

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-63307-9 - Cambridge World Archaeology: The Archaeology of Southern Africa

Peter Mitchell

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## The archaeology of southern Africa

Some of the earliest human populations lived in southern Africa, and evidence from sites there has inspired key debates on human origins and on the emergence of modern humans. The sub-continent has one of the world's richest heritages of rock art, and specialists have developed innovative theories about its meaning and significance that have influenced the understanding of rock art everywhere. Passionate arguments about the hunter-gatherer way of life have centred on southern African cases, and the relationship between archaeological and anthropological data is also central to understanding the past of southern Africa's pastoralist and farmer communities. The precolonial states of the region provide some of the best-documented cases of the influence of external trade on the development of African polities. Peter Mitchell has produced the first comprehensive modern synthesis of the sub-continent's archaeology. His book offers a thorough-going overview of 3 million years of southern African history.

PETER MITCHELL is Lecturer in African Prehistory at the University of Oxford, and Tutor and Fellow in Archaeology at St Hugh's College, Oxford. He has taught previously at the University of Wales, Lampeter, and at the University of Cape Town. He has travelled widely in southern Africa and in other parts of the continent, and has undertaken two major fieldwork projects in Lesotho.

---

CAMBRIDGE WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY

---

*Series editor*

NORMAN YOFFEE, *University of Michigan*

*Editorial board*

SUSAN ALCOCK, *University of Michigan*

TOM DILLEHAY, *University of Kentucky*

STEPHEN SHENNAN, *University College, London*

CARLA SINOPOLI, *University of Michigan*

The Cambridge World Archaeology series is addressed to students and professional archaeologists, and to academics in related disciplines. Most volumes present a survey of the archaeology of a region of the world, providing an up-to-date account of research and integrating recent findings with new concerns of interpretation. While the focus is on a specific region, broader cultural trends are discussed and the implications of regional findings for cross-cultural interpretations considered. The authors also bring anthropological and historical expertise to bear on archaeological problems and show how both new data and changing intellectual trends in archaeology shape inferences about the past. More recently, the series has expanded to include thematic volumes.

*Books in the series*

A.F. HARDING, *European Societies in the Bronze Age*

RAYMOND ALLCHIN AND BRIDGET ALLCHIN, *The Rise  
of Civilization in India and Pakistan*

CLIVE GAMBLE, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Europe*

CHARLES HIGHAM, *Archaeology of Mainland South East Asia*

SARAH MILLEDGE NELSON, *The Archaeology of Korea*

DAVID PHILLIPSON, *African Archaeology (second revised edition)*

OLIVER DICKINSON, *The Aegean Bronze Age*

KAREN OLSEN BRUHNS, *Ancient South America*

ALASDAIR WHITTLE, *Europe in the Neolithic*

CHARLES HIGHAM, *The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia*

CLIVE GAMBLE, *The Palaeolithic Societies of Europe*

DAN POTTS, *The Archaeology of Elam*

NICHOLAS DAVID AND CAROL KRAMER, *Ethnoarchaeology  
in Action*

CATHERINE PERLÈS, *The Early Neolithic in Greece*

JAMES WHITLEY, *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece*

PETER MITCHELL, *The Archaeology of Southern Africa*

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-63307-9 - Cambridge World Archaeology: The Archaeology of Southern Africa

Peter Mitchell

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY

---

# THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

PETER MITCHELL

*University of Oxford*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-63307-9 - Cambridge World Archaeology: The Archaeology of Southern Africa  
Peter Mitchell  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,  
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by  
Cambridge University Press, New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)  
Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521633079](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521633079)

© Peter Mitchell 2002

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written  
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2002

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

ISBN 978-0-521-63307-9 Hardback  
ISBN 978-0-521-63389-5 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or  
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in  
this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is,  
or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Information regarding prices, travel  
timetables, and other factual information given in this work is correct at  
the time of first printing but Cambridge University Press does not guarantee  
the accuracy of such information thereafter.

