evolved over the course of a generation : the opposition between *cultural and natural*, the content of words such as *landscapes, sites, groups of buildings, monuments, authenticity* are no longer today exactly what they were when the Convention was implemented, their current interpretation taking into account qualities which a restrictive interpretation of the original provisions would exclude.

I. Cultural Heritage according to the 1972 Convention

The 1972 Convention was born from the encounter of two currents of thought : the one, emerging directly from the Athens Conference organised in 1934 under the aegis of the Society of Nations, concerned the preservation of cultural heritage, relying largely on the classic concept of *masterpiece* or *wonder of the world* ; the other, built up slowly after the first world conference on the protection of nature held in Bern in 1913, was concerned with transmitting to future generations a certain number of outstanding natural sites in an unspoiled state.

While enjoining States to undertake the inventory and assure the preservation of their natural and cultural heritage, the 1972 Convention has formulated criteria of excellence permitting recognition of the most outstanding properties in each category and placing them under the protection of the international community.

The choice of a single legal instrument for the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage was an optimistic wager, at a time when the preservation policies carried out in each of the two domains were unequally developed, divergent, at times even antagonistic, in their motivations and principles. Nevertheless, if the concern of the drafters of the Convention was to arrive at an equitable distribution of world heritage properties in the various regions of the world as well as numerical equilibrium between natural heritage and cultural heritage their expectations have remained unsatisfied : at the present time the balance weighs heavily in favour of cultural heritage and of certain regions : 48% of properties included since the first session of the World Heritage Committee are cultural properties located in Europe. The cultural heritage primarily that of developed countries possessing 'great monuments' witnesses to several centuries or several millennia of history seems to have been largely favoured by a procedure which wished itself more ecumenical. At the same time, and this is the paradox most often denounced, the heritage of humankind as defined by the Convention is modelled upon a restrictive concept of cultural heritage.

This is based firstly upon the traditional opposition between *immaterial heritage* and *physical heritage*: the former is deliberately ignored by the 1972 Convention which deals with neither languages nor religions, nor dress customs, nor foodways, nor therapeutic practices nor, more broadly, with the day today behaviours which constitute the most vulnerable, as well as the most easily identifiable portion of the cultural heritage, for these very strong marks of identity signal an individual's membership in a family,

national, professional or other group.

However, after having excluded from its purpose the protection of immaterial heritage, the 1972 Convention was, for all that, not interested by the whole of the physical heritage. The tangible reality of an object produced by man or even a series or a collection of objects does not suffice to legitimise its inclusion or their inclusion in the World Heritage List, so that all movable properties, whether they be regrouped in museums, in archives, or in libraries, are excluded, except in the case of objects or a series of objects physically associated with monuments, groups of buildings, or sites, the only eligible properties according to the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the Convention which specify :

C.23. - The criteria for the inclusion of cultural properties in the World Heritage List should always be seen in relation to one another and should be considered in the context of the definition set out in Article 1 of the Convention which is reproduced below :

'monuments : architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings : groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

sites : works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view.'

Like the natural properties, the cultural properties in the World Heritage List, whether they be monuments, groups of buildings, or sites, should have a spatial dimension, most often consisting of land, which can be measured, mapped or surveyed, whether it has been built upon or not. Not only are there no immaterial properties on this list, but until now movable properties have been systematically excluded, even if they are permanently installed in their location. Thus the S.S. *Great Britain*, though secured to a dock and visited like a historical monument, was not accepted by the World Heritage Committee during the 1988 session, the representatives of various States having noted that nothing guaranteed her present presentation in perpetuity.

In counterpart, great tolerance has been shown with regard to the disappearance of significant movable objects in a monument, a group of buildings or a site eligible to the World Heritage List : the fact that numerous objects originating from Dogon country (Mali) are found in museums and collections and not in situ has not prevented the inclusion of this remarkable site any more than the dispersion of the marbles of the Parthenon that of the Acropolis in Athens (Greece), to cite two examples.

These limits and perhaps these inconsistencies of the 1972 Convention, should be present in everyone's mind as we reflect upon the heritage of Africa, a heritage of infinite richness whose definition does not always coincide with the sphere of application of an already outdated legal instrument.

One must underscore that, by definition, the 1972 Convention only deals with a small part of the heritage of mankind avowing that its drafters have reproduced a subdivision of Culture which copies exactly the purely administrative logic of developed countries. Moreover, UNESCO has organised its secretariat according to very similar principles, one division handling the physical heritage and another division the nonphysical heritage within the Culture

sector. For their part, about the same time, the NGOs were looking for specialisation rather than a global *(everything cultural)* approach, as shown for example, within the well defined limits of the physical heritage, the foundation in 1965 of ICOMOS, whose jurisdiction extends to monuments and

sites, the scope of action of ICOM tending to be restricted to objects conserved in museums and collections.

II. Inclusion of cultural properties according to the Operational Guidelines of the 1972 Convention, revised in 1994.

Within the limits it has set to the scope of its jurisdiction, the 1972 Convention has created, based upon the Operational Guidelines, a selection system permitting the nomination to the World Heritage Committee of cultural properties which fall into the category of monuments, groups of buildings, or sites and are likely to be included in the World Heritage List. It must be emphasised that this selection system is based upon criteria which have been frequently amended since the first version, which dates from 1978. The basic standard text goes back to 1979. The present wording was adopted in 1994 :

C.24. - A monument, group of buildings or site as defined above which is nominated for inclusion in the World Heritage List will be considered to be of outstanding universal value for the purpose of the Convention when the Committee finds that it meets one or more of the following criteria and the test of authenticity. Each property nominated should therefore :

- (a) (1) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius; or
- (ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town planning and landscape design; or
- (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared; or
- (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history; or
- (v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; or
- (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural);
- (b) (i) meet the test of authenticity in design, material, workmanship or setting and in the case of cultural landscapes their distinctive character and components (the Committee stressed that reconstruction is only acceptable if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation on the original and to no extent on conjecture).
- (ii) have adequate legal and/or traditional protection and management mechanisms to ensure the conservation of the nominated cultural property or cultural landscapes. The existence of protective legislation at the national, provincial or municipal level or well established traditional protection and/or adequate management mechanisms is therefore essential and must be stated clearly on the nomination form. Assurances of the effective implementation of these laws and/or management mechanisms are also expected. Furthermore, in order to preserve the integrity of cultural sites, particularly those open to large numbers of visitors, the State Party concerned should be able to provide evidence of suitable administrative arrangements to

cover the management of the property, its conservation and its accessibility to the public.

The statement of the criteria in the Operational Guidelines revised in 1994 bears witness to a desire for re-equilibration of the World Heritage List, born of the fact that it was in jeopardy of losing all universal representativeness and thus all credibility by favouring the "great monuments" of certain isolated cultural basins, in Europe, in Asia and the Mesoamerican area, for example.

Without, strictly speaking, having expanded the domain of the Convention, one can note that a less restrictive concept of culture is encouraged by the new wording of paragraph 24. This evolution, evident in a word by word comparison of the criteria in the 1979 version and the latest version of the Operational Guidelines, operates primarily in three directions.

1) The gradual fading of the notion of artistic masterpiece

This fading is indicated by the amendment to criterion I where "represent a unique artistic production, a masterpiece of man's creative spirit" has been replaced by "represent a masterpiece of human creative genius". This fading is again revealed by the amendment to criterion II, where "having exerted considerable influence over a span of time or within a cultural area, on developments in architecture, monumental arts, or organisation of space" is replaced by "exhibit an important interchange of human values" in order to better take into consideration the interaction of cultures and not to unilaterally favour prototypes, models, or forerunners as would a classically imperialist concept of history and art history. In other words, the World Heritage List ceases little by little to participate in the seven wonders of the world logic, developed in Antiquity from the masterpieces of the riverine regions of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean.

2) The emergence of a concept of culture closer to the global definition given to it by the anthropologists

This evolution is primarily illustrated by the revision of criterion III where "bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilisation which has disappeared" is replaced by "bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared". It was already implied by the slightly prior amendment of criterion V where "be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement which is representative of a culture and has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change" had become "be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land uses which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change".

3) The conceptual reconciliation between cultural heritage and natural heritage

In the 1972 Convention, the natural heritage and the cultural heritage were considered as distinct assets, competitive rather than complementary. Few nominations of "mixed" properties both cultural and natural arose, the logic of natural heritage selection favouring in practice the zones showing little or no human activity.

The appearance of the notions of landscape and cultural landscape in paragraph 24 of the Operational Guidelines represents an inevitable evolution due to the impossibility in which the Committee found itself of having to acknowledge the particular values of large cultural ensembles of a non-monumental nature. This is represented in the new wording of criterion IV where "be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history" takes the place of "be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble which illustrates a significant historic period". It is likewise represented in the revision of the recommendation following criterion VI : "the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural" : the prior wording did not refer to natural criteria. Finally, the important notion of cultural landscape which the World Heritage Committee upheld and defined in 1994, is specifically mentioned in

points b.I and b.II of paragraph 24 of the Operational Guidelines which deal respectively with the authenticity and the protection of cultural properties likely to be included in the World Heritage List.

III. The 1972 Convention and the cultural heritage of Africa

By the time of our meeting, only 17 properties (that is, 4.95% of the total of cultural properties included) represent Africa on the World Heritage List. Moreover, it must be noted that these 17 properties are made up on one hand of prehistoric sites dating back to the earliest era of humanisation, and on the other, of groups of buildings or monuments from the colonial period. The specifically African cultures are thus reduced to the smallest share. To correct this obvious deficit, one must seek the causes which are numerous and varied.

1) The cultural priorities of Africa were not those of the 1972 Convention

At the beginning of the 1970s, the needs expressed in an immediate and pressing manner in Africa concerned undoubtedly in priority the immaterial heritage. To cite an example, the preservation of mother tongues has constituted and still constitutes a priority just as elsewhere in the world, where one may keep in mind that about 3000 of them are in danger of disappearing. UNESCO has taken action on this problem by undertaking campaigns to safeguard and promote the languages and the dialects in danger. Many of these campaigns have gone hand in hand with the collection of the oral traditions, the legends, the poems, the songs which, in numerous African regions, forge the links of human memory : it has become commonplace to cite the magnificent phrase of Ahmadou Hampaté Ba : "In Africa, an elder who dies is a library which burns". Among the major achievements of UNESCO, The History of Africa, published at the time that this safeguarding and consolidation of the memory was being carried out, responded likewise to the essential need of greater awareness of identity consciousness shortly after a colonial period marked by the tragic phenomena of cultural alienation.

2) In Africa, the notion of heritage rarely coincides with that of the 1972 Convention

In Africa, more than elsewhere, the simplistic classification long-time challenged by anthropologists which opposes the immaterial heritage to the physical heritage is meaningless. Culture is perceived in its totality and in its complexity, as an ensemble of behaviours, of man's connections to the social group, to nature, to the divine, without considering the artistic creation, rarely devoid of practical, social or religious motivations, as a favoured cultural expression. So there is a primary conceptual difficulty to apply Conventions such as the one of 1972 insofar as they appear to fragment or mutilate the idea itself of culture by introducing inappropriate categories.

Fortunately, the evolution of the intellectual concept of cultural heritage, the perception and the comprehension of the history of human societies have evolved a great deal in twenty years. As underscored by the Expert Meeting on Global and Thematic Studies organised by the World Heritage Centre from 20 to 22 June 1994, in 1972, the idea of cultural heritage had been to a very large extent embodied in and confined to architectural monuments. Since that time, however, the history of art and architecture, archaeology, anthropology, and ethnology no longer concentrated on single monuments in isolation but rather on considering cultural groupings that were complex and multidimensional, which demonstrated in spatial terms the social structures, ways of life, beliefs, systems of knowledge, and representations of different past and present cultures in the entire world. Each individual piece of evidence should therefore be considered not in isolation but within its whole context and with an understanding of the multiple reciprocal relationships that it had with its physical and non-physical environment".

This new approach is more compatible with African realities. With regards to heritage, the sacred baobab which indicates the place where Diakhao, the historic capital of Sine in Senegal, was to be founded, is a monument in the strict sense of the term, as is in Angola, the mythical tree of Calanhi which marks the encounter between the hunter Luba Llunga and the princess Lunda Lweji. These two examples, chosen among dozens of others, show how the distinction between natural heritage and cultural heritage, fundamental in the 1972 Convention, is here absurd and discriminatory : in effect, the

search for monuments, groups of buildings or sites in keeping with the European definitions implied in the Convention and the Operational Guidelines has for a long time done Africa a disservice by ignoring its most authentic and most precious heritage. The development which takes form as of 1994, with significant advances made up by, among others, the adoption of the idea of cultural landscape and a less restrictive interpretation of the test of authenticity should shortly permit improved integration of African properties in the World Heritage List.

3) The inscription procedures provided for by the Operational Guidelines have for a long time been inadequate for conditions in African countries

During the 1980s, the implementation of the 1972 Convention was accompanied by an attempt to systematically standardise the nominations. This standardisation, the advantages of which should be acknowledged, entailed nevertheless a certain number of drawbacks. In fact, the forms drawn up at that time by the World Heritage Committee in agreement with the Secretariat of UNESCO, with ICOMOS, and with ICCROM responded in essence to the requirements of developed countries having had long experience in the management of the monuments, the groups of buildings, and the sites in their physical heritage. The form and content of the nominations for inscription, already defined in the Operational Guidelines revised in January 1984, could, if not pose insurmountable problems, at least appear dissuasive for a certain number of States Parties to the 1972 Convention. The specifications of scale and date with regards to the cartographic documentation, the detailed questions regarding the legal status, the protective measures of an administrative nature, the means of conservation, the management plans, and the development plans made it especially difficult to submit complete nominations concerning often outstanding properties whose inclusion on the World Heritage List would have been easy to justify by one of the five criteria specified in the Operational Guidelines. Adding to this, a restrictive interpretation of the test of authenticity was likewise of such a nature as to disfavour the cultural heritage of Africa, as evidenced by, to cite one example, the heated discussion preceding the inclusion in the World Heritage List of the Royal Palaces of Abomey (Benin). With respect to this, the recently introduced amendments to paragraphs 24 b 1 and 24 b 2 of the Operational Guidelines, can only have a positive effect regarding the African nominations. In particular, the importance of the new wording, 'have adequate legal and/or traditional protection and management mechanisms', may be stressed; this permits to take into account specifically the heritage of the family or the village, be they sacred or profane, whose preservation is assured by traditional systems, unwritten yet having the binding power of law.

4) The African States Parties to the Convention have not drawn up tentative lists in sufficient numbers

The 1972 Convention stipulates in article 3, that it is for each State Party to this Convention to identify and delineate the different properties situated on its territory mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 above. In 1983, the Committee made this general provision a prerequisite prior to the inclusion of cultural properties on the World Heritage List by requiring that each State Party to the Convention prepare tentative lists enumerating the monuments, the groups of buildings, or the sites which would be nominated in the near future, indicating their primary characteristics as well as the justification of their choice.

At the time when the preparation of tentative lists was a major priority, UNESCO took the initiative of regional workshops where high-level experts could meet to develop strategies common to several countries and define medium and long term cultural policies. However, none of these type of workshops were held in Africa with the exception of those organised by ICOMOS in Bamako (Mali) in 1987 and in Dakar (Senegal) in 1994, the latter in co-operation with the World Heritage Centre. Thus, the consideration of the World Heritage Convention was considerably delayed in Africa by contrast to regions which had hosted UNESCO seminars and workshops. The tentative lists which were submitted by the states on their own initiative were generally established on the basis of short term political priorities, without sufficient agreement from competent experts within the countries and within neighbouring countries.

IV. Concrete propositions for the Harare seminar

This meeting of experts, long-time postponed, comes at an appropriate time, at the moment when under the stimulus of the Director General of UNESCO, the World Heritage Centre and the World Heritage Committee, the 1972 Convention looks to attain the goals of universal representation established by its promoters.

The positive evolution of the notion of cultural heritage, which has little by little integrated anthropological parameters, without neglecting the monumental and aesthetic values implied by the 1972 Convention, the appearance of concepts such as "cultural landscapes" guarantee a far better adaptation of the original text and the Operational Guidelines to African realities.

Independently of this conceptual evolution, the political situation in Africa, where the final traces of the colonial regime disappeared with the end of Apartheid, is likewise more favourable today to the development of heritage strategies based upon the preservation of memory and upon sustainable development.

It is suggested that, in order to be operative, the Harare meeting could, in the beginning, set as a goal the rapid preparation, in accordance with each delegation concerned but on a sub-regional basis, of tentative lists combining three simple approaches :

One approach consisting of preparing thematic lists in accordance with the five presentations scheduled :

- "Archaeological" heritage
- Traditional know-how and Technical Heritage
- Religions and "Spiritual" Heritage
- Human settlements
- Cultural itineraries and Exchange Routes

A complementary approach consisting of drawing up lists in terms of each of the Convention's five criteria.

A more voluntary approach consisting of searching out the most outstanding properties which would have been excluded by combining the foregoing and proposing justification for their inclusion.

Without anticipating the results of this seminar, it would thus be desirable that the recasting of the tentative lists, noted among consequences of the meeting on point VII of the agenda established in June 1995, be largely initiated as of 13 October.

OUTLINE OF THE DISCUSSIONS:

There was general agreement that African heritage is underrepresented on the World Heritage List. This does not reflect the continent's potential. The problems leading to this imbalance on the List are many, but the restrictions in the Operational Guidelines for nomination which tend to favour the monumental and material aspects of heritage were a major concern. Participants pointed out that African heritage must be considered in its totality, that it should include the landscape, the non physical aspects of cultural properties. Participants reiterated that the anthropological approach - which emphasises both the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage - would help to enhance eligibility of African cultural heritage to World Heritage. This approach would also ensure that the general public in Africa is not alienated from sites nominated to the World Heritage List. In Africa cultural heritage is seen as having both scientific value and metaphysical aspects. However, it was stressed that the intangible or non-material aspects of heritage should not be overemphasised, Africa also has architectural heritage which could be nominated to the List under the present Operational Guidelines.

The discussion stressed that sites included on the World Heritage List should, wherever possible endeavour to maintain their traditional character. A large number of visitors to a site is not a necessary criterion for inclusion on the World Heritage List. In certain cases, where required by tradition access could be restricted. The example was given of Mount Athos in Greece which has been placed on the List yet tradition prohibits female presence on the site.

Participants pointed out that the specific economic and political environment of Africa should be taken into account, particularly in view of the small number of sites on the World Heritage List. On this continent, health, education and agriculture seem to be the major priorities and many governments do not consider cultural issues a priority. Whenever possible, assistance by international organisations to prioritise culture should be provided. This will help to improve awareness of the importance of cultural heritage and thus work to reduce the imbalance on the World Heritage List.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: A SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

JANETTE DEACON.

Introduction

The World Heritage Committee has acknowledged that the 1972 UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage needs active promotion in Southern Africa. As South Africa will become a signatory to the Convention in 1995, the aim of this paper is to focus on the archaeological heritage of this part of the sub-continent in preparation for the identification of sites for World Heritage status in the region. Classes of archaeological sites that are either of outstanding universal value or of remarkable regional or national value are first identified, and then some current concerns are highlighted regarding the assessment of significance and of site protection and management.

The African cultural heritage has been under-estimated by African countries themselves - only 28 African States are signatories to the Convention - and the small number of sites that have been accepted for World Heritage status. Only 8 African States account for 17 sites among the 440 entries on the World Heritage List. Only three of the African cultural sites, two in Zimbabwe and one in Mozambique, are in Southern Africa. At a national level, the list of declared national monuments in South Africa also needs a better balance. Although 38 archaeological sites have been declared (Tables 1 and 2), they represent only 0,1 per cent of the c. 4 000 national monuments, more than 95 per cent of which relate to the colonial period (Deacon 1993).

One of the reasons why Southern African archaeological sites have low priority in heritage lists in general is that they also have low visibility in the landscape. With the exception of rock paintings and rock engravings that record the beliefs and ideology of our more recent ancestors, the history of human endeavour over the past two million years in Southern Africa is recorded in buried archaeological sites and unmarked cultural landscapes rather than in more noticeable and spectacular monuments or groups of buildings. The public needs to be educated to appreciate the value of these 'archaeological archives'. The precolonial period has been neglected in school history syllabi and the general public is therefore not aware of the richness of this aspect of our heritage. It is the lack of understanding rather than a lack of significant archaeology that has contributed to the imbalance in the World Heritage list noted above. To give Southern African archaeological sites greater public prominence so that they can be considered within the World Heritage Convention's definition of 'outstanding universal value', creative ways of interpreting, promoting and displaying them must be considered if they are to be recognised and marketed as a major cultural asset.

The Southern African Archaeological Record

There is overwhelming evidence that Southern Africa was part of the diaspora of some of the earliest toolmakers in the world. Earlier Stone Age people were living here for nearly a million years before they moved northwards into Europe. World attention has been focused largely on Eastern Africa where it is possible to use dating methods developed for volcanic deposits to ascertain the age of hominid fossils and early artefact assemblages. There was no Plio-Pleistocene volcanic activity in Southern Africa, however, and we have had to rely instead on relative dating methods based on associated fauna to compare the age of assemblages with those further north. While we cannot claim to have the earliest evidence for toolmaking activity, sites such as Swartkrans, Sterkfontein, Kromdraai, Gladysvale and Drimolen in dolomite deposits along the Blaauwkrantz River valley near Krugersdorp in the Gauteng Province of South Africa have yielded at least as many australopithecine individuals as have been found in Eastern Africa. *Homo habilis* and early stone artefact assemblages have been identified at Sterkfontein.

The global importance of similar discoveries has been recognised further north as two early hominid sites, the Lower Omo Valley and the Lower Awash Valley, both in Ethiopia, have been declared World

Heritage Sites, and the Serengeti in Tanzania, which includes several hominid sites, is also on the List. At a national level, Swartkrans, Sterkfontein, Kromdraai and Makapansgat have been declared national monuments in South Africa. Swartkrans has the added distinction of having evidence for the use of fire more than one million years ago.

Fossils of *Homo erectus* have been found at Swartkrans and remains of archaic *Homo sapiens* have been found at Elandsfontein (Saldanha), Cave of Hearths (South Africa) and Kabwe (Zambia) in association with artefacts of the Acheulian Complex of the Earlier Stone Age (ESA). A more spectacular feature of the Acheulian, however, is the astonishing quantity of artefacts that have accumulated at particular sites in the landscape. Such sites have been found in a wide range of habitats from the Namib desert to spring sites and river gravel along the major watercourses in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa. These places must have been visited regularly over hundreds of thousands of years. Their importance has often been overlooked because they are difficult to date and, except in a few unusual circumstances, are not associated with human, faunal or floral remains that may give information about dating and the lifestyle of the toolmakers. The Acheulian cultural tradition lasted for well over a million years and spread from Africa into southern and western Europe, the Near East and India. No specific Acheulian sites in any of these countries have been included in the World Heritage List, although the Omo and Awash valleys in Ethiopia and the Serengeti in Tanzania include occurrences of this type at, for example, Bodo and Olduvai Gorge. Comparable figures for other Southern African countries were not available at the time of writing, but in South Africa eight Acheulian sites have been declared national monuments (Deacon 1993) and there are over 800 Earlier Stone Age sites listed in archaeological databases at museums and universities in the country. The actual number of sites is probably at least one magnitude higher.

The next major stage in the early history of people in Southern Africa is known as the Middle Stone Age when the handaxes, cleavers and picks so characteristic of the Acheulian and the related Sangoan industries were replaced by smaller unifacially and bifacially worked tools, triangular flakes with prepared platforms, and blades. Our dating of the technological transition in Southern Africa is fuzzy, but the change took place in most areas between about 200 000 and 125 000 years ago. The most obvious difference in lifestyle is the exponential increase in the use of caves and rock shelters which resulted in the substantial build-up of occupation deposits, often several metres thick. Examples are those excavated at Mumbwa in Zambia; Redcliff, Bambata and Pomongwe in Zimbabwe; Caimane I in Mozambique; the Cave of Hearths, Rose Cottage, Border Cave, Umhlatuzana, Klasies River, Boomplaas, Nelson Bay, Die Kelders and Elands Bay in South Africa; and Apollo 11 in Namibia. Human remains that have been dated to between 120 000 and 100 000 years ago at Klasies River in South Africa show that people living in Southern Africa at this time were anatomically modern, in contrast to their Neandertal contemporaries in Europe. The earliest anatomically modern fossils known in Europe appear only 40-50 000 years later. There seems little doubt that modern Europeans and Asians are descended from a common African ancestor population that evolved as early or earlier in Southern and Eastern Africa than in other parts of the continent (Klein 1989:342-3). The behaviour of Middle Stone Age people was also modern in the sense that they organised their living space and used methods of hunting and collecting that were more similar to those of the Later Stone Age than to those of the Earlier Stone Age (Deacon & Schuurman 1992). The earliest dated rock art in Africa, from Apollo 11 rock shelter in southern Namibia, is associated with late Middle Stone Age artefacts with a median date of about 27 500 BP (Wendt 1976). There are about 1 000 Middle Stone Age sites on record at South African institutions and four of these have been declared national monuments.

Although some earlier dates have been recorded, the change from the Middle to the Later Stone Age took place over most of Southern Africa between 35 000 and 20 000 years ago. The transition is marked not only by a general diminution in the size of stone tools, but also by the addition of polished bone artefacts, decorative items such as bone and shell beads, engraved ostrich eggshell water containers, rock engravings and paintings, tortoiseshell bowls, bored stones and the bow and arrow (Deacon 1984). There are no human fossils from the time range of the MSA/LSA transition anywhere in Southern Africa, but by 10 000 years ago the practice of burying the dead in rock shelters was relatively common in the southern part of South Africa and has been recorded in Zimbabwe as well. A few sites such as Matjes River rock shelter have yielded up to 40 individuals over a 10 000-year time

span and these individuals were clearly ancestral to the San and Khoekhoe who lived in South Africa in recent times. The coastal zone was particularly favoured by Later Stone Age people who made use of the fish and shellfish resources. Open shell middens are especially vulnerable to coastal development and many sites have been destroyed without adequate mitigation. There are over 3 000 Later Stone Age sites on record at South African institutions. Three of these have been declared national monuments and three more are in the process of being declared.

