TRADITIONAL CUSTODIANSHIP OF ROCK ART SITES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY FROM CENTRAL MOZAMBIQUE

By

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the award of the degree of Masters of Arts (RockArt Studies), University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. This work has not been submitted before for any examination or degree in any other University.

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(Albino Pereira de Jesus Jopela)

____ day of_____, 2010

Acronyms

AHM	National Historic Archive
ARPAC	Institute of Socio-cultural Research
DINAC	National Directorate for Culture
EFC	Early Farming Communities
ESA	Early Stone Age
MSA	Middle Stone Age
LFC	Later Farming Communities
LSA	Later Stone Age
NCMHR	National Commission for Monuments and Historic Relics
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NSMM	National Services of Museums and Monuments
RARI	Rock Art Research Institute
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance
SARADA	South African Rock Art Digital Archive
SAREC	SIDA's Department for Research Cooperation
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
VCL	Vumba Cultural Landscape

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Formal heritage management systems have failed to protect rock art sites and their associated sacred values in many parts of southern Africa. Local communities living in close proximity to heritage places usually have, since historical times, a large role in ensuring the survival of places of cultural significance through their traditional custodianship systems. However, often these systems are ignored or not fully recognized by the State heritage management organizations. This study investigates whether an intimate understanding of traditional custodianship systems can provide direction towards a more effective and sustainable method of managing rock art sites imbued with sacred values. The work analyses the nature of the southern African traditional custodianship systems and, more specifically, their relation to rock art sites. It focuses on the Vumba Cultural Landscape in Central Mozambique and the traditional custodianship system here is compared to those at Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe and Chongoni Hills in Malawi. In an attempt to harness the positive parts of the traditional and formal systems, the work recommends the adoption of a framework enriched by a philosophy of rooted cosmopolitanism that embraces legal pluralism in heritage legislation and cultural polices.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of research problem

There are at least 50 000 rock art sites in southern Africa (Deacon 2002). Of this rich heritage, only a few hundred rock art sites are known and documented in Mozambique. It is important that they are effectively managed. Heritage management can be defined as "all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance, caring not only for the cultural heritage values of the site but also the surrounding environment" (Pearson & Sullivan 1995:9). Effective management of cultural heritage is a vital tool for the conservation of rock art for future generations (Abungu 2006).

In Mozambique, as well as in other parts of Africa, traditional management systems were in place in pre-colonial times. They served to maintain respect for and to ensure the survival of sacred places such as rock art sites (Ndoro 2001b; Mumma 2003; Jopela 2006). Traditionally this system was enforced through cultural systems, religious and belief systems, as well as community leaders. With colonization, 'modern' (in the absence of a better word)/western/ state-based or formal heritage management, which includes identification, documentation and protective legislation of heritage resources, was introduced throughout the African continent (Ndoro & Pwiti 2001). Consequently, in the post-independence period state-based heritage organizations inherited rigid colonial policies that do not recognize the importance of traditional ways of protecting heritage places (Maradze 2003). In fact, issues concerning traditional custodianship systems of cultural sites were largely overlooked and not integrated in the post-colonial legal heritage framework of most African countries, including Mozambique (Ndoro & Pwiti 2005).

The role of local communities in the active use of and engagement with sacred rock art sites through ritual practice has been observed in southern Africa in places like Domboshava and Silozwane in Zimbabwe (Pwiti & Mvenge 1996), Tsodilo Hills in Botswana (Thebe 2006),

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Kondoa-Irangi in Tanzania (Loubser 2006; Bwasiri 2008), as well as Chongoni in Malawi (Smith 1995; Zubieta 2006). Today, there is growing awareness that many communities in southern Africa have always had and some still have traditional management structures to ensure the survival of sacred sites (Ndoro, Mumma & Abungo 2008; Sheridan & Nyamweru 2008). In fact, whenever places such as rock shelters are perceived as powerful oracles for communication with the ancestors and are used for ceremonies (e.g. rain-control rituals partially done at rock art sites in Manica district, central Mozambique), these places usually benefit from a remarkable traditional custodianship from local communities (Ranger 1999; Ndoro 2003; Sætersdal 2004). Examples of such sites in Mozambique include the Chinhamapere and Moucondhiwa rock art sites in the Vumba Mountains (Jopela 2006). However, over the last century there has been a decline or 'suffocation' of traditional management systems due to several factors, for example the African colonial experience (Maradze 2003; Katsamudanga 2003). In addition, is also true that traditional custodianship systems can lose their effectiveness in a modern developmental context (Smith 2006).

The dilemma associated with managing archaeological sites imbued with sacred values has been discussed from different perspectives by a number of scholars over the last decades (Taruvinga 1995; Pwiti & Mvenge 1996; Ndoro & Pwiti 1999; Maradze 2003; Ndoro 2003). On the one hand, formal heritage managers criticize the damage done to the site as a result of the traditional use of heritage resources. An example of this is practise of splashing beer onto rock paintings in places like *Mongomi wa Kolo* in Tanzania (Kessey 1995; Bwasiri 2008). On the other hand, the limited resources and capacities of state-based heritage organizations and the way they currently operate (based on modern heritage management systems), has led scholars and heritage practitioners to recognize that formal heritage management systems on their own, are incapable of ensuring the effective and sustainable management of immovable heritage, be it a rock art site or any other place of cultural significance (Mumma 2003; Ndoro 2003). Despite the efforts of the heritage organizations in Mozambique to effectively manage rock art sites, very few sites have actually benefited from formal heritage management approaches.

Hence, considering that numerous communities throughout Africa still have traditional mechanisms to maintain respect for culturally significant places (Ndoro & Pwiti 2001; Maradze 2003; Mumma 2003), and given the problems with current state-based approaches to heritage management (cf. Macamo 1996; Mumma 2003; Jopela 2006), the question of how to develop a sustainable and successful framework for the effective management of heritage sites imbued with sacred values becomes an important one. Following from this is the question of whether a more effective and sustainable method of managing sacred rock art sites might be found by studying traditional management systems. These two questions represent the main research problems of this thesis. They will be explored by examining the practice of traditional custodianship of archaeological sites imbued with sacred values, in Central Mozambique, as a strategy for managing cultural heritage more generally.

1.2. Research aim and objectives

This research project aims to analyse the nature of the traditional custodianship systems of rock art sites in southern Africa. Specific reference will be made of the Vumba Cultural Landscape (hereafter designated VCL) in the Manica district of central Mozambique, as well as Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe and Chongoni Hills in Malawi. The study aims to:

- o Investigate community attitudes and practices towards cultural heritage in Manica District, in order to explore how these practices influence the conservation of rock art sites (rock art custodianship) in the landscape;
- o Analyse, through comparative case studies, present and past traditional management systems in cultural landscapes with rock art sites (e.g. sites inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List under criterion vi)[1] in the southern African region;

Suggest and discuss a framework for managing rock art sites in central Mozambique.

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[1] "Be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance" (Operational Guideline 2008: Paragraph 77).

1.3. Rationale

I have chosen the VCL for my detailed field study because previous researchers have noted the existence of traditional practices related to the use and preservation of natural and cultural resources in this area and in the adjacent areas of eastern Zimbabwe (Artur 2000; Cônsul 2002; Araman 2002; Simbine 2002; Nhamo, Saeterdal & Walderhaug 2007). Despite the alleged great potential of traditional custodianship as an authentically decentralized and community-based management system, in most cases the state-based heritage institutions and World Heritage system have failed to involve and support traditional custodianship systems in effective management of heritage places. This appears to be one of the key problems faced by heritage organizations in their efforts to preserve the cultural significance of heritage places imbued with local, national or universal values in most of the rural settings in Africa (Macamo 1996; Sullivan 2003; Ndoro 2003; Jopela 2006).

The VCL was recently placed on the Mozambique Tentative List for future inscription in the UNESCO World Heritage List. Criteria (vi) of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2008) is the reason why the VCL, including its associated living traditions, is of 'Outstanding Universal Value' (Jopela 2008; WHC 2010: Ref. 5381). Thus, the study of traditional custodianship in the VCL will set a baseline for comparison with other present or past management systems of cultural landscapes, where a strong association between landscapes with rock art sites and contemporary traditions have been noticed. It is then hoped that through the analysis of the traditional custodianship of rock art sites and by suggesting mechanisms for an improved management framework, this investigation will constitute a valuable contribution towards the sustainable preservation of intangible values in heritage places such as rock art sites in central Mozambique, and beyond.

1.4. Outline of chapters

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. Following the statement of the problem and the definition of the aim and scope of the study, in chapter 1, I discuss, in chapter 2, the approaches to heritage management in order to situate traditional custodianship systems within the debate regarding heritage management in southern Africa. In chapter 3, I present the natural setting, the archaeological and the historical background of the study area. This chapter also presents a brief history of rock art management in Mozambique. Chapter 4 is dedicated to the methodological approaches I used to investigate community attitudes and practices towards cultural heritage in Manica District. The analysis of the field data is presented in this chapter.

In chapter 5, I analyse the nature of the traditional custodianship systems of rock art sites at the VCL through the discussion of three major aspects: the Shona worldview; the use of rock art sites and the role of the traditional authority in the management of heritage resources. Chapter 6 focuses on the analyses of case studies from the Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe and the Chongoni Rock Art Complex in Malawi in order to draw comparisons between the traditional custodianship system within the VCL and those in others areas in southern Africa. Lastly, in chapter 7, I suggest the way forward for building a more effective management system for heritage places imbued with sacred values in central Mozambique.

2. APPROACHES TO HERITAGE MANAGEMENT: TERMINOLOGY, THEORY AND PRACTICE

In this chapter I discuss terms and concepts whose meaning and definition is important to understanding heritage management. I then situate traditional custodianship systems within the debate as to how to manage heritage in southern Africa. I give examples to show the successes and failures of traditional custodianship systems, as this becomes relevant when one considers how they should best be combined with formal management systems. I outline what I believe is a potentially more useful theoretical framework to address the challenges of heritage management.

Heritage is often defined as our legacy from the past, what we live with in the present, and what we pass on to future generations, to learn from, to marvel at and to enjoy (SAHRA 2005). The concept of cultural heritage has been continually broadened over the decades. Apart from tangible elements such as monuments and sites, cultural heritage encompasses ethical values, social customs, belief systems, religious ceremonies and traditional knowledge systems of which intangible heritage is the sign and expression (UNESCO 2003). Heritage, to borrow from Smith (2009:11), is ultimately "cultural practice, involved in the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings". Hence cultural heritage is a medium through which identity, power and society are produced and reproduced (Munjeri 2003).

The identity of present and past societies is often closely associated with specific locations and structures in the landscape (Fowler 2002, 2003). These landscapes may become cultural or sacred landscapes by virtue of the symbolic interaction between people and their natural environment over space and time (UNESCO 2008: Paragraph 47). Cultural landscapes are therefore defined as geographic areas that include both cultural and natural resources and are associated with historical developments, events and activities or exhibit cultural values (Ndoro 2001b:72). Rock art sites as well as their associated cultural landscapes are prominent features of the cultural heritage of southern Africa. They provide insight into the cosmology of past

societies as well as the way contemporary communities relate to this cosmology and to the places themselves (Lewis-Williams 2004; Sætersdal 2004; Taruvinga 2007).

Today rock art and its associated landscapes holds cultural and spiritual significance because the communities regard them as part of their cosmological environment, a place they respect because of its ability to connect them with their ancestors and the spirit world, "a space that communicates and entrenches traditional, cultural and spiritual values espoused by the community" (Van Rensburg & Koltze 2002:1). In this sense, specific places or entire landscapes where sometimes rock art is found might be considered sacred as a result of their spiritual significance that carries with it a whole range of rules and regulations regarding peoples' behaviour in relation to the space, and imply a set of beliefs often in relation to spirits and ancestors (Carmichael *et al.* 1994:1). For these reasons it has been argued that effective and sustainable management of this heritage is a vital prerequisite for conserving the history and identity of the people of southern Africa for future generations (Deacon 2002; Abungu 2006). However, it continues to beg the question: how can we effectively manage such culturally significant and scared heritage sites?

Heritage management is about "care and continuing development of a place such that its significance is retained and revealed and its future secured" (Ndoro 2001b:2). In southern Africa, like the rest of the world, the main issues that rock art management strategies have tried to address over the past decades have been the protection of sites from natural and human damage, and the promotion of public awareness, including tourism (Felgueiras 1965; Mazel 1982; Rudner 1989; Deacon 1993, 1997, 2007; Loubser 2001; Smith 2006). To this end the most commonly used management strategies focus primarily on controlling access to the sites (installing fences; allowing access only with official guides); minimising natural weathering (installing drip lines; removal of painted panels from their original setting); minimising graffiti (graffiti removal and reintegration); and visitor behaviour and knowledge (notice boards near rock art sites; guidebooks; brochures; information centres) (Loubser 2001; Deacon 2007). However, in ensuring the conservation and management of rock art sites, most governments

have fallen short in ensuring the participation of other management systems. When considering other heritage management systems, it is useful to see heritage management as falling within two different frameworks: the traditional custodianship system (a subset of the wider traditional management systems) and the western or state-based management system (hereafter designated formal management system) (cf. Pwiti & Mvenge 1996; Ndoro & Pwiti 1999; Ndoro 2003).

There is no official or agreed definition of traditional custodianship. Though the term is not explicitly used in the broad heritage literature, its deliberate use in this study constitutes an attempt to adopt a new term which intersects indigenous knowledge systems, intangible cultural heritage and community stewardship and describes the way in which rock art sites have been traditionally managed in southern Africa. Given the necessity of creating a definition I shall now investigate some of the key concepts relating to traditional custodianship.

'Traditional' is a difficult word to define, it is not easy to distinguish what is 'not' traditional from what 'is' in the African context. According to Taylor & Kaplen (2005) the controversy over the term 'traditional' derives from the fact that some scholars consider that the word implies backwardness, and instead, they favour 'indigenous' or 'local'. Others point out that many indigenous people themselves see tradition in a positive light, taking it to mean wisdom, continuity, propinquity, etc. Nonetheless the term 'traditional' is generally used to describe forms which have no perceptible western influences. Therefore 'traditional' remains a useful concept if its context and meanings are clear. Hereafter traditional refers to cultural forms (customs, beliefs and practices) perceived by African communities as indigenous (descends from original inhabitants of an area) (Adams & Hulme 2001).

Traditional custodianship is a subset of traditional management systems. These systems may be defined as cumulative bodies of knowledge, practice and belief about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment that are generated, preserved and transmitted in a traditional and intergenerational context (Taylor & Kaplen

2005:1646). As a knowledge-practice-belief complex, traditional management systems include the worldview or religious traditions of a society as well as an unwritten corpus of long-standing customs (Berkes, Colding & Folke 2000:1252).

In traditional management systems the use of heritage assets (cultural or natural) is governed by customary rules or laws that are enforced by traditional custodians. Those people have the prime responsibility for organizing the use and safekeeping of each heritage resource. This includes enforcing social mechanisms (rites and taboos) to maintain respect for places that are culturally significant and sacred for the community (Mantjoro 1996; Berkes, Colding & Folke 2000; Maradze 2003; Mumma 2003, 2005). The objective of a traditional management system is generally to promote the sustainable use of both cultural and natural resources, by the same token, safeguarding the qualities and values of the site (Munjeri 2002; Edroma 2003). For the present discussion, traditional custodianship refers to all mechanisms and actions guided by customs and belief systems, carried out by local communities, aiming for the continuous use and preservation of the place, its values, and its surrounding environment, including the preservation of its symbolic and cosmological significance. Today it is widely agreed that since the pre-colonial period numerous communities in many parts of Africa had, and many still have, traditional custodianship systems to ensure respect for places that are culturally significant for the community (Ndoro & Pwiti 2001; Sheridan & Nyamweru 2008).

Since traditions, ethical values, social customs, belief systems, religious ceremonies as well as traditional knowledge are all part of the traditional custodianship of natural and cultural resources in African societies; these systems are firmly anchored in the intangible heritage (values, norms, and worldviews) of communities (Munjeri 1995, 2002). Therefore a holistic approach to nature and culture is a prevalent feature of traditional custodianship systems. Accordingly landscapes are understood also as a reflection of the interaction between people and their natural environment over space and time (Rössler 2002). According to Sætersdal (2004:200), in a cosmological sense, landscapes are culturally learned and partly independently and partly collectively experienced. Through the process of cultural experience in a landscape,

individual and collective knowledge is linked to places and often the past is blended into the present. In most African communities, the ancestral spirits are believed to be alive in the forests, special trees, caves and water bodies and a number of rock art sites fall within this spiritual landscape and are associated with sacred values (Ndoro 2003; Maradze 2003). Thus, it is with no surprise that, in places like Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe and Kondoa-Irangi in Tanzania, some rock art sites are used as shrines by their respective local communities.

Traditional custodianship systems are seen to be anchored in age-old traditions (although in reality traditions are constantly redefined and changed by society), and communities acquire legitimacy from historical rights of use and ownership. Ownership in such a context is usually assumed as a legal right to the possession of the site (Mantjoro 1996). However, Rudmin and Berry (1987:1) note that conceptions of ownership grounded in culture and behaviour may not coincide with explicitly legalistic definitions. In reality, it is not the legal definitions but the 'living traditions' that define ownership from a community perspective. Custodians deployed at the site perform precisely defined traditional tasks at different seasons and levels: administrative, technical and spiritual. Consequently, the rights of custodianship over this type of heritage are often considered inalienable since the custody cannot be transferred, either as a gift or through a commercial transaction (Dutfield 2006).

Since traditional custodianship systems originate amongst local communities and typically derive from day-to-day usage and practices, there is a natural linkage of the heritage site to the life sustenance of the local communities (Ndoro 2006). The integration of rock art sites into the socio-economic dynamic of present day communities through rain-control ceremonies is a good illustration of this. These rain-control ceremonies are very important to the society since the ceremonies control rain and harvest, health and fortune. Without these ceremonies the society is put at risk (Sætersdal 2004; Macamo & Sætersdal 2004). Hence, traditional custodianship systems protect cultural and natural heritage through sustainable socio-economic and religious practices (Dutfield 2000). In fact, traditional custodianship systems are embedded in local belief-practice systems and these have contributed to the preservation and sustainable use of

both cultural and natural heritage sites. Conservation practices, which have been developed and refined over centuries, are a prevalent feature of these systems as well (Munjeri 2002; Mumma 2005). However, this does not necessarily imply that all traditional practices are inherently good or sustainable in terms of the management of heritage resources.