---

## CONTENTS

<i>List of illustrations</i>	<i>page</i> vi
<i>List of tables</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
1 Introduction	1
2 Frameworks	10
3 Origins	39
4 Modern humans, modern behaviour?	71
5 Living through the late Pleistocene	107
6 From the Pleistocene into the Holocene: social and ecological models of cultural change	137
7 Hunting, gathering and intensifying: Holocene foragers in southern Africa	161
8 History from the rocks, ethnography from the desert	192
9 Taking stock: the introduction and impact of pastoralism	227
10 Early farming communities	259
11 The Zimbabwe Tradition	300
12 Later farming communities in southernmost Africa	344
13 The archaeology of colonialism	380
14 Southern African archaeology today	413
<i>Glossary</i>	429
<i>References</i>	432
<i>Index</i>	504

---

## ILLUSTRATIONS

2.1	Southern Africa: contemporary political divisions	<i>page</i> 11
2.2	Southern Africa: main physiographic features	12
2.3	The Drakensberg Escarpment	13
2.4	Southern Africa's biomes	15
2.5	The Moist Woodland Biome	16
2.6	The Kalahari Savanna Biome	17
2.7	The Dry Woodland Biome	17
2.8	The Mixed Woodland Biome	18
2.9	The Grassland Biome	19
2.10	The Nama-Karoo Biome	20
2.11	The Great Karoo	20
2.12	The Succulent Karoo Biome	21
2.13	The Desert Biome	22
2.14	The Fynbos Biome	23
2.15	The Forest Biome	24
2.16	The Afromontane Biome	25
2.17	Southern Africa: Later Stone Age archaeological traditions	30
2.18	Southern Africa: major ceramic traditions of Iron Age farming communities	31
3.1	Successive radiations in hominin evolution	40
3.2	Plio-Pleistocene fossil hominin localities in East and South Africa	43
3.3	The Taung child, <i>Australopithecus africanus</i>	44
3.4	Sterkfontein	45
3.5	<i>Australopithecus africanus</i> (StS 5)	47
3.6	<i>Australopithecus</i> sp. (StW 573)	48
3.7	<i>Paranthropus robustus</i> (SK 48)	49
3.8	Swartkrans	50
3.9	<i>Homo ergaster</i> (SK 847) from Swartkrans	53
3.10	Oldowan artefacts from Sterkfontein Member 5	55
3.11	Polished bone fragments from Swartkrans Members 1–3	57
3.12	Acheulean handaxes	60

	<i>List of illustrations</i>	vii
3.13	Southern Africa: Middle Pleistocene archaeological sites	61
3.14	Fauresmith artefacts	62
3.15	MSA 1 artefacts	65
3.16	Eland bone scatter, Duinefontein	67
3.17	Wonderwerk Cave	68
3.18	The Florisbad cranium ( <i>Homo heidelbergensis</i> )	70
4.1	Location of archaeological sites discussed in chapter 4	73
4.2	Klasies River Main Site	74
4.3	Border Cave	76
4.4	Die Kelders	77
4.5	MSA 2 artefacts	84
4.6	Howieson's Poort artefacts	85
4.7	MSA 3 artefacts	86
4.8	Pressure-flaked Stillbay points	90
4.9	Blombos Cave	90
4.10	Bone artefacts from Blombos Cave	91
4.11	Eland ( <i>Taurotragus oryx</i> )	93
4.12	Florisbad	95
4.13	Bundu Pan	96
4.14	Apollo 11 Cave	97
4.15	Incised haematite from Wonderwerk Cave	98
4.16	Spatial patterning at Florisbad	100
5.1	Temporal patterning in southern African radiocarbon determinations 39,000–12,000 BP	108
5.2	Location of archaeological sites discussed in chapter 5	110
5.3	MSA/LSA transitional assemblages at Sehonghong	116
5.4	Rose Cottage Cave	117
5.5	Robberg artefacts	121
5.6	Bone artefacts from the Robberg assemblages at Sehonghong	123
5.7	White Paintings Shelter	125
5.8	Distribution of Bushman languages	126
5.9	Location of Robberg and other archaeological sites, c. 20,000–12,000 BP	127
5.10	Burchell's zebra ( <i>Equus burchelli</i> )	130
5.11	Painted slab from Apollo 11 Cave	133
5.12	Spatial patterning at Strathalan B Cave	135
6.1	Location of archaeological sites discussed in chapter 6	138
6.2	Oakhurst artefacts	142
6.3	Wilton artefacts	144
6.4	!Nara melons ( <i>Acanthosicyos horrida</i> )	146