The rock art sites of Southern Africa, mostly associated with the Later Stone Age but with a significant number linked to Iron Age and recent communities, are of outstanding quality. Apart from their antiquity, both the rock paintings and rock engravings provide clear evidence for the ideology and religious practices of the indigenous people. Research by Lewis-Williams (1990) and others has used ethnography to explain metaphors in the rock art and to emphasise the bond between the artists and the landscape in which they lived and worked (Deacon 1988). Recording of the art has been patchy, however, and there has been no comprehensive survey of rock art databases since the 1940s (Van Riet Lowe 1952). A conservative estimate of the number of sites in South Africa alone would put the total at about 15-20 000 as there are already records of more than 12 000 sites in provincial databases. Ten of these are declared national monuments and two are in the process of being declared. Amongst archaeological heritage sites, those with rock art are perhaps the most vulnerable to vandalism. Surveys of small geographic areas in South Africa suggest that as many as 10 per cent of sites are damaged in some way, especially if they are easily accessible to the public and are not adequately protected (Deacon 1994).

The end of the Later Stone Age saw the introduction of a new economy: pastoralism. Khoekhoe-speaking hunter-gatherers in Botswana and Zimbabwe acquired domesticated sheep and cattle from Iron Age farmers a little more than 2000 years ago and some groups moved southwards into South Africa. They were also responsible for introducing pottery into South Africa and the early dates for pottery at Bambata in Zimbabwe in the late first millennium BC give a terminus post quem for the migration. Radiocarbon dates of a little more than 2000 BP from southern Angola, Namibia and Spoegrivier in Namaqualand (Deacon 1984; Sealy & Yates 1994) suggest that this southward migration was relatively rapid and came initially along a west coast route. The Khoekhoe pastoralists spread from there eastwards to the Eastern Cape and inland to the Karoo. There are no national monuments in South Africa that have been declared specifically to record this event but there are more than 20 sites with radiocarbon dates in the first millennium AD for sheep and cattle remains in Later Stone Age contexts.

Although farming is attested in southern Kenya from the second millennium BC, it is not until the early first millennium AD that we have archaeological visibility of iron-using farmers in Malawi, Mozambique, eastern Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, northern Angola and northern and eastern South Africa (Phillipson 1985:175; Huffman 1988; Juwayeyi 1993; Kiyaga-Mulindwa 1993; Sinclair et al. 1993). The relatively rapid immigration of Bantu-speaking peoples into Southern Africa from Central and Eastern Africa over a period of about two hundred years must rate as one of the most significant events in the history of the sub-continent. It had far-reaching consequences not only for the indigenous Khoisan people, but also for local environments affected by settlement patterns, agricultural activities and mining. After about AD 900, an interest in gold and ivory from traders on the east coast contributed to the establishment of Late Iron Age settlements such as those of Ingombe Ilede in Zambia, Great Zimbabwe and Khami (both World Heritage Sites) in Zimbabwe, Toutswe Mogala in Botswana, Manyikeni in Mozambique, and Mapungubwe and Thulamela in the Northern Province of South Africa.

Later stone-walled settlements in Zimbabwe and Mozambique as well as in South Africa in the Free State (Mason 1962; Maggs 1976), Northern, Gauteng and North-West provinces, also deserve mention. These settlements date from about the fifteenth century AD and can be related to modern ethnic and language groups. Their archaeological investigation has been closely linked to the historical record (Hall 1987) and there are some excellent examples of associative cultural landscapes that have powerful religious connections with natural features in the landscape. More than 2 000 Iron Age sites are listed in provincial databases in South Africa. Of these, 14 have been declared national monuments and two are in the process of declaration.

After the first European contact with South Africa in 1488, either by ship or by colonisation after 1652, a different range of artefacts and occupation sites was introduced. An increasing interest in historical and maritime archaeology has led to research projects that have investigated details of the lifestyles of colonists, slaves and indigenous people that are not possible to obtain through written records. Using archaeological excavation methods, recent projects have focused on sites such as Dutch and British forts (Schiere 1988), shipwrecks (Werz 1993) and slave lodges (Hall & Markell 1993). There is no comprehensive list of such sites, but archaeological excavation permits have been issued for 22 declared national monuments of the colonial period over the past 5 years and permits for about 50 historical shipwrecks have been issued since 1982.

In summary, archaeological sites of outstanding universal and regional value are certainly present in Southern Africa. The descriptions listed in Table 3 are a general indication of what classes of site could be considered for the World Heritage List in this part of the continent and some specific South African examples are given.

Assessing Significance

It is clear from the evidence from excavated Southern African archaeological sites that there is a variety of examples that could be classified as having 'outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view'. There are also examples that could be included in the categories of cultural landscapes, such as 'organically evolved relict landscapes' and 'associative cultural landscapes that have powerful religious, artistic or culture associations with natural landscape features' (UNESCO 1995:11-12; Cleere 1995). Those in the cultural landscape category are, by definition, usually more recent since they rely on historical or ethnographic information to substantiate the religious associations. They are not dealt with in this paper although their significance could contribute to the importance of some sites.

The process of assessment

The key factors identified by UNESCO for assessing sites for World Heritage status are authenticity and integrity, yet at a regional and national level these criteria have not been specified in South Africa.

Criteria for assessing the significance of archaeological sites on a regional basis are concerned with what has been found at the site and how these finds compare with those from other sites in the region. An example of the questions that are considered significant is given in Table 4. The questionnaire was drawn up by the Natal Museum in collaboration with the National Monuments Council in 1994 and was applied to all the sites in the Natal Museum database. The method was helpful in identifying sites for national monument status and six are now in the process of being declared.

At a national level, the criteria have more to do with site protection, interpretation and management. The questions asked by the NMC when assessing archaeological sites for national monument status consider whether the site is:

- in danger of destruction or in need of protection;
- of particular educational value because of its contents, location or accessibility;
- of historic or cultural importance to a particular group of people; and/or
- of exceptional scientific importance nationally or internationally.

These three sets of criteria have different levels of significance depending on whether one is considering regional, national or world status. It is important that all three sets are applied at various stages in the evaluation process, with the active participation of specialists in the research field, of the community presently living at or near the site, and of the local and statutory bodies that are or will be responsible for the long-term management and monitoring of the site. The network that is established through this process of participation is invaluable at a later stage when the site is opened to the public.

Authenticity

Authentication of archaeological sites is achieved through archaeological methods that are applied during survey, research and analysis. The process is a long one and it can take decades to synthesise the importance of a site from analyses and reports on rock art, stratigraphy, dating, artefacts, associated faunal and floral remains and palaeoenvironmental data. An assessment of significance should therefore be done both by independent observers and by people involved in similar research. A balance should be found between the intrinsic value of the site that existed prior to survey or excavation but was not known, and factors that arise after excavation, such as the influence of the theoretical stance of the archaeologist, how diligent he or she was in analysing and publishing the results, how much money was spent, how many people were involved in the project, and the extent to which the site and the results have caught the imagination of the popular media.

Integrity

The integrity of an archaeological site will depend largely on the extent to which it has been damaged by natural or anthropogenic forces, and anthropogenic forces will include not only vandalism and deliberate damage, but inadvertent and careless actions as well. Some integrity may be lost before the importance of a site is realised and both archaeologists and statutory bodies that issue permits have the responsibility of ensuring that some deposits are left untouched for the future. Archaeological sites cannot be restored or reconstructed in the same way that buildings can be and their integrity can therefore be maintained only if they are conserved and preserved in situ.

The International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM) has defined 'archaeological heritage' as including "all sites, remains and objects which bear witness to human existence in epochs and civilisations for which excavation and field survey are the main sources of scientific information" (Birstad 1989:72). The singling out of archaeological method as the factor that separates archaeological heritage from cultural or historical heritage has significant implications. It means that we rely heavily on the scientific integrity of archaeologists. Because archaeological remains are mostly invisible until they are excavated, their identification for a heritage list may be influenced by the quality of the modern research rather than the importance and achievements of the people who lived there in the past. A regional perspective is therefore critical for the assessment of 'value'.

Protection and Management

The South African National Monuments Act (Act No. 28 of 1969, as amended) protects archaeological sites in two ways. At the general level, all archaeological and historical sites older than 50 years are protected and a permit from the National Monuments Council is required to destroy, damage, alter, excavate, remove or export any site or artefacts from it. This system works well for surveys and excavations conducted professionally and there are 120 current excavation or collecting permits and 15 historical shipwreck permits. At a more specific level, individual sites may be declared national monuments although this does not change the ownership of the property. However, sites that are not declared national monuments, or are not caves, rock shelters or shell middens, are not protected against bona fide mining, engineering and agricultural activities. Where important sites are involved, they may be provisionally declared national monuments for a period of 5 years. This is a quicker route than full declaration and was used recently to protect a Middle Stone Age open midden site at Hoedjiespunt on the west coast that is being threatened by a township and marina development.

The NMC does not have sufficient funds to actively conserve archaeological sites unless they are declared national monuments, and even for declared sites the funds are limited and must be budgeted for in advance, or special grants must be obtained from the private sector. The archaeological sites that have received NMC funds for conservation in the past 5 years have been the Matjes River rock shelter where sections exposed by excavations 40-70 years ago have had to be stabilised, the Stowlands-on-Vaal rock engraving site where a survey of the site was undertaken and an information pamphlet was printed, and the Tandjesberg rock painting site where a boardwalk was installed. Conservation work sponsored by grants-in-aid from other organisations has been done at Dzata

(reconstruction of walling), Modderpoort and Wonderwerk (graffiti cleaned from rock paintings), Matjes River (stabilisation of sections) and pre-development excavations at the eighteenth century farmstead at Bien Donn. The NMC also co-funded Operation Sea Eagle, a survey of historical shipwrecks around Robben Island, that was undertaken jointly with the South African Navy.

Additional protection is given to archaeological sites by the Environment Conservation Act of 1989 which enables the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism to call for an impact assessment of both the natural and man-made environment in advance of development. Although impact assessments are not mandatory, many developers have acknowledged the need for them and have paid for both surveys and mitigation.

It would be inappropriate to apply for World Heritage status for archaeological sites that are not adequately protected and managed. Unless total protection of the in situ deposits can be guaranteed, visitors should not be allowed at the site. We therefore have to be well aware of the dilemma that haunts all archaeological sites that are non-renewable:

- the public will not recognise the importance of our archaeological heritage unless we publicise it
- if we publicise sites, people will want to visit them
- if a site is visited by a large number of people, it will be inevitably be damaged.

A sustainable income must therefore be secured for any site that may be included on the World Heritage List. The 'obvious' way to achieve this is through tourism and the 'user pays' principle, but tourism has many facets and the practical and economic realities will have to be carefully assessed for each site.

Conclusions

If we are to redress the imbalances noted in the Introduction, and yet retain the authenticity and integrity of our archaeological sites, a management programme with four components could be considered.

1. **We need co-operation amongst all the countries that are signatories to the World Heritage Convention in Southern Africa.** As noted in the Operational Guidelines (UNESCO 1995:4), the first step in identifying properties for inclusion in the World Heritage List is for States Parties to submit a tentative list in a standard format, "taking account of similar properties both inside and outside the boundaries of the State concerned". Furthermore, within a geo-cultural region, "it may be desirable for States Parties to make comparative assessments for the harmonisation of tentative lists and nominations of cultural properties". A regional perspective could be developed by a committee of experts in consultation with tourism authorities and museums.
2. We need public awareness of archaeological heritage sites. Prior to the addition of particularly important archaeological sites to the World Heritage List, a series of sites of regional significance in Southern Africa could be identified for the first phase of a promotion campaign to raise public consciousness of archaeology and the role it has played in building up a history of human endeavour in the sub-continent. Archaeo-tourism has great potential for development if it is creatively used. As no single Southern African site can tell the full story of our history, themes could be cultivated in a co-ordinated network of prepared and protected site museums throughout the region, with each one providing a piece of the jigsaw puzzle.
3. A few archaeological sites will need special recognition. In the second, possibly concurrent, phase, sites of outstanding universal significance will be identifiable using the criteria outlined by the World Heritage Convention and adequate protection and management mechanisms can be put in place without creating a public perception that archaeological sites are untouchable or of too esoteric a nature to provide accessible knowledge.

4. Local communities must be consulted and involved in the management process. Inclusion of properties in the World Heritage List allows for international monitoring of their state of conservation, but this should not allow local communities to abrogate their responsibilities. We should strive for regional agreement on requirements for standard training of guides, interpreters and site managers and the advantages will be felt in community involvement and sustained preservation and conservation of the deposits.

As Cleere (1989:10) has noted, archaeological heritage management has three components: an ideological basis that is linked to education and establishes cultural identity; an economic basis in tourism; and an academic function in safeguarding the database. To give sites on the World Heritage List more than simply an international stamp of approval, all three aspects must be integral to the programme.

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Table 1. Declared national monuments of the pre-colonial period in South Africa.

PROVINCE	SITE	TYPE	YEAR DECLARED
Northern Province	Phalaborwa	Iron Age	1970
	Letaba District		
	Kgopolwe	Iron Age	1970
	Letaba District		
	Sealeng	Iron Age	1970
	Letaba District		
	Greefswald	Iron Age	1983
	Messina District		
	Mapungubwe	Iron Age	1984
	Messina District		
	Mapoch Caves	Ndebele	1968
	Middelburg District		
	Verdun ruins	Venda	1938
	Soutpansberg District		
	Dzata ruins	Venda	1938
	Soutpansberg District		

	Machemma ruins	Venda	1965
	Soutpansberg District		
	Makapan Valley caves	Stone Age	1938
	Potgietersrust District	Iron Age	
	Limeworks	Human origins	1976
	Potgietersrus District		
Eastern Transvaal	Blaauboschkraal	Iron Age	1975
	Belfast District		
Gauteng	Gatsrand	Iron Age	1966
	Oberholzer District		
	Mellville Koppies	Iron Age	1968
	Johannesburg District		
	Duncanville	Earlier Stone Age	1944
	Vereeniging District		
	Klip River quarry	Earlier Stone Age	1943
	Vereeniging District		
	Sterkfontein	Human origins	1945
	Krugersdorp District	Earlier Stone Age	
	Kromdraai	Human origins	1946
	Krugersdorp District		
	Swartkrans	Human origins	1993
	Krugersdorp District		
North-West Province	Broederstroom	Iron Age	1980
	Brits District		
	Bosworth	Rock engravings	1940
	Klerksdorp District		
Free State	Stone huts	Iron Age	1962
	Winburg District		
	Stowlands-on-Vaal	Rock engravings	1936
	Boshof District		
	Schaapplaats	Rock paintings	1937
	Bethlehem District		
	Modderpoort	Rock paintings	1936
	Ladybrand District		
	Ventershoek	Rock paintings	1936
	Wepener District		
	Tandjesberg	Rock paintings	1992
	Clocolan District		
Eastern Cape	Kalkoenkrans	Rock paintings	1969
	Aliwal North District		
	Klasies River Caves	Stone Age	1990
	Humansdorp District		
Northern Cape	Driekopseiland	Rock engravings	1943
	Herbert District		
	Nooitgedacht	Rock engravings	1936
	Kimberley District		

	Wonderwerk Cave	Stone Age	1991
	Kuruman District		
	Canteen Kopje	Earlier Stone Age	1948
	Barkly West District		
	Doornlaagte	Earlier Stone Age	1965
	Kimberley District		
Western Cape	Matjes River Cave	Later Stone Age	1960
	Knysna District		
	Herolds Bay Cave	Middle Stone Age	1979
	George District		
	Krom River	Earlier Stone Age	1961
	Stellenbosch District		
KwaZulu-Natal	Mpongweni Cave	Rock paintings	1979
	Underberg District		

PROVISIONAL DECLARATION

Western Cape	Hoedjespunt	Middle Stone Age	1995
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Table 2. Numbers of archaeological sites in various categories in South Africa compared with historical properties protected by the National Monuments Act and the National Monuments Council (NMC)

	Stone Age	Iron Age	Rock Art	Historical	Ship-wrecks
Declared national monuments	14	14	10	c. 4000	
Sites in process of being declared national monuments	4	1	1	c. 20	
Sites recorded in regional databases (1)	16 800	5 500	10 000	600	c. 2000
Sites recorded in independent databases	16 000	100	500	unknown	
War graves listed in databases maintained by the NMC				40 000	
Conservation areas declared by the NMC				13	

(1) The archaeological sites are in records kept by regional museums. The historical sites are those listed on the National Monuments Council's Register of Conservation-Worthy Property. The shipwreck sites on coastal museum databases are the same as those in the NMC database.

Table 3. Archaeological sites that characterise major stages in the early history of South Africa that could be considered for the World Heritage List

DESCRIPTION	SITE	STATUS	OWNER	CONDITION
Early hominid sites with associated fauna and artefacts	Swartkrans	National Monument	Univ of the Witwatersrand	Good. Not open to tourists except by special appointment
	Sterkfontein	National Monument	Univ of the Witwatersrand	Good. Open to tourists on a small scale
Earlier Stone Age Acheulian sites with hundreds of thousands of artefacts and faunal remains	Vaal River gravels	National Monument	NMC, private	Variable; under threat from diamond miners
	River gravels around Stellenbosch (no fauna)	National Monument	Private	Variable; under threat from farming activities in vineyards
Middle Stone Age sites with anatomically modern human fossils, cultural deposits covering a long time sequence and associated faunal and/or floral remains	Klasies River	National Monument	Private	Protected by land-owner at present, but stronger measures needed as deposits are vulnerable
	Border Cave	KwaZulu Monument	Private	Fairly in accessible and protected with sand bags and fence
Rock paintings and rock engravings of high quality	Rock painting sites in the Natal Drakensberg	National Park	Natal Parks Board	Management plan has been accepted but is not well implemented
	Rock engraving sites in the Northern Cape	Two sites are National Monuments	Private and corporate	Importance of sites needs to be recognised with a management plan and firm protective measures
	Rock paintings in the Eastern Free State	Three sites are national monuments	Private	Some damage from vandalism; a co-ordinated management plan is needed

DESCRIPTION	SITE	STATUS	OWNER	CONDITION
Long-sequence Stone Age sites that cover important technological, economic or environmental transitions	Nelson Bay Cave and associated sites	Not a national monument	Cape Nature Conservation	Well protected and open to the public
	Matjes River rock shelter	National Monument	Private nature reserve	In need of stabilisation and management; currently being prepared for visitors
	Later Stone Age sites in the Tugela Valley	In process of being declared national monuments	Private	Good condition but not at present open to the public
Sites with evidence for early Khoekhoe pastoralism	Kasteelberg and related sites	Not a national monument	Private	Unprotected and in need of a management plan
Early Iron Age sites typical of the central cattle pattern with significant samples of diagnostic pottery, faunal remains and metal working	Broederstroom	National Monument	Private	Unprotected and in need of a management plan
	Phalaborwa	National Monument	Mining company	Partially protected; in need of upgrading
Late Iron Age sites with substantial evidence for the ideological use of space, evidence for trade, good preservation of fauna, well preserved stone walling or other structures, and/or large artefact collections	Tswaing Salt Pan	In process of being declared a national monument	Site museum	Being developed as a site museum
	Mapungubwe related sites on Limpopo River	Two are national monuments	Private and National Parks Board	Unprotected and in need of a management plan
	Stone-walled settlements built by early Venda in the Northern Province, such as Dzata, Thulamela, Verdun	Two are national monuments	National Parks Board, NMC and Private	Thulamela is being restored; Dzata is being used for ceremonial occasions; Verdun is in need of management

Table 4. Criteria developed by the Natal Museum to assess pre-colonial heritage sites for which there is no oral or written history.

CRITERIA	CLASSES	SCORE
Degree of organic preservation	none/poor fair (fragmentary) good (faunal and/or floral) excellent	0 1 2 3
Length of stratigraphic sequence	< 3 layers/episodes 3-5 layers/episodes 6 + layers/episodes	1 2 3
Presence of unusual or exceptional elements	of some interest of considerable interest outstanding	1 2 3
Degree of archaeological investigation	recorded tested and/or published researched and adequately reported	1 2 3
Potential for future archaeological investigation	a good a moderate a poor example of its kind that would be suitable for further work, or lacking in potential	1 2 3 0
Aesthetic appeal	Are the environs appealing? Yes No Does the cultural content of the site have a high medium low or no aesthetic appeal?	1 0 3 2 1 0
Potential for public display	are artefacts or features visible? are they intrinsically interesting? is the site accessible? is the site likely to appeal to public imagination?	1 2 1 2

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE OF ZAMBIA: A STATUS PROFILE

NICHOLAS M. KATANEKWA

The National Heritage Conservation Commission is Zambia's principal national agency managing the country's immovable and protecting the country's movable archaeological heritage. According to the National Heritage Conservation Commission Act Chapter 23 of Zambia, all pre-1st January 1924 archaeological sites and objects are automatically protected from unauthorised removal, exportation, excavation, damage or destruction. Fines of up to US\$500-00 and or imprisonment of up to 4 years are prescribed for violations of this Law. To date slightly over 1,000 archaeological sites are recorded and protected by this Law ranging in age from 2 and half million years ago to the recent past

This paper highlights the status of this vast and significant heritage resource in terms of its numbers and significance, condition, level of adverse impacts affecting it. The paper then summarises and groups them and then discusses the major issues and needs affecting this vast heritage and finally makes recommendations on its future management.

Number and Significance of Known Sites

A total of 1,000 archaeological sites are recorded in National Heritage Conservation Commission records. These records are the following data bases: National Register, List of Archaeological sites, Inventory of archaeological sites, Register and catalogue of archaeological objects under Commission care. These site numbers were mainly derived from surveys of various Commission old files and others from field work mainly along communication lines like national trunk roads. Of these known sites, 555 are national significant and 445 are not yet evaluated. Vast areas of Zambia remain unsurveyed, meaning thousands of sites remain unrecorded. None of these sites have been assessed for their international world heritage status.

Total Number of Sites 1,000													
SIGNIFICANCE		ACREAGE	CONDITION					IMPACT	DOCUMENTATION				
		GOOD	FAIR	POOR	DES	UMK	SEVERE	MOD	LOW	UMK	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
National	555												
Provincial													
Local													
Not evaluated	445						1000				1000		1000

National summary chart for status of archaeological sites

Conditions of Sites

No condition surveys have so far been carried out in Zambia meaning that we do not know how many of our sites are in good condition. Fair condition, poor or even destroyed condition.

Impacts on Sites

No systematic data is available on type or degree of impacts on sites. This means that nearly all recorded sites have unknown impacts. However, from impressionistic derivations, it is known that varied impacts affect our sites like erosion from wind or other action, vandalism, looting, developmental activities like construction of roads, dams, utilities and agricultural activities, uncontrolled vegetation growth mining and grazing. We do not know however, the distribution of these impacts nationally or even site specific.

Documentation of Sites

Most of the archaeological sites recorded have fair documentation in that their geographical location, protection status, type, bibliographic, and interpretation data are known. In fact over 160 have been excavated with over 70 of them with radio carbon dates. Interpretative and descriptive information on these is available: 105 are Early Stone Age Sites, 149 were Middle Stone Age sites, 25 are Recent Iron Age sites, 158 are Iron Age Smelting sites, 57 are Later Iron Age Burial sites, 40 are Later Iron Age fortified villages, 14 are Later Iron Age mining sites, and 4 are Later Iron Age copper mining sites.

However, almost all of them lack detailed data on their current condition or further potential information. Very few have any studies and reports on them, let alone management plans.

Professional Staff Responsible for the Sites

Zambia at present has no active archaeologists; all the five archaeologists in the country are involved in managerial work relating not only to archaeology but to other heritage.

Studies and Reports

Almost all the archaeological work carried out in Zambia to date has been that of data recovery and academic-oriented. No deliberate archaeological heritage management or planning studies have been undertaken yet, meaning that no reference studies and reports for management of this heritage are available.

Assessments of Impacts Ahead of Development

Although the Zambian Heritage Law provides for the need for impact assessment studies ahead of all development projects impacting heritage, in practice almost all developers including Government ones have ignored this requirement. To date the only major important studies undertaken in Zambia are two prior to Kariba and Itzhitezhi Dams.

Conservation Work

To date no significant monitoring and maintenance activities are taking place relating to archaeological sites. No deliberate protection for detrimental impacts on heritage is taking place. The only sites receiving regular maintenance are those that are open to tourists. No active preservation of archaeological objects is taking place as there are no scientific conservation facilities in the entire country. One of the National Museums has a preventive Conservation Unit only, meaning that the vast collections in their care are left to deteriorate with no hope of any preservation treatment.

Visitor Facilities at Archaeological Sites

Only about ten of the known sites have visitor roads and interpretation information. Of these only about seven have caretakers looking after them. Visitor numbers are either unknown or not available at all, where available reliability is doubtful.

Archaeological issues and concern summary

The following summarises and groups the major issues and concerns and is followed by a discussion of each one.

Documentation/Research Issues

- i) Insufficient inventory data on sites,
- ii) Insufficient identification work for sites,
- iii) Insufficient assessment and planning before development activities are carried out,
- iv) Insufficient number of studies and reports,
- v) Insufficient specialised studies for complex management issues,
- vi) Absence of planning documents.

Conservation Issues

- i) Absence of monitoring, and maintenance programmes,
- ii) Lack of protection to sites,
- iii) Absence of conservation facilities.

Staffing/Organisation Issues

- i) Insufficient professional staff to manage heritage conservation issues.

Presentation and Interpretation Issues

- i) Insufficient number of Protected and Interpreted sites.

Policy, Guidelines, Standards and Procedure Issues

- i) Absence of these documents

Awareness Issues

- i) Lack of awareness.

Discussion

i) Insufficient identification work for sites

Large gaps exist in terms of the number and types of archaeological sites identified. This is mainly due to the nature of identification work done in the past-most of which was mainly related to closeness of area to the major town centres and main roads. Large areas in between are voids and yet a fair reaper sensation in terms of geographical spread, type of site, themes of sites are required. It is also due to limited identification studies currently carried out because of insufficient financial resources and professional staff. There are therefore, thousand of additional sites out there yet to be located.

As noted in the survey of studies above, gaps exist in terms of significance, conditions, impacts, management categories of sites. Without this type of basic data, generally drawn from studies listed below, management priorities and strategies will remain fragmented and unreliable.

ii) Insufficient assessment and planning before development activities are carried out.