With colonization, formal management systems were introduced throughout the African continent (Ndoro & Pwiti 1999, 2001). These management systems are generally based on heritage legislation, enforced through formal legal process and administrative frameworks established by governments and they are generally premised on a philosophical orientation informed by science, technology and 'experts' with regards to management of immovable heritage (Mumma 2005). One of the practical implications of the adoption of the formal management systems was that with the introduction of protective heritage legislation archaeological sites became government property (Smith 2004). In the same vein, Ndoro (2001b) pointed out that the pioneering protective legislation did not preserve the diverse African cultural heritage but rather protected a few sites which served the interest of the colonialism (Ndoro 2001b). By the same token, the emphasis on the protection of immovable heritage in the first heritage legislation of Mozambique (the Legislative Diploma nr. 825 of 1943), resulted in the preservation of Portuguese colonial monuments (Macamo 2006) and ignored all other types of heritage.

During the 1990s, the formal heritage management paradigm in southern Africa and abroad began to shift from the 'monumentalist approach' that focused only on the protection of tangible heritage to a 'holistic conservation approach' (Deacon 1993; Pearson & Sullivan 1995; Ndoro 2001b). Conservation became defined as 'all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance, caring not only for the cultural heritage values of the site but also the surrounding environment' (Burra Charter 1999:2). Currently, the management of cultural heritage is broadly conceived as the 'processes, informed by public policy and heritage legislation, that manage and protect indigenous (meaning native communities) cultural heritage, and in so doing, construct and define relations between archaeologists, indigenous

interests and governments' (Smith 2004:9). The legal protection of archaeological sites through heritage legislation appears as one of the strongest management mechanisms for the conservation of heritage places (Deacon 1997).

Notwithstanding the fact that all countries in southern Africa have laws that govern the way heritage is to be protected and used, most legislation is silent when it comes to defining the values it seeks to protect (Munjeri 2005). Such a scenario derives mainly from the fact that protective heritage legislations take into account only the hegemonic state-based legal system for the management of immovable heritage, maintaining an antagonistic relationship with traditional or customary legal systems (Mumma 2002, 2003). For these reasons, most of the post-colonial legal heritage framework in use in African did not integrate elements of community-based legal systems in the formal management system (Ndoro & Pwiti 2005). Despite the marginalization of traditional systems it is now widely recognized that the formal management systems, on their own, are incapable of ensuring the holistic and sustainable management of local immovable heritage (Mumma 2003:43). For instance, in Mozambique, regardless of the efforts of the state-based heritage organizations to manage heritage such as rock art sites, very few sites have benefited from this formal management approach (Macamo & Sætersdal 2004).

Despite this lack in the formal management sector, the role of local communities in the active custodianship of rock art sites through living traditions has been observed in southern Africa. For instance, *Mongomi wa Kolo*, a hunter-gatherer rock art site in Kondoa (Tanzania), is a focal point for regular ritual practices among the Bantu language speaking Warangi and Wasi/Waragwa communities in Kondoa (Kessey 1995; Loubser 2006). Currently traditional healers visit *Mongomi wa Kolo* with goats, sheep or chicken for curing sick people. In addition, rainmakers from a village nearby practice rituals at *Mongomi wa Kolo*. Along with diviners, healers and rainmakers, individuals also go to *Mongomi wa Kolo* for divination. Oral traditions indicate that *Mongomi wa Kolo* is a land spirit and it is considered more powerful than other ritual places in Kondoa (Bwasiri 2008:21). Similarly at Tsodilo Hills in Botswana, the two

present-day local communities, the Hambukushu and the /Kung, both have strong traditional beliefs that involve respect for Tsodilo Hills as a place of worship and ancestral spirits. Local shamans, guides and herbalists point to specific areas, which are testimony to the marks of the first animals, the first people, first sex spot as well as the first and eternal water spring in the Tsodilo landscape (Botswana National Museum 2000; Segadika 2003). Currently the /Kung community visit one of the rock paintings, the Rhino Trail, to ask for rain from their spirits. Local churches (e.g. Zion Christ Church) and traditional doctors travel to Tsodilo for prayers, meditation, and medication (Thebe 2006).

Besides rain-control other religious activities that involve physical interaction with rock art, for healing purposes, have been observed in the region. According to Thebe (2006) a number of paintings in Tsodilo Hills were chipped in what appears to be the removal of pigments for healing purposes. All of these cases were eland paintings believed to be associated with the rain-control. Elsewhere rock paintings are touched for their magical and healing effects. In the Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe, several painted panels show signs of having been rubbed extensively, in some cases to an extent that the images are obliterated (Laue 2000). Though these activities are not connected with the production of the images, the magic substance of the images is re-used in various religious ways. In the same vein, Pwiti *et al.* (2007) have pointed out that recently, in eastern Botswana and parts of Zimbabwe, rock paintings from sites have begun to be used by traditional healers for healing purposes. Painted rock panels are pecked in an effort to chip off the paintings from the rock, as they are believed to contain powerful healing properties. The painted rock fragments are crushed into powder which is then mixed with other ingredients to make traditional medicine.

The above examples are used to illustrate the point that present living communities still have an interest in rock art sites and use them for ritual purposes. The ritual significance of rock art sites suggests that communities in these landscapes draw on the past material cultures (Stone Age sites) to negotiate and reconstruct their present identities and their ritualized worldviews (Pwiti *et al.* 2007:103). This is the reason why these sites have become places of spiritual

significance from which people can derive inspiration, fertility, good health and make contact with their ancestral spirits (Ndoro & Pwiti 2005; Ndoro, Mumma & Abungo 2008). Today, it is undisputed that cultural heritage resources belong to local communities and as such, communities should be allowed to derive spiritual and socio-economic benefits from them (Katsamudanga 2003; Ndoro 2006; Abungu 2006) and that numerous communities throughout Africa have always had traditional mechanisms to maintain respect for culturally significant places. Nonetheless, heritage managers often condemn 'damage' done to rock art during traditional usage of heritage resources, such as the splashing of beer onto rock paintings or lighting fires in rock art sites (cf. Pwiti & Mvenge 1996; Taruringa & Ndoro 2003; Pwiti *et al.* 2007; Bwasiri 2008).

Management of archaeological sites imbued with sacred values has led to a conflict between local communities and heritage management institutions across the region. The famous case of Domboshava rock art shelter in Zimbabwe is a clear example of this situation. For local people Domboshava was a rain-control shrine under traditional management systems, which provided an important setting for traditional ceremonies. However, for the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) the most important heritage asset at the site was the rock art site. And because the ceremonies held by local communities involved lighting fires under the rock art panels, a practice that is detrimental to the preservation of the rock art, so the NMMZ banned this. However, people continued to hold the ceremonies secretly. Relations between NMMZ and the community soured and despite the NMMZ's attempts to establish dialogue with local traditional leaders after 1994, when the NMMZ curio shop at Domboshava was destroyed by local people, these were not effective. Later, in 1998, brown oil paint was lavishly splashed on the rock art panels damaging the rock art (Pwiti and Mvenge 1996; Ndoro 2003). Similarly, in Kondoa the Department of Antiquities, ignoring the traditional practices related to heritage sites, erected a fence at Mongomi wa Kolo in 1962 to deny the local communities access to the site (Ndoro 2003). More recently, the Department of Antiquities has sought to control the ritual ceremonies of the Warangi and the Wasi/Waragwa communities at *Mongomi wa Kolo* claiming that some rites are damaging the archaeology and rock paintings of

the site (Bwasiri 2008). Such a management approach has led to confrontation between heritage authorities and local communities.

Perhaps incidents such as these would not have occurred if a traditional custodianship system, that took cognisance of the community's relationship to the site, were incorporated within the formal management system. Today it is widely accepted that the primary management responsibility of heritage custodians is to conserve and protect the values that make the place significant (Lennon 2002:120). With regard to the management of intangible values at rock art sites, research now shows that traditional management systems are vital prerequisites for any management strategy in a rural setting and that management systems must arise from the ethos and social environment of the local culture (Ndoro 1996:13). Such an approach places tangible heritage in its wider context, particularly in the case of sacred sites, relating it more closely to communities so as to afford greater weight to spiritual, political and social values (Bouchenaki 2003). When considered in this light, people associated with heritage sites (rock art sites or cultural landscapes) are the primary stakeholders for stewardship (Mitchell, Rössler & Tricaud 2009:35). Thus, the best approach for managing such intangible values is one that gives the 'holders' of the heritage direct responsibility over its use since survival of such values is contingent upon cultural traditions and contemporary needs of the stakeholders (Buggey 2000:24; Katsamudanga 2003:3; Ndoro 2003:81). In this way, traditional custodianship systems provide an opportunity for the effective management of both cultural and natural heritage sites because, in many ways, they are community-based in terms of philosophical conservation orientation; have institutional legitimacy (derive their legitimacy from local communities); and embody community values (Mumma 2003:44-45; Ndoro 2006:336-7; Sheridan 2008:14).

Although the great potential of traditional custodianship as an authentically decentralized and community-based management system is not contested (Joffroy 2005), it is also argued that multiple threats and changes of social, political and cosmological relationships, during colonial and postcolonial periods, erode its institutional legitimacy and cultural relevance (Milton 1996; Cunningham 2001; Berkes 2001). So, along with the current trend to advocate for the use of

traditional custodianship systems for the effective management of heritage sites, there is much potential for fallacious and erroneous management strategies guided by nostalgic and stereotyped views based on an old fashioned set of assumptions about 'local community', 'tradition' and 'religious belief systems' (Gibson & Koontz 1998:624-29; Smith 2004:32; Sheridan 2008:12-13).

Rural conditions are changing rapidly in many African countries. Case studies in Africa illustrate that the colonial experience, rigid management policies in the post independence era, coupled with the introduction of Islam/Christianity, science and technology and legislation pertaining to land ownership, led to the 'suffocation' of traditional custodianship systems in many parts of Africa (Berkes 2001; Maradze 2003; Cocks 2006; Nhamo pers. com. 2009). Maintaining associative values in the landscape despite the pressures of migration and the adoption of new technologies constitute some of the very specific present challenges for heritage managers (Mitchell, Rössler & Tricaud 2009:106). So the call to use traditional custodianship for effective management of heritage sites has been regarded, by some, as a call for a nostalgic pre-colonial past (e.g. Shumba 2003).

However, most of the nostalgic and romanticized views regarding the present role of traditional custodianship systems are based on the assertion that these systems are relics of pre-colonial religious beliefs, now threatened by social change (Sheridan 2008:13). Some heritage consultants have gone further to suggest that there has been a general decline of traditional values (Inglehart & Baker 2000:20). Although in the colonial and postcolonial periods the formal heritage management system was often imposed on local communities, the traditional custodianship system neither disappeared nor remained static. It shifted so as to remain relevant alongside the new models (Sinamai 2003). Despite changes, many communities continued to rely on traditional management systems (Shackleton *et al.* 2002). In many parts of the continent, traditional custodianship systems exist and local people use them to manage places that are culturally significant to them (Pwiti & Mvenge 1996; Ndoro 2001b, 2003; Ndoro & Pwiti 2005; Jopela 2006).

Traditional custodianship systems therefore are largely dependent on local social mechanisms and institutions that regulate the use of resources. Since social institutions undergo dynamic change, traditional systems are prone to change as well (Ndoro 2006:337). Whilst many landscapes are places of living heritage with intangible values, they are often shaped by traditional land use practices which are influenced by developments within a broader economic environment (Mitchell, Rössler & Tricaud 2009). Social factors and historical developments (e.g. Christianity, state legal systems and polices, labour migrations and globalization) incorporate new value systems into the present communities' understanding of spiritual, social and physical environments (Pearson and Sullivan 1995; Katsamudanga 2003:3). Hence the perceived sacredness of rock art sites may change over time. Therefore, although traditional custodianship adheres to a values-based management system, 'it follows the shifting social organizations of African societies and the flux of historical changes on the continent as well' (Sheridan 2008:20).

The sites of Great Zimbabwe and Manyanga, in Zimbabwe, Dzata in South Africa and Domboshaba in Botswana, had traditional management systems (e.g. site custodians in the form of spirit mediums) before colonialism. After colonization these sites became places of contest with the colonial government. The Zimbabwe culture sites show that the values and meaning of the sites have changed with changes in the political atmosphere of the region (Sinamai 2003:3). Each generation uses the past differently, making different claims, ignoring some of the old ones and creating a past relevant to the political environment of the time (c.f. Smith 2004:195-203). Therefore, any present-day definitions of empirical forms of traditional custodianship systems that claim that they are timeless and undisturbed since pre-colonial times, are highly dubious because local contexts are not isolated, traditional, disengaged or disconnected from larger social processes (see González-Ruibal 2009:120). For example, far from glorifying a pre-colonial past, the present-day communities of Manica district (central Mozambique), where traditional custodianship still operates, enthusiastically embrace what we might call the symbols of modernity (from Christianity to the use of African/European/Asian

icons in local ceremonies), and these things have become a part of contemporary culture of the Manica Shona-speaking people (see Fairweather 2003:280-284). Consequently, the management of cultural landscapes is "about managing change in such a way that environmental and cultural values endure: change should take place within limits that will not disrupt those values" (Mitchell, Rössler & Tricaud 2009:36). Hence, I argue that traditional custodianship systems can play an important role in enabling and guiding change whilst retaining the values of sacred places such as rock art sites or cultural landscapes and protecting those parts of sacred places that might not necessarily be important to the local community, but that still have heritage value to the wider global community.

I believe that the way forward is not to advocate for the blanket use of traditional custodianship systems; that case has already been made (e.g. Shumba 2003). Rather, a conviction about the role of traditional custodianship systems in formal heritage management will derive from a close examination of the assertions on the role and efficacy of traditional custodianship systems and the challenges they present. For instance, recognition of the paramount significance of the intangible aspects (values) of heritage is crucial for the sustenance of traditional custodianship systems (Mumma 2005:23; Ndoro 2006:337). It is often assumed that in places where these systems operate, communities share homogenous values about natural and cultural resources. However, many cases have shown that, within a community, values alone cannot ensure the protection of heritage resources since values (ethics) cannot always determine how people actually behave, only how they ought to behave (Berkes 2005:1647). Therefore, following Gibson and Koontz (1998), I argue that traditional custodianship functions in empirical settings that are based on value-heterogeneity rather than value-homogeneity over natural and cultural resources. Every community has people or groups who do not hold the same value in the same manner or at the same level of intensity as the majority of the group (Gibson & Koontz 1998:643). Moreover, even where a high degree of shared values over certain resources exists, the continued penetration of the economic and political environment challenges the stability of the shared value system, especially over time (Gibson & Koontz 1998:622-3). The Mwela Rocks, in northern Zambia, are a case in point.

According to Smith (2006:328-329), before 1992, more than seven hundred rock art sites were protected within a sacred forest managed by a spirit guardian and traditional leaders (i.e. a traditional custodianship system). However since then economic hardship felt by the local community has led to the complete destruction of the forest. Trees were cut down and some rock art sites were mined to make builders' gravel. Despite the protest of the traditional authorities, economic needs triumphed and the traditional custodianship system failed to protect heritage in this instance.

The question remains: how does one design and enforce a heritage management system that can effectively ensure the preservation of heritage sites, by making uses of the benefits of traditional custodianship systems, without forgoing the benefits of the formal management approaches? How can the two approaches be married? Some scholars (cf. Smith 2006; Taruvinga 2007) have recommended that the best approach for managing sacred rock art sites and landscapes should be achieved through a participatory management system, defined as a 'situation in which two or more social actors concerned about a heritage site negotiate, define and guarantee among themselves a fair sharing of its management functions, entitlements and responsibilities' (Taruvinga 2007:41). According to Smith (2006:329), this participatory management system can be implemented through a partnership between community members and heritage professionals. The community bring knowledge of the significance and meaning of the site and a wealth of experience as to how the site was protected in the past. The heritage professionals bring broad experience of practices that have worked effectively in other places and complex scientific skills that can help to conserve the significance of the site and that also help to conserve that part of the site's heritage that may not be recognized as valuable by the local community.

Although the idea of having a participatory management system is undisputed, the implementation and operationalization of such integrated systems is often constrained by what is considered to be 'meaningless' community involvement in heritage management (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Chirikure *et al.* 2010). A major criticism is that stakeholder involvement on its own

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does not overcome the power imbalances among interested parties (e.g. between the archaeologists, the heritage practitioners and the local communities). For instance, Smith (2004:199) has demonstrated that despite the incorporation of local communities' knowledge and experiences through consultation, the actual heritage practices remain subject to a formal heritage approach, in terms of interpretation and regulation, thus making community participation meaningless.

To improve on this, I believe that a more inclusive heritage management practice can be achieved through the adoption of a cosmopolitanism type of philosophy suggested by Appiah (2006). This approach recommends not only the acknowledgement of the existence of different value systems (e.g. the formal heritage system and the traditional custodianship system), but also the legitimacy of that difference. This is a useful theoretical stand that allows us to minimize some of the effects of the hegemonic formal heritage ideology that is found in the field of heritage management. This will allow heritage practitioners to recognize the different values, interests and concerns of all stakeholders, thereby allowing the whole society to assume important roles and responsibilities in heritage management. This theoretical stand may help to minimize the boundary that separates the idea of formal heritage from the community's values, needs and aspirations and also to remove the assumption that the analysis and interpretation of heritage can only be done by 'heritage experts', who usually have the last pronouncements about the nature and meaning of heritage (Smith 2009:12).