6.5	Marula trees and fruit ( <i>Sclerocarya birrea</i> )	147
6.6	Elands Bay Cave	148
6.7	Sehonghong Shelter	152
6.8	Patterning by biome in southern African radiocarbon determinations 12,000–8000 BP	154
6.9	Spatial patterning in seashell ornament and ostrich eggshell bead occurrence in south-eastern southern Africa 12,000–8000 BP	156
6.10	Ostrich eggshell beads	158
7.1	Location of archaeological sites in the Moist Woodland, Savanna and Grassland Biomes discussed in chapter 7	162
7.2	Matopo Hills, Zimbabwe	162
7.3	White Paintings Shelter: barbed bone points	164
7.4	Jubilee Shelter	166
7.5	Siphiso Shelter	167
7.6	Nkupe Shelter	168
7.7	Likoaeng	170
7.8	Location of archaeological sites in the Fynbos, Forest, Karoo and Desert Biomes discussed in chapter 7	173
7.9	Arrows from Faraoskop	174
7.10	Uniondale	174
7.11	Nelson Bay Cave	176
7.12	Welgeluk: burials	177
7.13	Mike Taylor's Midden	180
7.14	Steenbokfontein	181
7.15	Painted slab from Steenbokfontein	183
7.16	Engraved slab from Wonderwerk Cave	185
7.17	Big Elephant Shelter	186
7.18	Hungorob Gorge, Dâures massif (Brandberg)	187
8.1	Location of archaeological sites discussed in chapter 8	193
8.2	Rock engravings at Twyfelfontein	194
8.3	Rock paintings in the Matopo Hills	195
8.4	Rock engravings from Springbokoog	196
8.5	Rock engraving at Rooipoort	197
8.6	Rock paintings, Tsodilo Hills	199
8.7	Painting of a man carrying bow, quiver and flywhisk, Brakfontein se Kloof	201
8.8	Melikane Shelter	202
8.9	The Orpen scene at Melikane	203
8.10	Dying eland panel, Game Pass Shelter	204
8.11	Painting of a rain-animal, Matjiesgoedkloof	205
8.12	Painted entoptic image, Brakfontein se Kloof	205



	<i>List of illustrations</i>	ix
8.13	Pecked and rubbed rhinoceros, Thaba Sione	207
8.14	Painting of a reptilian figure emerging from within the rock, Hololo River	208
8.15	Rain-animal scene at Sehonghong	209
8.16	Strandberg	209
8.17	'Formlings'	211
8.18	Painting of a 'mythic woman' figure	212
8.19	Paintings of mormyrid fish, Rose Cottage Cave	215
8.20	Engravings of a fantasy animal and human figure, Springbokoog	217
8.21	Painting of women carrying weighted digging-sticks, Brakfontein se Kloof	220
8.22	Location of principal anthropological research projects among Kalahari Bushmen	223
9.1	Location of archaeological sites discussed in chapter 9	228
9.2	Possible southward movements of the Khoekhoen	229
9.3	Distribution of Khoe-speakers and historically known Khoekhoe groups	230
9.4	Bambata ware	234
9.5	Possible shamanistic figures in the rock art of Snake Rock Shelter	236
9.6	<i>Matjieshuis</i> in modern Namaqualand	238
9.7	Kasteelberg B	238
9.8	The sequence of Khoekhoe ceramic phases in the Western Cape	240
9.9	Grinding grooves at Kasteelberg B	241
9.10	The Seacow Valley	242
9.11	Spoegrivier	243
9.12	Burial from Omdraai Grave 1, Kakamas	245
9.13	Stone huts in the Hungorob Ravine	247
9.14	Dunefield Midden	251
9.15	De Hangen Style pottery	252
9.16	Painting of fat-tailed sheep, Boskloof	253
9.17	Handprints, Matjiesgoedkloof	254
9.18	Smithfield pot from Jouberts Gif	256
9.19	Blinkklipkop specularite mine	257
10.1	Location of archaeological sites discussed in chapter 10	260
10.2	Naviundu Tradition ceramics	262
10.3	The southward expansion of farming communities beyond the Equator	263
10.4	Mzonjani ceramics	265
10.5	Gokomere ceramics	266