Destruction of archaeological sites goes on every day in many parts of the country due to insufficient site survey and planning data. Because many sites lack even rudimentary surveyed data, there often is no way to know in what areas protected archaeological sites might be located. Such data, if made available early in development planning, would permit avoidance of very significant sites or allow full documentation of others before being disturbed or even allow rescue of threatened sites. This although not quantified, is actually a major problem in archaeological heritage management.

iii) Insufficient Number of Studies and Reports

As noted above, a large number of recorded archaeological sites lack basic repairs and documents required for effective management of these resources. These documents if available generate reliable inventory data and form the basis of any effective archaeological heritage management programmes.

Without them heritage management has become "Management by emergency". Such reports if available would answer questions related to planning, treatment, monitoring, management and interpretation of heritage and would give an indication of what additional information in relation to the existing data bases would be required. Prioritisation would definitely be made easier by such studies and reports.

Among the most obvious studies and reports are archaeological identification, evolution, overview and assessment and excavation.

iv) Insufficient Specialised Studies For Complex Management Issues

Standard Heritage Management reports like the ones stated above cannot always address the full variety and complexity of issues faced in the field. In some instances, special surveys, reports or research are required to analyse an issue and devise some appropriate strategy to address it. Such research is often postponed or not undertaken at all as funds for such specialised standards are rarely available.

v) Absence of Planning Documents For Sites.

Currently there are no archaeological management plans or any individual site management plans in place. Without those plans management of heritage becomes a matter of conjecture. In fact without them no preservation work should be allowed at all.

Conservation (Treatment/Protection Issues)

i) No monitoring and Preservation Programmes

Deterioration of archaeological sites and contents is occurring nation-wide and yet elimination or mitigation of such a process is one major heritage management issue. Deterioration, though not identified at present, can be caused by a variety of factors - acidity, unstable materials, decay, neglect or extreme weather. In almost all these cases, the effects of these destructive agents could be eliminated or significantly reduced through the implementation of aggressive monitoring and maintenance programmes for sites. None of our sites currently have any such programmes. This task is made even difficult by insufficient funds and personnel to satisfactorily control deterioration through preventive maintenance actions.

ii) Lack of Protection to Sites

Currently no effective Law enforcement work takes place at protected sites. Neither do we have information about the type, frequency and degree of damage being inflicted on archaeological sites through looting, vandalism, fire, theft or object or disfigurement of rock art sites particularly.

iii) Absence of Conservation Facilities

Analysis of the agents impacting upon archaeological sites and objects requires scientific facilities like a Conservation Laboratory. At present no such facility exists anywhere in Zambia.

National Heritage Conservation however initiated steps toward this by employing and training an objects conservator who is tasked to establish and manage a scientific Conservation Laboratory. Once functional such a facility will go a long way to assuring a future for Zambia's heritage.

Training/Organisation Issues

(i) Insufficient professional staff to perform heritage management duties.

As indicated above, Zambia does not have active practicing archaeologists to manage Zambia's archaeological heritage. Many of the problems highlighted above can be remedied if sufficient numbers of trained personnel are available to do the work. Not only that these once available will need to be located close to where such work is required unlike the present situation where almost all professional staff of National Heritage Conservation Commission are located at its headquarters in Livingstone, very far from all corners of the country.

Presentation and Interpretation Issues

(i) As noted above, only a handful of archaeological sites are presented for visitor and public education and enjoyment and yet if properly presented and marketed these sites could generate a lot of revenue to enable effective management of the nation's archaeological heritage. A good example is the Great Zimbabwe which is major tourist attraction for Zimbabwe. In United Kingdom the Jovic Viking Centre, generates amounts of revenue for the York Archaeological Trust. The problem here is the absence of information to form the basis for design and planning presentation of sites.

Management Policies, Guidelines, Standards and Procedures Issues

Until this year, the National Heritage Conservation Commission has been operating without clear policies on heritage. Policies are essential to provide basic criteria for determining national significance, heritage planning, heritage facilities, visitor use, concessions management, treatment of heritage and research involving heritage. Guidelines on the other hand serve as reference and source of direction for heritage management and planning. Standards and procedures however are essential to outline how heritage management and planning should be done and the expected standard to be attained nation wide. Without these documents archaeological heritage management can be a haphazard affair with no common purpose.

Awareness Issues

A recent strategic planning workshop for National Heritage Conservation Commission to which various stockholders were invited revealed that most people are not aware of the value of archaeological heritage and yet if they were they would appreciate, once they appreciate they would help to protect and promote archaeological heritage.

The Way Forward

Once a nation has identified the status and major management needs and issues of archaeological heritage like Zambia has done above, the next step is to translate the information to an Action Programme designed to guide the nation in addressing important archaeological resources problems.

One of the best ways to get to this Action Programme is to formulate a strategic plan. The process to do this involves calling for a workshop where the institution's professionals together with stockholders discuss and diagnosis the issues and concerns. This will result in formulating an organisation's Mission Statement. On the Basis of its Mission, a goal is determined for achieving the Mission. Realistic and achievable objectives are then defined to achieve the goal. Final sufficient and specific activities are generated to fulfil each objective product is a strategic Action Programme can address the priority issues identified.

Sample Logical Framework

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVE	ACTIVITIES	PERSONNEL	MATERIALS	COST	TIME	INDICATORS
Protect heritage against detrimental effects.	1. Survey	Archaeologist Impacts	Papers, survey Conservator equipment, subsistence allowance	k1,5m	June	List of impacts - Treatment programme.
	2. Develop comprehensive treatment and maintenance programmes					

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is quite that the status of Zambia's archaeological resources is poor and needs remedial measures urgently. A comparison within the Region - Zimbabwe and South Africa - however portrays a very similar situation. There is therefore an urgent need to address the above concerns and issues regionally so that the scarce resources region-wide can be maximised. A region wide Action Programme should be the goal.

OUTLINE OF THE DISCUSSIONS:

The discussion centred on the need for Southern African countries to work together in the field of cultural heritage. Suggestions on co-operation of these countries on eco-tourism, archae-tourism and documentation of the archaeological heritage were made. On tourism and archaeological sites it was pointed out that this has to be done carefully given the fragile nature of most sites. There was need to build public awareness on the preservation and presentation of the archaeological heritage. Some participants pointed out that Southern African countries were already co-operating through SADC Association of Museums and Monuments (SADCAMM) . However, delegates felt that this organisation tended to emphasise museological work rather than sites and monuments which were the concern of the WHC and ICOMOS.

The question of inventories of cultural property which is at the core of national conservation policies was discussed, particularly in relation to archaeological sites and with special emphasis on Rock Art Sites, for which scientific information is still sorely lacking. It appeared that additional efforts were needed at the national levels to identify this type of heritage and set up priorities for conservation.

At the regional level, it was suggested that a mechanism of cooperation be created, which would encourage consultation on the scientific importance of various types of heritage, as well as exchange of views on the comparative values of sites which might be proposed for inscription on the World Heritage List

Participants reiterated the need to set-up a common network for exchange of information particularly on archaeological sites within the region. It was pointed out that the present political boundaries are artificial ,particularly with regard to the archaeological heritage. Most countries share a common archaeological heritage.

The first part of the report discusses the importance of traditional knowledge and technical heritage in the development of a sustainable and resilient economy. It highlights the role of these assets in fostering innovation, creating jobs, and improving the quality of life for communities. The report also identifies the challenges faced by these assets, such as lack of recognition, inadequate protection, and limited access to resources.

The second part of the report presents a series of recommendations for the government, the private sector, and civil society to address these challenges and promote the sustainable use of traditional knowledge and technical heritage. These recommendations include:

- Establishing a national system for the identification, documentation, and protection of traditional knowledge and technical heritage.
- Promoting the integration of traditional knowledge and technical heritage into the formal education system and research and development activities.
- Encouraging the development of legal and regulatory frameworks that recognize and protect the rights of holders of traditional knowledge and technical heritage.
- Supporting the development of community-based organizations and enterprises that manage and sustain traditional knowledge and technical heritage.
- Promoting the use of traditional knowledge and technical heritage in the development of sustainable products and services.

TRADITIONAL KNOW-HOW AND TECHNICAL HERITAGE

The third part of the report provides a detailed analysis of the current state of traditional knowledge and technical heritage in the country. It examines the distribution of these assets across different regions and sectors, and identifies the key areas where they are most concentrated. The report also discusses the impact of these assets on the economy and society, and the role of the government in promoting their sustainable use.

The fourth part of the report presents a series of case studies that illustrate the successful use of traditional knowledge and technical heritage in various sectors. These case studies include:

- The development of a sustainable tourism industry based on traditional knowledge and technical heritage.
- The creation of a new product line based on traditional knowledge and technical heritage.
- The establishment of a community-based organization that manages and sustains traditional knowledge and technical heritage.

MALAGASY TRADITIONAL SKILLS AND TECHNICAL HERITAGE

ANDRIANAIVOARIVONY-RAFOLO

As former museum conservator under the Malagasy Ministry of Culture, and subsequently lecturer and researcher in Malagasy archaeology and heritage at the University of Antananarivo, I rejoice that a conference on global strategy for the African cultural heritage is being held in Harare, as it coincides with one of our major concerns.

This paper focuses on Malagasy traditional skills and technical heritage, i.e. ancient Malagasy techniques, handed down by tradition and well documented by archaeology. Archaeological studies have in fact systematically examined the material and structures discovered in excavations and have attempted to reconstruct the whole process of manufacture, use and discarding of the vestiges. These traditional skills, which are part of the country's technical heritage can be divided into two main categories, which will be discussed as follows:

1. Skills and techniques now in decline or already forgotten
2. Skills and techniques still being practised today.

TRADITIONAL SKILLS AND TECHNIQUES NOW IN DECLINE OR ALREADY FORGOTTEN

Site planning within the fortified habitat and immediate surroundings:

Chronologically, the building of fortified sites in Madagascar (i.e. sites surrounded by either ditches or erected fortifications), particularly the more complex ones, took place between the 14th and late 18th centuries AD, a period marked by great insecurity. The return to peace led to their abandonment, and the skills and techniques used to build them were entirely forgotten. These skills involved the organisation of the interior and exterior space layout and installations at these sites, assuming the need for a system of rules or master plan co-ordinating the whole construction, taking account of geographical factors (climate and the nature of the terrain), economic conditions (the living habits and activities of the inhabitants), social considerations (the power hierarchy and the breakdown of each group or social category within the dwelling space) or religious principles (reliance on geometry to determine the placement, form and orientation of the dwelling place). Many skills and techniques are also shown in defence installations such as forms or systems of fortifications, types of access to each site, and other site developments in the form of vestiges of dwellings, home sites or crop terraces, rice silos, livestock pens surrounded by ditches or enclosures, the "kianja" the "rova", standing stones, sanctuaries and tombs. Some sites furthermore show waterworks installations, which we shall look at below.

To transport this precious fluid to the habitat site and to store it within each household, pottery vessels were used; pottery is another area of traditional Malagasy skills and techniques, now unfortunately in decline.

The art of pottery

Traditional pottery-making has been declining as a result of the introduction of the market economy; in particular, it has been driven back by the ever increasing flood of new materials (plastic, aluminium, glass, crystal, porcelain, enamelled metal, tin, etc.). and substitute containers (barrels, buckets, stew-pots, saucepans, basins, jugs, soup tureens, etc.). The most abundant material found in virtually all Malagasy archaeological sites is pottery sherds. Traditional knowledge and skills are shown in the choice of clays and production techniques, which include the modelling, forms, decoration and surface treatments, and firing techniques. Specifically, in their pottery making, they did not use all the clays they found. They preferred light-coloured or white clays, which gave a more malleable modelling paste and produced vessels that stood up better in the drying and firing processes, in comparison with other

ordinary clay soils, which contained a rather high percentage of iron oxide, giving a rusty or brick red colour in the firing and making the vessels less resistant. The selected clays were then mixed with graphite and/or quartz before being worked.

Traditional pottery was modelled by hand without a turning wheel, as it still is throughout Madagascar. The vessels were always carefully modelled then treated on the inside by slight roughening with a straw or quick smoothing, and on the outside by long, regular polishing with small river pebbles which are found in the archaeological sites. Two categories of pottery objects were made, in a variety of varied forms. The first category is common pottery, composed of large plain or decorated jars (*sinibe*) used for water storage in the home, lightweight pitchers (*siny* or *sajoa*) for dipping and carrying water from the well, flat bottomed or round bottomed stewpots (*vilany*), plain or decorated lids (*takotra*) which could also be used as dishes when turned upside down, small water jugs (*tavoara*) for keeping water at hand when at home or away, and children's toys, in the form of miniature reproductions of household articles, animals or human figures. The second category is fine pottery with more refined finishing, represented by bowls, cups, plates and especially a type of footed dish called *loviamanga* in the highlands. In this region, the fine pottery is coated with graphite and the oldest examples are decorated.

The traditional Malagasy pottery finishing techniques consisted of graphite coating of the surfaces, followed by fine polishing and decorating with various geometric or raised patterns. The graphite coating, in addition to its aesthetic purpose, also helped keep food from sticking to the inside of the vessels and made them much easier to clean. Decorations include triangular or circular impressions, incisions of broken lines, chevrons or parallel lines similar to painted patterns found all over the country, and raised designs made of small lengths of clay applied to the surface of the vessel and stuck on while the clay is still wet. The relief designs sometimes include impressions or incisions of parallel lines.

All the traditional ceramics were fired without a kiln, in the open air, at moderate temperatures ranging from 500 to 800 C. Another type of firing, called "reduction" firing, which required more technical mastery, was reserved for graphite coated pottery. Here, potters used a hole dug in the earth where they placed the vessels whose graphite coating was to be preserved. They succeeded in doing this by maintaining a moderate fire of only 500 to 550 and closing the hole when the fire began to die down. This technique has been permanently forgotten, and contemporary graphite coated vessels are not prefired at all. Otherwise, today's potters still produce both common and fine pottery vessels in the traditional manner.

Iron working

In metalworking, as in pottery, traditional skills and techniques are being lost, particularly iron working. True foundries using traditional methods are becoming rare and the blacksmiths who used to work on scrap metal bought or scavenged from cars slated for demolition are no longer to be found. Yet metallurgy was brought to Madagascar by the earliest migrants during the first centuries of the Christian era. Archaeologists have discovered numerous vestiges of metalworking: instruments, scrapers, foundry workshops, moulds, crucibles, weapons and trappings.

The traditional reduction process used in Malagasy, like everywhere else, combines three inseparable elements: the ore, the fuel and the combusive agent. Given the character of the rocks found in Malagasy, the ore used is a hydrate type of ferrous oxide, treated either in powdered form (Fe_2O_3) or in the form of ferrous rocks, i.e. lumps of magnetite (Fe_2O_4). Reduction is carried out in a small crucible oven-fuelled by coal, which functions as both a source of heat and a reducing agent. Master founders further add chalk (CaO) to the ore as a reducing agent. The combusive agent is oxygen from the surrounding air, propelled by a vertical bellows with an alternative double piston action, operated by human effort. Similar to the Indonesian type, the bellows are made from two hollowed tree trunks and two wooden pistons whose shafts are made impermeable by wrapping with strips of leather; it feeds air to the fire through two lateral nozzles. The metalworking process is direct; i.e., reduction without smelting accompanied by cinders, slag and dross.

Probably because of the complexity of the work and the coercive measures of the colonial period with respect to iron production, this process of direct reduction of iron ore was gradually abandoned in

favour of merely shaping scavenged metal, but it still survives in rare areas. Fortunately, woodworking, stone working and other skills remain very much alive today.

Traditional Skills And Techniques Still Alive Today

Domestication of water

Traditionally a rice growing country for centuries, with most human settlements in the highlands located at high elevations where an inclined water source was not always at hand, water has been a major concern in Malagasy since the earliest times, as it still is today, with problems of irrigation and flood control. Hydraulic engineering techniques were numerous and varied. Archaeologists come across vestiges of them from time to time, and royal oral traditions tell countless tales of the waterworks projects of ancient times. Thus, installations have been discovered in the highlands — dry stone linings of conduits — for inclined water sources inside and outside certain sites, as well as installations to collect rainwater and direct it to a specially dug reservoir. At other sites, for example at Ambohimananana, the ancient inhabitants used covered, underground evacuation and adduction canals and numerous reservoirs. The technique of canal construction, which has come down to us, is the same everywhere: on both sides of the channel, dressed paving stones were carefully placed in regular, vertical alignment. For open canals, horizontal stones were laid over the vertical stones. As for the reservoir pools, which appear to have been used as cisterns, various techniques were used. Some pools are rectangular, dug to a depth of 1m to 1.50m; others are circular with a wide diameter (8 to 10m) and either hollowed into the form of a shallow basin or more deeply excavated (1.25 to 2.25m). In the latter case, the cisterns have the form of a cylinder which widens out slightly at the bottom, recalling the shape of grain silos.

Furthermore, control of water is essential in regions with a long rice growing tradition, because on it depends the crop which may support the economy of a whole region, kingdom or state. For this reason, throughout the period of the “Malagasy kingdoms” (15th to early 19th centuries), the rulers of the various highland regions mobilised their subjects to complete land development projects and played a major role in the organisation and control of water resources, to such a degree that they are known as the (“waterworks kings”) (Y. Abe 1977 and 1987) and their subjects are remembered as waterworks societies. Thus, for example, under Andrianampoinimerina, ruler of the Merina Kingdom from 1787 to 1810, one of the main functions of the state was the organisation and control of water. Water was controlled (as it still is today) by means of sometimes complex networks of canals and dikes of various dimensions. Water management had two aspects, related to specific purposes: first, defensive control by means of dikes to protect against high water and floods; then, crop production control through networks of irrigation and drainage canals.

The organisation of water resources took the form of a system of rules for equitable distribution to the rice fields, first along blood lines, then between families. The rice growing region of Betafo in the Vakinankaratra offers a good illustration of this widespread knowledge of water management: first, upstream on a river, there is a traditional diversion by a loose dam built of dry stone, feeding a canal with a rather fast flow rate (1.50m wide and 1m deep); next, downstream, the canal has outlets to a dozen or so parallel derivation canals — each around 20cm deep and 30cm wide — which, after a few dozen meters, branch off into several directions to reach the rice fields. Finally, along the way and before reaching the rice fields to be irrigated, the canals are subdivided again by families of the same bloodlines, via small subdivided conduits made of volcanic stones cut in a single block.

Large regions, formerly marshy or uncultivated, have thus been developed and reclaimed for rice growing. Examples include the Antananarivo plain, the Alaotra plains in the Sihanaka country and the Vakinankaratra plain. In the Betsileo country, where plains are rare, it is the hillsides which have been developed for rice growing on terraces, and irrigation here is done by gravitation as water flows from the summit down to the bottom of the hill.

This is precisely the region where the Zafimaniry are found, “an ethnic group in pursuit of the forest” (D. Coulael 1973), who specialise in guarding the tradition of woodworking in the Malagasy highlands.

Woodworking

A rich and ancient tradition, woodworking has declined since the appearance of more solid building materials, the receding of the forest and the gradual disappearance of high quality species. Wood has always been an essential material, used for the construction of defensive palisades around villages, to build houses and to make all sorts of common household objects, such as ladders, beds, boxes, pots (for water, milk, honey), mortars, canoes and feed troughs, as well as for musical instruments, weapons and animal traps and as a medium for sculpture. It was also considered a noble material, to be used essentially by the living. The woodworker's skill was believed to be noble, worthy, even sacred, to be handed down from father to son. Indeed, the skill and techniques are derived from tradition, and the tradition was that a craftsman's art should be treated as a legacy. It is therefore not surprising to find that, even today, there are still whole families or dynasties of fine woodworkers and cabinet makers.

A rich art of wood has therefore developed over generations, transmitting an immense store of knowledge and skill in the working of wood and particularly in fine cabinet making, i.e. the decoration of wood. Contact with Europeans from 1820 only improved and strengthened these skills. It was also at this time that amongst others, a guild was formed by the cabinet makers who specialised in fine woodworking for religious buildings and palaces. Furthermore, other styles of woodworking which had existed for centuries were not neglected. These included the sculpture of funeral monuments of Betsileo (teza), Mahafaly (aloalo) or Sakalava (volihety); Mahafaly sculptures in soft wood with open-work geometric designs and anthropomorphic motifs; finely carved wooden beds in Merina and Mahafaly; the building of prestigious houses and sculptures in the round. All of these skills were still observed in the 19th century in the central highlands; later, only the Zafimaniry were able to preserve them, as they still have the forest nearby.

Stone working

The stonework remains found at archaeological sites include tombs, standing stones, dry stone walls, building foundations, river pebbles used as polishers, and in the Islamic sites of the Northeast and Northwest, architectural ruins of mosques and dwellings in the Arab style, introduced by Islamic peoples. The Islamic sites also yield stone objects worked in chloritoschist, which supplied a thriving trade throughout the whole Western Indian Ocean from the 14th to 16th centuries A.D.

There was no prehistoric stone age industry in Madagascar because the first immigrants arrived already in possession of iron working skills. But of all the Malagasy peoples, only the Merina, probably because of the early disappearance of their forest habitat, made their mortars out of stone, a material usually reserved for the dead. The stone materials worked in ancient times were chloritoschist, steatite and granite; now, only steatite and granite are used. Objects made of chloritoschist were turned on a wheel, then worked with a knife or a gouge. Steatite was worked with knife and gouge, while granite, after treatment by heat shock, was worked with a chisel. Granite, which is very abundant in the country, was used in megalithic culture (for standing stones of all sorts), as well as for building foundations in the highlands, and was used in all regions, as it still is today, for funeral monuments. In the central highlands, stone was adopted as a construction material for civil and religious architecture from the middle of the last century, as a pillar supporting a balcony in some houses, and as dressed stone walls of tombs and large religious buildings. The British and French present in the country at the time made a major contribution to improving the Malagasy stone workers' skill, particularly the Frenchman Jean Laborde and the British James Cameron.

Today, local craftsmen produce a variety of stone articles such as small mortars, electric hotplates, ashtrays and statuettes worked in steatite. Local craftsmen also excel in other arts, namely wickerwork, weaving, leather work and objects made of zebu horn.

Other crafts

From an archaeological viewpoint, weaving, wickerwork and leather work have left few traces, even from the late period, i.e. from the 12th-13th century A.D. All we have are a few objects in terra cotta, traces of wickerwork reproduced by accident on the bottom of certain items of pottery, polishers made of bone and some metal clasps. In ancient times, each family's own crafts skills produced nearly all

the tools and other items needed by the household: clothing and fabrics; household articles and utensils; ritual objects and articles for witchcraft and divination; objects which served as attributes of the chief, such as sword belts, staffs and wands; wooden or iron weapons; trimmings and trappings; wickerwork, leather or bone articles; women's combs and toilet articles. Many of these items are still made today and modern Malagasy arts and crafts articles are much prized by tourists. They include articles made of zebu horn and tortoise shell, trinkets of various kinds, products of the fabric arts (cloth), wickerwork, decorative objects, statuettes and small sculptures, articles of fine woodworking, musical instruments, games, paintings, items made of raffia or rice straw, and leather articles of all kinds.

Traditional wickerwork techniques, used to produce baskets of all types, bags, platters, table mats, braided articles, covered hampers, caps, hats and even clothing, are well known through ethnography. The work consists of cutting rushes (*Cyperaceae* family), which are then dried in the sun, pressed and crushed to soften the fibres, and cured in a bed of hot ashes. Next, the fibres are sliced into strips using a special type of small knife, and are finally used to make the desired article.

As regards weaving, various materials are used, including raffia, hemp and the soft fibres of the banana tree, as well as cotton and silk. The work begins with gathering the fibres; this labour is performed by men. All the rest of the work, however, is done by women: they press and beat the fibres, which are then smoothed over the thigh. Next the women wash the fibres, dry them, cure them in hot ashes and bleach them with rice paste. Finally the fibres are spun into thread on a spindle, and are at last ready for use in the actual weaving, which is done on a type of horizontal hand loom used throughout the country.

Cotton and silk weaving deserve a special mention. Indeed, cotton used to be woven in the south of Madagascar but it was unable to withstand the onslaught of manufactured cotton goods imported from Europe. Silk weaving, well established for centuries in the Betsileo and Merina regions, has resisted well, because the silk fabrics produced, which are of excellent quality and very costly, are worn by both the living and the dead: the living, who wish to show themselves off to advantage, and the dead, for whom silk is used to make shrouds.

In comparison with the weaving of other fibres, silk work differs in terms of the decorative operations and dyes. Jacques Faublée (1946: 39-40) reports these operations in detail. Decoration, which often takes the form of bands of trimming along the length of the fabric, or geometric patterns along the edges, is composed of different coloured threads: red, ochre, brown, black, green or yellow. Red dye is obtained from the nato tree (*imbricaria ceriacea*), which is found in the forest or near ferrous muds; yellow dye is made from saffron. Sometimes metal beads are also used to compose a design.

From the 17th century, the silk trade flourished; the silks were greatly prized by the French, who had a post at Fort Dauphin, and all over the south. Particularly sought after were the silks of Betsileo, especially the type called "lamba arindrano," which are still today considered the best and most desirable.

To conclude this overview of traditional Malagasy techniques, one needs to briefly look at bone work; nothing remains of this craft today except work in zebu horn. Archaeological finds, however, attest to highly developed skills and techniques existing in the past. From the 15th to 18th centuries A.D., fine bone articles were produced, including spoons, spatulas, pendants, polishers, combs, women's toilet articles and hairpins. Bone working technique, which required many specialised skills, included the choice of the bone to be worked, longitudinal cutting, shaping or grooving with a saw, and meticulous polishing to give the article its final patina. This rapid summary of the traditional Malagasy skills and technical heritage provides a better understanding of the country's specific cultural heritage, which unites the best of its history and the best of the spirit of its people.

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OUTLINE OF THE DISCUSSIONS

This very innovative concept in relation to the identification of property which could be proposed for inscription on the World Heritage intends to shed light on the importance and role of techniques in a variety of domains, not only building, and their influence on the management of environmental resources — particular types of wood, straw, etc — and on social organisation. It is also necessary to stress the safeguard of entire complex organisational systems which have allowed or still allow craft production along patterns which are not established by present-day market forces alone. During a very fruitful discussion the following points were made.