In practice, the adoption of this theoretical stand requires us to recognise that the definition of rock art as heritage does not always coincide with the concept held by local communities. Often one has to consider African heritage in its totality, including intangible elements such as the spiritual and sacred values that are held within a cultural landscape. Secondly, we have to recognise that a traditional system of managing a site may already exist. Thirdly, the aspirations of local communities must be taken into account if management strategies, conceived by modern heritage managers, want to succeed (Ndoro 2006:336). Lastly, managing the cultural significance of heritage places that are imbued with local sacred values is ultimately 'about

managing change' (Mitchell, Rössler & Tricaud 2009). Cosmopolitanism appears to be suitable framework to embrace since it advocates practices that 'emanate from, and plays heed to, local setting and practices' and a heritage management philosophy that 'will not always be preservationist in ethos, nor it would attempt to congeal people within some preserved ancient authenticity' (Meskell 2009: 4).

This theoretical standpoint can help heritage practitioners to adopt a forward-looking approach, enabling them to include traditional custodianship systems in the management of immovable heritage in southern Africa. This appears to be equally important for sites that are also managed within formal management frameworks such as the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972). For example, crucial steps have been taken towards the recognition of the intangible values of the heritage of indigenous people (e.g. its adoption as a criterion for listing cultural landscapes) (cf. Rössler 2003). Consequently cultural landscapes with rock art sites have been inscribed on the World Heritage List based on the combination of criterion (vi) with other criteria. In practice however, the role of local communities in the active management of such sites is still marginal and secondary in status (e.g. this is seen at both the Kondoa Rock Art Sites in Tanzania and Chongoni Rock Art Sites in Malawi). In addition, recent debate on whether criterion (vi) should be used in conjunction with other criteria or whether it is sufficient to justify an inscription on its own (cf. Bouchenaki 2003) has led some to argue that the present restriction in the criterion (vi) is underpinned by the western European concept of heritage as being exclusively tangible in nature (cf. Lennon 2002; Fowler 2003).

This discussion around the restriction of criterion (vi) derives also from the mutually contradictory levels of significance ascribed to values or meanings around, for instance, sacred landscapes: local sacred values versus universal values. Local values of sacred sites tend to be considered more in terms of intangible benefits and this allows the sustainable management of sites with minimal difficulties for local communities (Edroma 2003:36). In contrast, World Heritage is a global concept and the recognition that a value is of universal significance usually

has little to do with local communities or living cultures. This has caused some scholars to argue that the World Heritage system fails to place heritage in its local context, and so often the way in which communities value the places are in fact different from the reason they achieve World Heritage listing (Lennon 2002; Bouchenaki 2003; Sullivan 2003).

Furthermore, although the World Heritage Convention (1972) acknowledges, in its implementation, the recognition of traditional management systems to protect cultural and natural heritage (Rössler 2003), the Operational Guidelines (UNESCO 2008) still make it very clear that the emphasis is on establishing the criteria for universal values and for managing the conservation of these values. Again this runs contrary to the social significance-based management approach, which insists that all the cultural values of a place –not just the universal ones– should be acknowledged, and that management planning should include the conservation of all these values. These values may not be universal values in terms of the World Heritage Convention but they may be of far greater importance to the local community (Sullivan 2003). Seen from this perspective, one has to consider that although the 1972 Convention provides a useful model in term of general principles for protecting cultural heritage, the notion of universality, accepted as universal values, needs to be understood as a universal interest in safeguarding the heritage that belongs primarily to local communities and groups (Appiah 2006). As far the preservation of the cultural significance is concerned, the management and protection of all the values associated with a place (even the outstanding universal ones) should in practice mean giving the holders of the heritage, the main control over its use and exploitation. The survival of such universal values may often depend on the cooperation of the local communities and this may be best achieved through their traditional custodianship systems (Ndoro 2003).

Following this discussion on broad issues related to heritage management and traditional custodianship of rock art sites in southern Africa, in chapter 3, I present the archaeological and historical background of my study area, the VCL, and offer a brief history of rock art management in Mozambique.

3. SETTING THE SCENE: THE VCL AND ROCK ART MANAGEMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE

3.1. The VCL

The Vumba Mountains, here also referred to as the VCL, lie on the border between Mozambique and Zimbabwe covering an area of approximately 200 km^2 (Fig 1). The mountain ranges of the Eastern Zimbabwe Escarpment are divided by the modern border into the present Manica province in west-central Mozambique and Manicaland Province of Zimbabwe to the east. The range lies mostly within Zimbabwe, the only mountain of this range that lies in Mozambican territory is the Serra Vumba which is almost 1650 m in height (Nhamo, Sætersdal & Walderhaug 2007:43). The mountainous landscape of this part of the Vumba Mountains region is strewn with granite whaleback hills and kopjes with broken, castle-like summits. Hidden beneath those large granite boulders, natural caves and dry shelters abound, creating conditions known to be favourable for the production and preservation of rock art (Sætersdal 2004:30).

Figure 1: The Vumba Moutain Range
(Image courtesy: Tore Sætersdal)

With an average annual rainfall of 1000 to 1200 mm a year, Vumba Moutain Range can be very wet, especially during the rainy season. The main bulk of the rain falls between November and April. The soil in this region of Manica is highly fertile and this makes the district a typical agricultural zone specializing in maize production, the local subsistence crop (Sætersdal 2004:30). The Montane Zone was originally covered with moist evergreen forest, however, most of this has been cleared in the past 2000 years and replaced with various types of secondary forest, woodland, scrub and grassland. The higher levels of the mountains are sparsely-vegetated, with shrubs such as *proteas* (Bannerman 1993:4). A small number of mammals inhabit the Vumba, perhaps the most notable of which are the leopard and the samango monkey. Of the antelope present in the area the kudu is the largest although there are also smaller antelope such as steenbok and klipspringer. Smaller animals like bush pig, porcupines, jackals and baboons are also present in the area (Sætersdal 2004:30).

My research was conducted in two parts of Manica. The first area is castle-kopje of Chinhamapere Hill in the Manica Valley on the north-western side of Vumba Moutain (hereafter refer to as *Serra* Vumba) and the second area is centred in the Chinhambudzi sub-district of Manica, around the village of Guidingue and Guidingue Hill, south of the *Serra* Vumba (Fig 2).

Chinhamapere Hill is a very prominent hill on a foothill of the *Serra* Vumba (Fig 3). It has steep sides covered with large and small granite boulders piled on top of each other with large boulders on the top of the hill. The large trees on the top of the hill, together with the dense vegetation, are considered to be the sacred part of the hill.
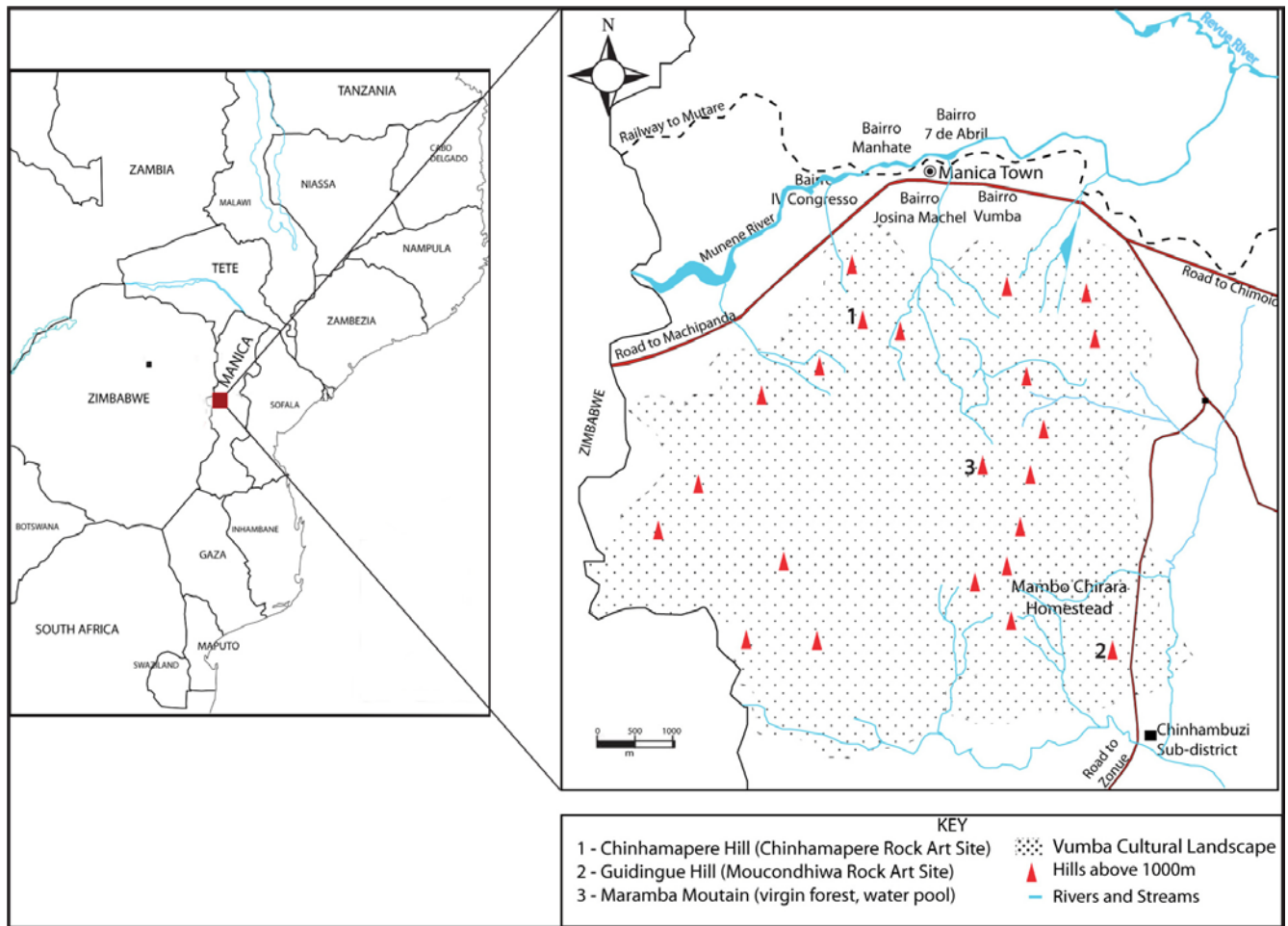
Figure 2: Map showing the location of the VCL

Figure 3: Chinhamapere Hill

The main site of the Chinhamapere Hill, which is of special interest for this study, is Chinhamapere I: a large rock art panel situated just beneath the top of the hill (Fig 4). The site is comprised of classic San rock art with an emphasis on fine line brush-painted monochrome images in ochre-red. Images of animals and anthropomorphs are numerous. Similar rock art sites are found in adjacent Zimbabwe, where kudu are the most depicted animal (Nhamo, Sætersdal & Walderhaug 2007:54).

Figure 4: Chinhamapere I rock art panel showing human, animals and anthropomorphs figures

At Chinhamapere, in addition to kudu, humans are depicted. They are painted in groups or scenes rather than as individual figures. Scenes include individual humans in floating postures and humans with limbs in impossible positions (Sætersdal 2004:126) (Fig. 5). In South African rock art such scenes have been interpreted as shamanistic expressions of trance and trance experiences (Lewis-Williams 2004). According to Sætersdal (2004:75), the multi-layered panels with superimposed images depict a wide range of subject-matter and that this indicates that the place has held ritual quality in pre-historic times and has been re-used several times.

Figure 5: Scenes of human groups at Chinhamapere I rock art panel
(Image courtesy: SARADA)

The Chinhamapere hill and its vicinity are exceptionally rich in archaeological sites. On the hill there is also Chinhamapere II, a rock shelter with five distinct panels of San rock art. The shelter also contains Later Stone Age (LSA) and Iron Age archaeological deposit. Chinhamapere IV is a rock shelter containing faded rock art and Later Iron Age tool-weapons hidden on a large shelf in the shelter (Sætersdal 2004:24). Surrounding all three hunter-gatherer rock art sites on Chinhamapere hill is fairly dense savannah woodland. The woodland is seen as an integral part of the sacred landscape, together with the rock art sites they are perceived by the local community as a scarce and valued resource used for traditional ceremonies, which I shall refer to as the Chinhamapere sacred landscape (Jopela 2008).

My second research area is centred in the Chinhambudzi sub-district of Manica, around the village of Guidingue, on the southern eastern side of the *Serra* Vumba. As at Chinhamapere, in Chinhambudzi some rock art sites are well known by the local communities and they are also important for rain-control rituals. The main site in this area is Moucondihwa, a large rock shelter measuring 50 m across and 20 m deep, that is situated on the southern side of the Guidingue Hill, about 200 m above the Zonue River valley (Fig 6). Moucondihwa shelter contains rock art from various periods as well as rich deposits on the surface from LSA and Later Iron Age periods. The area around the shelter is characterized by dense bush and a deciduous forest which is well kept and looked after by the community who forbid the logging of trees in this area (Sætersdal 2004; Nhamo, Sætersdal & Walderhaug 2007).

Figure 6: The Location of Moucondihwa rock shelter on the Guidingue Hill

According to Sætersdal (2004:146), the stone tools (scrapers, wedges and retouched flakes), large grinders, Later Iron Age pottery as well as the rock art that are found inside the shelter, are indicators of extensive use of the place over the centuries. Moucondihwa shelter contains San rock art in one part of the shelter and Bantu-speaker rock art on another side of the shelter. The San rock art consists of some large images of animals superimposed on each other in the centre of the panel. Other images of both animals and humans are partially superimposed on them and partially placed nearby. All these images are executed in red ochre colour and are fine line in execution.

The finger-painted images, attributed to the agro-pastoralist Bantu-speaker societies, are found in a different location within the shelter to the San rock art. They consist of monochrome images in various shades of white and red and depict large images of elephants and smaller schematic animals and human figures (Fig. 7). Three large elephants, depicted in white, are superimposed on each other at the centre of the main panel. In the same group, there is another animal, possibly an elephant or a buffalo, that is partially obscured by exfoliation of the rock surface (Macamo & Sætersdal 2004:193). According to Nhamo, Sætersdal & Walderhaug

(2007:54) both animals (elephants and buffalos) may be associated with water and rain in ethnography of past hunter-gatherer societies in the region. The association between rain animals, rain making and rock art is well documented in the region (cf. Lewis-Williams 2002; Dwson 1998). Today the site is used for rain making rituals by present Bantu-speaker communities (Sætersdal 2004; Jopela 2006).
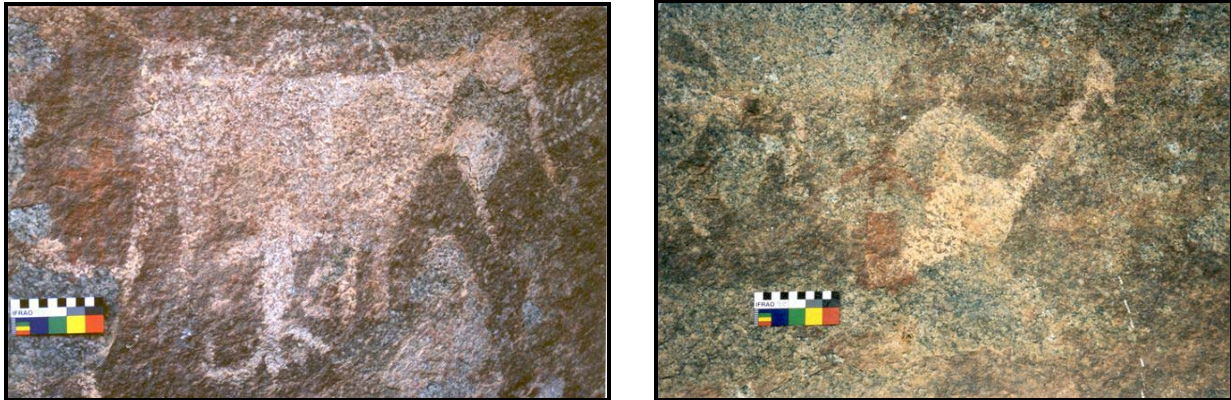
Figure 7: Bantu-speaker rock art tradition at Moucondihwa shelter
(Image courtesy: Tore Sætersdal)

It has been noticed that the rock paintings at both Moucondihwa and Chinhamapere rock art sites are considered, by the local community, to be signs of the ancestors displayed in a sacred landscape (Jopela 2006:43-45). Some local people regard it as a sacred place because the paintings were made long ago and they are seen as being left there for their descendents to see. Others say that the ancestral spirits are present behind the rock surface and that the paintings are just a manifestation of their presence (Sætersdal 2004:191). This belief fits well within the South African rock art research findings of Lewis-Williams & Dowson (1990:15) who have argued that, in San cosmology the walls of rock shelters were seen by the San as a 'painted veil', suspended between this world and the world of spirits (that lies behind the rock face).

3.2. The Archaeological background of the area

As the VCL straddles both Zimbabwe and Mozambique, I will also use the work done in Zimbabwe for a better understanding of the archaeology of this part of central Mozambique. Broadly similar throughout southern Africa, the Early Stone Age (ESA) and Middle Stone Age (MSA) are characterized by industries with large cores, bifacial and hand-axes, while the LSA is characterised by microlithic blades and tools. The ESA is dated between 2.500.000 and 250.000 years before present, the MSA dates to between 250.000 and 22.000 years before present and the LSA dates to between 22.000 and 2000 years before present (Deacon & Deacon 1999). It is generally agreed that the LSA is the period when most of the rock art in southern Africa was made, by the San hunter-gatherers (Deacon & Deacon 1999; Lewis-Williams 2004; Sætersdal 2004; Nhamo 2005). Early researchers working in Mozambique (Oliveira 1962, 1971) have adopted the term *Bosquimanos* to refer to the indigenous Southern African people who lived by hunting, fishing and gathering.

From the available data, it is difficult to reconstruct a fully comprehensive settlement history of this part of central Mozambique. The information is fragmentary. It seems that no mention is made in Portuguese records of San hunter-gatherers groups south of the Zambezi River in Mozambique. Similarly, there are no unequivocal historical records regarding San groups in the adjacent Zimunya area (Nhamo, Sætersdal & Walderhaug 2007:56). Radiocarbon dates obtained from two rock art sites excavated in the Zimunya, Gwenzi and Manjowe ranges date from 320+/-70 years BP in the upper layers to 6950+/-40 years BP in the lower layers, suggesting at least a 7000 year history of LSA hunter-gatherers occupation of Manyikaland (Mupira & Katsamudanga 2007:38). The excavation carried out at Chinhamapere II rock shelter in Manica District, revealed a typical LSA assemblage and provided a radiocarbon date of 2630 years BP (Sætersdal 2004:86). It is important to notice that although these dates do not provide direct dates for the rock art itself, they provide the probable time period in which the rock art was made.