X	LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS		
	10.6	Happy Rest phase ceramics	268
	10.7	Msuluzi and Ndondonwane phase ceramics	269
	10.8	Eiland phase ceramics	271
	10.9	Women threshing sorghum	272
	10.10	Lower grindstone from Ndondonwane	273
	10.11	Metal artefacts from Divuyu	277
	10.12	Metal artefacts from Nqoma	278
	10.13	<i>Daga</i> floor of a house, Ndondonwane	280
	10.14	Modern Zulu homestead	281
	10.15	The Central Cattle Pattern	281
	10.16	Ndondonwane	282
	10.17	Sculptured ceramic head from the Lydenburg Heads Site	285
	10.18	Human cranium from Nanda showing modification of teeth	286
	10.19	Pit with deliberate deposition of cattle bones at its base, Ndondonwane	287
	10.20	Chibuene	289
	10.21	The Female Hill, Tsodilo Hills	290
	10.22	Specularite mine, Tsodilo Hills	292
	10.23	Distribution of pressure-flaked arrowheads and backed microliths in South Africa and Lesotho	295
	10.24	Distribution of bone fish hooks, rock paintings of mormyrid fish and finds of red and blue duiker at inland locations in south-eastern southern Africa	296
	10.25	Leather bag, Collingham Shelter	297
	11.1	Location of archaeological sites discussed in chapter 11	301
	11.2	Bambandyanalo	302
	11.3	Mapungubwe Hill	303
	11.4	The gold rhinoceros, bowl and sceptre from Mapungubwe Hill	304
	11.5	Oblate-shaped and 'Garden Roller' glass beads, Mapungubwe	306
	11.6	Toutswemogala	308
	11.7	Leopard's Kopje pottery	309
	11.8	Musengezi pottery	311
	11.9	Great Zimbabwe	313
	11.10	Zimbabwe Tradition pottery	314
	11.11	Plan of Great Zimbabwe	315
	11.12	Western Enclosure, the Hill Complex, Great Zimbabwe	316
	11.13	Carving of a bird from the Hill Complex, Great Zimbabwe	317
	11.14	Conical tower, Great Enclosure, Great Zimbabwe	318

	<i>List of illustrations</i>	xi
11.15	Herringbone decoration of the Great Enclosure, Great Zimbabwe	320
11.16	Kagumbudzi	323
11.17	Thulamela	324
11.18	Manyikeni	325
11.19	Baranda	332
11.20	'Loopholed' enclosure, Muchekayawa	333
11.21	Agricultural terracing, Nyanga Highlands	334
11.22	Pit structure and reconstructed houses, Nyanga Highlands	335
11.23	Chawonera 'fort', Nyanga Highlands	336
11.24	Hill Ruin, Khami	337
11.25	Decorative stone walling, Danangombe	337
11.26	Ceramic and settlement sequences in the Soutpansberg	339
11.27	Dzata, Northern Province	341
11.28	'Late white' finger paintings, Makgabeng	342
12.1	Location of Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa c. 1850	345
12.2	Location of archaeological sites discussed in chapter 12	346
12.3	Moloko pottery	347
12.4	Plan of Type N site	350
12.5	Plan of Type V site	351
12.6	Plan of Type Z site	352
12.7	Comb-stamped Type V pottery	353
12.8	Rock engraving of a Zulu homestead	355
12.9	Reconstructed Later Iron Age village at Masorini	357
12.10	Iron-smelting furnace at Kgopolwe	358
12.11	Copper-smelting furnace at Nagome	359
12.12	Kaditshwene	361
12.13	Modipe Hill	362
12.14	Sketch map of a settlement, Machadodorp area	363
12.15	Trance-related images, Tandjesberg	367
12.16	Cattle paintings, Tienfontein	368
12.17	Burial MMK 329, Riet River Valley	369
12.18	Dithakong	370
12.19	Location of areas affected by the <i>Mfecane</i>	371
12.20	Generalised plan of Zulu royal capitals	374
12.21	Ondini	375
12.22	Refuge site, Matopo Hills	377
12.23	Thaba Bosiu	378
12.24	Esikhunjini	379

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-63307-9 - Cambridge World Archaeology: The Archaeology of Southern Africa