- Some sites with traditional technologies have already been identified and added to the World Heritage list. These are in Bolivia, Cuba, Germany, Mexico and Egypt.
- Criteria for selecting traditional industrial sites for enlisting should not apply for industries such as prehistoric sites and traditional only. Criterion 4 of the Convention refers to archaeological sites, whereas criterion 6 refers to living sites. The wording of criteria 5 and 6 allows for this concept and should be enlisted as a matter of priority.
- Even where traditional skills are not associated with a particular site, they need to be fostered and maintained. Meanwhile, traditional skills need to adapt to modern circumstances.
- In some instances, such as the museum at Mombasa and Rukuru River bridge, traditional skills must be maintained because the end of these skills would mean the end of preservation of the structures.
- In the Zimbabwean situation some authentic crafts are inspired spiritually and culturally and will survive the test of time.
- Continuity or discontinuity of traditional skills is often in response to changing economic circumstances. Rather than intervention to conserve traditional skills, there should be encouragement of craftsmen to adapt their talents of craftsmen to modern demands.
- The possibility for sustainable development in a community must be considered before a living site is enlisted. Two sites on the World Heritage list, one in Hungary and the other in New Mexico were selected for their living traditions. However each changed in response to changing political and economic conditions and no longer fit exactly the criteria for which they were initially selected.
- Each site has a different situation and there is no key solution for all situations. Whether traditional crafts are presented in show cases or in living traditions, they must be preserved. Dr. Silva challenged each delegate to think of 12 sites within his/her own country which are worth enlisting.

RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE. NERVE OF HERITAGE

DAWSON MUNJERI

Introduction

Drought, this scourge has become synonymous with Eastern and Southern Africa. In Zimbabwe the headlines in the country's main daily, "The Herald" speak volumes of the situation.

"Britain To Give \$40 m immediate drought aid" (3 August 1995) "Starvation Looms In CHIREDZI : THOUSANDS desperate for food aid"(28 August 1995). This misery is not confined to homo sapiens. The headline ELEPHANTS INVADE MUZARABANI: Fierce battle for food, (22 August) says it all. 1992 was referred to as the worst drought in living memory; 1993 the year that recovery from drought was supposed to occur but never did; 1994/95 the year of catastrophic drought in living.....(?) memory. This scenario is characteristic of the whole Region. The question posed is: why here? . The answers are simple or are they?

The explanation from the meteorologists is that a hole has developed in the ozone layer. Because of that, the normally protective ozone layer is allowing through ultra-violet rays and gases the worst of which are packed with chlofluoro carbons (CFC'S). This in turn is causing global warming that affects weather patterns and our sub-region has to pay for it in drought form. Against that background it is understandable because the region together with South America have destroyed the tropical rain forests. The explanations go on and on and even call for major conferences and of late, 15 September has been declared world ozone day. Still the problem lingers on.

The same region has had more than its fair share of wars and civil strifes. We all know of course that the 1994 World Press winning photo was from Rwanda;- a photo depicting an axe murder. Today it is Burundi and Somalia; yesterday it was Mozambique; the day before it was Zimbabwe and Namibia. Teetering on the verge is Angola and South Africa with its Kwa Zulu -Natal. The explanations are again simple or are they ? Political analysts put it to — tribalism; factionalism; regionalism and other 'isms'. The fact is that like drought, civil strife is another Scourge. I do not want for one moment to believe that I have lost track of my topic. However at this juncture I leave the issue of drought and wars of the sub-region.

The next port of call is UNESCO Headquarters, Paris and the dates are 20-22 June 1994. The event was the holding of the "Expert meeting on the "Global Strategy" and thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List. "I am delighted that some of those who took part in that epoch meeting are with us today. I would like to single out Prof. M. Léon Pressouyre, Dr. Bernd Von Droste and M. Laurent Levi-Strauss. I will make reference to some of their key observations. These are ;

(a) 'The history of art and architecture, archaeology ,anthropology and ethnology is no longer concentrated on single monuments in isolation but rather on considering cultural groupings that were complex and multidimensional and which demonstrated in spatial terms the social structures, ways of life, beliefs, systems of knowledge and representations of different past and present cultures in the entire world. That being so the World Heritage List should take into account new types of property whose values might become apparent as knowledge and ideas develop. The list should be receptive of the many and varied cultural manifestations of outstanding universal value through which cultures expressed themselves'.

(b) Christianity was over -represented in relation to other religions and beliefs. As a consequence all living cultures and especially those termed "traditional" figured very little on the list. The meeting thus urged 'a process of reflection that was more anthropological and global'. It recommended to the World Heritage Committee (WHC) consideration of the area of 'Human Beings In Society'. A component of that area was 'spirituality and creative expression'.

My paper is thus steeped within those parameters. Considering the Zimbabwean landscape, the paper

will not only validate the observations and recommendations of the said Expert Meeting on the 'Global Strategy' but will also advocate a more proactive approach. Not only should we recognise the spiritual component in its own right but that unless we do so, our heritage policies will have an undertaker for an underwriter.

The Power Of Spiritual Heritage

On the front page of The Herald of May 1995 was the story titled 'Hundreds **Witness Reburial** of Ex-fighters'. It featured the reburial of Ephraim Ndambakuraiwa, a liberation war guerilla who died in 1978. Ndambakuraiwa is the nom-de-guerre for Cuthberth Mutungambara who, after dying in battle was buried in a village near Karonda in north-east Zimbabwe. For seven years that was his 'resting place'. In fact he was not resting but turning in his grave. In May 1995 through a medium whom the deceased had possessed he asked his relatives to rebury him in Masvire, his home area. At the reburial ceremony the spirit of Ndambakuraiwa narrated circumstances of his death. In fact a spokesman for the Mutungambara family said it was the spirit of Ndambakuraiwa that had led them to the spot where he had been initially buried!!!. This is not an isolated event. Indeed spirit possession and ancestor 'worship' is a hallmark of many cultures in Africa and elsewhere. Currently the Parliament of Zimbabwe is debating a motion on deceased fighters and detainees. In supporting the motion, a Member of Parliament, Maluzo Ndlovu had this to say, we all know that everybody who crossed the Zambezi river (guerrillas crossed this river as they went for training in other countries and as they came back to engage the enemy) beseeched the spirits mediums and the ancestors before leaving home. There were certain rituals which were performed in order to 'enlighten 'the path'. The same MP goes on 'I do not think we will be able to defeat these spirits of our ancestorsI beseech you Mr. Speaker, let us look behind us and find out what we can do for those who fell on the battle ground because there is real possibility of the spirits visiting their wrath on us ?' 'I appeal to you, Mr Speaker that means be made to bring back the spirits of our relatives back home. All the necessary rituals must be performed in the time honoured Zimbabwe fashion'(1). That "Zimbabwe fashion" includes the type of sermon held for the said Ndambakuraiwa. Another contributor, Chief Mangwende had this to say, 'There is a spirit that talks through me saying I died in Chiredzi.....If we don't take care of the spirits of the departed we will find that they are going to be vengeful spirits (as opposed to the benevolent)'. In the same debate the other type of ceremony is suggested by another MP and traditional leader, Chief Musikavanhu who says "There must be cleansing ceremonies held as great rituals to thank the ancestors". Contributing to the debate an ex-combatant Chandegenda summed it all, "I would like to thank the spirit medium who looked after us during the struggle". At the time of writing this paper the debate was continuing and all the eight MPs who have so far contributed are unequivocal in their support for the motion. The underlying message pertinent to our WHC/ICOMOS meeting actually comes from the concluding remarks of Maluzo Ndlovu and that being so he is quoted here at length, 'I think if we put our minds together we might even have rain in Zimbabwe. Probably it is one of the reasons why we do not have rains because we do take time to think where we are coming from and where we are going'. Yes this brings us to the introductory remarks. The causes of drought may be related to the ozone layer, the causes of war may be related to the 'isms'. These are the scientific and political scientists' explanations. What counts in our way of life are the much more mundane and fathomable attitudes. The foregoing parliamentary debate summarises those attitudes as steeped in tradition; central to those traditions is the traditional spiritual world. That traditional spiritual world has a firm hold on our peoples; even those who profess to be Christians cannot escape the influence of the traditional religions either directly or indirectly. Why is that so?

If one were to look at Zimbabwe with reference to Shona traditional religion, one can only but agree with Hubert Burcher that the root concept of that religion is Power. The various spirits be they ancestral (midzimu), patronal (mashave) or tribal (mhondoro) and the highest deity -Mwari, are representations of **Power**. Again to quote from Burcher that form of religion represents a complete and veritable Weltanschauung which answers the society's most existential questions! (2) Again this is all illustrated in the said parliamentary debate. One could actually reinforce this with one of the already cited articles from The Herald. 'Elephants invade Muzarabani?' 'While the focus is on the fierce battle for food, the article says in small print, 'several villagers in Muzarabani were reluctant to speak on the presence of the animals but those who spoke to The Herald believed that they had been sent to

the area by ancestral spirits'. In essence that power transcends and controls nature. In the words of Daneel, far from being a "deus otiosus" or "deus remotus" the supreme deity of the Shona, Mwari controlled the fertility of the country to give rains in times of drought (3). This is the benevolent side. The malevolent side is shown when the land has been 'polluted' through such acts as shedding of blood, incest breaking of taboos improperly buried bodies etc. Retribution comes in form of pests for example the armyworm of 1994; lightening, drought, civil strife, rampaging wild animals (as in case of the said elephants) etc.

In essence the power of the spiritual heritage is real. It is real because it is omnipresent; omnipresent because the cosmos of the living and the dead is one. The living are part of the spirits of the ancestors and the dead continue to exist as spirits coexisting with humanity (4). Ipsa facto the observations and recommendations of the expert meeting on the Global strategy hold. That said where can we contact that spiritual heritage?

The Spirits Domicilium

One of the main reasons I keep on referring to recent magazines and newspapers, etc. is to highlight the currentness of the issue. This underscores the observations of the Global Strategy meeting that ways of life, beliefs and systems of knowledge should be viewed not only as past but also as present (living) cultures. Jukka Jokilato puts it aptly, "There is nothing more timely today than the truth which is timeless than the message that come from tradition and is relevant now because it has been relevant in traditions. Such a message belongs to now which has been is and will ever be present (5).

The March 1995 issue of The Parade magazine had an article whose title was "Farmer puts holy water to good use". Sixty kilometres south-east of Bulawayo are a series of beautiful water pools called the Diana Pools. The reason why they featured in "The Parade" was not because of their aesthetic importance. It was because of their spiritual value to the local community. The article read "People" are up in arms against a local man who is tapping from the sacred Diana Pools. He is interfering with the pools in a way that has never been heard of in the history of the area -the water from the pool is holy." The question this article poses is what constitutes Sacred?

One of the greatest kingdoms that existed on the Zimbabwean plateau is known as the Rozvi/Changamire state (1683-1830). Its demise at the hands of the Ndebele is vividly explained in oral traditions. The ruling Rozvi mambo (king) became so powerful that he felt he could challenge Mwari (the supreme deity). Mwari refused to take up the challenge but his word continued to be heard. When he spoke through a tree the mambo (king) cut down the tree; when he spoke through the grass the grass was burnt; when he spoke through a rock the mambo (king) broke the rock, etc. As it turned out the voice kept on changing abode and shapes that included pools, birds forest grooves, etc.. Eventually of course the mambo (king) was exhausted and ran out of his wits so became an easy prey for the Ndebele whom Mwari had sent to destroy the mambo.

The point to underline is that traditional spirits are not only omnipresent as had already been shown but they are multifarious in nature. That being so their domicile can be anywhere. That poses the question of what constitutes a sacred site? It also presents the problem of how to protect and manage such sites.

To assist in finding answers to the foregoing question a few cases will be highlighted.

Case 1

Oral traditions say that on the edge of the Zambezi escarpment lived a great ruler, Chimombe. In the mid-15th century the area was invaded by the Korekore of the Munhumutapa dynasty. After unsuccessfully trying to dislodge Chimombe, the Korekore won over his wife who, Samson and Delilah- style betrayed him and beheaded him in his sleep. Following his decapitation, blood filled up the whole house and spilled into the ground to create rivulet which found its way into Chiwore river. All attempts to bury the body failed until at his request (the voice was still heard) they cut up his body

into strips and dried these strips then wrapped them in a mat. The mat floated down the blood rivulet and eventually into the Chiwore river. Finally the voice was heard to say "My children this is the place where I am going to reside" (7) Would you believe it? This is the Mana Pools /Chewore which was declared World Heritage Site No 242 in 1992. The basis for its inclusion on the list had nothing to do with its spiritual context but that the area has unique flora and fauna. Recently when I asked Chief Chundu what he thought about this new status his reply was - "we were never consulted". Further, he quipped we were not even allowed to carry out ritual ceremonies 'What do we make of this?'

Case 2

The year is 1971; the scenario is Chihota Communal Lands (100 kilometres south of Harare and the occasion is the crowning of Chief Willie Samuriwo. At a pool the ceremony takes place because 'those pools of water were given to us by Mwari. It is here that the Chief is given the powers to solicit for rains'. Four months later the Methodist Church holds prayers for rain but the skies remain blue. The Chief tells them, Your God has failed. Today I am going to pray my Mwari? He takes a cup of millet and implores his ancestors, in particular, Va Mwenda to deliver the goods. The rain pours down heavily and from that year everyone realised that if they needed rain they had to go to Samuriwo because it was his Mwari who listened;(8). The pool (mwenje) is at Matsvitsvi, a sanctum sanctorum for the Samuriwo and all people in the Chihota communal area. For them Matsvitsvi represents life. What do we make of this?.

Case 3

On July 4 1952 through a Government Gazette No- 569 Ntabazikamambo (120 kilometres north east of Bulawayo) was declared a national monument. From the late 1980s the site became a focal point of regular ritual groups. Here they converge three times a year to perform different ritual functions including rain making ceremonies. Because of the drought these activities reach fever-peak climaxing in 1995 when a small house was constructed at the centre of archaeological deposits. The Estate owner, a large farming and business conglomerate sincerely believe that these prayers are the only way out of the present drought. What Do we make of this?

Case 4

This has all the attributes of drama (melodrama)? and yet calls for the serenity of a High Mass. The scenario is just 40 kilometres from Harare at Saffron Walden Farm but traditionally known as Nharira. On the White-owned farm resides Sekuru Mushore, a spirit medium who was driven there by a spirit in 1960s. Features of this site include a sacred grove of trees (guranemazvo trees) which in times immemorial, yielded food (manna-style) and here cattle are slaughtered for rituals; a precipitous rock known as Mudzimundiringe where sheep are sacrificed for rain; graves where the chiefs of the Nyamwenda clan are buried, rock paintings, dry stone walls and tunnels. The calls for proclaiming this site a national monument are deafening. The spirit medium with the support of many in traditional and political leadership want it proclaimed so that ritual functions can take place unhindered. The owner of the farm wants the site proclaimed to limit the number of people coming to consult the medium. The debate has reached the Law Courts (including the High Court) and Members of Parliament. What do we make of this?

Case 5

27 kilometres north-east of Harare is a place called Domboshawa. Set within a range of magnificent granite hills, is a cave which was proclaimed a National monument in 1938. The justification for proclamation was the rock art and stone age deposits in and around the cave. In 1990, National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) commissioned the Zimbabwe Tourist Development Corporation (ZTDC) to look into the tourist development potential of selected national monuments. Domboshawa was ranked first in this respect.

As a consequence, in the resultant Masterplan For Resource Conservation And Development,

development of the cave and its environs was recommended. But this was an area which the local community had always viewed as sacred. In the words of Headman Elias Murape, 'Any development must take into account the traditions of the people —please let us not have development that disturbs the area,'(8)

The area was sacred because in addition to the cave which was also used for rain making ceremonies, there was at the foot of the rock a special forest of Muzhanje trees (Uapaca Kirkiana). This Rambakurimwa forest (place that cannot be tilled) had special powers. Headman Murape testified that in 1929 when he had broken taboos relating to the grove he was made to pay dearly.

The message was loud and clear, in post -colonial Zimbabwe involvement of local communities was quessential for preservation and development strategies. That being so NMMZ designed the Domboshawa site Management Plan (9) which in addition to addressing the conservation and enhancement of archaeological interests, put into fore the cultural values of the monument. On the basis of this , a much bigger area than the present half-hectare has been recommended for protection in terms of the National Museum and Monuments Act. The whole Programme is being run by a committee representing NMMZ and the local community. What do we make of this ?

WHAT DO WE MAKE OF THIS ?

All the cases presented provide indicators on what criterion to use with respect to sacred places. It is evident that there is a plethora of such sites. All of them deserve respect. However for practical purposes, it is well-nigh impossible to confer a special status on each and everyone of them. That is the official view. The question that begs an answer is do these sites need that special status, given that they are already recognised as sacred sites by the various communities? Put simply a sacred site is one that is recognised as such by those people falling under the sphere of influence of such a site. That recognition can be at local , provincial, national or regional levels.

Currently the NMMZ Act gives special protection to sites proclaimed national monuments. The usual plaque reads, ' This site is protected by the National Museums and Monuments Act (Cap 313). Treat it with respect'. As of now there are one hundred and sixty eight sites enjoying that privilege. None of these sites was proclaimed on the spiritual criterion. Great Zimbabwe for example was proclaimed on the basis of it's archaeological strength. Notwithstanding the fact that even very early travellers accounts of the nineteenth century attach great spiritual significance to the site. In a recent appeal to the Government , the traditional leadership living around Great Zimbabwe had this to say, 'There used to be a lot of communication among traditional custodians of sacred shrines . The communication was stopped by White Governments because they wanted to assert their power. When independence came and we Africans took control, the traditional leaders celebrated because they felt we could now practice our customs and traditions: Every month customs and traditions were practised. There used to be one major gathering at sacred places once a year'. That is no more allowed except clandestinely ! (11)

The reason is clear. Legislation in Zimbabwe just as it is in other countries of the sub-regions is silent on the issue of sacred places. In Zimbabwe, the definition of ancient monument was a "building, ruin or structure or remaining portion of a building ruin or structure" or a statue, grave cave, rock shelter, shell mound or other site of a similar kind. 'Monument' was defined as an area of land of historical, archaeological palaeontological or other scientific value or interest. Nowhere in the whole Act does the term 'culture' or cultural heritage appear. The first ever official policy document on cultural policy was released this year,(1995). The National Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe for the first time underscores the fact that "A people without a culture is a people without identity, and asserts the need to protect and nurture Zimbabwean indigenous culture which lays claim to the cultural identity and authenticity of our nation". (12) Pari passu, the National Museums and Monuments Act has been amended to put the cultural dimension into focus. Without adequate and appropriate legislation sacred sites are endangered. That broad framework of protection will then be reinforced by an exercise to rank the various sites. The principles enunciated in the MasterPlan for Resource Conservation and Development (13) should equally apply to the spiritual heritage. The rule of the thumb should be that as long as the source of

value is important to most members of the population then the site should be specifically preserved and declared a national site. Within this framework, the specific interpretation of the sub-groups within the population would be of no concern. Thus Njelele and other Mwari shrines would fall in this category. This would join the other 168 sites proclaimed to date. Those with a regional impact, for example Njelele whose catchment area includes Northern Transvaal (S.A) and Botswana, would have a higher ranking and should be conferred World Heritage List Status. Where sites are only of significance to specific sub-groups then they would be the responsibility of specific communities with the overall legislation still catering for them. The hierarchy of the spiritual world:

Mudzimu- Mhondoro-Mwari would provide the framework of the ranking of the sites

Conclusion

The importance of the traditional spiritual heritage cannot be underscored. The WHC/ICOMOS meeting takes place against a background of important pronouncements from the Pontificate. Speaking in Yaounde, Cameroon on 15 September 1995, Pope John Paul II called for the African Catholic Church to merge with local African cultures. He spoke of the need for Christianity to assimilate local customs. Elsewhere it has been indicated that the existing World Heritage List was heavily biased towards Christianity. The Papal pronouncement pulls the carpet from under the feet. Yes, it may be a case of if you cannot beat them join them. Our case is more valid: heritage has been and will always be our business. We have all along addressed the body of that heritage; now we should address the SOUL.

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ROYAL AND FUNERAL TREES IN BURUNDI

LAURENCE NIYONKURU

The history of pre-colonial East Africa seems to be more interesting along the coast than inland, in the highlands of the Great Lakes region'. In the first, there are the Zimbabwe-Munhumutapa Ruins as well as the Swahili trading posts of the Indian Ocean coast (Mombassa, Mogadishu, Kilwa, Sofala). But the highlands have no historical remains in the traditional sense. There are no great monuments or inscriptions there or even written documents which pre-date the first European travellers, who did not get there until the second half of the 19th century.

The so-called 'sacred' monarchies of the Great Lakes region, where Burundi is, managed to build sound political, social and cultural systems. But evidence of these complex organisations is mostly invisible to anyone who does not already know about them, since it concerns landscape or the remains of plant life. They are historically very important however.

The region had no writing before the 19th century and oral tradition is the main tool in reconstructing its history. Studies in recent decades of the ancient kingdoms of Buganda, Nkole and Rwanda have shown it is possible to rely on human memory to reconstruct, for example, the historical details of the royal dynasties as well as the monarchic systems (among others: Roscoe, 1915, 1929; Vansina, 1962; Kagame, 1964; Posnansky, 1966, 1968; Kaggwa, 1971; Kiwanuka, 1971; Mworoha, 1977; Chrétien, 1994²).

To help us interpret or give true meaning to these oral traditions, there are remains of old royal enclosures, ancient temples, and burial grounds of the kings, the queen mothers and queen sisters. There are also many sacred woods, trees and shrubs. Unfortunately, some of these have been destroyed in the Catholic Church's fight against paganism. Parishes and missions were set up in the royal enclosures and plant life there destroyed. Rites associated with these cultural places were banned in the hope they would fade away.

In Burundi, the holy woods linked to the kings' tombs are in the northwest (Kayanza province), near the border with Rwanda, more than 2,000 metres up. They are spread out over four hills (Budandari, Buruhukiro of Muganza, Ramvya and Remera). The burial grounds of the queen mothers are in Mpotsa, near the enclosed capitals of the Muramvya region, in the middle of the country. These are the main royal enclosures where the king celebrated the harvests. Since polygamy was common at the time, there were many small enclosures throughout the country, wherever the king had a queen.

The king's tomb: an example of a sacred wood

Funeral rites linked to the death of a king illustrate the importance of these sacred woods in the mentality and imagination of Burundi's people. The burial grounds of the queen mothers and the royal enclosures were also of course very important. The arrangement of the queens' cemetery is the same as the kings'. Both were on the edge of a forest and cleared ground, a position which marked the limit of the monarchy's political influence in the 18th century (Mworoha, 1977; A. Gahama, 1979). There were also close links and parallels between the two as far as beliefs and rituals went.

We will look at the kings' tombs because nearly all the royal enclosures have been destroyed. By focusing on the things still in existence but risking the same fate, we can draw attention to the need for urgent action to save them.

The king's funeral

When a king died, a funeral procession took his body from the Court (in the centre of the country) to the region where the royal tombs were. We will pass over the composition and the route of the

cortège, except to note that it was presided over by Kiranga³, who gave the signal for departure from the Court. The journey was in stages and might last for several days or even a week over a distance of 70 kilometres, because it was slowed down by the many pallbearers and cattle (Gorju, 1938).

As soon as those in charge of the funeral rites — who lived where the royal tombs were — had been told of the death by a messenger from the Court, they would start building a tomb at a spot chosen by the queen mother and the soothsayers. It was called a 'death palace' and the royal body was put there first for smoke-embalming, then for final 'preservation' (Meyer, 1916; Smets, 1941; Simons, 1944; Bourgeois, 1956; Chrétien, 1970).

This tomb is where the sacred woods come from. The above authors say it was arranged in the same way as the royal enclosures, but this remains to be proved by more extensive research. It would be important for an understanding of ideas of the time about the life and death of the kings. Something of this can already be grasped by looking at the care with which their remains were treated.

Chrétien (1970) says the death palace had a hut (the 'palace') at the centre and courtyards for animals and people. Next to the hut, others were built, including one for the young girl chosen to accompany the funeral procession and smear the king's body with butter when it was smoked embalmed. Other huts were for those conducting the funeral rites.

The death palace was circular and quite small and not divided up into rooms like houses of the living (Smets, 1941; Chrétien, 1970). It was made of branches and a few poles and covered with the choice marsh grass used in princely houses. At the centre, a four-legged smoke-embalming tray stood over the hearth. These stakes and the poles of the death palace were made of *ficus longensis* and *ficus octomelifolia*. For the other houses, trees such as *hymenocardia acida*, *markhamia phatycolix*, *lutea* or even *polysias fulva* could be used. The whole thing was surrounded by an enclosure made of *dracaena afromontana*, *dracaena steudneri* and coral trees (Meyer, 1916; Smets, 1941). The ficus and the coral trees were also found in places known to be sanctuaries before the colonial era and their leaves were part of the 'the holy spear ceremony.' (Meyer, 1916; Siriba, 1975)

When the royal body arrived, Kiranga had to perform the holy spear ceremony to ensure the true and permanent installation of the king in his tomb. Afterwards, the procession returned to the Court and to a country mourning the death of its monarch, while in the ritualist areas, which took no part in the mourning, real funeral ceremonies were staged (the king's death shroud wrapped in bull and antelope skins, smoke-embalming, smearing with butter). The funeral wake — which lasted several months according to some authors and a whole year according to others — centred on daily drinking bouts by the ritualists (Meyer, 1916; Gorju, 1938; Chrétien, 1970).

At the end of the wake, the ritualists put out the funeral fire and closed the palace and the enclosure with a thatch of bamboo and branches. This marked the end of mourning and the enthroning of the new monarch (Ndayishinguje, 1977).

Every year, in May, a ceremony honoured the soul of the dead king. The death palace was renovated and important people came from the Court with gifts (beer, mead, cows, drums) for the dead king and other royals buried there (Smets, 1941; Simons, 1944). The celebration was held inside the royal tombs and also among the ritualists. The aim was to "*chase away the evil spirits, keep the royal spirits in place and appease them to stop them wandering and becoming evil,*" according to Chrétien (1970).

This annual ceremony went on until the 1920s, when the Catholic Church, acting with the approval of the colonial authorities and the traditional chiefs who had converted to Christianity, banned all 'primitive and pagan practices.' The sacred woods linked to the death of the kings were respected and guarded by the ritualists in exchange for privileges. But they were gradually abandoned, to the regret of the ritualists who thereby lost all the advantages they got from possessing the secrets of royal funerals.