At the beginning of the first millennium A.D., the Zimbabwe plateau experienced the influx of Bantu-speaker, village-dwelling farmers who grew sorghum, millet, and beans and kept some cattle, worked iron, and made comb-stamp pottery (Sinclair 1987; Macamo 2006). These communities belonged to the Gokomere-Ziwa tradition and they crossed the lower Zambezi between the 200 and 450 A.D., and established settlements on the Zimbabwe plateau and in the adjacent lowlands (Pikirayi 2001:250). The Early Farming Communities (EFC) are represented on the Zimbabwe plateau at sites such as Kadzi, which dates from the mid 5th to the 9th century AD (Pwiti 1996), the site of Ziwa in the eastern highlands (Soper 2002), and the sites of Gokomere and Mabveni in the south central region (Pikirayi 2001). The EFC in Mozambique are represented by several archaeological traditions grouped together as "the Chifumbaze complex". This complex refers to the first archaeological indication of the earliest southward expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples and may have several phases (Phillipson 1993:188).

In Mozambique, the Gokomere-Ziwa tradition occurs in the south-central region at the sites of Mavita and Hola-Hola sites, in Manica and Sofala provinces respectively (Sinclair 1987; Duarte 1988; Morais 1988; Macamo 2006). Recent excavations at Murahwa's Hill, a multi-component site located 3 km north west of the city of Mutare, suggests that the earliest settlement of farming communities is associated with the Ziwa type pottery and probably ends around 10th or 11th century (Mupira 2007:75). Excavation at Mouchiabaka rock shelter, in Chinhambudzi sub-district of Manica, provided a date of 1500 BP for charcoal associated with early Gokomere-Ziwa pottery. The rock art paintings in this shelter are all red finger-painted images attributed to the Bantu-speaker agricultural societies (Sætersdal 2004).

The first Later Farming Communities (LFC) complex, known in the literature as the Leopard Kopje tradition, was established in the southwest of the Zimbabwe plateau about AD 940 (Beach 1980:18). Huffman (1996) sees Leopard Kopje tradition as belonging to the large-scale stylistic cluster that was part of extensive movement of people into the Zimbabwe plateau. Whatever their origin, Pikirayi (2001:97-98) argued that these people have been identified with

the first Shona (Karanga) speakers in southern Zambezi valley and are accredited with characteristic patterns of economy, technology, settlement formation, political and social structures that are associated with the later iron-using farming communities of the region.

Scholars have noticed that the archaeological extent of Gokomere-Ziwa ceramics is coincident with the extent of the present Shona speaking peoples, especially in Mozambique. This observation has led some researchers to suggest that the Shona chronology could be stretched back to the early centuries of the first millennium AD (Matenga 1993:122). However, Beach (1980) makes the important point of not confusing a modern day linguistic dialect cluster with actual groups of the past, as the clusters are a recent linguistic construct. Furthermore, such an approach is problematic given the inevitable risk of equalling people to pots (Macamo 2006:13). It then appears that the question of whether the Gokomere-Ziwa pottery tradition is related to Shona expansion into Mozambique, or not, should be approached with caution (Macamo 2006:72). From the literature, it seems that there is a chronological gap between the end of the EFC and the beginning of the LFC in the eastern highlands of Zimbabwe. Thus far it has been established from Ziwa sites in Nyanga and at Murahwa's Hill in Mutare that the EFC probably phase out around AD 1000 (Mupira & Katsamudanga 2007). The next significant dated archaeological period has until now been the development of the Nyanga agricultural complex beginning around AD 1300 and there have been no dates in between these two traditions to suggest any transitional periods (Soper 2002). According to Soper (2007:96) the LFC Nyanga archaeological complex represents a tradition distinct from all other LFC traditions in Zimbabwe, suggesting that the people responsible for the complex were not originally Shona. Indeed, an early language classification linked the dialects of this area to Sena speakers, a group to the north east in Mozambique. It would thus appear that there was a cultural substratum of societies on which the political superstructure was superimposed, resulting in a process of "Shona-isation". Therefore, the author suggests that the Mouzi might then be the original population, most of which fall within historical territory of Manyika (Soper 2007:100).

The first Zimbabwe capital at Mapungubwe declined around 1290/1300 AD and was replaced by the Great Zimbabwe state. The Torwa state at Khami is seen as the direct successor to Great Zimbabwe, which at about AD 1450, dissolves into various smaller kingdoms and empires such as the Mutapa state that covered parts of the present day Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Beach 1980; Pwiti 1996; Macamo 2006). For more than 600 years these states dominated the history of the Zimbabwe plateau. Around the fourteenth century AD groups of Zimbabwe Culture elite departed the major states, migrating towards the Mozambican lowlands. They introduced the Zimbabwe Culture into the areas they now settled and ruled the autochthonous population. At this time the Karanga language gradually spread towards the Indian Ocean and Zimbabwe Culture stone buildings were built as well (Pikirayi 2001:230). Such events are also testified by the settlement of Manyikeni in southern Mozambique in the Inhambane hinterland that dates to the fourteenth century AD (Sinclair 1987; Macamo 2006).

Beach (1980) describes what he called the second wave of Karanga expansion into heretofore non-Shona territories of Manyika, Teve and Danada in Mozambique that occurred sometime in between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries AD. Claiming to be descendents of the Zimbabwe Culture, they ruled and assimilated non-Shona speaking societies that took up the Shona language and added to the diversity of the Shona-speaking societies. Many of these groups were given royal and ritual offices as well as clan totems and thus "made into Shona" and assimilated (Soper 2007). The neighbouring groups of the main Shona speaking societies were mostly Tsonga speakers. According to Sætersdal (2004:61), this ethnic mobility suggests that in some areas quite a number of subjects were not descendants of the original ruling Shona societies that established the Zimbabwe culture. This seems in particular to be the case along the Eastern Highlands.

Around the fifteenth to sixteenth century AD some groups of the Karanga elite emigrated and established the kingdom of Bvumba (Vumba) in the geographical space of the present day Manica district (Neves 1998). Although these Karanga claimed their origin in the mythical place of Mbire in the Mutapa state, no trace of these earlier Karanga settlements is found (Pikirayi

2001). According to Beach (1980) the Portuguese records on Shona over a 500 year period clearly demonstrates that the language and culture dominant in the northern and eastern part of the Zimbabwe Plateau was directly ancestral to the present day Shona, who currently also live in Mozambique. Based on to the Portuguese records Bannerman (1993) suggests that the Chirara Dynasty gained control over the territory of Bvumba around the beginning of seventeenth century AD. By 1644 AD this dynasty was already ruling the area. The Chirara rulers established sub-rulers of their own lineage throughout the Bvumba territory (Bannerman 1993:4).

With the advent of M'fecane, the kingdom of Bvumba became a tributary State of the Nguni Empire of Gaza, mainly between 1835 and 1838 AD (Liesegang 1975). Although in areas like Mussorize and Dombe the Shona speaking people were ruled and assimilated by the Nguni culture, in the Manica district the Nguni influence in the society was smaller (Neves 1998). In 1897 the kingdom of Bvumba was divided between the Portuguese colony of Mozambique and the British South Rhodesia. From 1891 to 1942 the colonization process of Manica was undertaken by the Company of Mozambique and later by the Portuguese colonial administration (Bannerman 1993). The colonial administration through the Christian church was particularly strong in its influence since it had control of the education system. As a result, many people in Manica are actively engaged in Christian religious practices while also practicing traditional African ancestors worship activities (Sætersdal 2004).

In Manica people speak either Manyika Shona or N'Dau, which is also a Shona dialect. The current Shona inhabitants of the Manica Province, in Mozambique, as well as those in the adjacent area of Zimunya in Zimbawe, are relative late-comers to the area and have no ancestral relationship or shared culture with the LSA hunter-gatherers (San or *Bosquimanos*) who lived in the area in earlier times (Sætersdal 2004; Nhamo, Sætersdal & Walderhaug 2007). However, the present communities know about the existence of the San rock art in the hills. According to the oral tradition, local Shona chiefs were buried in sacred rock shelters (some of which contained rock art) in the hills and mountains throughout the Vumba area (Jopela 2006).

The rock art sites in the VLC are still actively used by local communities for a variety of ritual activities such as rain-control, divining and healing. Whilst not directly related to the San, the local communities' continued use of rock art sites for ceremonial practices reflects continuity in tradition with the San who created and once used the rock paintings (Sætersdal 2004; Jopela 2008).

3.3. A Brief History of Rock Art Management in Mozambique

The trajectory of rock art management has evolved and changed with the changing political history of Mozambique. Rock art management in Mozambique is first encountered during the Portuguese colonial period, when from the early 1940s to 1950s there are accounts of Portuguese anthropologists and enthusiastic colonial administrators carrying out the first archaeological work in Mozambique (Santos Júnior 1940; Carvalho 1947; Alberto 1951). Early researchers suggested that natural forces and human activities were the main threats to the conservation of rock art sites (Santos Júnior 1940:475). The earliest attempt to manage rock art sites was through the adoption of strong cultural legislation.

The first cultural conservation legislation adopted in Mozambique was the Legislative Diploma nr. 825 promulgated in 1943. This piece of legislation made it a crime to destroy any site that was considered to have scientific interest (*Diploma Legislativo* n. 825). Under the same legal framework the National Commission for Monuments and Historic Relics (NCMHR) was created in 1947. The NCMHR played a significant role in preserving the material culture of Mozambique, but it was largely only applied to one part of Mozambique's cultural heritage; the emphasis was placed on the conservation of immovable heritage and this was almost exclusively applied to the conservation and protection of Portuguese colonial monuments such as buildings (e.g. churches, fortress) (Departamento de Arqueologia e Antropologia 1980; Macamo 2006:222). Although there were some recommendations for the conservation of rock art sites (e.g. Felgueiras 1965; Oliveira 1962, 1971), rock art management was not a priority within the heritage management policy during the colonial period. Even though traditional institutions

were integrated in the colonial administration, traditional custodianship was not recognised or included as part of the formal management framework for heritage resources. However, it should be noted that traditional systems were not suppressed either.

Mozambique gained its independence from Portugal in 1975 and this brought about another set of political and social changes that affected the management and presentation of cultural heritage and emphasis, once again, was placed on the heritage that best served the construction of the identity that the new state wanted to portray. The post-colonial Mozambican state needed to build an archaeological framework for popular education and to preserve a new cultural heritage as a prerequisite for the construction of the new national identity. In 1977 the National Services of Monuments and Museums (NSMM) was created in response to this need (Sinclair 2004; Macamo 2006). This institution carried out a national campaign to inventory, classify and preserve tangible and intangible heritage resources in Mozambique (Serviço Nacional de Museus e Antiguidades 1981). Despite the achievements of this campaign, such as the creation of a Cultural Heritage Archive (ARPAC) in 1980, issues related to the management of immovable heritage were not adequately addressed (Jopela 2006:34).

In addition, there were other outside challenges to the successful implementation of the campaign. The civil war in Mozambique, between the Frelimo Government and the RENAMO (Mozambican National Resistance) guerrillas, from 1977 to 1992, made field research and management very difficult. There were also a reduced number of archaeologists in the country because the development of the archaeological investigation and the capacity building only started after independence, around 1977, mainly deriving from SIDA/SAREC (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency/Department for Research Cooperation) founded projects (Macamo & Sætersdal 2004:190). The archaeology that was conducted focussed on showing the archaeology of past farming communities in Mozambique. Once again, rock art was largely ignored; this is reflected by the minimal number of publications that relate to rock art studies (Sinclair *et al.* 1993; Macamo & Sætersdal 2004; Macamo 2006). However

there are some notable publications during this time, such as the work of Leonardo Adamowicz (Adamowicz 1987), Ricardo Texeira Duarte and Maria da Luz Duarte (Duarte 1979, 1992; Duarte & Duarte da Luz 1988).

In order to break with the colonial legal framework, the Law for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage (Law nr.10/88, 22nd December) was adopted in 1988. This law established general principles for the protection of cultural heritage, including its material and immaterial properties (Law nr.10/88). However, as pointed out by Macamo & Sætersdal (2004), only one chapter of this law mentioned archaeology and it only dealt with accidental finds and archaeological excavations. In 1994, in response to this gap in the law, the Government passed a bill on the Rules for the Protection of Archaeological Heritage (Decree 27/94, 20 July) that set out the principles and norms for carrying out archaeological work and for the conservation of archaeological objects, sites and monuments on national territory (Decreto n. 27/94; Macamo & Sætersdal 2004). However this bill still did not go far enough as, issues concerning traditional or community-based management systems of cultural sites were largely overlooked and were thus not integrated in the post-colonial legal heritage framework in Mozambique. As Pwiti & Ndoro (2005) have pointed out, the lack of inclusion of traditional community based management systems in heritage legislation was an oversight common to many African countries (examples are the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe Act [1972] and the Antiquities [Amendment] Act [1979] from Tanzania).

However, it is important to acknowledge that while it was not legislated, there have been significant steps taken in the actual practice of heritage management on the ground in Mozambique and other African countries. The movement has been towards recognising the values important to local communities with regards to their cultural heritage and its management. This is seen in the fact that since the later 1970s heritage management strategy in Mozambique was broadened to include public awareness. This was done by using community participation in the conservation process of archaeological sites (Macamo 1996, 2003). For instance, by 1978, some 400 people from the local communities had participated in

archaeological research and heritage management projects in the Zimbabwe-type site of Manyikeni, located in south central Mozambique. The following year, in an effort to make the archaeological remains more accessible to these local communities, a museum was opened at the site (Sinclair 2004:171-178; Macamo 2006:223; Ndoro 2001a:22). Similar community engagement was manifested during the rock art research project and cultural heritage management program founded by NORAD (Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation) and conducted by Tore Sætersdal between 2002 and 2005 in the provinces of Manica and Tete, in central Mozambique (Macamo & Sætersdal 2004; Sætersdal 2004). Within the NORAD project a Management Plan for Chinhamapere rock art site was prepared and specific aspects of contemporary use of the site by local communities were incorporated in the site management plan (DNPC 2003).

Despite the inequalities and omissions, it is important to acknowledge that the existing heritage legislation does, in large part, successfully protect the tangible heritage in the country. The achievements of the Mozambican Government institutions in managing heritage are mainly due to involvement of different stakeholders, particularly local communities. Such involvement is usually driven exclusively by a formal heritage management approach which involves the process of preparing a guiding document, implementing the action set out in the plan, reacting to unforeseen events, monitoring the impact of management on conserving the values and reviewing the original management actions so as to better conserve the values (Pearson & Sullivan 1995). Limitations to community participation in rural areas (where rock art sites are located) in managing heritage is also due to the fact that the State institution in charge of heritage, such as the National Directorate for Culture in Mozambique, has limited funding and is understaffed resulting in a limited interaction with local communities and no effective proactive conservation of heritage. An example of this is the Chinhamapere rock art site where a Management Plan was drafted in 2003, to this day the plan has not been implemented.

In my aim to investigate whether a more effective and sustainable method of managing rock art sites might be learnt by studying traditional management systems; I will now move to address

issues concerning the methodological approaches and data analysis used to investigate traditional management systems in practice in Mozambique in chapter 4.

4. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES AND DATA ANALYSIS

Currently heritage has been theorised as a range of social processes and experiences through which people invest things, places and practices with values and sentiment, and claim them in collective ownership or guardianship, to affirm continuity and identity (Filippuci 2009:320). For this reason, ethnography and more broadly qualitative methods have become key approaches in heritage research in recent years. These methodologies are used to aid documentation and analysis of perceptions, attitudes and motivations of heritage users and practitioners (Sørensen & Carman 2009; Keitumetse 2009; Filippuci 2009). In this chapter, I adopt these methodological approaches to investigate community attitudes and practices towards cultural heritage in Manica District, in order to explore how these practices influence the conservation of rock art sites (rock art custodianship) in the landscape.

In practice my methods included a desktop survey, use of semi-structured and free-flowing interviews with people living near the heritage sites, with people who regularly interact with the cultural landscape and with people closely connected to heritage authorities and cultural heritage research. I used one detailed case study which included fieldwork in Manica District, and other case studies, for comparative analysis to the main research, in Zimbabwe and Malawi (without fieldwork). The aim of this was to obtain a better understanding of community perceptions of heritage and traditional custodianship of rock art sites across southern Africa. A brief description of the methods, data analysis and results now follows.

4.1. Methods

4.1.1. Desktop survey

I conducted a desktop survey in the archives and databases of the University of Witwatersrand (Rock Art Research Institute and University of the Witwatersrand libraries), the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the Eduardo Mondlane University, the National Historic Archive of Mozambique (*Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique - AHM*), the Institute of Socio-

cultural Research in Mozambique (*Instituto de Investigação Sócio-cultural -ARPAC*), the National Directorate of Culture in Mozambique (*Direcção Nacional da Cultura - DINAC*), as well as sources of information such as academic journals accessible online.

The aim was to explore the body of literature relating to traditional management systems of heritage sites in Mozambique, in particular, and in southern Africa generally. A literature review of the ethnography of the present day Shona-speaking farming communities along the Mozambique-Zimbabwe border provided some insights into Shona-speaking peoples belief-systems, through their cosmologies and practices. These insights were used to discover the possible connections and associations between the beliefs of the present communities and the rock art sites in the landscape.

To further investigate these associations, I used some of the interviews of the traditional leadership of Manica District conducted by ARPAC, about the intangible heritage associated with places of cultural significance (heritage sites) in the area. These interviews were conducted within the NORAD project "Archaeological Research and Cultural Heritage Management in Mozambique, 2003-2006". This research also benefits from a documentary entitled "Making Rain", about local ritual practices in Manica District, which was produced in 2005 within the NORAD project. In keeping with the aims of this study, I then used this body of information to generate an understanding of the practices of local communities concerning rock art custodianship in the case study area and to draw up interview schedules to be used during fieldwork in Manica District.