Peter Mitchell

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

13.1	Location of archaeological sites discussed in chapter 13	381
13.2	Reconstruction of the <i>padrão</i> , Cape Cross	383
13.3	Table Bay	385
13.4	Cape Town Castle	387
13.5	Chinese provincial porcelain	389
13.6	Japanese export porcelain	390
13.7	The wreck of the <i>Oosterland</i>	391
13.8	Plan of the slave lodge at Vergelegen	393
13.9	The main building at Blaauwklippen	395
13.10	Vernacular architecture, Verlorenvlei	396
13.11	Salem	397
13.12	The VOC slave lodge, Cape Town	398
13.13	Tomb of Tuang Guru	400
13.14	//Khauxa!nas	402
13.15	Finger paintings of men on horseback	403
13.16	Driekoppen Shelter	404
13.17	Painting of Trekboer wagon, Stompiesfontein	405
13.18	Painting of horse/eland creatures, Melikane	406
13.19	The British fort at Eshowe	409
13.20	Voortrekker Monument, Winburg	410
13.21	The London Missionary Society church, Phalatswe	411
14.1	Graffiti on rock paintings, Elands Bay Cave	417
14.2	Display panel at Nelson Bay Cave	418
14.3	The Senqu Valley	419
14.4	Contract excavations at the Waterfront, Cape Town	421
14.5	Educational archaeology in action, Thulamela	428

---

## TABLES

2.1	Southern Africa: palaeoenvironmental summary for the last 130,000 years	<i>page 29</i>
3.1	Linnaean names of current and fossil hominins and other hominids	42
3.2	Dating of early hominin deposits in southern Africa	46
3.3	Radiometric dates relevant to the Acheulean/Middle Stone Age transition in sub-Saharan Africa	64
4.1	Early anatomically modern human fossils from Africa and the Near East with absolute dates in excess of 40,000 BP	78
4.2a	The successive subdivisions of the southern African Middle Stone Age (after Volman 1984)	82
4.2b	Absolute dates for the southern African Middle Stone Age before 40,000 BP (excluding radiocarbon determinations)	83
4.3	Archaeological criteria commonly accepted as evidence of modern behaviour (after Mellars 1989; Klein 1995)	102
4.4	Comparison of evidence for the behaviour of MSA people in southern Africa before 40,000/50,000 BP with Acheulean hominins and with contemporary populations in western Eurasia (after H. Deacon 1995; Klein 1995; Mellars 1996; Stringer 1999; this chapter)	104
5.1	Pleistocene assemblages classified as Early Later Stone Age (ELSA)	114
5.2	Principal changes in stone artefact assemblages accompanying the MSA/LSA transition	119
5.3	Edible plants known from late Pleistocene contexts in southern Africa, 40,000–12,000 BP	128
5.4	Movement of marine shell and marine shell ornaments in the late Pleistocene, 20,000–12,000 BP	131

8.1	Wadley's (1987) criteria for the recognition of aggregation and dispersal sites	214
8.2	Criteria employed to identify 'social regions' in the Thukela Basin of KwaZulu-Natal, 4000–2000 BP (after Mazel 1989, 1990, 1993)	219
9.1	Distinguishing criteria for the recognition of pastoralist and hunter-gatherer sites in the south-western Cape (after A.B. Smith <i>et al.</i> 1991)	249
10.1	Domesticated plants known from early farming contexts of the first millennium AD	274
14.1	External individuals and institutions active in archaeological research in southern Africa 1991–2000	424
14.2	Key research questions for the near future of southern African archaeology: a personal selection	427