Some royal and funeral trees, despite not being looked after during and after colonisation, still stand

out in the countryside because of their ample greenery. Chrétien (1970, p.48) describes them:

"They are small, well-defined clusters of trees, dark and thick. Above the shrubs of these holy woods some bigger trees grow: ficus (imanda and inkenga, ficus which was once used to make bark fabric, and especially imihiza), coral trees (imirinzi) and dracaena (ibitongati). These trees were not planted haphazardly. 'The nganzo' (tomb) of Mwezi Gisabo (king of Burundi from 1852 to 1908), which is the least thick, has circles of ficus and dracaena."

In Burundi and Rwanda, ficus and coral trees were important in the worship of ancestral spirits. Burundian legend says Kiranga, the intermediary between the Supreme Being (imana) and humans, died under a coral tree. Again, this is why these trees are found around ancient sanctuaries. So it is not surprising to find them on the royal tombs where Kiranga was present and where ceremonies were regularly held to prevent the spirits of dead kings harming the living king and his entire kingdom. According to Burundians, the king considered himself the equal of the gods, and was seen as Kiranga's older brother and, like him, dubbed Biheko Bizima (Living Charm). This made him protector of his kingdom. His body and his entire life were sacred.⁵

According to Hans Meyer (1916, p.115): *"These trees, which stood out in the large circle of the old hedge, seemed to the outsider to reveal the ancient significance of the spot."*

The trees grew and spread branches (ficus) while others grew from shoots (coral trees and dracaena) until they became real woods on the remote tombs (the hills of Buruhukiro of Muganza, Ramvya and Remera). The great royal tomb at Budandari is completely enveloped by the forest on the ridge of the Kibira. The one-time importance of these places and their present appearance as simple copses might seem odd to someone who did not know their history.

The copse gets its holiness from that of the beings that lie inside them. Such places are revered and strongly guarded by the ritualists. Former ritualists speak of taboo places which no-one can enter, not even the king (Smets, 1941; Vansina, 1967; Chrétien, 1970). Bernard Zuure (1929, p.29) says:

"Anyone entering would be immediately reported to the living king as having profaned the place where his ancestors were resting."

Serious punishment would follow, including perhaps seizure of the offender's land or cattle. So these sacred woods were out of bounds to all but the ritualists, who both guarded and managed the sites. They themselves only went inside for ceremonies to appease the spirits of the royal ancestors to prevent them wandering and, it was believed, acting to the detriment of the sitting king and by extension other people and animals and eventually the whole country. The vitality of people and animals depended on the king, and when his own strength deserted him, he was obliged to perform ritual suicide (Oliver, 1963).

So Chrétien (1970) is right when he says these sites were real 'temples' in the true sense — holy places with clear boundaries. They are recognisable in the landscape from the special arrangements of the sacred trees (ficus, coral trees, dracaena, etc.).

A worrying situation

The deterioration of some of these sites during the colonial period — especially the royal enclosures — has unfortunately continued. The building of a flour mill in the 1970s caused serious damage to the main royal enclosure, at Muramvya. One of the three remote royal tombs (at Remera) is deteriorating and fields of crops are encroaching on it.

As we have seen, taboo and respect used to be enforced by the ritualist guardians under the prestigious eye of the king and princes. The ceremonies to strengthen the institution of the monarchy were abolished even before the institution itself disappeared. The ritualists, in charge of looking after the trees and sacred forests, became powerless. So the sites were abandoned even though they legally

belong to the state, which is supposed to protect them.

If this deterioration is not stopped, there will be no trace of this important historical evidence in a few years time. The clearing and farming of land also works against sites which have not yet been explored and which could add to our knowledge of the monarchies.

So it is important to have a serious policy for preserving our heritage before the sites disappear completely from Burundi's landscape, as has happened in neighbouring Rwanda. We applaud and encourage the initiative and efforts in 1988 to restore the enclosure of the royal drums at Gihora (Gitega province). More such action in the near future could preserve these aids to the collective memory which must be handed on to new generations.

FOOTNOTES

¹*La civilisation ancienne des peuples des Grands Lacs, 1981. Seminar organised by the Centre de civilisation burundaise (Bujumbura, 4-10 September 1979), Paris, ed. Karthala, 497 pp.*

²This work contains the author's main articles, especially those about oral tradition.

³Kiranga, also known as Ryangombe in the traditional beliefs of Burundi and Rwanda, was the intermediary between a supreme being (Imana in Burundi and Nyagasani in Rwanda) and the people.

⁴Kiranga was always accompanied by his followers, called *ibishegu*. His face was painted white, he wore a monkey skin (*intutu*) and carried a spear with one side of the blade white and the other black, which symbolised the presence of the spirit of Kiranga. This ceremony took place at burials, marriages, sudden deaths, the birth of twins, anniversaries of mounting — in fact whenever the Burundi wanted to address the Supreme Being.

⁵Mworoha, E., 1977. *Peuples et rois de l'Afrique des Lacs. Le Burundi et les royaumes voisins au XIXème siècle*. Abidjan-Dakar, Nouvelles Editions Africaines, 128-129 pp.

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FROM NATURE TO THE SPIRITS IN AFRICAN HERITAGES

MICHEL LE BERRE and LAMBERT MESSAN.

Summary

Biodiversity is an important renewable natural resource in Africa's natural heritages. These are the sum of the practices and customs of various peoples as they developed distinct lifestyles. The ongoing contributions to them depend on definition of the rules, which in turn come from practical knowledge of the workings and productivity of natural systems. Functions and customs are defined and established in the mythologies at the root of the continent's various religions. The doings of the spirits produce taboos which have the effect of preserving certain resources. This knowledge is spread among the population by storytellers. Trees usually have a special role as intermediaries with the divine. Forests are considered the home of the spirits and become sacred. So these areas are especially important in ecology and conservation. We need to name the kind of sites and objects which could illustrate African spirituality and its links with the natural environment in World Heritage List.

As Jean Devisse has rightly noted in a preparatory document for this meeting, the idea of heritage is mainly a cultural one, based on what is passed down. A heritage which future generations can claim, with obvious ethical implications and which impose duties on the present generation. The idea of heritage is not unique. It depends on the originality and importance each ethnic group or civilization gives it.

Resources and heritage

We shall start by distinguishing between national resources and natural heritage. Humans eat most things and depend for survival and growth directly and entirely on the plant and animal matter their environment provides as food. Also, very importantly, plants and animals help humans to shelter and clothe themselves. So the environment is a source of natural things essential for the survival of human communities. These natural resources are not randomly distributed. They are neither continuous, permanent or found everywhere. Getting them requires knowledge of where they are and how to make use of them. When they have a short life-span, are limited in quantity or only occur in a few places — at the same time as being essential — they are even more precious for individuals and/or groups. The resource acquires a heritage value related to its importance to a group's survival.

A nation's natural heritage

The idea of a national natural heritage as a legal concept has developed steadily and come to mean 'all the resources not produced by humans within the area of a state.' This is an original meaning of heritage because a natural heritage initially owes nothing to humans, but humans owe much to it because they depend on its parts for survival and growth. Natural heritage strictly means the minerals, water resources and animal and plant species at the core of biodiversity. It also includes groups of these which form new entities, such as landscapes and ecosystems whose nature and richness mark out a place or a region.

Ethics

The concept of natural heritage has an ethical aspect because, in Western legal tradition, a heritage is a collection of goods to be passed down to the next generation, and to use it up unduly is frowned upon. So we must point out very emphatically that at present in Africa and in rest of the world (often encouraged by the countries of the North) the natural heritage is being destroyed, causing irreparable harm to future generations. The duty of individuals and groups is to come up with and apply policies, administered by the authorities, which preserve various parts of this heritage, at local and world level. Especially since it often has cultural implications, notably when it is part of cultural identity. Such a link can be seen everywhere — Japan's white cranes, the storks in Alsace, the addax antelope of the

Sahara, the crocodile or snake in Africa. The World Heritage Convention can play an important part in preserving all the heritages of humankind.

THE ORIGINALITY OF AFRICAN HERITAGES

Diverse lifestyles

Africa's heritage situation is especially interesting because more than other places, its cultures have evolved out of nature and still draw all their authority from it. Africa has long been a land of numerous cultures, with peoples of many origins mingling together and using the natural resources (hunting, stockraising) in different ways.

In East Africa, this ranges from the Bantu people hunting and gathering to the Cushitic and Nile people, who are mainly cattle breeders. Things are similar in West Africa, where people of the savannahs coexist with those of the forest. The rain-forest dwellers (Pygmies, the San) have remained hunters and gatherers much longer because of the limitations of their closed environment. Africa's cultural diversity also includes the river peoples — of the Upper Nile, the East African lakes, the interior deltas of the Niger, Logone and Chari rivers, the banks of the Casamance. All these people have ancient ties centred on water. They have built cultures around fishing and the cultural adoption of the wonderful animals which live in the river swamps — the crocodiles, hippopotamuses and manatees.

Anthropological history

If we accept that Africa was very probably the cradle of human civilization, then it is where human beings have had an effect the longest. Such a long period of relationships between humans and their natural environment has left its mark not just in the form of customs but also in a natural environment which does not always satisfy ecological purists and which is better understood when human behaviour is taken into account.

From gathering to farming

This transition comes about as much through changes in plant and animal life and in the make-up of ecosystems as in changes in the landscape and the way resources are used. Population pressure quickly makes it necessary to use these resources permanently — day after day, year after year — so that a community can survive. This means organizing their use, introducing limits of place and time and of human access to them. With animals and plants, it means developing ways of controlling and using them so as to increase production. We have now got as far as stockraising and agriculture and their rapid cultural effects: non-nomadic life, private property and the setting aside of resources.

FROM THE NATURAL TO THE SPIRITUAL

Greater gathering and hunting activity brings the need to know how plants and animals function, so as to be able to make provision for the future. When there were few humans and when plant and animal resources seemed inexhaustible and were constantly renewing themselves, a basic knowledge had to be acquired through which life's mysteries could be explained in abstract terms — the essence of spiritual life in all human communities.

Myths

In Africa, how the universe, natural systems and societies work is still passed on by word of mouth. Myths and legends were one of the first ways that people there related to their natural surroundings.

An African mythology grew up, based on parables and common metaphors which related to various rules and kinds of access to natural heritage resources. Interpretation of these myths was not open to just anyone. You needed training and there were usually several levels of knowledge (Roumequere-

Eberhardt, 1982):

- Superficial knowledge ('what you heard' or 'what you learned on the road') was about the world we live in.
- Knowledge through initiation (knowledge of the law) was the second world (organization and creation).
- Weighty (or deep) knowledge concerned the original founding myths. This was the reserve of kings, priests and those trying to increase their knowledge. Each region had its own founding myths, which reflected the different natural environments. There was the legend of Domba and the Python among the Bantus of East Africa (Roumequere-Eberhardt, 1982), and the myth of Dongo in the Niger Valley in West Africa (Rouch, 1983).

For the Dogons of Mali, the God creator Amma revealed speech to humankind through weaving (Chevrier, 1986). Speech is thus tied to fertility and stands for life and the continuity of Dogon society. Evil deeds are symbolized by a dumb being, the pale fox. Some founding or ethereal legends help us to understand the place of humans in their natural environment and to explain the relationships they develop with various animals. For example, in the myth of the Boulous of Cameroun about the creation of living beings and its four elements of human, gorilla, chimpanzee and 'spirit,' the gorilla and the chimpanzee have almost equal rank with humans.

Divinity and guardian spirits

In Africa, all of nature is seen in religious terms. In the founding myths, the origin of the world and living beings is usually the work of a single deity. But if God is ever-present, he is very seldom mentioned in daily life. The personifications of the deities are usually guardian spirits who rule certain areas, such as the bush or water, or phenomena (rain, lightning) or activities (hunting, fishing). The use of tribal totems is another way of making a link with natural surroundings and of following special rules of behaviour, especially where the totem is concerned. The Bantus, for example, refuse to eat the object they totemize. This practice, even though more like an incest taboo or a rule of exogamy, means that the totemized plant or animal is not disturbed in the natural environment (Roumequere-Eberhardt, 1982).

Resource management and taboos

Among the hunting peoples of the rain-forests, the stages of life are seen through metaphors directly linked with wild plants and animals. The BadjouEs of Cameroun believe that if a pregnant woman pulls up the roots of plants, breaking them, she will have a difficult labour, endangering the life of the child and perhaps the mother too. There are many food taboos as well, such as not eating porcupines, whose skin is full of holes after the quills have been removed, which means the baby will be born covered in sores and pustules and will die within a few days. Eating civet meat is thought to make a child a dwarf and as morbid as the animal itself. Civet is thus something usually only eaten by old people. Panthers must not be eaten either as they are often seen as embodying the souls of evil ancestors out to harm the living. The taboo also applies to their prey.

Very many taboos are based on avoiding things which have suggestive behaviour or aspect. This too governs how natural resources are treated. No birds (because they do not suckle their young) are to be eaten, except domestic poultry. The cry of the touraco sounds like whooping cough, like the cockerel in France. Fish play a large part in these omens. Nocturnal birds are seen as damned because working only at night is seen as perverse.

Practical typology

African cultures have devised classifications of knowledge (taxonomy) which is not based on zoological reasoning but on living observation. They involve the arrangement of the natural world and the use

made of it by groups of people, rather than individuals. Among the Boulous of Cameroun, for example, there are:

Herbivores = *nyalpa* = day = luck = right

Carnivores = *metoro* = night = unlucky = left

This 'horizontal' classification goes with a vertical one in which big game (*binka'a tifi*) overshadow all the smaller animals. The link between humans and animals is also seen in the idea of greatness (*nka'a*): *onka'a* indicates humans, *binka'a* large animals.

From the sacred to the profane

In fact, knowledge of myths is accessible to everyone, as Senghor says, through a curve of 'desecration' from myth to fable, and then to stories and proverbs.

Most sacred myths usually reach the general population in some easy form which transmits wisdom about social relations or about links with the environment (Chevrier, 1986). Such stories, which are great founts of oral literature, are passed on by poets and storytellers, who in West Africa are classified as being either a *m,bo*, a *gawlo*, or a *tiapourta* (Seydou, 1976). The progression from the sacred to the profane — the passage from myth to story — reflects a gradual secularization of society (Lévi-Strauss, 1958). An imperceptible journey from spirituality to culture.

ASSIMILATION OF THE NATURAL INTO THE SACRED

Linking natural elements of the environment (animals, plants, rocks, stretches of water) with the world of the spirits gives special qualities to some places (mountains, springs, rocks) and to some of their components (trees, animals, eco-systems). This is the origin of holy mountains, woods and springs, and of royal and funeral trees.

The tree

The importance of trees is especially interesting in African mythology, either as a single tree or as a species, each with special attributes, or more broadly as sacred woods or forests.

Trees fascinate all cultures. In Celtic, the words for 'tree' and 'knowledge' come from the same root. In most African societies, the lone tree has a special role. The Bambara regard it as the essence of creation, containing things from the earth (its roots), the sky (its top), and as the origin of all their methods. Plant life is considered 'a word that spreads, spontaneous knowledge which comes from the origin of life and is made available to humans.' (Chevrier, 1986). By using a twig from a tree as a toothpick, great knowledge is believed to pass into one's mouth and so into one's speech.

In the Dongo myth in the Niger Valley, a separate species is assigned to each of Dongo's four grandsons. Each species (*s.*, *dougou*, *barambassÉ*, *tokenboli*, in Djerma) takes on a holy quality and its bark has the power to revive 'any person struck by lightning as long as their head is not smashed in.' A mixture of powder from different barks becomes a medicine to ward off lightning (Rouch, 1983). Trees play a big part in daily life. At birth, they give a baby certain qualities — the strength of the kapok tree, the uprightness of the *nvol*. The tightly-attached fruit of the *kigelia* guarantees long life and resistance to injury and illness. But you must not cut down the *pyncanthus*, with its yellow bark and soft wood, because as the axe cuts deep into its fragile trunk, it means wounds will be deep in the woodcutter's body.

The sacred forests

The deification of groups of trees (woods and forests) is shared by most human societies. Woods generally embody wisdom and supernatural knowledge. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans,

woods were set aside for the spirits, a mysterious home of the gods. 'These holy woods of ancient trees of uncommon height, whose thick branches extend layer upon layer ever upwards and blot out the sky, the power of the forest and its mystery, the unease we feel in its brooding shadow which stretches so far, does this not make one feel some god has made his home there?' (Seneca, letter to Lucilius; 41,2).

The sacred forest or wood is considered a symbol of motherhood: a centre of life, a place of freshness, water and warmth, a sort of womb, where men can regain strength.

In Africa, holy woods are especially common in rain-forests. Such places are traditionally protected and contain a variety of plant species often matching the biodiversity which forest-clearing has destroyed elsewhere. This preserved diversity can be the starting-point for 'reconquering' damaged neighbouring areas (the CIPSEG project in Ghana, Mab Info, 21:9, 199) and the revival of savannahs.

There is not much literature about holy woods to enable the outsider to appreciate their importance and features. But UNESCO is doing interesting work in the field, notably the meeting it sponsored on sacred forests (Dakar, Senegal, UNESCO/CRDI, 1-2 February 1995). A sub-regional seminar on the subject was also held this year at the Malshegu Sacred Grove (Tamale, Ghana, June 1995). It produced a plan of action which included drawing up a botanical inventory of holy woods, making geographical and socio-cultural studies of them, and analysing soil and plants.

No proper study has been made of the animals, especially the reptiles which are sometimes traditionally protected in the holy places of Benin: the royal python sanctuary at Ouidah, the crocodile sanctuary at Kandi, the crocodile swamp at Sawalan (MabAfrinet, January 1995, Biosphere Reserves).

Certain ritual taboos have saved other species like the hippotragus antelope in the Pendjari Basin or the hyena in the Mékrou Basin.

The ecological role of sacred areas

Ties between ancestors, forests, springs and other sacred places form a network which enables people to understand the landscape around them and give it a special meaning and purpose (not just functional) and to become part of it (Koch, 1968). These relationships are illustrated by taboos about places and resources (which are to be used but not sold), and for the preservation of places which often also have great ecological significance (sacred forests, apart from their spiritual function, protect slopes and guarantee water sources).

The spiritual interpretation of relationships concerning the natural heritage has so far enabled conservation of natural areas because of their 'holy' nature. The link between natural heritage and spiritual rules in Africa is very close and until very recently was absorbed into the practices of the monotheistic foreign religions which have established themselves in the continent.

AFRICAN HERITAGES AND THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION

This approach to natural and cultural heritages through African spirituality raises the problem of how to include them in the World Heritage Convention.

The Convention is only concerned with places and buildings. At the beginning, in 1972, the criteria for inclusion on the World Heritage List favoured things from Northern cultures. But in recent years, a few 'non-constructed' cultural things have been put on the List, such as Australia's Uluru National Park, whose cultural qualities were acknowledged at the Phuket conference in 1994. Others include the sacred Maori volcano of Te-Wahipounamu in New Zealand and the Route of Santiago de Compostela in Spain. These new kinds of things have been included after serious rethinking, as part of the World Heritage Global Strategy, with the aim of giving a better picture of the diversity of human heritage, a rethink which continues at this meeting.

We have seen how African natural heritages are closely linked with the various kinds of African spirituality. It seems clear that Africanists should continue thinking along these lines to arrive at a definition of new criteria for listing heritage sites which are part of the continent's culture. These experts are also the best placed and the best qualified to demonstrate to us the universal value, and in some cases the exceptional nature, of such areas.

These new kinds of sites may resemble the oceanic sites mentioned earlier, but they are often strikingly original. The ethnologist and filmmaker Jean Rouch, of France's CNRS, recently drew my attention to the special relationship which have developed in the Niger Valley between expressions of spirituality and places where there are many electrical storms. Every region, every culture, every ethnic group has developed its own ways of relating to places and the transmission of its spiritual life.

It is up to you, the African experts, to pass on this message since you, more than anyone else, know the subject.

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OUTLINE OF DISCUSSIONS:

All the participants recognised that in a continent where the vigour of oral tradition is praised, where cultural identity is still strongly shaped by group myths and legends, where religious and spiritual initiation is not uncommon, where Nature hosts, guardian spirits and tribal ancestors, sacred heritage cannot be limited to "build heritage". Therefore, holy mountains, springs, rivers, woods, trees must be taken into account as well as they very tightly knit links between natural heritage and spirituality, which are still very much alive in Africa. The participants attempted to apply the definition of cultural landscape provided by the Operational Guidelines and discussed the issues again in a working group. The following remarks were made:

There are a number of holy places and sites associated with religion phenomena which deserve inclusion in the World Heritage Status.

Listing should be preceded by proper documentation of the spiritual aspects of the sites.

Two sites in Zimbabwe had been included in WHL without references to their spiritual being.

Religious and spiritual phenomenon would have little or no meaning in the existing Convention if they did not have a special dimension.

There was general agreement that mass tourism to sacred places often went into conflict with the rules of keeping sacred places which often stress privacy. Eco-tourism would be the best approach. Visitor would have access to the sites when they demonstrate respect for and keen interest to learn about site.

The close links between nature and culture which shape the specificity of African Heritage where these two concepts cannot very often be considered separately.

The concept of "associative" cultural landscapes which is applied to natural sites where rituals are performed, or a certain type of behaviour is expected.

HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

AFRICAN CULTURAL HERITAGE: ARCHITECTURE AND CONSTRUCTION

MOHAMAN HAMAN.

I want to use the occasion of this meeting to express to every one of you — members of the World Heritage Centre, national and international experts — my deep attachment to the causes we are all defending. Because until now, as the members of the World Heritage Centre and the experts noted in June 1994 at UNESCO, 'African cultural heritage is notably absent from the World Heritage List, despite its enormous archaeological, architectural and technical riches and its forms of settlement.'

This huge gap is a challenge to Africans to make an inventory of their treasures — first national, then regional. An opportunity not to be missed. The recent 'Audience Africa' meeting at UNESCO headquarters in Paris (February 1995) stressed that Africans should start to solve their own problems. In harmony with the international scientific and technical community, to come up with ways of furthering knowledge about African cultural heritage and how to protect and promote it.

May I remind you briefly that African cultural heritage, this stock of buildings and landscapes built up over time by nomadic and non-nomadic societies using closely-related techniques is the object of protection, promotion and classification. This is not a matter of looking to the past or an illusory search for roots but of a very necessary, firm, thorough and serious effort to preserve and display African cultural heritage, now and in the future.

The richness of Africa's architecture is well-known to experts. The buildings all display great mastery of construction techniques as well as obvious artistic research, as shown by the choice of where on a natural site to build and by their form and the architect's attention to detail.

Such architecture — which uses natural materials (wood, straw, bamboo, stone) — has long been unjustly considered 'primitive.'

Traditional or native habitat

I am using the word 'habitat' in a broad sense, meaning 'human settlement' in a place, not in the limited sense of 'house.' Habitat is thus the expression of a culture — people's response to their environment, the indications of how they are born and how they live and die.

The words traditional, native and rural are also used in a broad sense. While they refer to customs, rites and antiquity, they also imply consensus and continuous evolution.

At all stages of its growth, the living model is approved by everyone. It results from a common experience and history and is perpetuated by having common goals. So the notion of living areas is most important. First, in the strictest sense, because we are dealing with places where life cycles unfold. Also because the arrangement of the area and the things in it are extensions of the thoughts and bodies of individuals and local communities.

And everything is organized according to the needs of the community — everyone can do all the various tasks needed for it to function. The lifestyle is not just individual choices. It is, rather, the response of a group of people to the need to survive and grow.

Finally, living areas are important because the life of the group is not considered separate from the environment, but deeply involved with nature and the elements and even 'the cosmos.' You could also speak of a day-to-day synergy between people and their environment, a balance of lifestyle and everyday needs, following the rhythm of the seasons, the climate and the demands of geography.

There are three main kinds of habitat:

1. Temporary or nomadic ones, established as part of ongoing migration and using portable or movable materials whose form depends on a living reaction to the environment.

This includes:

- nomadic architecture
 - the leaf architecture of the Pygmies
2. Non-stable or metamorphic habitats, non-nomadic ones, which have been built by consensus but whose cellular nature can fit the needs of individuals or small groups of transient people. The materials used are quite fragile and have to be restored regularly.

This kind of habitat includes:

- Senoufo huts (Côte d'Ivoire)
 - rain huts and one-storey huts (Senegal)
 - royal architecture and chief's huts (Cameroon)
3. Stable or permanent habitats, non-nomadic, built solidly from durable materials, and planned for a large community, whose establishment is tied to particular or exceptional geophysical elements.

For example:

- Porto-Novo (Benin)
- the Ksours (Morocco)
- the Medinas (Tunisia)

Construction and techniques

Building methods have generally arisen from two ancient crafts — pottery and basketmaking, depending on geography, climate and availability of materials. The two techniques are often used together.

The methods of construction are similar too and this can be seen in quite advanced forms of each. Technology unites here for common goals and is obviously not a goal in itself. Its value corresponds to its use.

Mastery of these techniques develops from a shared collective expertise, which explains why 'individual architecture' is not found.

There must be agreement and cooperation by the group over the design and construction of a building.

Materials and choice

The materials depend on what is available where the group of people lives. They use whatever nature offers.

The choice of materials and methods and the structure of the buildings depends on one major need — to be as economical as possible, in materials, ways of building (either in construction or repairs) and

in energy used.

Perhaps we have here an answer to a question which classical historians are often faced with — how to pinpoint the birth of civilizations which have left no trace.

Buildings and the materials they are made out of do not last very long, usually less than a century. History is based on stories passed down by storytellers.

The adaptation to the environment of a site chosen by a community, the balance of the rhythms of life and climate, and the relationship between rites and natural cycles are other indicators which help us penetrate, or at least begin to understand, the impressive richness of African peoples, whose culture lives through their habitat.

Techniques and expertise

Without the handing down of methods, tools and expertise, the conservation, protection and appreciation of Africa's cultural heritage would be impossible. People can best be encouraged to respect conservation where it concerns old housing, with the help of artists, craftspeople and entrepreneurs. To adapt without disfiguring, to re-use and modernize without changing local features of the architecture cannot be done without the help of experienced professionals.

Proposal for an African Cultural Heritage policy

The situation I have just described shows that to efficiently ensure the protection and promotion of African cultural heritage, there has to be simultaneous action based on several principles, as well as making sure every step is properly coordinated and connected. These steps are to:

recognize and make known that the art of building is an expression of identity and the work of the community (women, men and children).

make Africans aware of the cultural uniqueness of their continent and their lives by encouraging active participation in devising a plan to get better acquainted with and make known the wisdom and richness of Africa's various cultures.

help develop the means to pass on and manage heritage resources.

include measures to protect and display African heritage into a serious programme which acknowledges the key role of tradition in maintaining the important balances in development planning and which encourages growth based on preservation of cultural diversity.