4.1.2. Case study

The VCL in Manica District was the core case study. As several scholars have noted, case studies have the potential to highlight various contexts within which particular topics can be discussed (Yin 2003; Kohlbacher 2005). In fact, in this study, data derived through the core case study exposed a broad range of issues relating to the management of heritage places imbued with sacred values in general and traditional custodianship of rock art sites, in particular. As a

method, the core case study engendered a better understanding of the various factors (geographical, social, economic, political and cultural) that affect the context within which the rock art sites exist, and the interaction of local communities with such cultural landscapes (Keitumetse 2009:201). Despite the usefulness of this method, scholars have pointed out the common weaknesses of the bias of a 'single-case research design' and suggestions have been made on how to balance such limitations (LeCompte & Schensul 1999; Meskell & Preucel 2007).

Therefore, to overcome some of the limitations of a core case study method, I integrated case studies from across southern Africa where a strong association between landscapes with rock art sites and contemporary traditions have been noticed. This was used to analyse the custodianship system of rock art sites by living communities across the broader southern African region. Cognisant of the limited published data and limited research on the relationships between rock art sites and living practices (e.g. traditional custodianship of heritage sites) in Mozambique, I selected two sites as comparative case studies: Chongoni Hills in Malawi and Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe. Apart from the variable intangible heritage associations to landscapes with rock art sites, these two study sites are inscribed in the World Heritage List under criterion vi ("directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, of outstanding universal significance", UNESCO 2008: Paragraph 77) due to the strong association of the sites with living communities. These study sites were selected not only to document the diversity and variability amongst people's experiences and attitudes towards heritage, but also to obtain a regional understanding of issues of similarity or difference in terms of traditional custodianship systems (Filippuci 2009:322).

4.1.3. Interviews

According to Sørensen (2009:164) the analysis of various aspects of people's attitudes towards the past constitutes a major area of heritage research, and the interview is one of the most commonly used qualitative methods in such studies. To examine how heritage is institutionally and traditionally used and managed by the traditional custodians in Manica District, I conducted a series of interviews. As suggested for such heritage studies, I employed formal and

informal interviews to gain insights about how people relate to the past and the nature of that relationship (Sørensen 2009:168). This approach provided a broad understanding of the community perceptions of cultural heritage and the community's attitude (local interaction) towards cultural resource management (continuous use and conservation).

With the aim of learning more about traditional custodianship systems in the VLC, I developed a short written questionnaire. The questionnaire contained 20 main questions (some with follow up questions) organized in three parts: (1) the identification and understanding of the significance of rock art sites in relation to other places of cultural significance; (2) local practices related to rock art sites; and (3) rules and institutions concerning the use and access to rock art sites (see questionnaire in appendix 1). The questionnaire was in Portuguese, with the key words translated into the Shona language (*Chimanyika*). Although I could not communicate with the respondents in their local language (*Chimanyika*), I relied on the generous support of two local research assistants who interviewed most of the local leaders (*sabhukus* and *samuthandas*), translating the conversations from *Chimanyika* into Portuguese. Nonetheless, the majority of the interviews were done in Portuguese.

One of the assistants was Mr David Frangue, the Head of the Culture Section in the District Office of Education, Culture, Youth and Technology. Because Mr Frangue has associations to the culture section, I was aware of the potential of some respondents (e.g. traditional leaders) to guide their responses in accordance to Government Policies and ideology. Therefore, I asked my assistant to interview some of the traditional authorities that have been interviewed on other occasions (interviews were conducted previously by ARPAC in 1997 (within the democratization process), and again between 2003-2005 within the NORAD Project, (about intangible heritage in the area)). This gave me a baseline with which to assess some of their responses with previous records. My other field assistant, Mr David Estevão Filipe, is a teacher in the local primary school and had prior experience in conducting socio-cultural research in Manica. This facilitated our access to local respondents and because he was 'neutral' to the

local respondents I could expect people not to be concerned about the implication of their responses.

The guided questionnaire on the identified components of research was useful to ensure consistency as well as effective time management during the interviews. This structured questionnaire aimed to produce comparative data between different interviews and to obtain insights into how different kinds of informants respond to similar questions (for example, comparing responses from students to those from elders). Although the structured questionnaire is useful to survey public attitudes within heritage studies (Merriman 1991), one has to be aware of its limitations. Due to its rigid construction it may distort the discussions and has a tendency of leading the respondents (Murimbika 2006). This method is preferred in situations that have a predicted relationship to well-known datasets, and it is therefore restrictive and may fail to obtain the more subtle nuances of people's relationships to heritage (Sørensen 2009).

Building on the preceding field experiences and information from past interviews and questionnaires, I also used more open ended subject-oriented interviews where responses were not scanned in terms of their match to other results nor directed to fit a hierarchy of questions, but were used as part of the 'journey of discovery' into the traditional custodianship of places of cultural significance in Manica (Sørensen 2009:169). These open ended subject-oriented interviews aimed at understanding the respondents views on local cosmologies and practices, rules governing access and use of places and resources, local resident's perceptions of these rules, communities compliance behaviour and conservation outcomes. In addition, I conducted semi-structured interviews with selected respondents (scholars, co-workers and heritage practitioners) based on their knowledge of a particular community's custodianship of rock art sites or sacred landscapes, to gain a broader understanding of past and present traditional custodianship systems in the southern African. These semi-structured interviews were flexible, allowing the interviewee a high degree of freedom (Creswell 1994).

For respondents that were considered to be key informants (e.g. traditional authority leaders and scholars with specific local knowledge and expertise) the interviews were tape recorded. These interviews were recorded because they were all semi-structured interviews. In addition the recording would allow me to directly quote from these interviews. Also the key informants contain those people who had been previously interviewed by other projects and I was interested in getting accurate insights as to whether their views had changed over time.

For the majority of interviews, however, structured questionnaires were used and I considered it not necessary to tape record them. The number of interviews and time constraints were also a factor in this decision. For the structured questionnaires written notes were taken. The note taking also caused me to ask for more information or further explanations of issues considered important during the interview. In addition, taking notes also helped me to identify common patterns or tendencies in terms of responses and to summarize and further categorize the responses. Written and verbally acknowledged. All the interviews were individual interviews, I conducted no group interviews. This was based on the assumption that different groups in the same community may have contradicting views, and thus individual interviews appeared more appropriate to enable us to capture divergent views, opinions and experiences (Galplin & Kirton 2006).

4.1.4. Fieldwork

My field research was enriched from my previous involvement in the project "Rock Art Research and Heritage Management in Mozambique", where I had previously conducted visits to Manica District in May 2003, June-July 2004, and July 2006. These multiple trips helped build confidence and establish an enabling working environment with the community members. For instance, whilst conducting ethnographic research in 2006 with Tore Sætersdal, who had been conducting rock art research at the area since 1997, he introduced me to the local elders, traditional authorities and government authorities with whom he had worked. Therefore, for my field research in June 2009, I easily identified key informants for my research topic.

Given the constraints of time, funds and other logistics, I relied on a limited number of informants in Chinhamapere and Guidingue and I travelled in the company of local guides to visit sites and interview local residents. Considering the relatively large population to be investigated, a purposive random selection of interviews was conducted, based on different categories of indicators. The indicators that were seen as potentially informative to the research were social groups (ethnic wards), age (elders and youngsters), gender, proximity of residents to the rock art sites, frequency of use of heritage resources and education level. This sampling criterion for interviews was used in order to increase the possibility of capturing the broader and divergent perspectives from the different stakeholders in the VCL (Keitumetse 2009). All groups known to be associated with the rock art sites and the sacred landscapes were approached for interviews. The sample size was 47 interviewees in Chinhamapere and Guidingue, comprising 13 elders (60-85 years old), 20 adults (21-59 years old) and 14 youngsters (13-20 years old).

Although people were keen to volunteer information, I was usually referred to the *Mambo* (the supreme chief which was also designated *régulo* during the colonial administration), *sabhuku* (the head of a group of villages) or *samuthanda* (the head of a village) for detailed information. As a result several local chiefs became key informants in this study. The use of elders as key informants is in line with the current tendency in heritage studies, to pay special attention to those community members that can be regarded as 'knowledge stores' (Keitumetse 2009:201). Such members are identified by constant referral made to them by other members of the community. Most of these 'knowledge stores' are elderly (both male or female) and they are found to play a crucial role in their communities as they not only formulate and guard community values and perceptions, but they are central in formulating such views and ensuring the continuous recycling of knowledge through time (Keitumetse 2009:203). They became a key resource in learning about the historical context in which people interacted with the heritage areas. Elders would describe with authority, either first-hand experiences, or authentic indigenous knowledge received from their predecessors. Understanding this process of

knowledge transfer is useful in analysing the evolution of traditional custodianship, given that traditional authorities are capable of comparing several aspects that influenced the use and management of resources in different historical contexts (pre-colonial, colonial and the present), in Manica District.

4.2. Data Analysis

My data analysis was divided into three main categories of aims: (1) to identify and understand the significance of rock art sites in relation to other places of cultural significance in the study area; (2) to understand the local practices related to rock art sites; and (3) to understand the local rules and institutions that mediate the use of and access to rock art sites. The findings within each of these three categories of aims are presented below.

4.2.1. Sacred places in the VCL

The Shona-speaking communities in Manica believe that ancestral spirits reside in special places in the landscape (e.g. water springs, streams, forests, mountains or rock shelters), and they consider such places to be sacred (Artur 1999; Simbine 2002; Sætersdal 2004; Jopela 2006). To understand the significance of rock art sites in relation to other places of cultural significance, respondents were asked about their knowledge of sacred sites in the area (Fig. 8). They were asked for the location of the site, the type of site, and to describe why the site was important for the community. This was to determine whether rock art sites are, in themselves, considered sacred places, or whether it is their association with some other feature that makes them part of a sacred place (see section 2 of the questionnaire in appendix 1).

The questionnaires revealed that people are aware of the existence of sacred places in their area. When asked "Are there sacred places nearby?" 76% said "yes", 16% responded "no" and 8% responded "don't know" (Fig. 8).
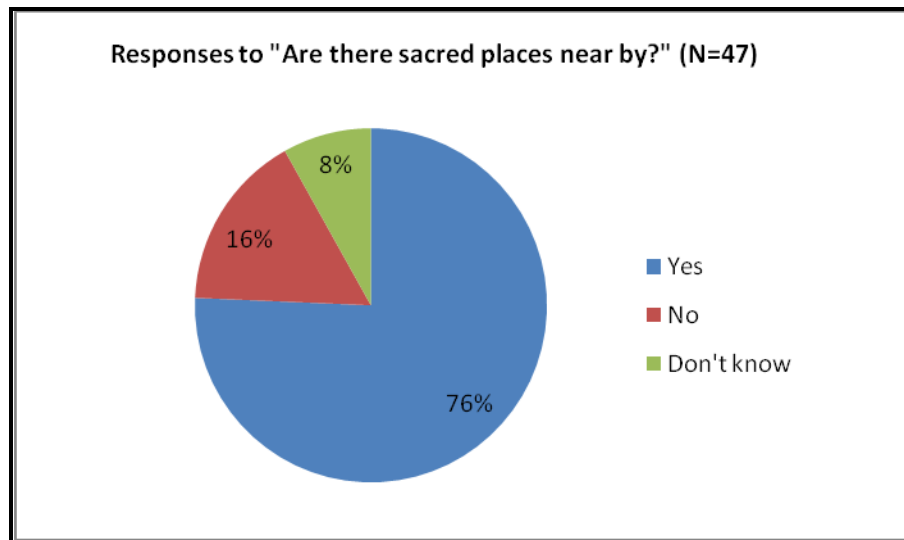
Figure 8: Local community knowledge of sacred places in the VCL

The results presented here are simply suggestive and the interpretation of the responses was therefore done with caution. For instance, with the above question, it is not clear whether the local residents said that there are no sacred sites in the area because they have no knowledge of sacred sites, or that they knew about them, but sought not to disclose them to an outsider. In addition, it is important to note that no categorization of answers was suggested to respondents. Thus the different categories of responses presented in the charts result from my attempt to better represent the range of responses received during the interviews.

In the Shona language the word sacred, *inoera*, is an adjective describing a thing or place. The concept 'sacredness' connotes 'being life sustaining' and is closely linked to rain and the fertility of the land (cf. Byers, Cunliffe & Hudak 2001:193). Hence for the Shona-speakers, sacred places are areas associated with rain and fertility. When Shona-speakers were asked about places where ancestral spirits are present in the VCL, 43% referred to sacred mountains; 32% mentioned sacred rock shelters with paintings; 7% mentioned water sources such as river springs and pools; 7% mentioned sacred trees; 7% referred to sacred forests and groves; and 4% referred to sacred graves (Fig. 9).
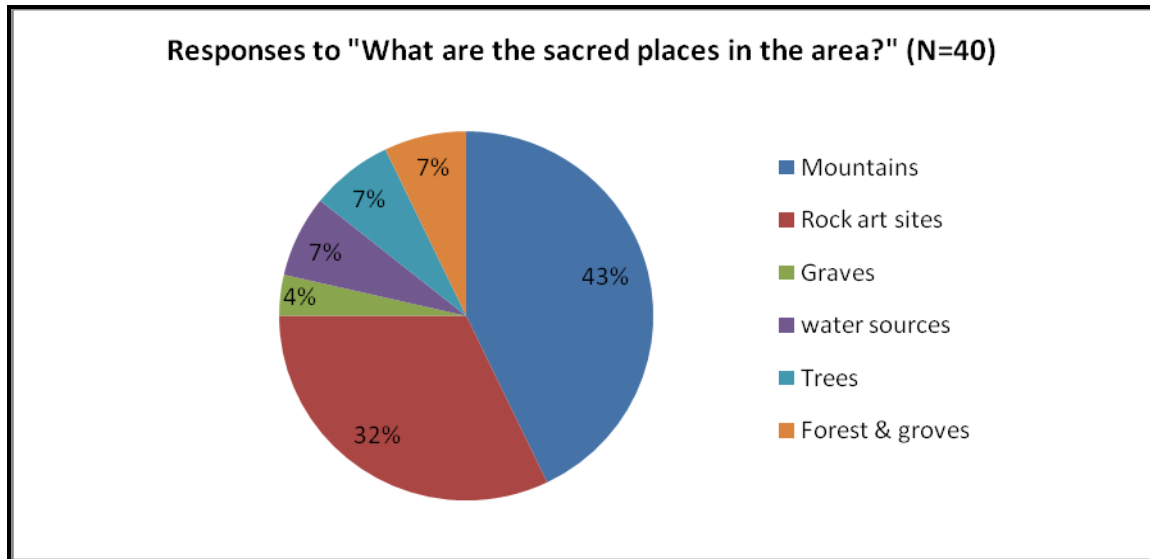
Figure 9: Type of sacred sites in the VLC

As illustrated in Figure 9, several places across the VCL are considered sacred. The identification, location, cultural association and current use of the sacred places mentioned in the survey is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Description of sacred sites in the VCL

Sacred place	Type of site	Location and landscape position	Use and cultural association
Chinhamapere	A hill with a small forest and a rock shelter with paintings.	Hill in Serra Vumba; Large boulders (rock shelter with paintings), large trees on the top of the hill together with the dense vegetation (small forest).	A powerful place for communication with the ancestors and a placewhere ancestral spirits are present (e.g. paintings constitute signs of the ancestors displayed in a ritualized landscape); There are continuing living ceremonial practices by the local communities: rain-control rituals are conducted here as part of the agricultural cycle.
Moucondihwa	A rock shelter with paintings.	Large rock shelter (50 m across & 20 m deep) situated 200 m up the slopes of the Guidingue Mountain.	Powerful place for communication with the ancestors andwhere ancestral spirits are present (e.g. paintings constitute signs of the ancestors displayed in a ritualized landscape); There are continuing living ceremonial practices by the local communities:

			rain-control rituals are conducted here as part of the agricultural cycle.
Maramba	Mountain (the highest Peak on Serra Vumba, about 6 000 feet high, with a flat top about three miles long) with virgin forest and a rocky pool.	Forest located at the eastern extremity of the Mountain and ends abruptly in a precipice. In the forest there is a spring of crystal clear water that gushes from a huge stone pool called *Che-aridse.*	Crowning ceremonies of the Chirara chiefs (e.g. in the sacred pool, *Che-aridse*, chiefs are immersed before being crowned); Rain-control rituals (e.g. in times of drought, the chief and his headmen meet to make propitiatory offerings of grain and beer to their ancestors and to perform rain-control rituals).

In order to gain further insight into the cultural significance of sacred places in VCL, members from the local communities were asked "Why are these places considered sacred?". 28% considered these places sacred because they "have signs of our ancestors"; 24% considered these "places where the ancestors live"; another 24% considered these "places where traditional ceremonies (e.g. rain-control) are held"; 21% said that these are "places for dialogue with ancestors"; and 3% considered these sacred because they are "graves of former leaders" (Fig. 10).
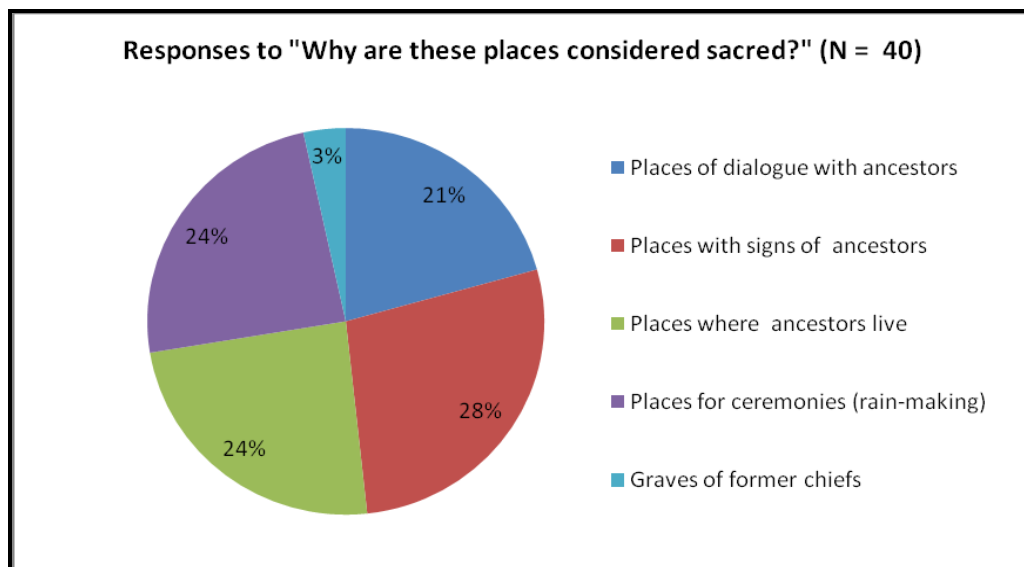
Figure 10: The reasons given for why places are considered sacred

Generally a sacred place, *nzvimbo inoera*, is a place where ancestral spirits are present. Some local residents told us that certain rock shelters and forests that are used as burial places are spirit-inhabited. Shona-speakers believe that different ancestors reside at specific locations. Hence, ancestral spirits of the land reside at sacred mountains (hilltops), caves or rock shelters, graves of former chiefs or spirit mediums and at pools, or places with water (Bucher 1980:31-49; Bourdillon 1991:243-253). According to most respondents, these abodes of ancestral spirits are appropriated whenever the community needs to interact (through spirit mediums) with the ancestors.