---

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As an outsider to southern Africa I have benefited enormously from the generosity and help of numerous people over the years, not least in answering questions or supplying offprints during the writing of this book. I should particularly like to thank Gabeba Abrahams-Willis, Graham Avery, Margaret Avery, Lucinda Backwell, Peter Beaumont, Jo Behrens, Johan Binneman, Charles Bollong, James Brink, Yvonne Brink, Ron Clarke, Dave Collett, Glenda Cox, Hilary Deacon (who hosted me on my first visit in 1985), Janette Deacon, Kobus Dreyer, Mandy Esterhuysen, Dave Halkett, Martin Hall, Simon Hall, Zoë Henderson, Chris Henshilwood, Tom Huffman, Gwilym Hughes, Leon Jacobson, Chopi Jerardino, Pieter Jolly, Jonathan Kaplan, John Kinahan, Jane Klose, Kathy Kuman, Julia Lee Thorp, David Lewis-Williams, Jannie Loubser, Tim Maggs, Antonia Malan, Tony Manhire, Anne Markell, Aron Mazel, Duncan Miller, Alan Morris, David Morris, Peter Nilssen, Sven Ouzman, John Parkington (to whom I owe my first teaching opportunity and a subsequent research fellowship at the University of Cape Town), Innocent Pikirayi, Ina Plug, Frans Prins, Frans Roodt, Hester Roodt, Thembi Russell, Karim Sadr, Garth Sampson, Alex Schoeman, Carmel Schrire, Judy Sealy, Paul Sinclair, Andy Smith, Ben Smith, Janette Smith, Lukas Smits, Anne Solomon, Charlotte Tagart, Mike Taylor, Taole Tesele, Anne Thackeray, Francis Thackeray, Carolyn Thorp, Maria van der Ryst, Len van Schalkwyk, Patricia Vinnicombe, John Vogel, Lyn Wadley, Lita Webley, Gavin Whitelaw, Bonny Williamson, Margot Winer, Marilee Wood, Stephan Woodborne, John Wright and Royden Yates. I have indicated in the captions to the figures those colleagues, many of them listed above, who kindly provided original illustrations or photographs, or who agreed to allow previously published material to be reused.

Some of those I have listed have also helped greatly to improve the text and minimise its errors and omissions. For shouldering this task I thank Yvonne Brink, Mandy Esterhuysen, Ray Inskeep, Kathy Kuman, Innocent Pikirayi, Andrew Reid, Karim Sadr, Garth Sampson, Judy Sealy, Ben Smith, Anne Thackeray, Francis Thackeray, Lita Webley and Gavin Whitelaw, as well as three new researchers, John Hobart, Fumiko Ohinata and Chris Wingfield, the last of whom also bravely took on producing the maps with the assistance of a grant from Oxford University's School of Archaeology. Thanks too to Dan Walsh for help with xeroxing.

xvi                      ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Among non-archaeologists in southern Africa the help and friendship of Mark and Theresa Cotterell, Joe, Moira and Andrew Forrest, Bruce and Polly Hargreaves, Andrew and Ingrid LaTrobe, David and Corlia Richardson and Edward Roelofse were invaluable. Specifically as regards my own fieldwork in Lesotho it is a pleasure to acknowledge the support of the Lesotho Protection and Preservation Commission and its Chairwoman, Mrs N. Khitsane. I also thank David Ambrose, Lukas Smits and the chiefs and people of Ha Maimane, Ha Makotoko, Ha Mapola, Khomo-ea-Mollo, Sehonghong and Tloutle Ha Mpiti, especially Bo-Ntate T. Mapola, M. Phutsoe and J. Sengoara. Fieldwork is impossible without fieldworkers and another debt is therefore owed to all those, Basotho, South African, British and American, who have worked with me, but especially to Ruth Charles, Toby Durden, the late David Hall, Gordon Laurens, John Steinberg and Deacon Turner.

Many of the ideas reflected in this book were developed through successive years of teaching undergraduate and graduate students at the Universities of Cape Town, Lampeter and Oxford. To all of them my thanks, as well as to those British-based colleagues, particularly Larry Barham, Nick Barton, Derek Roe and Alison Roberts, who have been sources of stimulation over the years. My introduction to southern African archaeology is due to two teachers, colleagues and friends who have always provided tremendous moral and intellectual support, never once letting me lose enthusiasm for either Africa or archaeology: to Ray Inskeep and to Pat Carter my gratitude. Thanks too to my parents and brother for their constant encouragement and interest.

I should also like to thank Chris Gosden for the initial suggestion to attempt a synthesis of southern African archaeology, Jessica Kuper for her editorial support, Frances Brown for copy-editing and the rest of the CUP production staff.

Lastly, but in all ways first, my thanks to Gloria, Chiara and Cesare for continually reminding me how much more there is to life than writing or archaeology and for asking so many insightful and challenging questions. *Mille grazie*.

St Hugh's College, Oxford  
November 2000