For this, action is urgently needed to:

encourage routine architectural and landscape inventories to get better acquainted with them and make them known, with the aim of better-managed, speedier and easier inventories.

train those in charge of African cultural policy, craftspeople and architects.

preserve, transmit and manage so as to promote coordination and cooperation at regional and continental level.

Consciousness of the historic dimension

I am borrowing the title of a work by Raymond Aron to stress the importance of our past in the service of our present and future, and of the continuing things without which civilization would not endure.

Our resources stay basically the same, and it is solely through the flowering of our initiatives and of

our natural resources that, using the past and the same means, we make them slowly develop.

It is urgent that we here at this meeting get on with collecting and recording skills and expertise, with providing the means to train people in heritage skills and with creating an information network at an African and wider international level.

FROM MANAGING NATURAL AREAS TO AFRICAN CULTURAL HERITAGE

MICHEL LE BERRE AND LAMBERT MESSAN

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL CONCEPTS

In this paper, we hope to show how natural heritages in Africa are very much the basis of the cultural heritages of human communities. We will look at just a few of the factors involved in organising the environment and handling its renewable natural resources and think of it more as raising topics for discussion rather than a structured proposal which is more properly the outcome of the debate itself.

We shall note two dynamically interacting elements: the special features of the African environment — the general context — and the culturally diverse peoples of the continent, whose life is shaped by the resources the environment provides.

The continent's individuality

With the sea on nearly all sides, Africa has only one land link to the outside world — through the Suez isthmus (to Asia). There is also the link to Europe across the Straits of Gibraltar. This, together with climatic and geographical factors (notably the Sahara), accounts for the self-contained development of Africa until recent times. The Romans barely visited the interior of the continent and it was only the spread of Islam which brought significant cultural mixing. Then at the end of the Middle Ages, Europeans made contacts along the coasts of Africa. Europe's take-over of the continent came late (19th century) in most cases and did not last long (little more than three-quarters of a century).

Diversity of the environment

Climates range from the extreme aridity of the Saharan and Namibian deserts to the cool highlands of Ethiopia, Kenya and Cameroon and the rainy regions of the equator.

Biological diversity is linked directly to climate and the type of land. Animal and plant species are very numerous around the equator. The most extreme climates have distinct animal life, such as addax antelopes, giraffes and manatees in the very arid or mountainous areas.

Different natural heritages include many landscapes and ecosystems — rain-forests, scrublands, grassy savannahs, light Mediterranean woodlands and sandy deserts.

The antiquity of human settlements

Most anthropologists agree Africa was the cradle of humanity. So it is there that human activity has had an effect for the longest time, as seen in buildings and use of material resources. Two points of interest here are the changes in the ecosystems humans have long ago made or speeded up and the existence of some of the oldest cultures in the world. The oldest African civilisations based their cultures on the biological diversity of their surroundings, ranging from the three-million-year-old 'choppers' of the Rift Valley, in Tanzania, to the Omo Valley in Ethiopia.

NATURAL FOUNDATIONS OF AFRICAN HERITAGES

Cultures and societies

The cultural approach is complicated in the case of Africa, as there are many different cultures. But we can agree with Boubou Hama that they all have come from the same root. He says black Africa is a cultural melting-pot which 'continues to carry the heavy legacy of its prehistoric, ancient and medieval past.' Indeed, the religions which were imported (Islam, Christianity) barely touched Africa's ancestral religions (Shorter). Amara Cissé, in *Histoire économique de l'Afrique*, says African culture has been marked since time immemorial by the coexistence of two kinds of society:

ancient non-cumulative societies, often forest-based, such as the Pygmies, the San and the Boschiman. The rural population is usually confined to villages and ensures a certain equality through the community's surveillance of each of its members; and

cumulative societies, present in East and West Africa, in Sudan and the Sahel, since 5000 B.C. (Egypt, Ghana, and Jenne Josso in western Sudan) and which feature division of labour (castes and guilds, a merchant class).

Relationship to nature

African civilisations have always been closely attached to their natural surroundings, from which they draw materials and inspiration. They have evolved architectural methods based largely on the use of plentiful but perishable materials which need to be restored and replaced after a while (wood, straw thatch). This marks them out strikingly from other civilisations — Mediterranean or Asian — which from early on built conspicuous and long-lasting edifices. The great African civilisations (Ethiopian, Sudanese, Bantu) grew up in the region where the savannahs and the forests met. These very fertile places were the main centres of domestication of plants and primary agricultural production. Systems like this, where culture is closely tied to nature, still exist, not just among native peoples like the Pygmies or the Boschiman but all over rural Africa.

Integral view of the environment

Cultural evolution starts with efforts to survive which, in the environment, draw directly on essential natural resources. Nature plays a complex part in this as the creator of myriad resources. Forests, for example, have:

- an economic role by providing food, medicine and clothing;
- a religious function (ancestors, spirits, gods);
- a social function by restricting access to a few people;
- an environmental role (protecting the soil, water and biodiversity).

These various functions are understood and fully experienced in a way that could be seen as a systematic approach to relations between the ethnosystem and the ecosystem. This is why villages look after the environment and its resources. It also shows — as we noted in our earlier paper — the close relationship between Africans and their natural surroundings, fuelled by mythology and practices where the use of resources (food, therapeutic things) always has a symbolic meaning (metaphysical or magic).

We said in our other paper that these resources (animals, plants and also minerals) are distributed in place and time according to set rules. Even in a continent where such resources are plentiful and diverse, the survival of human communities quickly became dependent on laying down enough rules. As societies rely on word of mouth, in Africa this information is passed on by legends and stories (see previous paper). This is particularly necessary when population growth increases pressure on the stock of natural resources. Different strategies have enabled human communities to survive throughout Africa — the sharing of place and time among the nomadic desert societies, rules of production in the most fertile areas (rain-forests) and planned use of animals and plants where the environment's spontaneous production is not enough.

Assimilation of nature

In African societies, different processes — which we will call the 'assimilation of nature' — have enabled the transmission and absorption of the riches of natural heritage and the knowledge which comes from them (through rites, symbols and customs) in daily life (ordinary) and in spiritual life

(special, metaphysical).

This assimilation is complicated and happens in different ways — through building (edifices firmly established in the landscape), eating (choice of food, ways of preparing it, table manners), art (painting, engraving, symbols, sculpture, writing), clothes (protection, adornment, identification), movement (travel and trade) and the metaphysical (legends, masks, dances and rites). These processes differ from one people to another, depending on the level of cultural achievement and on ecological constraints.

MASTERING THE ENVIRONMENT

Context of place and time

It is very important for the farmer, the fisherman and the hunter to know where he is in place and time. Even more so in societies where a resource is used up and people have to move on (nomads). Such a way of life means maximum use of the environment, taking resources where you find them. Climate and ecology rules out any permanent, settled way of life in more than half of Africa.

One of the first things needed for mastering the environment is to know what direction you are heading, at any time or place, especially when the monotony of the countryside forces you to resort to directional aids more used at sea than on land. The Somali nomadic shepherds use the stars and galaxies to guide them as they move at night through the bush (Galaal, 1992). The position of the stars also enables them to follow the progress of the seasons and know what time of the year it is. So they have accumulated knowledge of the relationship between the earth and the stars, which is found among other nomadic peoples in Africa, such as the Moors and the Tuaregs.

In the Middle Niger Valley, the Songhay legend of Dongo illustrates the lie of the land in relation to the central feature of the area, the Niger river. Harakoy, mother and spirit of the water, symbolises both the river and the pastures on its banks. Her three Tuareg sons represent the waters upstream. Her Gourmantche son is the right bank and her Hausa son the left. Downstream is symbolised by Dongo, her captive son and spirit of thunder.

Mastery of time requires knowledge of the stars' movements. As well as the usual division of the year into days, weeks and months, there are also much longer periods of time. Among the Dogons of Mali, some initiation ceremonies occur only once every 60 years. In Somalia, five connected cycles fill periods of three years (to which the Somali lunar calendar is set), eight years (cycle of drought and prosperity), and 30, 50 and 80 years (droughts, illness, political events).

In all societies, including nomadic ones, the survival or prosperity of the group depends on the ability of some of its members to predict things. Among the Somalis (Galaal, 1992), forecasting by the stars concerns links between events and the positions of the stars (practical knowledge) and belief in the existence of time cycles, including for daily events (like the medieval wheel of fortune). An auspicious event will be followed by an inauspicious one, it is thought. Such knowledge has an effect on weather forecasting and crop harvests. For Somali shepherds, a solar eclipse heralds a prosperous year. Rules like this conveniently guide a group's movements, somewhat prematurely, towards different kinds of pasture. Some predictions belong in the realm of astrology, since it seems risky to say a lunar eclipse means a chief is going to die.

Mastering the environment

By this we mean a group or individual's ability to travel knowledgeably so as to best take advantage of the environment's resources. This supposes an organised environment. The routes are indicated by prominent geographical features (peaks, valleys and rivers) or ecological ones (springs, grassy places) to help travellers on their way. Among the Tuaregs, young people learn very early the series of ridges (slopes and plains) and dips (valleys and wadis) they must pass when they go anywhere. Such knowledge, vital for a guide, is memorised as rhymes and is part of the cultural heritage of a

people who can often travel for thousands of kilometres through difficult terrain.

Non-nomadic people have to know their land. African villages are usually built in a concentric way. The central area is for living, with huts built on family plots. The ring further out is where small amounts of food are grown. The next circle contains an often very large area of crop-growing, including a quite lengthy crop rotation system, depending on the quality and availability of the soil. Cereals (rice, penicillaria millet, sorghum, maize) grow there and small animals graze. Beyond is wild, where hunters go and those who deal with medicinal or magic plants. It is also where the spirits live and an area of special religious and spiritual importance. This area of bush or forest divides the village from the next but is also a link to it.

Showing control of the environment

In every society, controlling any area means that its resources are the property of a certain group of people. We can see this by the evidence (of varying quality) of activity that humans leave behind. They range from discreet changes made to the landscape to concrete objects. Such proof of control is a way of communicating to others who owns the resources.

Using natural heritage resources

Since the writings of Vavilov, it has been accepted that Africa is a source of plant life which has given several wild species to the culture of people there, through farming, food or craft work. Species such as wheat, lentils, argan, sorghum, millet, rice, shea, peanuts and kola. These became the basis of practices, customs and the take-over of lands. Already in the 14th century, Ibn Battuta mentioned the existence of rice paddies on the interior delta of the Niger (noted by Strabon). So rice was not introduced from Asia but was already part of African culture.

Some natural resources (parts of animals or plants) are used as medicine. The resource is part of the natural heritage, but knowledge that it is useful, as well as how to use it, is part of cultural heritage — the result of an experimental and intellectual process which has led everyone to recognise its usefulness. So it acquires an extra cultural value. The conservation practices humans develop as part of this change the ecosystem and lend a cultural aspect to the landscape.

The spread of farming methods, as well as trade in minerals (chalcedony, carbuncles, emeralds) and animals (civets, ostrich feathers and eggs, animal skins) is another cultural activity which began in the natural environment. Such centres of technical knowledge, numerous in Africa, show the thorough assimilation into daily practices — and therefore culture — of ways to manage natural resources and make their use permanent.

Changes in landscape

The growth of villages in Africa's semi-arid zone has had a very big effect on the landscape and structure of the ecosystems. It is hard to measure (through lack of evidence) the true role of humans, their practices and their flocks in the appearance or spread of savannahs (open areas, mostly grassland). But it is clear that brush fires and the movement of flocks and herds limit the spread of forests and prevent the closing off of an area by moorlands or copses, which always happens when an area is put on the defensive.

Pasture

Humans have been having an effect on natural resources (animals and plants) at least since Neolithic times. In the best climatic conditions of the Holocene era, the raising of cattle and sheep spread down from North Africa towards the tropics, competing with a large number of many kinds of wild animals who also ate vegetation, to judge by numerous engravings and cave paintings found from the Mediterranean to the equatorial rain-forests. Zoologists think this indirect human effect on wildlife (the pressure from hunting was negligible at the time because of the smallness of human settlements and

the primitive hunting methods) speeded up the demise of the big ungulate species (rhinoceroses, elephants and giraffes). These animals found temporary refuge in the savannahs of the Sahel and a few other places, either high up (Tassili, Aôr, Tibesti) or in swampy parts of North Africa (southern Tunisia and Draa, where elephants and hippopotamuses went).

Brush fires

The effect of brush fires is especially important, not just because of the large areas they cover in a short time but because they are selective. The only vegetation left are plants with a growth cycle which enable them to survive the fire. The same goes for animals. Small vertebrates and small legged animals cannot escape and are decimated. Without them, the soil is harder to restore. Such fires may have happened occasionally before humans appeared, but thereafter they became regular and frequent and so had a greater ecological effect.

Plant selection

Another thing which has eventually left its mark on the countryside is the selective use of certain plants. In particular, trees whose fruit (shea, cola, baobab), leaves (baobab) or resins (gum trees) are used by humans. In Africa, these trees are spared when ground is cleared and they become more common than they would have been in any normal group of trees. They are in every region, arid and humid, of the continent and are evidence of a degree of extraction comparable to that studied in recent years in South America. They are also evidence of 'managed' plant species (between being wild and domesticated).

These trees, recognised by all as valuable, are now legally protected by forestry services, which also take into account the exercise of certain harmless customary rights concerning them. Examples include the gum tree, shea, palmyra, Senegal khaya, kapok, gao, tamarind, nÈrÈ, baobab and balan-ite, all of them Sahelian or Sudanese species protected in Niger and in most countries of the sub-region. The sacred wood was a kind of precursor of this protection of species useful in the growth of human societies. The protected forests of today do not inspire so much agreement because the motive to protect comes from outside the community and not from within it.

The protection of certain kinds of trees, intensive grazing of animals and frequent bush fires altered not only plant life but also the landscape, which changed from a natural one to one with an increasingly visible cultural imprint. Outsiders often do not recognise a landscape as having been touched by humans because they do not know enough about the practices, customs and history of the country and its peoples to make an accurate assessment. There are plenty of examples of this in Africa, Australia and especially in America.

Africa has two kinds of landscapes:

- those which humans have left largely untouched, such as virgin forests and sacred woods; and
- those which have been cleared or regularly grazed, such as fields of crops near villages, fallow areas and grazing lands. They used to seem like 'natural' areas when the land lay fallow for about 20 years. Population pressure, increased by climatic limitations, has sharply reduced this cycle and five years is now often a long time. The land used to have time to renew itself and regain its old diversity, but this is now impossible as terrain becomes more and more tied to humans and cultural landscapes become more common.

Paths of contact and water engineering

Settled or nomadic, humans have always felt a need to look beyond the horizon to improve their life style. Archaeological documents show that long-distance trade has been going on since Neolithic times. Africa took part in this from the beginning of human history. Trade in minerals (gems), precious metals (gold) and fancy biological items (ivory and ostrich feathers) brought Africa into contact with the

Mediterranean world.

'Humans had to adapt to a changing environment. They built societies based on respect for the soil and its produce, and for mutual co-operation as the only way to survive. The establishment of long trade routes, putting different kinds of regions in contact with each other, showed a desire to build a world out of trade, not conflict.' (R. Bazenguissa and B. Nantet: 14)

These routes had obvious cultural effects in terms of exchanging experiences and know-how. They enabled the mingling of communities and helped build up a sort of common foundation for the whole continent.

'The long roads which cross Africa imply knowledge of several languages. The Savannah empires embraced many peoples.' (R. Bazenguissa and B. Nantet: 35)

Some African routes took on great cultural importance. These were the ones along which there was trade in salt, a rare and much sought-after commodity in Africa. The salt routes were one of Africa's distinctions and touched the edge of the Sahara (TaoudÉni, Bilma) and the salt-pans of Somalia and Djibouti. Other African routes have left a more tragic mark on the continent, from Antiquity to modern times, peaking in the 18th century. These were the routes of the slave-traders. The major cultural effects of these were the scarring of the Africans of the time but also the transporting of African cultural practices (music, songs, dances) and spiritual practices (voodoo) to the New World, where they made a deep impression.

Another example of humans controlling their environment, often in relation to these routes and travels, is water engineering, which is vital to human settlement. The wells along the roads of Africa to refresh the travellers and the canals irrigating desert farms are the fruit of human ingenuity. There is some striking concrete evidence of it, such as:

- Community wells in southern Africa, built by the efforts and expertise of different ethnic groups.
- Artesian wells in North Africa which appear to have been bored using techniques from the Middle East.
- Irrigation channels (seguias) enabling the supply and distribution of water to farmland on a time-sharing basis.
- Foggaras (tunnels) in western Sahara (Adrar, Timmimoun) which display very original methods of tapping the water table and of distribution. They require supply canals, reservoirs, and methods of sharing it out as part of the organised management of this precious commodity. Water courts see that the rights of consumers were respected.

Cultural depiction: from cave paintings to symbolism

Graphic depiction of real life, by painting or engraving, is solely cultural. It is a very old feature of human societies and as far as prehistoric cave paintings and carvings go, Africa seems to be the leader in artistic development — the richest and most varied in the world and found in every part of the continent.

Since Palaeolithic times, 'art' (drawings and sculptures, often in caves) has depicted, mostly with animal figures, the importance of biological diversity in the lives of Africans. Cave paintings and engravings are the introduction of nature into the process of communication and into art, as well as into the metaphysical, depending on the ability of the observer to interpret them. Such pictures are found virtually all over Africa. Their social significance could be in proclaiming the identity of the group their authors belong to, or they may have been a way of teaching children and passing on knowledge. (Histoire générale de l'Afrique, G. Mokhtar, ed. UNESCO, 1987).

The depiction of natural things is an important step in the depiction of the environment and in its mastery. The next step is symbolism, which in the case of pictures, involves adding a second meaning to a picture of an object or a being. This stage can be seen all over the continent. We can see it in the drawing of a comb shape which symbolises speech for the Dogons. The symbolism tends to be simple geometric shapes which replace the figures. Among many examples are the egg-shaped symbol for the kings of Benin (Chevrier, 1986), or the broken single or double stripe which represents the python and is a symbol of the heavenly role of the royal family (Roumeguère-Eberhardt, 1982; Mubumbila, 1992). Such symbolism moved from walls to movable things (statue of the bird of Zimbabwe), and to bodies through tattoos. Like all symbolism, it is not immediately clear to everyone and needs to be interpreted, an activity which binds a person closer to a group.

THE ORIGINALITY OF AFRICAN CULTURAL HERITAGES

Traditional influences have created our cultural identities. There is a very close link between the natural physical milieu (its biological components) and the lifestyles, ethical values and social structures of a people. This is demonstrated by something in the landscape which tends to perpetuate the relationship by making it visible or striking. It starts with the culturization of landscapes, and then things are built whose permanence is matched by the stability of the authorities who created them.

Several African buildings are on the World Heritage List, but concrete structures are not the main part of Africa's heritage. It is rather the human arrangement of places — culturalized landscapes, holy places (woods, springs, rivers), trade routes, waterways (Nile, Niger, irrigation canals). All these things give structure to a place and show the mark of humans. In Africa, they have a universal value and in many cases are exceptional.

But natural landscapes are becoming rarer, which creates a problem for those trying to make an inventory of genuine natural formations and exceptional natural heritages. They are to be found in smaller and smaller areas and are becoming illusory. So it is very important to develop 'land literacy' in Africa — the ability to 'interpret' the countryside (Toulmin, 1995), to understand the overall working of the geosystem, the state it is in and its tendency to degenerate. To make visible the invisible, in fact. The rain-forest has been called 'virgin' so often only because experts have not been able to work out the effect on it of Pygmies and its other inhabitants.

The point about Africa is that it is a collection of landscapes (ecosystems) which show every stage between primitive forms and human ones. We can now show that — depending on the antiquity or the importance of their quantitative or selective impact — humans have created an ongoing link between natural and cultural heritage. The inhabitants involved are obviously the most competent to explain things and researchers should listen to them so they can faithfully convey this knowledge. (C.Toulmin, *Gestion des terroirs*: 72).

The nature-culture link makes it harder to apply a rigid typology in explaining these areas — are they natural or cultural? — and especially to understand the kind of criteria useful to authenticate them. What does the idea of integrity, stated in the 1972 World Heritage Operational Guidelines, correspond to in Africa today? By what criteria, in relation to what knowledge, what hypothetical onetime state of natural heritage should we judge it? These discussions we are having about the originality of African heritages should open up a debate on the criterion for integrity. It is urgent to define one because on it depends the possibility of listing places as natural World Heritage sites. Perhaps the division between a natural treasure and a cultural treasure will seem bogus after we have debated the matter.

THE CONTEXT OF THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION

Natural heritage in Africa is the basis of a community's identity as well as the means of their development. So we need to go into detail and possibly define new kinds of treasures which could be included. The recent observations by the World Heritage Centre on landscapes, canals and routes are proof the List is not closed. The noting of Africa's special characteristics, made at the start of this meeting, will undoubtedly unearth others, probably at the interface between the natural and the cultural.

But first we must listen to the creators and users of these heritage resources to understand what the key elements in their environment are — those people who base their lives and future development in these places, those who have given them an extra meaning, a identifying cultural dimension. We must take into account traditional and local knowledge, as recommended in UNESCO's Medium-Term Plan, so as to identify the treasures and to preserve or maintain them. And Africans themselves are best placed to tell us exactly what the universal and exceptional aspects of their physical heritage are.

HUMAN SETTLEMENTS, AGRARIAN LANDSCAPES AND LAND USE

SHAJE TSHILUILA

Scientific evidence from Palaeolithic sites investigated by archaeologists now shows that early human settlements in sub-Saharan Africa were located in the grasslands of Nigeria and Cameroon. Specifically, archaeological excavations that there was a microlithic industry in this region between 50,000 B.C. and 10,000 B.C., and that it was associated beyond any doubt with two population groups living in symbiosis with one another, i.e. hunter-gatherers and farmers.

Around the sixth millennium B.C., a more arid phase occurred, evidenced by the use of larger stone tools including the axe and the hoe. This period was characterised by a substantial shift of the population towards the South.

The archaeological data are confirmed by the results of comparative linguistics studies; while the latter do not provide precise dating, they show the existence of a theoretical language with similarities to Bantu, called Proto-Bantu.

Linguists agree that it belongs to the Benue-Congo branch of the Niger-Congo family of languages, as do most of the languages spoken in the grasslands of Northwest Cameroon.

It is thought therefore that the users of Protobantu originated in this savannah region, whence they spread throughout nearly half of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Powerful because of their technological skill and their mastery of iron working techniques, which are proven by evidence from the first and second millennia B.C. in Ghana and Cameroon, these populations imposed themselves wherever they went, driving out the local peoples, who took refuge in the deeper forest.

In addition to the rich mine of linguistic evidence, encouraging contributions have come in recent years from the field of molecular biology, providing genetic studies to support the linguistic and archaeological data mentioned above.

These populations preferred to settle in higher altitude forest areas which were easy to clear, and where they found protection from endemic diseases.

Settling on good land wherever they chose, these populations practised a form of itinerant slash and burn agriculture which allowed them to leave land fallow long enough for the soil to regain its fertility. According to recent studies in the field, it appears that in moving about, these populations did not avoid forested regions, since they found a major network of water sources, namely the Ubangi, the Sangha, the Ogué, the Zaire-Congo, etc.

Archaeological evidence shows that the immigrants either penetrated the forest (B. Clist's work confirms the presence of deposit trenches in the equatorial forest, proving that for at least 2,500 years, Gabon village life has been lived in symbiosis with the surrounding forest), or else settled in the grasslands. It seems probable that these wandering groups must have found hunter-gatherers in these places, settling among them without greatly disturbing their way of life. The local populations are thought to have gradually disappeared, either through intermarriage with the newcomers or by being driven out to seek refuge elsewhere.

Our field work in the Epulu region of Zaire among the Mbuti (pygmies living in the equatorial forest) and the Twa (pygmies living in the southern grasslands) has revealed disarray in marginalised groups who are entirely dependent on their surroundings and generally rejected by the Bantu populations. We can nevertheless affirm that around 800 B.C., as Vansina said, "The peoples of the grasslands

possessed technical skills which allowed them to create societies and cultures comparable to those of 1900, as little change had occurred in the interval in the basic structures of economic production, except for the introduction of certain food crops from America and perhaps from Malaysia."

It seems generally accepted that apart from some population movements caused by humanitarian catastrophies (slavery, war, epidemics) or natural disasters (floods, volcanic eruptions), the sedentary farming populations continued to cultivate the fertile lands on which they had settled.

Thus, our contacts with the Mbuti and Twa societies, commonly called pygmies, present the image of well balanced management of the environment. Pygmies have survived for millennia thanks to the absence of deterioration of the forest, from which they derive virtually all their needs — food, clothing and shelter.

In fact, we observed that these small groups of pygmies offer the rare example of a people who are happy to be alive and enjoy life. Their joy reaches a peak in June and July, the season when they gather honey. So long as their life remains a healthy one, i.e. essentially connected to the forest, they represent a group of contented people. Few social groups are so perfectly adapted to their living environment and show no eagerness to change it. The pygmies live in interest groups scattered throughout the forest, with each group having its own camp. The size and density of the camps have been determined since time immemorial by the survival conditions of each, chiefly related to the needs of the hunt. A group which is too small would not manage to survive. On the other hand, overpopulation would cause problems of internal relations, which would produce a new type of social organisation, something the pygmies refuse to accept.

Taking into account the different variables, the most important one being the density of game, we observed that a group of hunters numbering fewer than twenty often returned from the hunt loaded with a good catch, whereas if the group was much larger than that, the additional quantity of game was far from proportional to the increased number of participants.

Thus, the density and behaviour of game animals, on the one hand, and the means employed to capture them, on the other hand, determine relatively narrow limits for the optimum size of a group unit. Because of the increasingly greater distance of the game population and its need for an undisturbed environment in which to replenish itself in sufficient density, hunting groups have generally established three successive camps, some 20 to 40 kilometres apart, within a territory which only their group may occupy, and which they treat as their property.