In fact, it has been noticed throughout Manica that trees are frequently used as communicating elements between the living and the ancestral spirits. At the base of such trees, prayers and offerings of liquor or tobacco are made. Similarly, caves are regarded as access points between the spirit world and the real world. Deep shelters are often used for burials (cf. Sætersdal 2004:189). Shona-speakers frequently use rock shelters as 'cool' places for the burial of spirit mediums and former chiefs (cf. Bourdillion 1991; Pwiti *et al*. 2007). It is probable that the space within the shelter is perceived to be sacred because it is between the realm of the living and that of the ancestral spirit. Similarly, ancestral spirits are believed to dwell in the land, particularly in water. Springs and rivers are therefore particularly potent and important dwelling places for ancestral spirits (Sætersdal 2004:190). Hence, like in many other regions across southern Africa, it is evident that for the Shona-speaking communities in Manica; rivers, mountains, sacred forests and rock shelters are part of a larger cosmological environment (Ndoro 2006; Nhamo, Sætersdal & Walderhaug 2007; Mahachi & Kamuhangire 2008).

My data shows that 32% of respondents consider some rock art sites to be sacred places (Fig. 9). A similar question was asked in a different way in order to scrutinize the significance of rock art sites. Thus when asked whether "there are sacred places with rock paintings in the area?", 75% of the respondents said "yes", 18% "don't know" and 7% responded "no" (Fig. 11). It is apparent that the knowledge of sacred sites is localized. For example, where people knew about sacred sites nearby (e.g. around the Chinhamapere area), most had no knowledge of

other sacred sites, even though they are just a few kilometres away on the opposite side of the Serra Vumba (e.g. in Guidingue area). The exceptions to this were those places that are considered to be important regional sacred places, such as Chinhamapere.   These sites were known by most people in the Manica district.
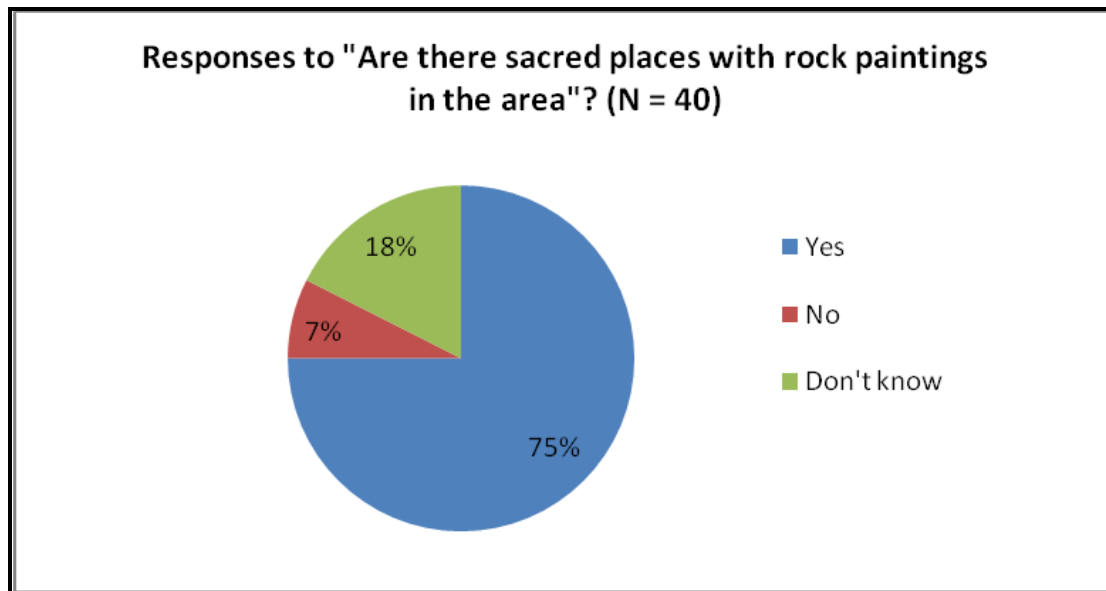
Figure 11: Question asked to investigate the relationship between rock art sites and sacred places

Despite the fact that the majority of respondents consider rock art sites to be sacred places in the VCL, it is important to note that the sacredness of such sites does not necessarily derive from the rock art images that they contain. Certainly, not all sacred sites have paintings and not all rock shelters with paintings are considered sacred places. I suggest that the sacredness of some rock art sites derives also from their location within the landscape (e.g. that they are found on a sacred mountain or within a sacred forest) and their association with multiple sacred values. Such sites are given a whole range of rules and regulations to control people's behaviour in them. This is probably the case of Chinhamapere and Moucondhiwa rock art sites.

4.2.2. Local practices related to rock art sites

Previous researchers noted the existence of traditional practices relating to the use and preservation of natural and cultural resources in VCL and in the adjacent areas of eastern Zimbabwe (Artur 2000; Cônsul 2002; Araman 2002; Simbine 2002, 2003; Sætersdal 2004; Jopela 2006; Nhamo *et al.* 2007). To understand the current use of rock art sites, communities were asked "Which activities take place at rock art sites?, 39% cited "traditional ceremonies" ; 36% specifically referred to "rain-control rituals"; 14% said "don't know" and 11% mentioned "school visits" (Fig. 12).
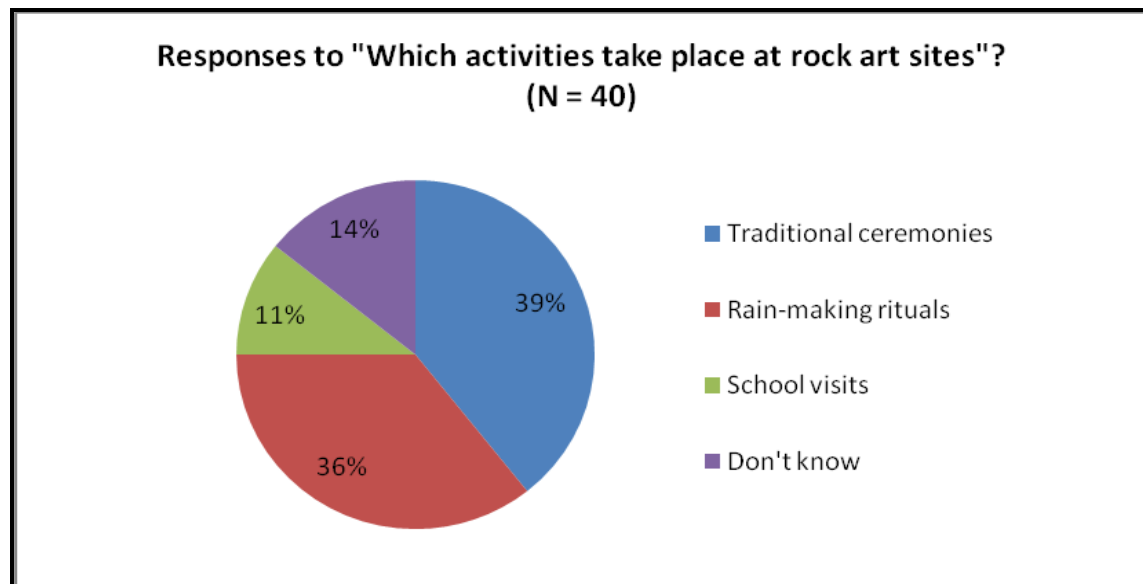
Figure 12: Activities at rock art sites

These results confirm the findings of previous archaeological research in Manica where it was noticed that some rock art sites in Chinhamapere and Chinhambudzi areas are currently used by the Shona-speaking communities for rain-control ceremonies, within the context of the Shona agricultural cycle (Sætersdal & Macamo 2006:196; Jopela 2006:45-48). The importance of rain-control rituals in Manica is undisputed and widely recognised. According to the local chief, *Mambo* Chirara, rain-control rituals protect the community against disease, drought, floods and plagues (Interview with *Mambo* Chirara 2009). Another local chief commented that

"rain-control rituals only take place in sacred places where the ancestral spirits rest (...) these places are appropriated whenever the community needs to interact with the ancestral spirits in order to bring rain" (Interview with *Samutanda* Bandula 2009).

In the case of Chinhamapere, it is apparent that hunter-gatherer paintings, located on the sacred mountain, provide a connection in time between the past and the present, in terms of activities taking place outside the shelter. The site is therefore an important meeting point between the current society and the ancestral world; the art is seen as signs of the ancestors (Sætersdal 2004:194). Rites such as rain-control are believed to maintain social order as they control rain, harvests, health and wealth (Macamo & Sætersdal 2004:196). Hence, the integration of rock art sites (while sacred places) into the socio-economic and religious dynamics of present day communities through rain-control ceremonies is mainly backed by collective concern for economic, social and cultural survival (e.g. the community's daily survival needs). Simultaneously, the respect that emanates from places such as Chinhamapere derives from the fact that the place is integrated within one of the stages of an important ritual for the community.

4.2.3. Rules and institutions concerning the use of, and access to rock art sites

Rules exist regarding the use and access of sacred places. When asked "Are there rules about sacred sites?", 75% of the local residents said "yes"; 19% said "don't know" and 6% said "no" (Fig. 13).
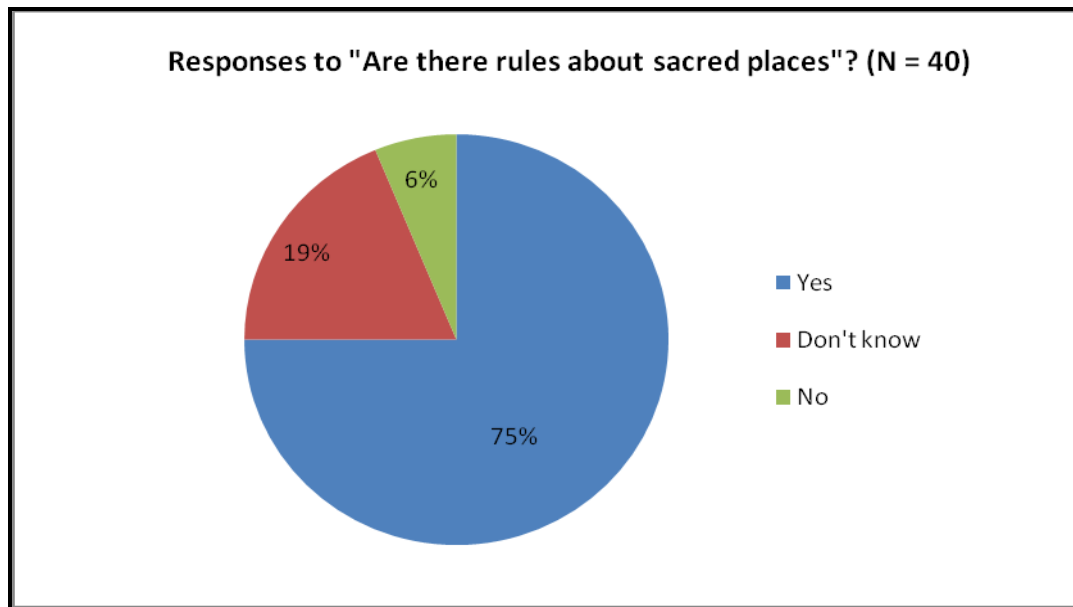
Figure 13: Prevalence of rules governing access and use of sacred places

Similarly to the case of forest conservation in Bara Country, Madagascar (cf. Horning 2008), in Manica, these rules are generally prohibitive ('one must not…or else') or prescriptive ('one must…or else'). This is illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2: Some community rules (proscriptions and prescription) concerning sacred places in the VCL

One must not have sexual relations in sacred forests or mountains	…or else serious illness or death may result
One must not cut down trees, specially the large ones in the forest	…or serious illness, death, and curse on descendants await one
One must respect cleanliness, especially in the sacred spots	…or else serious illness
One must not enter sacred places without special permission from the appropriate traditional religious leader	…or else one will get lost and may run into serious annoying events
One must not collect firewood in sacred places	…or else the ancestors will punish the transgressor with marital problems, illness or even death

Source: adapted from Horning 2008:123.

Access to and uses of sacred places are restricted by various social mechanisms (such as taboos and customs), with control vested in specific members of the community who are most commonly the elders (traditional custodians). For instance, access to Chinhamapere hill is controlled by tales of large, black, spirit snakes that dwell under the huge boulders and rocks on top of the hill. These snakes are believed to attack anyone who ascends the mountain without prior authorization from the ancestors (as mediated through the traditional custodians). Such authorization may be obtained through a ceremony organized by the spirit medium/traditional site custodian (DNPC 2003:7; Simbine 2006:12). The site custodian of Chinhamapere stated that "people who enter the forest without permission or cut trees there may see the big snake and either die, get lost, or become insane" (Interview with Mbeya Gondo 2009). In fact, according to most of our respondents access to these sacred places must only be with special permission from the appropriate traditional religious leader. This acknowledgement suggests that traditional and religious leaders are considered to be responsible for protecting sacred sites and enforcing rules of usage.

As is the case with many other societies in Africa, rules of usage seek to maintain orderly ecological, social, moral and religious relationships (cf. Horning 2008). To understand how these rules are enforced, communities were asked "Who is responsible for the protection of sacred places in the area?, 39% said the "*Régulo/Mambo* and other elders"; 22% said the local chiefs (*sabuku* & *samuthanda*); 21% said "adults and elders" and 18% responded "Mrs Mbeya Gondo" (Fig. 14).
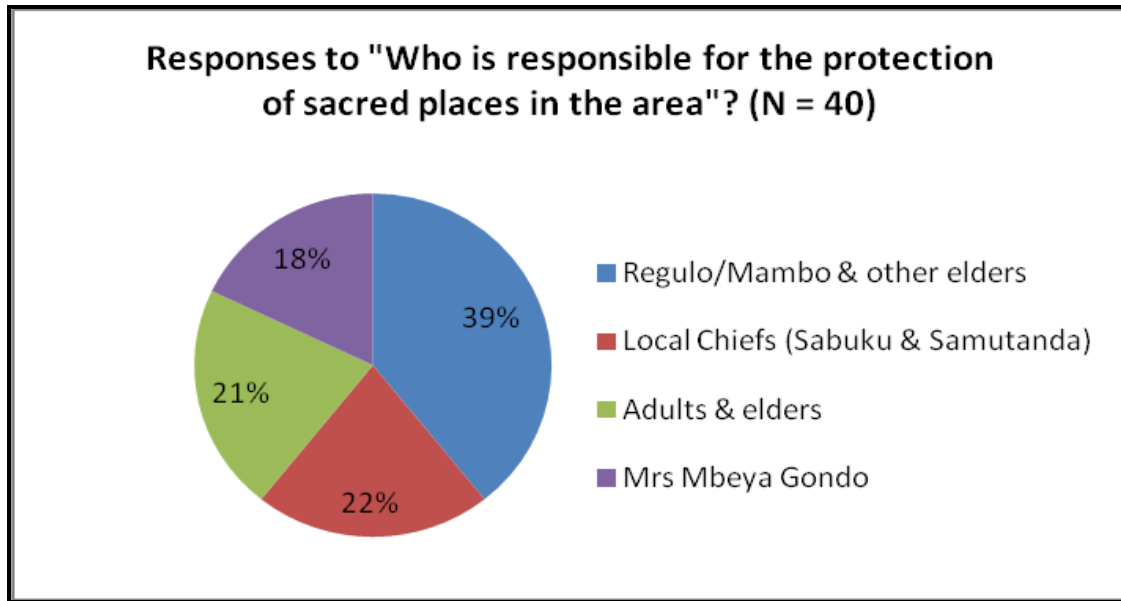
Figure 14: Responsibility over the protection of sacred places

Analysis of the responses shows that traditional authorities (the political-traditional structures led by a *Mambo* who is assisted by other leaders *sabuko, samuthanda, svikiro*), are generally regarded as the primary institutions responsible for enforcing customary laws at community level. For example, Mrs. Mbeya Gondo a spiritual medium (*svikiro*) and traditional healer (*currandeira*) is responsible for conducting traditional ceremonies around Chinhamapere hill. Effectively, Mbeya Gondo represents *Mambo* Chirara in controlling the activities of the local communities' towards the sacred places. All visitors to Chinhamapere are directed to Mbuya Gondo who performs rituals to obtain permission to visit the site from the ancestral spirits. Individuals or groups of people are not allowed to visit Chinhamapere or its environs in the absence of the official custodian or her appointee. In fact, whenever this Octogenarian is unavailable to guide visitors to the site she empowers another member from the community to do so. This ensures strict adherence to the cultural norms of site visitation. It is apparent that the custodianship of Chinhamapere and the surrounding landscape is greatly facilitated by the spirit medium's access and use restrictions. For example, the spiritual medium contributes to the maintenance of the sacred forest by sensitizing the community against deforestation around the hill (further description and discussion in the next chapter).

Although custodianship of places such as Chinhamapere seems to work well, and the traditional authority still plays a major role in governing access to and use of cultural and natural resources at the community level, respondents were asked "Do people respect rules concerning the access to and use of sacred places". The aim of this question was to obtain insight into the extent of compliance (and non-compliance) with the rules by community members. Accordingly, 50% said "all people respected sacred places"; 25% said that "some people respect and some people don't"; 20% said "don't know if people respect sacred places or not" and 5% said "most people don't respect sacred places" (Fig. 15).
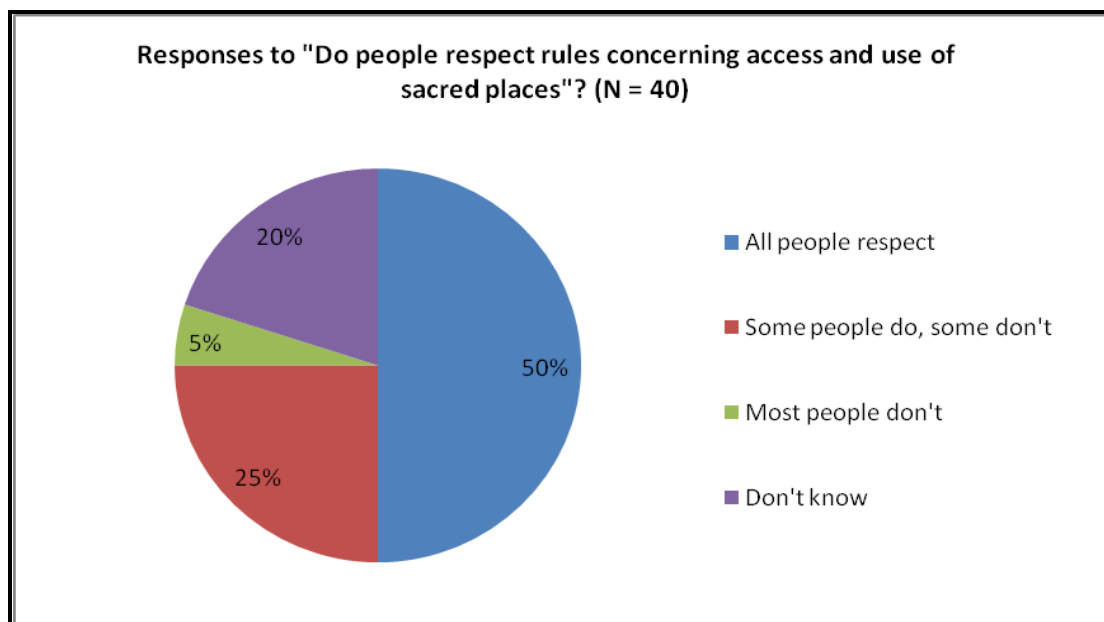
Figure 15: Compliance with the rules regarding access to sacred places

Determining compliance or non-compliance by community members is usually a difficult task. As Byers, Cunliffe and Hudak (2001:193) point out, respondents may not always be truthful in their responses, and stating abstract beliefs or opinions, may not always be followed up with congruent actions and behaviour. In Manica, given that non-compliance with the rules (such as the cutting down of trees in sacred places) is illegal, it was difficult for me to determine or to discuss the motivation for compliance or non-compliance with the informants. Informants did not trust me enough to discuss their motivation for non-conformity with the customs. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that most respondents who said "all people respect the

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rules that control access to sacred places" were aged between 13 to 20 years, while adults and the elders (21 to 85 years old) felt strongly that "only some people respect the rules that control access to sacred places" but the majority "do not respect the rules governing access to sacred places".

Therefore, where it was pointed out that some people or most people do not respect the rules that control access to sacred places, the fellow-up question asked was "who does not respect the rules that control access to sacred places and why?". Although the sample of respondents was reduced (12 residents equivalent to 25.5% of the total number of respondents), 43% of these said that it was new immigrants to the area who did not respect the rules that control access to sacred places because they did not know about them. 25% of respondents stated that the youth did not respect the rules governing access to sacred places because they were more concerned with economic rather than traditional issues and had little interest in learning about sacred places. 18% of the respondents said that local and foreign *garimpeiros* (gold-diggers) do not respect the rules of access to places like caves and rivers since their only concern is treasure-hunting. Lastly, 14% of the respondents said that some religious groups do not respect the rules of access to sacred places such as the sacred mountain; they go there to pray wearing gold or silver jewellery and red materials, which they are not supposed to wear at such sites (Fig. 16).
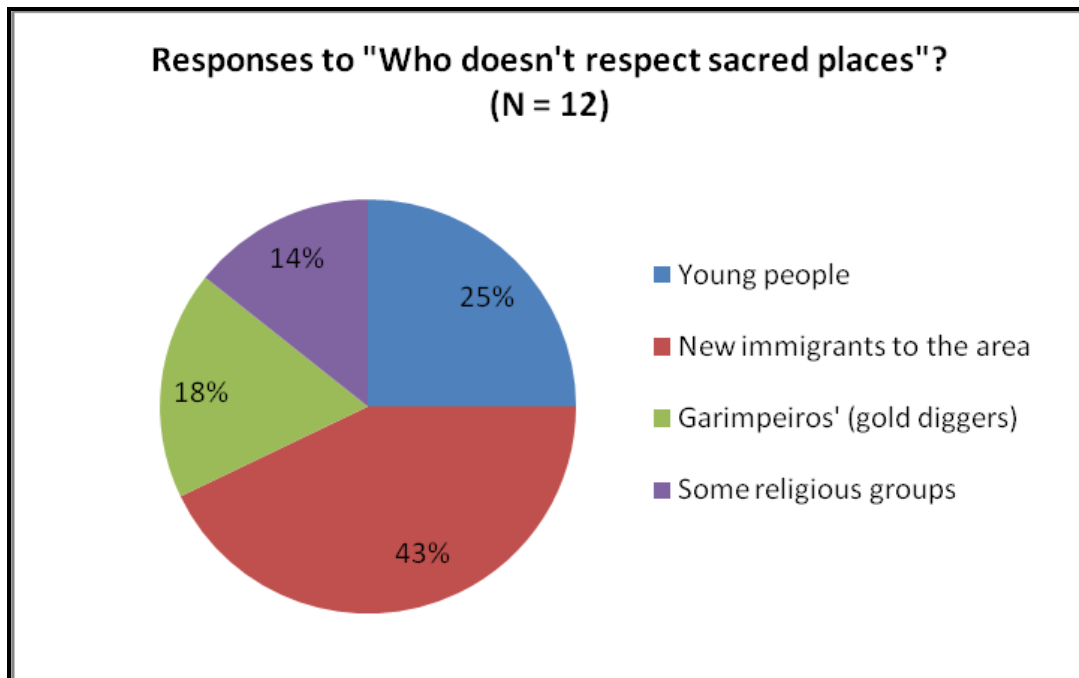
Figure 16: Non-compliance with the rules regarding to sacred places

95 % of the total respondents agreed that it is good to respect sacred places. However, when asked why?, a common pattern in the responses showed that the protection of sacred places was linked to the role of ancestors' spirits in governing the lives of living communities. Accordingly, 29% said it is important to protect sacred places "because it is where traditional ceremonies take place"; 25% said "because they protect community against misfortunes"; and 21% said "sacred places help communities to ask for rain". For 18% of respondents "it is good to respect sacred places in order to avoid punishment from ancestral spirits", while 7% of respondents, "it is good to respect sacred places because they are important to educate the young generation about their heritage" (Fig. 17).
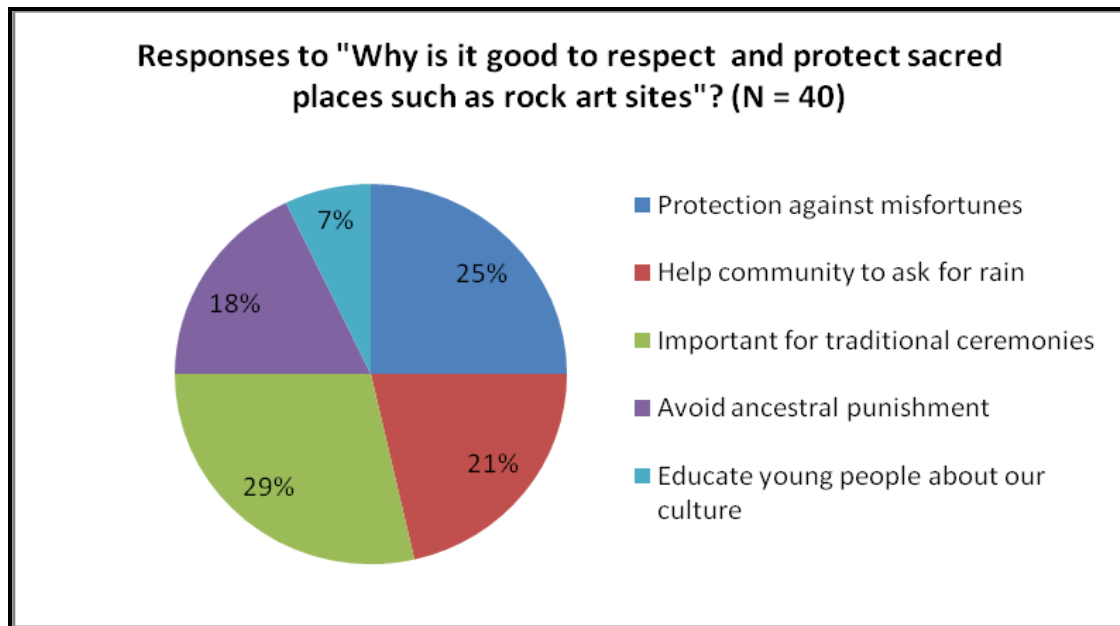
Figure 17: Reason for respecting and protecting sacred places

For the majority of interviewees, places considered sacred are protected mainly because they provide a home for ancestral spirits who play an active role in life of the present communities. It is clear that the reasons given by local residents regarding the need to respect sacred places are directly linked to the perceived value of, befit from and usefulness of those resources (natural and cultural) (cf. Byers, Cunliffe & Hudak 2001). For example, although protecting sacred sites to bring rain or to prevent punishment from ancestral spirits may be perceived as a nonmaterial benefit (e.g., spiritual and religious values), the local community perceive rain and disease (one kind of punishment by spirits) as real and material. Therefore, for the community, the benefits of respect for sacred forests are direct material values since the protection in a natural state is believed to indirectly produce food, health, and other material benefits.

Generally, although the local community do not identify conservation as a motivation for restricting use and access, the conservation of at least some of the sacred sites is clearly important both for the perceived sustenance of the ecosystem as well as the spiritual landscape (see also Serra 2001). Data analysis indicates that traditional, spiritual values motivated the conservation of at least some of the sacred places in VCL. This is a cause for concern given that some adult and elderly respondents stated that the youth have no respect for traditional sacred

places (see Fig. 16). However, statistically, there was no significant difference between the youth and the elders' responses to the question "Is it good to respect sacred places?" (95% of all respondents said "yes"). Cognizant that survey results should be interpreted cautiously, the results in this study do not clearly support the hypothesis that, the youth do not respect sacred places.

4.3. Conclusions

Several points of significance emerge from the analysis of my interviews. Firstly, rock art sites are not considered sacred *per se* (they do not embody ancestral spirits) but serve as spiritual abodes (see also Siebert 2008). Often, protective norms do not focus on the rock art but rather; on the broader landscape in which ancestral spirits dwell (e.g. sacred forest of hill). Therefore, the protection ethic toward places of cultural significance (sacred places) only has an indirect conservation benefit for rock art sites. One of the practical implications of this conclusion may be that since traditional custodian systems do not focus on the rock art itself, the traditional practices that take place at the site may evolve, within the normal dynamism of cultures in its different forms and expressions, from a situation of non-contact to a physical interaction with the rock imagery during traditional use of the place (e.g. this has been noticed in Kondoa, Tanzania and at South African rock art sites where bits of the rock paintings are chipped off the shelter walls for use in traditional medicines). This can pose serious conservation issues concerning the physical integrity of the site, on one hand, but on the other, such potential threat to the integrity of place would appear to be a recent adaptation of older practices. This may inevitably lead to a dilemma in terms of management of values associated with the place (e.g. spiritual, archaeological, touristic) because although touching is detrimental to the rock art, in a ritual context such action would be in conformity with the continuous use or re-use of rock art sites considering that the community would still perceive the site as a powerful place for dialogue with their ancestors.

Secondly, access and use of places of cultural significance (e.g. rock art sites) is restricted by various social mechanisms with control vested in specific members of the community, often elders (traditional custodians). The use and management of natural and cultural resources is sustained by a wider framework of religious beliefs that define the codes, roles, obligations and behavioural patterns of the community in terms of space and resources (see also Jopela 2006). In addition, some elements of the existing traditional custodianship system (e.g. customary rules) are backed by a collective concern for economic, social and cultural survival. For instance, there is a natural link between heritage places and the life-sustenance of the community (e.g. the integration of rock art sites into the socio-economic and religious practices [rain-control ceremonies] within the agricultural cycle) (see also Ndoro 2006).

Although the traditional authority appear as the cornerstone of the custodianship system which is effective in protecting Chinhamapere, the changes in the wider economic, social and cultural circumstances under which traditional systems operate raises significant questions concerning the impact of local politics, government policies, local economic needs as well as globalization and modernity in traditional use and management systems of cultural heritage. These are some of the key issues that must be addressed when considering the role of traditional custodianship in developing an improved framework for effective management of the cultural significance of rock art sites. In the next chapter, I provide a more nuanced analysis of these issues, and focus on the nature of the traditional custodianship systems of rock art sites within the VCL in Manica District, Central Mozambique.

5. TRADITIONAL CUSTODIANSHIP AT THE VCL

A contentious issue in southern Africa is whether traditional management systems have anything to offer for the effective and sustainable management of sacred rock art sites. We know that since pre-colonial time communities throughout Africa have used traditional systems to safeguard culturally significant places (Pwiti & Mvenge 1996; Ndoro 2003; Manyanga 2003; Nyathi & Ndiwini 2005; Pwiti *et al.* 2007). However, over the last century there has been a 'suffocation' of traditional management systems. Their decline has been blamed on the disruption caused by the African colonial experience; the hegemony of the rigid post-independence, state-based heritage polices and management systems; changes in the wider economic, social and cultural circumstances under which traditional systems operate; specific historical developments such as past and present land reforms, migrations and tourism, and more recently globalization (Ndoro & Pwiti 2001; Maradze 2003; Mumma 2003; Katsamudanga 2003).

It is against this background that I analyse the nature of the traditional custodianship systems of rock art sites at the VCL in Manica district, central Mozambique. Traditional custodianship systems are largely informed by local cosmologies. Local cosmologies are dependent on local social mechanisms, political systems and religious conventions that regulate the use and management of natural and resources. Therefore this discussion focuses on the analysis of three major aspects related to traditional custodianship: the Shona worldview; the use of rock art sites and the role of the traditional authority in the management of heritage resources.

5.1. The Shona worldview

a) Spiritual hierarchy

In the Shona world, the community is controlled by a political hierarchy; this living political hierarchy mediates, on behalf of the community, with an ancestral hierarchy who in turn are able to commune with the religious realm as represented by the Shona deity. Ordinary

community members can talk to their family ancestors without mediation, but in order to access ancestors higher up in the spiritual hierarchy they need to call on members of the living political hierarchy to mediate with the ancestors. While distinctions are made between the living world of humans and the realm of spiritual powers, they exist within a single universe of experience where ancestral spirits remain effectively present in the lives of the living (Bucher 1980; Bourdillon 1982; Sætersdal 2004; Murimbika 2006).

Ranked first in this spiritual and religious hierarchy is the *Mwari,* the supreme Shona deity and the creator of the land, all humans and the universe. *Mwari* is not an ancestral spirit since it has never lived (Abraham 1966:34; Ranger 1999:19-20). The Matobo Hills are known to be the home of the wide-ranging oracular cult of *Mwari* and *Mwari's* voice is believed to be heard from the rocks. This powerful deity links the local Shona communities to the hills. These communities believe that the ancestral spirits and deities live in the forests, mountains, caves, hollow trees, pools and rock shelters (some of which have paintings). For the Shona, such places are sites of spiritual significance from which people derive inspiration, control rain and fertility and good health through communing with their ancestral spirits (Beach 1980:104; Daneel 1998:42-49; Ranger 1999:20, 45). According to Sætersdal (2004:181) the role of *Mwari* in Manica is unclear at the present.

Close to *Mwari* are the most powerful ancestral spirits; those of former chiefs, *mhondoro*, who are believed to take the form of lions. *Mhondoro* are responsible for the general welfare of people in their respective territories. Therefore, *mhondoro* are viewed as guardian spirits of a place and according to the Shona, the source of fertility of the land (Bucher 1980:31-36; Daneel 1998:201-202; Ranger 1999). *Mhondoro* communicate with living communities through spirit mediums (*svikiro*). These mediums are thought to become ritually possessed by their spirit during special ceremonies, such as the rain-control ritual. *Mhondoro* can then be asked for advice about various issues of concern (Bourdillon 1982:243-71). A ritual assistant, *mutapi*, organizes the special ceremonies and conducts other ritual duties on behalf of the spirit

medium. The *mutapi* are sometimes traditional village leaders, *sabhuku*, thus they have a role in both traditional ritual and political systems (Byers, Cunliffe & Hudak 2001:193).

The ancestral spirits of normal men and women, the *midzimu*, are last in the spiritual hierarchy. *Midzimu* are called upon during family and individual ceremonies (Sætersdal 2004:182). For larger concerns, such as well being and protection of the land, the Shona believe that they can only call upon the ancestral spirits of former chiefs.

b) Mhondoro: guardians of the land

According to Shona tradition, land 'belongs' in an important sense to the spirit guardian of a chiefdom. The *mhondoro* are the spiritual protectors of the land, including its wild natural resources, while chiefs (e.g. *mambo* and *sabhuku*) are its living custodians (Byers, Cunliffe & Hudak 2001:193-4). The *mhondoro* are believed to have handed down a set of laws governing the use of natural and cultural resources. If these laws are violated, the individual transgressor and/or the entire community may suffer. While it is the chief's duty to enforce the laws of the land, *mhondoro* may exert general punishment, by causing drought or some other catastrophe, if the laws are disregarded (Murimbika 2006:171-4).