It can therefore be concluded that for this population of nomadic hunters, the material conditions of life itself are utterly dependent on the environment, which enables them to maintain a constant equilibrium (Shaje, Mission Report, 1991). On the other hand, for the sedentary farming populations, their traditional habits consisted of the practice of itinerant slash and burn agriculture. At present, their environment can be seen to be suffering from two essential evils, namely; excessive harvesting of firewood and the driving need to find new land to cultivate. Leaving aside the large scale dimension of the problem, which requires urgent solutions based on the best national policies for management of the forest ecosystem, it must be stressed that human activity is omnipresent in the daily management of the environment.

Human activity begins with the choice of the ideal location for farming, continues with the practice of crop rotation and then is constantly maintained with the intensive harvesting of firewood. So long as the cleared land is fertile and not too far from their homes, farmers do not much care where the field is located (on a hillside or in an area subject to mudslides); their main concern is to grow enough food to feed themselves, store some in reserve for times of scarcity, and if possible, sell some to earn income.

We are forced to recognise that in a large number of African countries women participate, without being given much responsibility, in the land use management of the entire countryside. They provide a large population with a wide variety of subsistence commodities, but without earning much profit,

given the commercial constraints, the state of the roads, the high cost of transport, the scale of three-cornered trade, etc. Women therefore appear as an important human resource in terms of space management planning.

Thus, the act of destroying forests in order to clear fields and gather firewood could be accompanied by gradual reforestation by creating tree nursery strips around the villages. An interesting experiment has been tried in Zaire under the country's Environment ministry, which could be adopted and adapted elsewhere. It is a micro-economic project managed by a woman who has received a Canadian grant for the building of ovens. With good equipment and the support of a well-directed staff, she has been producing charcoal from the waste wood by-products of a nearby workshop under her concession, and at the same time, has been doing some reforestation to ensure a future supply of charcoal (Shaje, Report 1990).

This woman's dynamism could make a good contribution, as she is constantly being called upon to lead and teach others.

The information and training given to this woman on the subject of environmental management could have follow-on benefits for most of the local child population, because of the catalysing effect of their mothers.

It is therefore advisable that activities involving land use management and planning should be conceived in co-operation with the chief actors: — women.

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THE HERITAGE OF AFRICAN SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

PATRICIA DAVISON.

Introduction

The UNESCO map showing the global distribution of listed World Heritage sites graphically illustrates the relatively low number of sites representing the cultural heritage of Africa, and the complete absence of listed sites in South Africa. The latter omission can be related primarily to the political and cultural isolation of South Africa during the apartheid years. However, since the introduction of democratic rule in April 1994, South Africa has been welcomed back into the international community, and it is anticipated that South Africa will become a signatory of the World Heritage Convention in the near future. Thus it is appropriate at this time to focus attention on the cultural heritage of southern Africa with a view to the eventual identification of sites that would merit World Heritage status, as well as those of recognized regional or national importance. This paper draws attention to the rich heritage of African settlement south of the Limpopo River, and briefly discusses some important sites. The sources drawn on are archaeological, ethnographic and historical, including oral history.

Conservation of cultural properties in South Africa has been directed mainly, but not exclusively, towards preserving significant sites and buildings from the colonial period. The number of pre colonial sites that have been declared as National Monuments is very small (less than 5%) in relation to the total number of declared sites (Deacon 1993), and within the heritage of the colonial period very few National Monuments have positive significance for black South Africans. The need to correct the Eurocentric bias within the inventory of declared sites has been recognized by the National Monuments Council (Hall & Lillie 1993) but the fact remains that African heritage in South Africa has, until very recently, been grossly undervalued and has suffered from serious misrepresentation in school text books, museums and other media. A process of historical reconstruction is underway at present, and giving formal recognition to significant archaeological and historical sites and properties is part of this process. The recent declaration of Sol Plaatje's house in Kimberley as a National Monument exemplifies this trend. However, while it is clearly important to redress the oversights of the past, 'affirmative action' is not a sufficient long term goal. Ideally, an integrated programme of heritage conservation would transcend sectarian interests in favour of an inclusive, holistic approach that was widely recognized and supported.

Although UNESCO has well defined criteria for the inclusion of cultural properties in the World Heritage List (UNESCO 1995), the acceptance of the criteria for assessing significance at a local level will have to be preceded by wide ranging discussions with interested and informed parties. This would be in keeping with the principle of involving local communities in the process of nominating sites for World Heritage status, and would ensure that the criteria were regarded as relevant by local people who would eventually share responsibility for the maintenance of listed sites. Thus consultation with communities should focus initially on affirming the definition of appropriate criteria for evaluating significance at regional and national levels. For the process to succeed, the criteria should be both sensitive to historical and cultural contexts, and relevant to present communities. Local experience has proven that official protection of heritage sites does not guarantee their preservation or prevent neglect and vandalism.

African settlement sites in South Africa

South of the Limpopo River, the earliest known sites associated with people who built semi permanent villages and cultivated crops date to about the second century AD. These early farmers, who made distinctive pottery and produced metal implements, moved into areas previously inhabited by hunter gatherers and herders, and by AD 500 were well established in what is now Mpumalanga (formerly Eastern Transvaal) and the coastal regions of KwaZulu Natal. They spread rapidly in the summer rainfall savannah regions that were well suited to their agricultural economy. It seems that at

first there was a selective preference for river valleys with rich, deep soil or areas near the coast where initial clearing of forest would have provided humus rich, fertile soil. Later, settlement spread to the highland regions. Over 2 000 archaeological sites relating to these events have been recorded, yielding evidence on the period known as the Iron Age of southern Africa. Land was cleared to plant crops such as sorghum, millet and legumes, food was stored for later use, and the diet was supplemented by hunting and gathering. Cattle keeping eventually became of central importance to these early farmers and their descendants, and this was reflected physically in the layout of their settlements.

Centrality of cattle

A pattern of settlement characterized by a central cattle enclosure, surrounded by a circle, or semi circle, of houses is widespread in contemporary South Africa, and archaeological evidence of this pattern dates back over a thousand years. Two sites that exemplify this pattern before AD 1000 have been declared National Monuments.² The significance of this pattern of settlement has been well documented in ethnographic field studies. In brief, the organization of domestic space symbolically reflected and affirmed social relations and hierarchies within the extended family. Cattle were associated with patrilineal authority and the ancestral spirits of the lineage, and the cattle enclosure was a site of both secular and spiritual authority, as was the 'great house' that was usually positioned opposite the entrance to the cattle byre. Cattle were inseparable from the concerns of everyday life they were of practical economic importance, a medium of exchange, a prerequisite to contracting a marriage, and a signifier of wealth and status. The cattle byre was thus much more than a livestock enclosure it was a meeting place for men of the lineage, a centre of ritual, a place where chiefs were buried and where their spirits lingered.

Mgungundlovu

The historically important site of Mgungundlovu in KwaZulu Natal provides a well documented example of this settlement pattern, as manifested on a large scale at a royal capital. Mgungundlovu was built in 1829 by Dingane, Shaka's successor, and occupied till 1838. It housed the king and his retinue, as well as military regiments. The royal precinct, isigodlo, including dwellings of the royal wives and store houses for highly valued weapons and shields, was the central focus of the settlement. It was the 'great house' on a royal scale. To the right and left of the isigodlo were numerous rows of houses encircling a large enclosure. These were densely concentrated military barracks, housing some 5 000 warriors. The houses were dome shaped structures of grass and wood with compacted mud floors and hearths, which constitute primary evidence for the archaeological interpretation of the site. The relative absence of food related debris in the surrounding areas indicates that Mgungundlovu was provisioned from distant villages (Parkington & Cronin 1979). In this respect and in size it differed from domestic establishments but the pattern of settlement was similar throughout Zululand. With some modification, this pattern is still followed in rural areas in the south eastern regions of South Africa.

Mgungundlovu has been a National Monument since 1938; it is owned by the National Monuments Council and the site is administered by the Provincial Museum Service. Part of the site has been reconstructed as a site museum.

Mapungubwe, Hill of the Jackals'

From about AD 900 onwards, in the northern parts of the country, there is archaeological evidence of a different pattern of settlement. Sites were increasingly found on hilltops and elevated land rather than in valleys, and there was a marked increase in the size of settlements. Important capitals were established near the confluence of the Limpopo and Shashi rivers. Although cattle continued to be of importance to the economy, trade became an increasingly valuable source of wealth and status. These settlements were commercial centres controlled by powerful rulers, who affirmed their status with material symbols of power and rituals of chieftainship. Bambandyanalo (also known as K2), adjacent to Mapungubwe on the Limpopo, yielded extensive evidence of ivory working, as well as ivory ornaments and large quantities of imported glass beads, indicative of links with East Coast trade networks. This site declined as Mapungubwe rose to power around AD 1100 to become the capital of

a trading empire. Gold replaced ivory as the most prestigious item traded for glass beads, cloth and Chinese celadon ware. Trade links extended to Sofala, Kilwa and indirectly to Arabia, India and China.

The rulers of Mapungubwe lived and were buried on an elite hill top area surrounded below by villages occupied by their subjects. This physical separation is indicative of increased social stratification. The graves on Mapungubwe hill contained a large quantity of precious gold objects, including the remains of two small gold rhinoceroses, a bowl and a sceptre. As a centralized state, controlling a far reaching trade network, Mapungubwe can be regarded as the forerunner of Great Zimbabwe to the north. The elevated position of Mapungubwe in the landscape is congruent with a value system that associated hills and mountains with divine leadership and high social status. This is the earliest archaeological evidence in southern Africa that supports inferences regarding the growth of a ruling elite. Changes in pottery style suggest an emergence of full time specialists as a consequence of increased population density and a developing class structure (Huffman 1986). Elevation and seclusion are known from later ethnographic sources to be associated with ritualized political leadership, the essential basis of this authority being the sanction of the ancestral spirits. Mapungubwe, like its successor, Great Zimbabwe, was both a secular and religious centre. These functions were inseparable from each other, and both had powerful associations with natural features in the landscape.

Among archaeologists and historians, the importance of Mapungubwe is fully acknowledged. It has been a National Monument since 1984 but its significance remains unknown to most South Africans. The site is likely, however, to become much more widely known with increasing local and international interest in the African heritage of the subcontinent. The recently established Vhembe/Dongola National Park, which includes Mapungubwe, places the management of the site jointly in the hands of the National Parks Board and the regional government. Ownership of the very significant archaeological finds, presently housed at the University of Pretoria, is an uncertain issue that will have to be resolved in the interests of making this remarkable material more widely accessible.

Dzata ruins

The spiritual significance of features in the landscape has been well documented in more recent times among many African societies in South Africa, a notable example being Lake Fundudzi among the Venda people of the Soutpansberg district, south of the Limpopo. Lake Fundudzi, inaccessible and infested with crocodiles, is widely regarded as a sacred and mysterious lake. It is said to have powerful associations with the legendary hero Thoho ya Ndau, who established his capital at Dzata, which the present Venda people regard as their ancestral home.

The site covers two or three acres and consists of the fragmentary remains of a series of stone walls that resemble ruins found in Zimbabwe. A number of Venda villages in the 1930s had comparable stone walled terraces and passages. The ethnographer, Stayt, commented regarding a particular mountain village, 'if the huts were to be removed, this village would give a very similar appearance to that presented by the ruins of Dzata' (1931:7). In 1938, Dzata was declared a National Monument on the basis of its being a 'most exceptional, valuable and interesting relic of the past...', in addition to being revered by the local Venda people (Deacon 1993).

The site was fenced to prevent cattle and goats grazing there but over the years there was difficulty in keeping the fence in good repair. The management of the ruins remained a cause of concern until their importance was reaffirmed in 1979 when the Venda territory was given independent status by South Africa. An interest in Venda nation building led to the restoration of the site and its use for ceremonial purposes. A planned development programme was initiated and a full time caretaker/guide appointed. Community involvement and interest was essential to this initiative and it remains vital to the sustained preservation of Dzata ruins. The fact that Dzata has become an active ceremonial site and is the place of the sacred drum of the Venda people bodes well for its future conservation.

Living heritage: Queen Modjadji's capital

Modjadji, widely known as the Rain Queen, is the hereditary chief of a heterogeneous grouping of

people, originally unrelated but now collectively known as 'the Lobedu' (Krigé & Krigé 1943). Her territory is situated in the wooded foothills of the northern extension of the Drakensberg range in the Northern Province of South Africa. A magnificent forest of cycads,³ on a hillslope to the east of the capital, is the most striking feature of the natural surroundings. In a climatic region formerly infested with malaria, tsetse fly and tick borne diseases, the highlands and hillslopes proved most suitable for habitation and this is where the earliest settlements were situated. Although cattle were important to Modjadji's people, especially in relation to marriage contracts, the environment was unsuited to cattle keeping and grain cultivation formed the basis of their domestic economy.

The traditional settlement pattern was one of dispersed homesteads, usually occupied by an extended family and unrelated dependants. However, the capital, mosatha, was an aggregated settlement with clusters of houses grouped around the central court, the kgôrô. It was, and still is, the largest settlement in the district, being both royal residence and political centre. In the early 1980s it had a population of well over 500 people, consisting mainly of members of the royal family, official representatives of other districts, and functionaries of the court.

The approach to the capital is along an avenue lined with debarked, pointed poles and shady trees. This avenue opens into the kgôrô, a circular space some 33 metres in diameter, also lined by a palisade of debarked poles. Most of these poles have pointed ends, some forked or branched, and a relatively small number are carved to represent human figures, stylized animals or utensils. The site of the capital was given protection from possible malevolent forces by the use of special medicines applied to a series of pegs that were buried many years ago around the perimeter of the village. The threshold of the main entrance is also spiritually protected. As a sign of respect it is customary for subjects to remove their shoes before entering the capital.

Until the 1960s, the kgôrô was the traditional meeting place of the court but it was not only used for this purpose. When court cases were not in progress, it was used for recreational purposes or ceremonial gatherings, particularly those associated with the public performances of initiation schools. When not in use for communal activities of this kind, it became a village courtyard where children played and men sat around fires on rough hewn stools while discussing everyday matters. Paths from the kgôrô led to the different sections of the settlement occupied in the main by families closely related to the queen. The path opposite the main entrance went up through clusters of houses in domestic courtyards to the royal precinct that included a western style house, as well as traditional houses and an area for brewing beer. Sharpened poles similar to those surrounding the kgôrô formed a fence around the royal precinct signifying its importance and giving it a privacy not found elsewhere in the capital.

The present site of the capital has been occupied continuously since the 1920s and over time it has become increasingly crowded. Today it is difficult to discern the spatial arrangement of paired cooking houses and sleeping houses that characterized the settlement in earlier times.

In many respects, however, customary practices continue, even in much changed circumstances. Women have exerted a strong conservative influence and have perpetuated many traditional crafts, such as pottery and basketry, to supply their own needs, as well as a modest tourist market (Davison 1984).

Since the late nineteenth century, Lobedu people have had contact with the industrial centres of South Africa. The migrant labour system, early missionary influence and the political context of South Africa have all played a part in shaping Lobedu social and cultural life. In the 1960s, a western style court house was built near the capital and cases were no longer heard in the kgôrô. Although the kgôrô continued to be used for ceremonial purposes, its significance shifted as a consequence of this change in social use. Similarly, the appearance of the village changed in relation to changing socio economic conditions. New styles of building that were formerly not found at the capital became fairly common in the 1980s. Electricity, introduced recently, has made a great difference to the scheduling of everyday activities. The improvement of the road to the capital has made it less inaccessible and thus more frequently visited. It has also brought retailed merchandise closer to home

for the Lobedu people. The hybridization of old and new continues to take new forms.

At present, Modjadji's capital, falls within a reserve but there are no legal measures in place for its protection. Other African settlements, such as those of the Pedi, Ntwane and Ndebele, have notable architectural features, worthy of conservation, but are similarly unprotected. Being inhabited, however, settlements like these would present a range of problems if formal conservation were to be considered. How would authenticity or integrity be defined? How would protecting the architectural fabric of the settlement affect the lives of the people who live there? Whose interests would be served in developing a conservation management plan for the settlement? These and other issues would have to be addressed by the communities involved. Moreover, it would have to be acknowledged that becoming a heritage site inevitably changes the character of a place.

The past' in the present

Every act of recognition alters survivals from the past. ... Just as selective recall skews memory and subjectively shapes historical insight, so manipulating antiquities refashions their appearance and meaning. Interaction with a heritage continually alters its nature and context, whether by choice or by chance. (Lowenthal 1985: 263).

In conclusion, I would stress the point that, although heritage sites accrue significance from their historical authenticity or cultural uniqueness, their value to present day communities is the source of their contemporary significance. In the case of inhabited properties, the need for informed awareness and participation by inhabitants in any conservation programme is fairly obvious, but in the case of uninhabited sites the involvement of communities is no less important. As was demonstrated at Dzata ruins, successful preservation occurred only after local people took a real interest in the site.

Heritage conservation requires an on going dialogue with interested communities. In the 'old' South Africa the very notion of heritage was divisive, as it excluded the heritage of the majority of South Africans. There is an opportunity now to identify cultural properties and sites that constitute a shared heritage but also embody the cultural diversity of South Africa. This process will in itself be constructive and affirmative in the broadest sense. The present meeting is an important milestone on that journey.

FOOTNOTES

¹Solomon Plaatje (1876 1932) is recognized as a leader of the struggle for human rights. He was the first secretary of the African National Congress, as well as a talented author, journalist and linguist.

²Broederstroom in the Brits district of the North West Province was declared in 1980; the site of Phalaborwa in the Letaba District of the Northern Province was declared in 1970.

³The forest is the largest concentration of a single species of cycad in the world. It has been legally protected since the 1930s.

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OUTLINE OF DISCUSSION

The notion was used to qualify all types of habitat, including temporary settlements, and goes beyond the categories of traditional and vernacular architectures. The experts insisted again that the emphasis should not be put on an isolated building but rather on an organic and holistic approach which takes into account the social, religious, technical, agricultural characteristics which reflects life-styles at social, spiritual and material levels. The diversity of human settlements, their fragility, the need to document building techniques, and maintain whenever possible traditional conservation techniques was reiterated. The role of inventories which is to identify in order to preserve was undelined, and many speakers insisted on the necessity to involve local communities.

CULTURAL ITINERARIES AND EXCHANGE ROUTES

CULTURAL ITINERARIES AND EXCHANGE ROUTES

ISABEL DE CASTRO HENRIQUES.

The idea of cultural heritage is understood everywhere these days, and more and more as something which is part of every nation. The historical proof and justification, in fact, of a country's existence. Indeed it is difficult, if not impossible to conceive of a country without one.

The link between national awareness and cultural heritage has become a guarantee of autonomy and national independence. The search for self-rule is also helped by the existence of national characteristics, from language to architecture.

The suppression of Africa's historical past has deeply scarred relations between that continent and Europe and America. It has blocked an inventory of Africa's cultural heritage and, even more, its preservation. Widespread destruction and constant looting have endangered its unity and extent. So it is urgent in Africa, more than elsewhere, to identify and grade all parts of what is a key part of the world's cultural heritage.

Cultural itineraries and areas

Cultural heritage is tied to cultural areas. In Africa, cultures spread outwards from their place of origin. However, they are linked more to cultural practices than geographic areas. Migration in Africa does not harm cultures, even if they have to adapt to new physical surroundings.

Migration can only occur with this crucial support of a cultural heritage, but there is more to it than that. The enrichment of the culture and the strengthening of the cultural areas relies not just on the group's ingenuity but also on trade, contacts and the ability to receive and absorb things from other cultures. A culture that can create is a living culture.

To assess and grade a culture, you have to start by finding something at its core which best sums up the group's beliefs and behaviour. Outside contributions to it are always expressed through native creations and the importance of this vision can never be underestimated. Social areas concern blood ties but also relations with spirits and nature. All this has an effect on the physical environment. The 19th century writings of the Angolan Pedro Joao Baptista and the Scot Livingstone show how villages in central Africa fit into it in special ways.

A researcher's main job is to pinpoint the special features of each environment, which is a product of geophysical conditions and, to some extent, of devising the most suitable structures. Nature is also a vital part of building such cultural areas, from the moment people disturb it — choosing some plants, rejecting others. So the tone of the area is also shown by the way nature has been handled.

Relations with the outside are important. Cultural areas can only exist in close harmony with a group's internal forces, but their development depends on relations with the outside. That is why we must fight notions like diffusionism and the idea that everything depends on exchanges. We will discard these two obviously exaggerated approaches and opt for the autonomy of cultural areas able to import, absorb, transform and marry ideas from the outside.

Trade routes — sources of cultural innovation

Migration is a special kind of trade. Its paths, as well as the trade routes themselves, must always be carefully recorded. People who travel forge ties with new surroundings and new social structures. They have to be recognised, adapted, and adapted to. Their products and artefacts have to be absorbed or rejected. A new relationship is never impartial. It always involves either recognition, adaptation and absorption, or else forceful rejection. In both cases, the group is obliged to review its stock of cultural values if it wants to hang on to its ideal of autonomy.

Of course, some groups are more interested in change than others. The Bantu-speaking peoples have been on the move for at least 500 years. These migrations are at the heart of political organisations and depend on cultural solutions. So there are places of exchange. The Lunda people, for example, have adapted their area to fit the natural surroundings, but with very special attention to their political agenda. The Court of the Lunda has become a centre of cultural items, adapted or absorbed by those in power or by craftsmen.

So a map should be drawn of Africa showing all the major places of cultural innovation, along with well-known trading centres between Africans and between Africans and non-Africans. There is no such thing as a pure commercial exchange. Cultural values are always associated with commercial production and methods. A 17th century Portuguese missionary once said: 'Wherever a trader goes, he carries a missionary on his back.' We could say: 'Wherever goods go, cultural values go with them.'

We must also look more closely at the part played by cultural heroes, as they often indicate the nature of change, whether it is real or just the wish for it. Are there any trader heroes? Apparently not, which only shows how much we look up to cultural heroes. The fact that many heroes are from other groups, sometimes a long way away, only emphasises the importance of trade and travel. When people move about, ideas and objects move with them.

The main point here is to show the importance of African creations, as well as the exchanges that have taken place. The dead-weight of diffusionist ideas must be removed, along with the myths which have played up the importance of whiteness to minimise the qualities of blackness. The list of cultural solutions devised by Africans must not be overlooked. It must also be noted that objects from the outside are very often, if not always 'Africanized.'

The inability to 'Africanize' something means the end of African autonomy, which has been overwhelmed by the invasion of things European and American. Inter-breeding is a big issue. A fashionable idea, but it merits a closer look in Africa, which has not seen much of it, except for mixing with other Africans. The notion is too ambiguous and must be closely watched. The fact is that Africans everywhere have always tried to absorb, or 'Africanize' things they come across.

Superficial interpretations stress the upsets caused by Europeans settling in West Africa. The east coast did not get as much attention. The analysis needs to be less dramatic and more precise. Africans were in Africa before anyone else. The tracks in the interior and the trade routes were not made by Europeans or Asians but are the result of African cultural evolution. To have to point this out is rather worrying, but not to would mean getting a wrong idea of African cultural structures.

The overall picture should show the importance of original African creations, identify where they come from and show how they are essential for the organisation and survival of various peoples. Without at the same time rejecting the interventions, influences and imports inside the continent. The new things from Asia, America or Europe must be recognised and tamed before they start setting off change. Cultural mixing, which does not imply any racial inter-breeding, must not give up analysing ways of absorption, since Africans want first of all to 'Africanize.' This notion is a fundamental one and a way of preventing African projects and energies from being killed off.

Trade routes and cultural creations

What is the best technical and social vehicle to illustrate the two elements of trade in Africa — the complementary nature of different regions and the role of trade with other continents? At the end of the 19th century, Henrique de Carvalho described a journey between Luanda and the Lunda capital of Musumba. He noted there were many shelters on the way for travellers and merchants. Literature has not given enough importance to the fact that trade routes were dotted with buildings to be used by all travellers. This means that the routine of trade had led to these shelters being built, shelters that belonged to no-one in particular and were used by 'merchants' — a technical group. This is important because it is something beyond regional, national or ethnic considerations, and is largely a

functional thing.

We must retrace these trade routes if we are to discover exactly how these areas and meeting-places were organised, places where people, things and ideas mingled in a way crucial to African cultural creation.

We must bear in mind the symbolic vegetation of the shelters. All studies note that, like everything built by humans, they required guardian plants. We can also observe 'kitchen gardens' where European, American or even Asian plants, brought over by Europeans, grow side by side with African plants. The shape of the shelters also changes as new techniques arrive from Europe. The plant aspect is important, because it is part of the relationship with the spirits. It also illustrates the economic situation, as well as changes in the landscape or cuisine, and thus fashions. Every village is a self-contained unit, but it can still only evolve through ties with others. So the shelters are some of the best places to study inter-African relations and to assess the state of relations with non-Africans — in this case, Europeans.

De Carvalho described better than anyone the many religious monuments along the trade routes — some of them to merchants or travellers who died on the road. Ironically, they are proof of the vitality of the merchants' world. They note where each person comes from, who their parents were and what social status they had. The religious references were also important. Such details confirm the ties forged between people from different regions. We hope archaeologists will come up with valuable information from these old cemeteries to help us understand the trade routes and the people who travelled them. The work of historians, using archives, iconography and archaeology, is also very important in tracing the myriad roads which enabled African communities to interact over time and which were also useful to foreigners.

We could add to all this anything to do with hunting and fishing. Men who travelled — sometimes in large groups and if they could take some of their food with them and buy the rest on the road — were probably also hunters and fishermen. It should be easy for archaeologists to find the places they went and the remains of their activities.

So retracing the trade routes enables us to kill the myth of the isolation of African villages. We can point to the ways people and goods moved, as well as to how areas were settled and organised, which always went beyond the interests of a small group and served humanity as a whole.

OUTLINE OF THE DISCUSSIONS

This category was discussed in reference to the notion of "Heritage Route" which is defined by the World Heritage Committee as being "composed of tangible elements of which culture significance comes from exchanges and a multi-dimensional dialogue across countries and regions, and that illustrate the interaction of movement, along the route, in space and time". It was noted that the dispersed nature of natural resources and the irregular and often insular distribution of human settlements in Africa have encouraged the development and use of such routes. The participants identified many potential nominations, such as the Salt routes, the Colonial routes across the continent which link the Oceans, the Pilgrimages routes, but concluded that in many instances the scientific research and the identification of physical evidence were insufficient. It was recalled that so far, UNESCO has launched two projects in Africa devoted respectively to the "Slave Route" and the "Iron Routes".

It was noted with concern that not a single ancient route in Africa had been placed on the World Heritage List. This heritage was nevertheless very important because it was a heritage that was both past and present and its future presented a challenge.

The harmony between traditional settlements and their environs was cornerstone of African heritage.

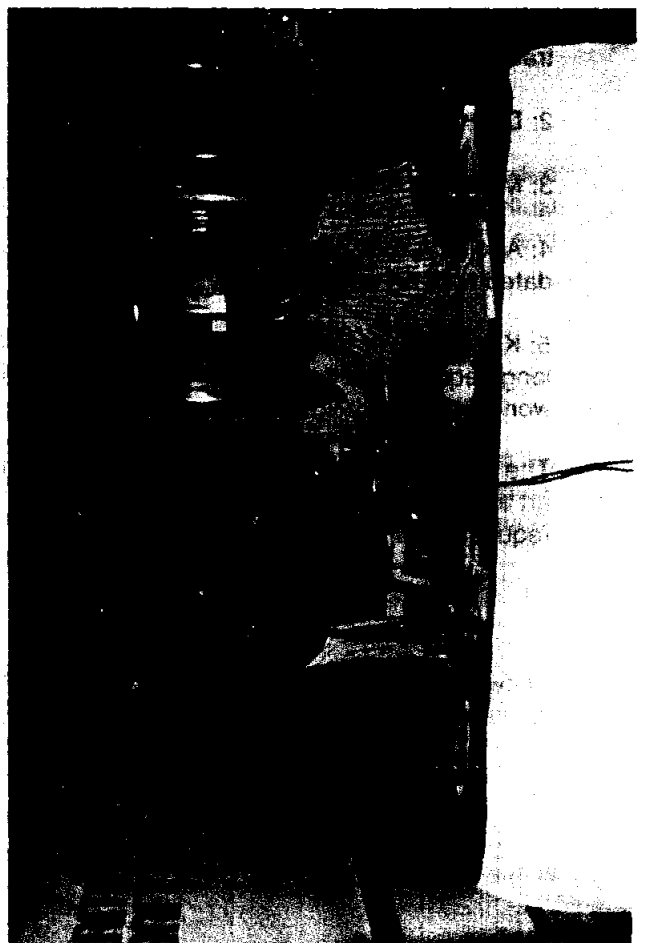
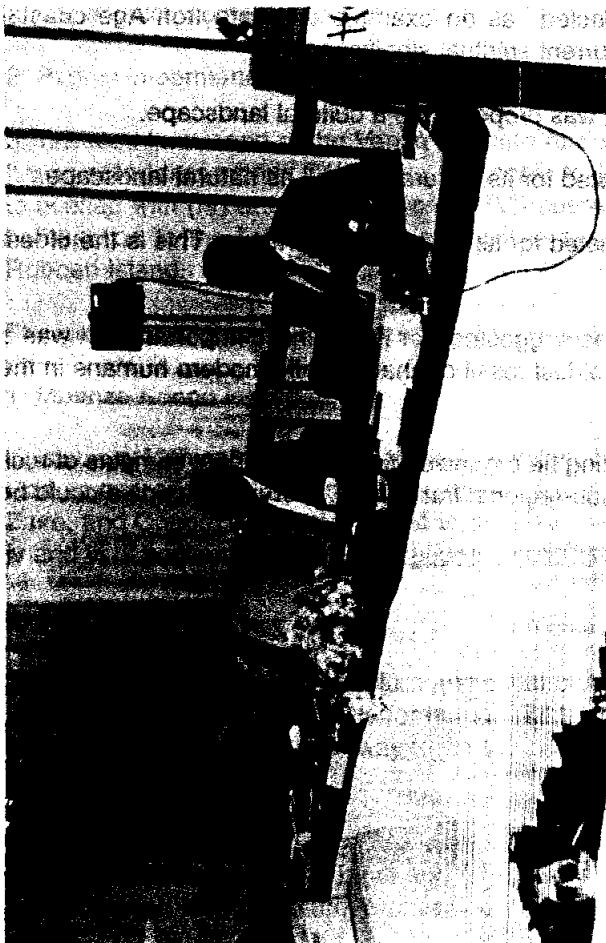
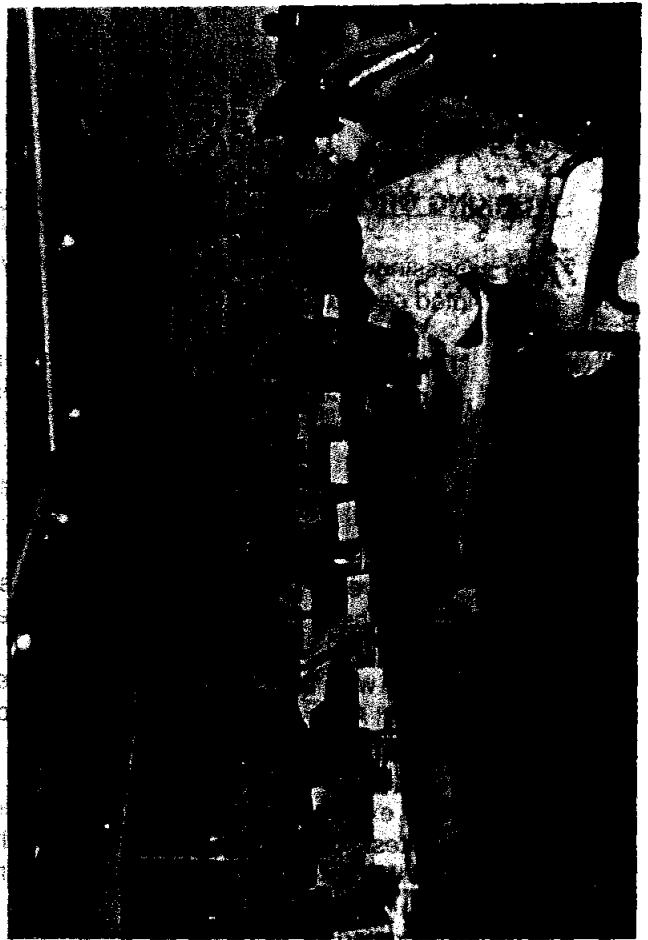
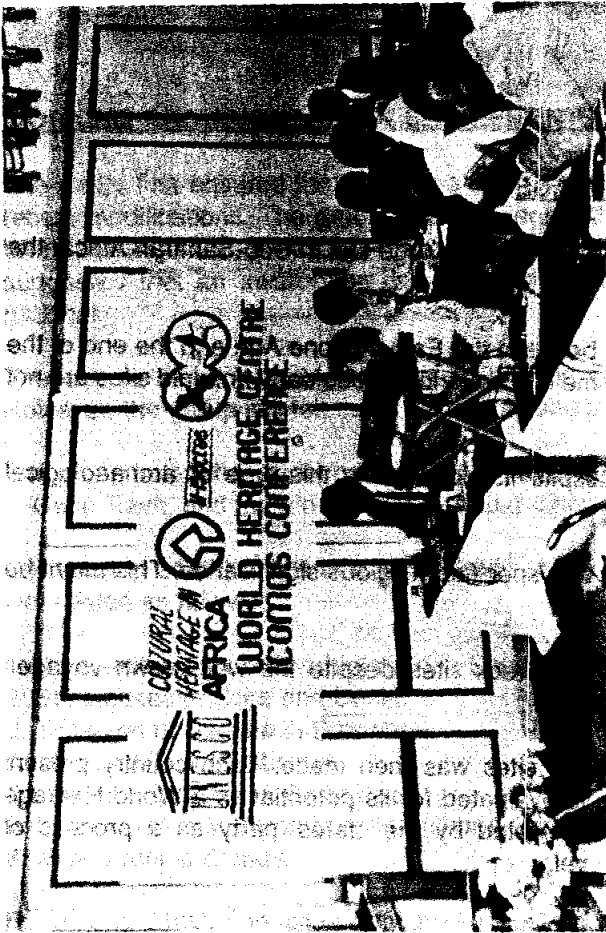
There was need to conscientise the people and Governments of the Regions to recognise and respect traditional architecture, techniques.

Training programmes for craftspeople, architects and local authorities would help preserve this endangered heritage.

There was a symbiotic relationship between ethnosystem and the ecosystem: reinforcing the ecosystem and placing emphasis on traditional methods of doing so would result in a stronger ethnosystem. Thorough research was needed.

PRESENTATION OF THE WORKING GROUPS

The evening of 12 October and part of the following day were devoted to practical study of the Convention and the Operational Guidelines by five working groups, each of which examined one of the themes of the meeting. These sessions yielded a real learning experience for each group. Working with the help of an international expert or member of the Secretariat, the African experts analysed the cultural criteria as well as those pertaining to the notion of authenticity found in the Operational Guidelines, the notions of "cultural landscape" as well as "cultural itineraries" and technical heritage. As a practical exercise, they drafted sets of "tentative lists" in order to ascertain whether the Convention and the Operational Guidelines were in a position to take adequate account of the African cultural heritage. Many ideas and concrete proposals were put forward on this occasion.



APPENDIX I

WORKING GROUP ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

After assessing the cultural properties currently on the World Heritage List in Sub-Saharan Africa, the group noted several gaps. These were:

There are no sites representing the period between the Earlier Stone Age and the end of the Early Iron Age (250 000-1000 BP). Even some of the world famous early hominid sites are not represented e.g. Laitoli

No rock art site from Africa was listed despite its richness in this type of archaeological heritage.

There were no cultural landscapes or sites with specified religious significance. This might be due to the bias in the operational guidelines.

There was also a noticeable absence of shipwreck sites despite the well-known voyages around Africa before the seventeenth century.

To address some of the imbalance, a list of potential sites was then made. Each country present selected one example. Each site was described and evaluated for its potential as a World Heritage Site. The sites chosen would not necessarily be selected by the states' party as a process of consultation will have to be followed at a national level.

The sites selected for the exercise were

1: Manyikeni: This site in Mozambique was selected as an example of a late Iron Age coastal trading station. It is a Zimbabwe- type site with current spiritual significance.

2: Dziwa (Nyanga): The site located in Zimbabwe, was proposed as a cultural landscape.

3: Matopos: Another site in Zimbabwe was suggested for its cultural as well as natural landscape.

4: Apollo: A rock art shelter in Namibia was suggested for its scientific importance. This is the oldest dated rock art site in Africa.

5: Klasies River Cave: This site in South Africa was suggested for its scientific importance. It was a long sequence of archaeological occupation. The oldest fossil of anatomically modern humans in the world was found here.

The group recommended that a coordination meeting be organized to select the best samples of rock art and harmonize the national tentative lists in a sub-regional framework. Foreign expertise could be requested for this purpose.

WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

The group first ensured that everyone understood the criteria in the guidelines (section 24) and the recent modifications. The group also considered the main reasons why few African sites are on the World Heritage List. It was felt that government awareness of heritage conservation was low. It was suggested that an awareness campaign should be undertaken at different levels, both local and national.

The criteria in section 24 were reviewed and examples of sites then suggested by the group. However, the group still felt that the criteria used implies a monumentalistic conception of heritage.

The group noted that under criteria 24 (11), such large urban settlements like Kilwa, Lamu, The Castle in Cape Town, and the old town of Zanzibar should be considered for listing.

Considering 24 (III), there was a possibility of including the living heritage. Possible sites under this were listed as follows:

- 1: Pedi settlements on the highveld in South Africa.
- 2: Stilt houses in Zaire and Benin.
- 3: The town of Serowe in Botswana
- 4: Matopo hills in Zimbabwe.
- 5: Chinamora caves in Zimbabwe
- 6: Kalambo falls in Zambia for its archaeological and living traditions heritage.
- 7: Mwela rocks, Zambia.

For criteria 24(IV) The following were suggested

- 1: Cape Dutch homesteads and vineyards.
- 2: Pygmy impermanent architecture

3: Terraced landscape of the Venda in South Africa

It was noted that criteria 24(V) was applicable to African sites and living traditions although it tended to overlap with (IV) and (II). Criterion 24 (VI) opened new possibilities of including beliefs and spiritual heritage on to the list. Examples of possible sites were Dag Hammersjoeld crash site (1962) and Robben Island.

The group considered three examples for possible listing and these were:

1: Mbanza Kongo in Angola

This was a 13th century capital of the Congo kingdom; the town was the point of contact between the Portuguese and indigenous people. The site was of significance to four countries; Gabon, Angola, Zaire, and Congo. It was connected to the slave trade. This site would qualify by satisfying criteria iii, iv and vi of section 24 of the Operational Guidelines.

2: Robben Island

This site was universally important and could be listed using criteria (vi). The place is well known for its association with the struggle for human rights and freedom. Although not protected by the national legislation, steps were under way to do so.

3: Cameroon Grasslands

The site satisfied criteria (iii), (iv) and (vi) of the section 24 of the Operational Guidelines. The site is significant for its architecture, archaeology, and living traditions.

WORKING GROUP ON RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

The group felt that the current wording of the Convention and criteria listed in section 24 of the Operational Guidelines, does not make adequate provision for the inclusion of the religious and spiritual heritage. The group then defined the religious and spiritual heritage as:

Sites or structures which had been built intentionally for worship or ritual purposes e.g. shrines, stone cairns, tombs or enclosures

Existing sites or structures which had, through association with an event or person or belief, acquired a religious or spiritual significance. e.g. Robben Island

Intangible aspects such as trance, rituals, ceremonies, rights of passage and taboos; Natural features and landscapes e.g. Mountains, lakes and pools, individuals and groups of trees, forests, rocks, termite hills etc.

In this third case, the link between cultural and natural aspects of the sites have to be more explicit than in the Convention and provision has to be made for cases where a ritual behaviour is to be respected in natural/sacred areas.

The concept of associated cultural landscape has to be enlarged to include sacred trees and their surrounding area, as already accepted by the Committee for volcanos or big rocks, because the definition of "monuments" in the World Heritage Convention refers only to man-built constructions.

On the basis of the above definitions the group identified possible sites for inscribing on to the List. These sites were:

- The sites associated with Lowe the mythical figure of the Tswana communities of Botswana. The sites are associated with big holes and engravings on sandstone rocks;
- The Matopo hills in Zimbabwe which are associated with rain-making ceremonies. The site is not only significant to Zimbabwe but also to the people of Northern Botswana and Transvaal region of South Africa;
- Robben Island in South Africa which has universal spiritual significance as a symbol of freedom, democracy, human rights and the collective world victory over oppression and racism;
- The nine major Kaya's in Kenya which are a symbol of identity for the Mijikenda people and associated with various rituals and spiritual beliefs;
- Lake Victoria which has spiritual associations for the peoples of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. It is also the source of the river Nile the mother of many African civilizations;
- The Boabab tree (species) which has a range of spiritual and religious associations in Kenya and other countries in Africa; and
- The complex of royal tombs and funeral tree enclosures associated with the sacred monarchies of Burundi.

The group recommended that:

- 1) The concept of the religious and spiritual heritage be included in the criteria to the Convention, in its own right and not merely as a subset of "living traditions, ideas and beliefs", in order to recognize and accommodate the central role of this heritage in African society and life;

2) In considering religious and spiritual sites for inscription on the World Heritage list, the parameters around such sites must be broad enough to include those places/areas from where behaviour changes and the ritual activity or spiritual experience starts. This will help to include pathways, gateways and areas of different levels of sacredness. For the integrity of the site a buffer zone must be included in the protected area.

3) In identifying and nominating religious and spiritual sites for inscription on the World Heritage list, member states should co-operate regionally.

WORKING GROUP ON TRADITIONAL KNOW HOW AND TECHNICAL HERITAGE

The group submitted the following as possible candidates for Listing:

1: Kasungu: Iron Smelting Furnaces

The iron smelting furnace, is located in Kasungu National Park in Kasungu District; this is the only surviving original traditional iron smelting furnace in Malawi. The furnace is intact and well preserved. It is an example of the iron working tradition of Kasungu District. Although the people no longer practise this traditional technique of making iron, the old furnace has been preserved through collaborative efforts between Departments of Wildlife and National Parks and Museums and Antiquities. The two departments insured the integrity and authenticity of the site. It was felt that it could be inscribed by using Criteria a(iii) of the Operational Guidelines.

2: Rope Bridge over Rukuru River:

The suspension rope bridge over South Rukuru river in Rumphi district in Malawi is a unique piece of traditional engineering and craftsmanship preserved by the local community for many generations. The bridge is constructed using local materials such as bamboo and rope. The bridge is used by the local community and the skills to maintain it have been passed on from one generation to another. It was felt the bridge met criteria a(i),(ii) (vi) and b (i) of the Operational Guidelines:

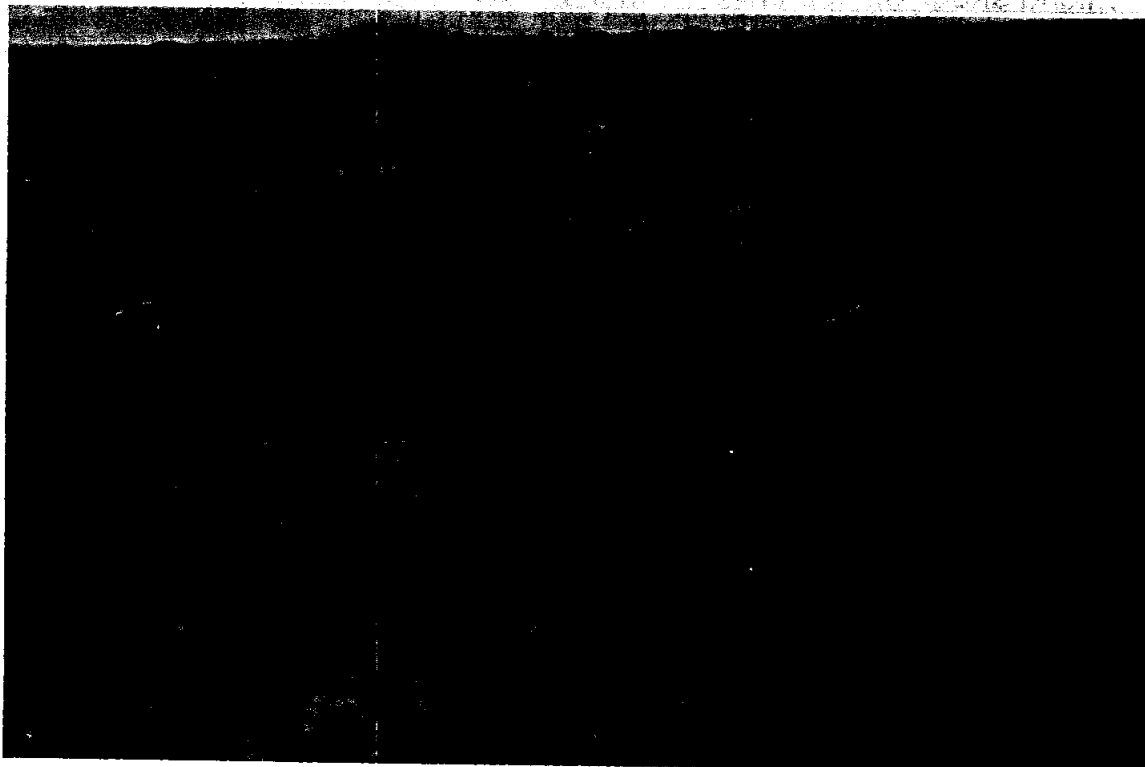
3: Salt Making in Chireya

This is an area located in the North West of Zimbabwe. Here the Shangwe women still make salt in a traditional manner. They still employ traditional skills, equipment and follow traditional details. The area satisfies criteria a (iii) and (vi). It is the only example of traditional techniques and is respected by the people in the area. In all other parts of the country the traditional salt making technique have long been forgotten.

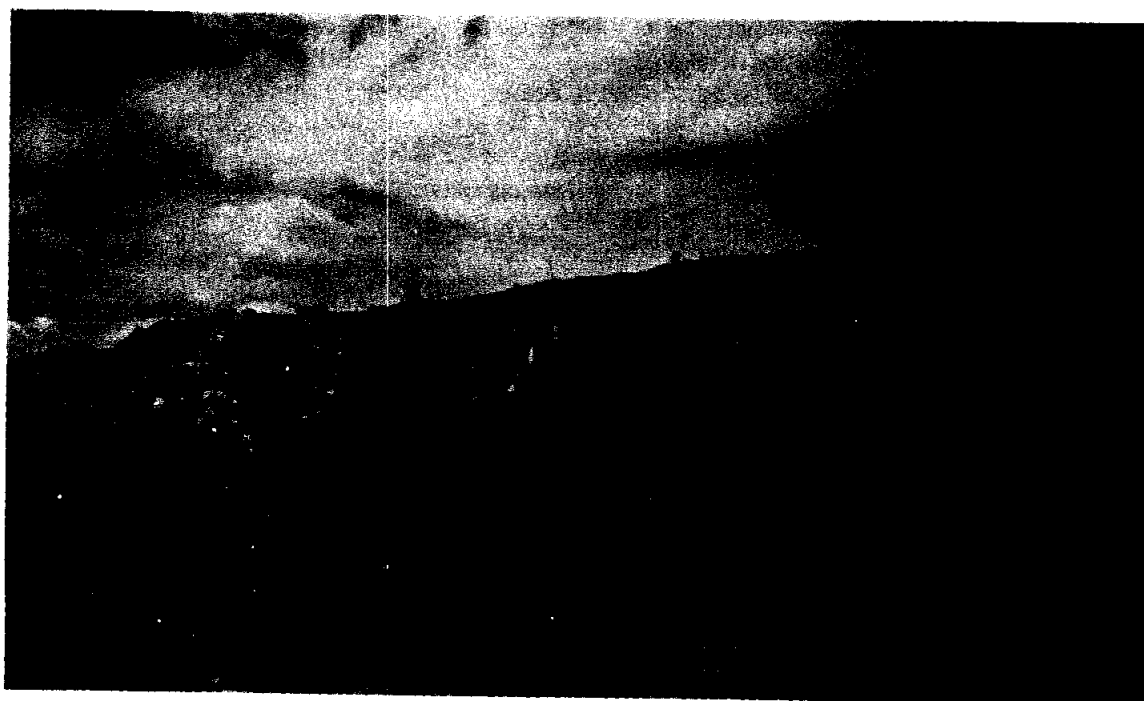
WORKING GROUP ON CULTURAL ITINERARIES AND EXCHANGE ROUTES

It was noted that the sub-region had a number of possible sites and towns of this category. Examples of town sites included Luanda, Benguela, on the West Coast; Mombasa, Zanzibar, Bagamoyo, Kilwa, Kisiwani, Sofala and Maputo on the East coast; and Cape Town in South Africa. In the interior are such sites like Bagamoyo, Danamombe, Khami and Khurumani. These formed nodes through which trade and cultural exchanges took place. The group noted the difficulty in tracing these exchange routes given the rather limited knowledge available at present. However, countries like Angola had carried out research in the areas and these could be used as a model for other countries. Research in the area would help to reconstruct the map and details on the nature of exchange in the region. In view of this the group recommended that:

- UNESCO, in collaboration with member states of the sub-region, initiate, develop, and fund a sub-regional Project to study Trade Routes in the area. A small group of experts should be constituted to work on the project.
- State Parties should embark on an identification programme of monuments, sites and cultural landscapes which mark important exchange routes. Some sites recommended for listing were: Luanda and Benguela (on the West Coast); Zanzibar, Kilwa, Kisiwani, Sofala and Maputo (on the East Coast); Cape Town in South Africa. Interior sites like Khurumani and Bagamoyo formed roads for the trade and culture exchanges.



UDVAI SITE, TANZANIA.



MAPUNGUMBWE, SOUTH AFRICA.

APPENDIX II

Recommendations

At the close of the meeting, the experts:

- 1) Recognised and underlined the considerable richness and diversity of the African cultural heritage, and in particular its archaeological, technical and spiritual aspects, as well as its human settlements, cultural itineraries and exchange routes.
- 2) Endorsed the Recommendation No- 83 (para 6) of Audience Africa (UNESCO Headquarters, 6-10 February 1995) which calls on national science authorities and national, regional and international scientific bodies to identify, study, protect and make known the archaeological, architectural, technical and spiritual components of the African cultural heritage.
- 3) Observed that the African cultural heritage, despite its importance, is still today heavily under-represented on the World Heritage List. This situation undermines the stated purpose of the List which is the identification and faithful representation in all its aspects of the heritage of humanity.
- 4) Considered that this situation stems in particular from the excessive importance given until now to a "monumentalist" conception of the cultural heritage, to a too strict separation between culture and nature and to an Eurocentric application of the criteria of authenticity in the implementation of the Convention and, as a result, request the Committee to take these points into account.
- 5) Therefore fully endorsed the recommendations of the expert meeting at UNESCO (20-22 June 1994) to define a Global Strategy to improve the representativity of the World Heritage List and which were approved by the World Heritage Committee at its 18th session in December 1994. In particular, they supported the anthropological and global approach recommended, as well as the request that special attention be paid to the heritage of living cultures.
- 6) Considered that the emergence in the Convention of innovative concepts such as cultural landscapes does justice to the African situation where natural and cultural values are closely intertwined at various scales, from large ensembles to isolated elements.
- 7) Noted that the newly adopted notion of cultural itineraries and exchange routes should be considered an important step in the direction of well-balanced representation of the African heritage on the World Heritage List.
- 8) Equally noted that the Nara Document on authenticity, which takes into account the traditions and the know-how of living cultures in different regions of the world, correct to a certain extent the misrepresentation referred to point 4.
- 9) Called upon the States of the Africa region not yet Parties to the World Heritage Convention to ratify it, and the States Parties to prepare their tentative lists of cultural properties whose universal and outstanding value could be recognised.
- 10) Expressed the wish that a follow-up meeting be held in Zimbabwe in July 1996 to co-ordinate these tentative lists on a sub-regional basis
- 11) Urged the World Heritage Centre to provide preparatory assistance to the afore-mentioned meeting and facilitate the elaboration of tentative list and nominations by providing documentation and expertise.
- 12) Recommended to the World Heritage Committee that cultural criteria (vi), mentioned in para 24 of the Operational Guidelines, be made more explicit as to cover more specific sites of religious and spiritual significance.

13) Finally, thanked the World Heritage Committee for having taken the initiative of the Global Strategy meeting and expressed the hope that other meetings of this kind will be organised in other African sub-regions, in order to achieve a balanced representation on the World Heritage List of the heritage of Africa.

APPENDIX III

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