In Shona culture, religion (and ritual) is intricately interwoven into traditional secular politics (see Huffman 2000; Pikirayi 2001). A chief relies on *mhondoro* for political and religious support, while m*hondoro* rely on the acknowledgement of the chief to retain their recognition, control and status as mediators of the living and the spiritual worlds (Murimbika 2006:174-5). For example, as a traditional ecologist, the *svikiro* has important conservation duties believed to be divinely inspired. Thus, on behalf of the local *mhondoro* (ancestral guardian of the land) the *svikiro* is empowered to prohibit the logging of certain tree species; to enforce the respect for the boundaries of sacred groves and the shelters where ancestors dwell (Daneel 1998:34). Such co-operation between the religious and political authorities serves to generate taboos that ensure sustainable social practices towards the use and management of natural and

cultural resources (Schoffeleers 1978; Spierenburg 1995). However, it has been argued that aside from spiritual control, *mhondoro* are involved in local power dynamics. As guardians of the spiritual realm, chiefs and elders exercise significant power and assert control over the community (MARENA 2000:1). *Mhondoro* are therefore the guardians of sacred places, a concept central in the Shona world view.

c) Sacred places

As suggested in the previous chapter, the Shona community in Manica believe ancestral spirits reside in special places in the landscape (e.g. water springs, streams, forests, mountains or rock shelters). The belief in ancestral spirits, oblige communities to abide by the local customs of access to such places. For instance, according to the Shona communities of Manica, Chinhamapere hill is a place of 'Kings' or a place of the 'spirits'. The name Chinhamapere means 'the mountain of leprosy' and the hill was used in historic times as a leper colony. Sætersdal (2004:190-1) notes that it is now widely believed that Chinhamapere was a healing place for lepers. Some people believe it is the lepers who made the rock art, while others believe it was their ancestors. Although the site is considered as a healing place, it is also held that those who intrude upon or interfere with the site will disappear. Therefore authorization from the ancestors is required for visitors to approach the place. A small ceremony in honour and respect of the ancestors is always performed before any visitation to the site.

These three aspects of Shona cosmology (the spiritual hierarchy, Mhondoro guardians of the land and sacred places) are part of the traditional management system of heritage places within the VCL (DNPC 2003:7; Simbine 2006:12)

5.1.1. Implications for the management of heritage places

It is evident that the cosmology of the Shona-speaking communities provides appropriate environmental ethics (e.g. humans are part of an interacting set of living things in the landscape) and cultural values (e.g. respect for humans, nature and above all, for the ancestral spirits) that enhance and promote the conservation of those cultural and natural resources that the Shona value (also see Berkes, Colding & Folke 2000; Byers 2004; Nyathi & Ndiwini 2005). Some aspects of the natural and cultural landscape of the Vumba Mountains benefit from traditional custodianship (include traditional conservation practices) as enshrined in the Shona cosmology. The use and management of natural resources within the VCL is sustained by a wider frame of religious beliefs that define the codes, roles, obligations and behavioural patterns of the community towards the landscape and its resources. Traditional custodianship of culturally significant sites across VCL is embedded in the local belief-practice systems that have contributed to the preservation and sustainable use of both cultural and natural heritage sites. It is within this wider cultural framework for resource management that places with cultural significance, such as the rock art sites of Chinhamapere and Moucondihwa, are traditionally used and managed by local communities. However, as raised in the conclusion of Chapter 4, whilst it can be seen that many of the Shona traditional ethics and values work in favour of the protection of archaeological resources (often simply through their indirect association with a sacred place), others may be destructive. The challenge is to find a way to use the benefits of the traditional management system to protect those elements that state based heritage legislation may want to protect but that are currently unimportant elements in the Shona worldview.

Similarly whilst Shona cosmology generally stresses the need to respect sacred sites and important features like sacred hills, this belief system did not prevent the partial deforestation of Chinhamapere hill in the 1990s (DNPC 2003) (Fig. 18). In fact, many parts of Manica Province experienced increased pressure on natural resources in the immediate post-war period. Although local chiefs argued that damage to sacred forests would bring suffering to the culprits

or to the entire community, this threat was not enough to deter desperate and destitute individuals (cf. Schafer & Black 2003; Buur & Kyed 2005). In this scenario of rapid demographic and economic changes, the traditional institutions were unable to stop the logging and experienced difficulties in enforcing the traditional conservation system. Similarly observations were made by Byers, Cunliffe and Hudak (2001) for the sacred dry forest of Muzarabani in Northern Zimbabwe. Although the hilltop of the forest was considered sacred for the majority of community members, the exact boundaries of the sacred forest remained obscure. This allowed for their interpretation to change to fall in line with the practical requirements of the community for wood (Byers, Cunliffe & Hudak 2001:203-205).

Figure 18: The continuous effects of deforestation at Chinhamapere Hill in 2002
(Compare these with recovered vegetation as seen in Fig 3, taken in 2009, Chapter 3, p. 25)
(Image courtesy: SARADA)

Drawing on Smith (2006) it is clear that the Mwela Rocks (see chapter 2), Muzarabani Dry Forest and Chinhamapere Hill graphically demonstrate that, notwithstanding the potential of traditional custodianship for managing heritage sites that are imbued with sacred values, these systems can lose their effectiveness in a context of overwhelming socio-political stress.

Bearing in mind that the aim of traditional custodianship of rock art sites is the continuous use and preservation of the place, its values, and its surrounding environment (Jopela 2006), I now consider the current uses of rock art sites in the VCL.

5.2. Uses of rock art sites in the VCL.

The meaning of the word 'use' in the context of traditional custodianship of rock art sites acknowledges their different forms of usage and function by the present communities. Although the concept of 'use' is often thought of in terms of the period when the rock art was made, use may also have a multitude of forms and functions beyond the original production of art. Therefore, the definition of use here includes tangible as well as intangible aspects, considering that interaction with images may have several meanings: physical/non-physical and visible/non-visible (Satersdal 2004:205). In Manica, some rock art sites in Chinhamapere and Chinhambudzi areas are currently used by the Shona-speaking communities for rain-control ceremonies, within the context of the Shona agricultural cycle (Macamo & Sætersdal 2004:196; Jopela 2006:45-48).

Manica is an agricultural province with a subsistence based economy characterized by small family-farmed fields (*machambas*). Traditionally the farming regime is predominantly rain-fed (Sætersdal 2004:36-38). Although traditional agriculture has evolved due to cultural dynamics and colonial influences, present Shona-speaking communities have retained important principles and aspects of their agricultural practices, such as adhering to the agricultural calendars (table 3) and associated ceremonies (Murimbika 2006:53-58). In this rain-fed farming regime, productivity depends on effective space utilisation as well as the distribution and intensity of rain throughout the farming season. Shona-speaking communities pray for rain and the fertility of the land annually (Bucher 1980:31-49; Byers, Cunliffe & Hudak 2001:193). Given that in Shona cosmology the *mhondoro* is responsible for the general welfare of people and the fertility of the land, ceremonies are held within the agricultural cycle in honour of the

mhondoro and other ancestral spirits for good controlled rain, to bless the seeds and to give thanks for the harvest (Murimbika 2006:175).

Table 3: Shona annual seasons and the corresponding farming activities

Season (*Mwaka*)	Month (*Mwedzi*)	Activities
Chando (Winter)	*Chivabvu* (May); *Chikumi* (June); *Chikunguru* (July); *Nyamavhuvhu* (August)	Harvesting, processing and storage of produce. This period marks the end of the farming season
Chirimo (Spring)	*Gunyana* (September) *Gumiguru* (October); *Mbudzi* (November)	Preparation of fields for the new farming season. Ploughing begins as the first rains come in October/November. It is during this period that rain-control ceremonies begin.
Zhizha (Summer)	*Zvita* (December); *Ndira* (January); *Kukadzi* (February); *Kurume* (March); *Kubvumbi* (April)	The rainy season is on; planting continues; weeding begins; crop tendering continues protecting the field from animals and birds becomes crucial; short-term crop varieties ripen by February; harvesting early crops begins. First crop ceremonies are conducted at appropriate times.

Source: Adapted from Murimbika (2006:67-68).

Researchers argue that agricultural ceremonies among Shona-speaking communities focus on a single 'rain-making' ceremony at the beginning of the agricultural season (Sætersdal 2004; Macamo & Sætersdal 2004). Murimbika (2006) and Schoeman (2007) suggest that rather than use the term 'rain-making', the term 'rain-control' is more appropriate. They argue that rain-control embraces a whole cycle of rituals and ceremonies performed throughout the traditional agricultural calendar to ensure good rainfall rather than focusing on a single ritual of 'rain-making' (Table 4). It is the control of rain, (its quantity and quality, as well as preventing hail and lightning) that is important rather than its falling (Murimbika 2006:175; Schoeman 2007:7-8). In terms of this study, traditional custodianship in agricultural systems comprise the whole scope of rain-control practices that are part of the social and cultural contexts in which rock art

sites are used in Manica. I therefore adopt the use of the term 'rain-control' rather than 'rain-making'.

Although the Shona-speakers believe that different ancestors reside at specific locations and such locations are usually also linked to rain-control ceremonies (Bucher 1980:31-49; Bourdillon 1991:243-253), it is important to note that not all places that are culturally significant for the community are used at the same time for the same rituals. For example, pools, trees, boulders and small rock shelters are used to appease water spirits and recent ancestors. Hilltops and graves of former chiefs or spirit mediums are approached as a last resort when all else has failed (Murimbika 2006:194; Sætersdal 2004: 179-182). In the VCL, the rock art sites of Chinhamapere and Guidingue areas are used during rain-control ceremonies (*kudhira nvura*) (cf. Satersdal 2004; Jopela 2006; Nhamo, Saeterdal & Walderhaug 2007). Manica is not an isolated case; current use of archaeological sites for traditional ceremonies or ritual practices, particularly rock art sites, has been observed in southern Africa in places like Domboshava and Silozwane in Zimbabwe, Tsodilo Hills in Botswana and Kondoa-Irangi in Tanzania.

Table 4: Phases of standard Shona rain-control rites

Time	Event	Activity	Agricultural Activity
Gunyana (September)	*Rukato* (rain-control rituals)	Ritual organized by the chief, conducted through the *mhondoro*. Ritual beer is brewed. Headmen lead their villagers to the ceremony; ritual beer offerings and libations are made to the ancestral spirits at the ritual site. The ritual is to thank the royal ancestors for the previous season and to ask for rain in the next season.	Preparing fields for new season
Gumiguru (October);	Seed blessing	The chief collects seed samples to be blessed by *mhondoro* and then redistributes them across villages	Prepare to work sacred fields, *zunde*[2]

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[2] Royal tribute field belonging to the office of the chief and not the person. The chief provides the seeds, and the people use their own implements. Afterwards, people start to work in their own fields (Murimbika 2006: 91).

Mbudzi (November)	Sacred month	No ritual in this month	Plant the *zunde* and then plant all fields
Kukadzi (February);	First fruit ceremony	The chief collects new produce and takes it to *mhondoro* for blessing.	People partake in the consumption of new green produce.
Kubvumbi (April)	Harvest ceremony	The chief mobilises the village heads to harvest *zunde* fields; Ritual beer is brewed with the new grain and offerings of it are made to the *mhondoro*	Harvest, use of new produce; start of the off-season

Source: Adapted from Murimbika (2006: 176).

Shona rain-control practices consist of three rituals each year – in January, April and September (Murimbika 2006:175). In Manica District this cycle starts immediately before the rains begin (around September/October) with the *kudhira nvhura* rain ceremony. All households under the local sub-chiefs (*sabhukus* and *samutandha*) contribute something (usually a meal) for the rite. Usually two separate ceremonies are held at the same time, one in Chinhamapere and the other in Guidingue. In the Chinhamapere area, the female spirit medium, Mrs Mbeya Gondo, leads the preparation of the rite (Fig 19). Beer from maize meal is brewed for three weeks and maize meal stiff porridge (*sadza*) is prepared for the ritual. The rain-control ritual starts at dawn when the elders gather at the ritual rock at the foot of Chinhamapere hill. Mbeya Gondo asked the *mhondoro* (*Semukadzi*) to remember the community by giving them good rains and ensuring the fertility of their fields. She then asks the known ancestral *mhondoro* spirits to pass on the message to other unnamed spirits beyond (spirits of the heaven). Then the beer is passed around and drank by the elders (Sætersdal 2004; Mbuya Gondo 2006; Jopela 2006:45-48; Storaas 2007).
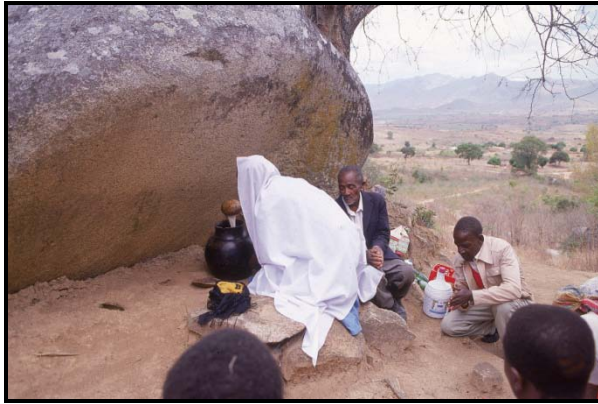
Figure 19: Rain-control ceremony at the foothill of Chinhamapere
(Image courtesy: SARADA)

Later, some of the beer is taken up the hill in a small, round pot to the rock paintings of Chinhamapere. Ritual priestesses sing rain songs (e.g. "… the *mhondoro*, the great spirits, they drink from the Save River, from the Zambezi River and from the Púgwe River …" [Storaas 2007]) and lead a procession of selected men and women. The priestesses are seen as the 'wives' of the ancestors. The procession sings songs with sexual connotations and performs imitative sexual dances (e.g. "…we are tired of holding this penis and the testicles…" [Storaas 2007]), symbolically seducing the ancestors to release the rain (c.f. Murimbika 2006). At the rock art site, the beer is placed in front of the painted panel. Mbeya Gondo kneels in front in of the panel and addresses the ancestral spirits (Fig. 20):

"Excuse me 'Daday', the owner of this land (…) we are asking for peace and also for rains. We are struggling; we have not much drinking water (…) we ask you, below ground and in heaven. You, 'Daday', the owner of the land. Only one person made the mistake. Can you kill all because of one? Forgive this person; unite him with those who please you. Give us water (…)" (direct quote from the documentary *Making Rain* by Frod Storaas 2007).
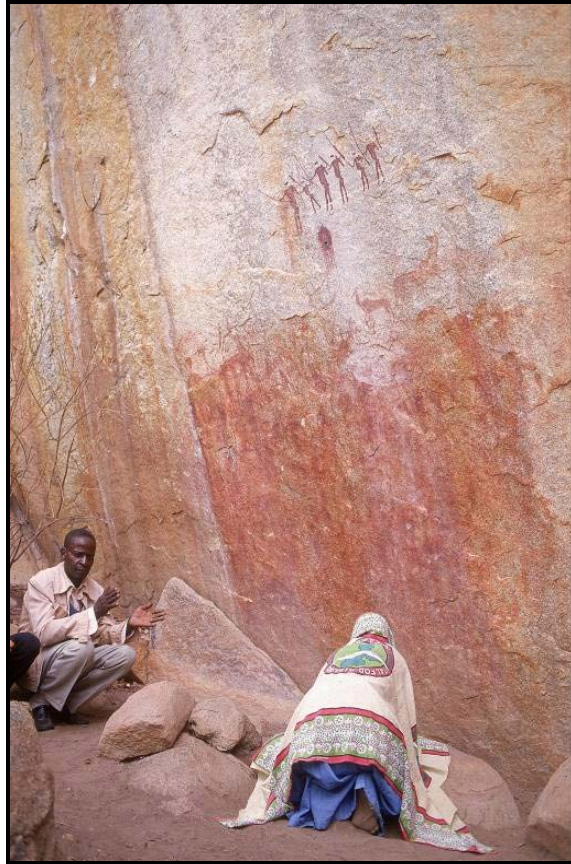
Figure 20: Mbeya Gondo approaching the ancestors at Chinhamapere I rock art site
(Image courtesy: SARADA)

Mbeya Gondo asks the ancestors for rain, good harvest and good health in the community. She specifically asks for controlled rain, not too much too soon and not too little, too late. The elders remain at the site until Mbeya Gondo gets through to the ancestors. Then the procession returns to the village where the celebrations continue, the people feast and the spirits return to the ancestral world. Then it should rain (Sætersdal 2004:183-194). However, if the rain is insufficient or does not fall at all, corrective measures are pursued. As with other Shona-speaking people, the community in Manica District approaches the *mhondoro* for explanations about what went wrong; such as inadequate preparations or when something within the community needs attention (Schoeman 2007:58). Usually blame is attributed to a few individuals who are accused of violating the laws of the land through incest or disrespecting the sacred days of rest. Once the *mhondoro* determines the cause, more rain control rituals are conducted in succession until the desired results are attained. Rain control efforts are directed

at changing and preparing the environment by doctoring the territorial boundaries; changing the environment by summoning the clouds to bring down the rain; waiting in anticipation by working the fields(ploughing or planting crops); appeasing ancestors and observing taboos (Murimbika 2006:192-193).

When there is severe drought a day is set aside for a special ceremony, usually a sacrifice to the ancestors of the land (Schoeman 2007:56). These sacrifices enable Shona-speakers to establish communication with the sacred spirit world. Sheep or goats are the preferred sacrifice. Such a sacrifice was made in 2004 in the Chinhamapere area, after two years of insufficient rains. Aside from lengths of cloth and sorghum beer offered to the great rain-spirit, a black goat is sacrificed to make rain and to ward off lightning (Storaas 2007). However, according to Schoeman (2007:80) a black goat is chosen as a sacrificial animal because of its colour and sound. Using a black sheep to ward off lightning reverses symbolic categories. The black wool of the sheep wards off lightning. Black is believed to attract clouds while the silence and calmness of the sheep enables gentle calm rain; its soft fat brings soft rain with no thunder.

5.2.1. The role of rain-control in managing natural and cultural resources

Rain control rites maintain social order. Without rain-control rituals, society is at risk (Macamo & Sætersdal 2004:196). Rainfall is not only a material source of economic security, but also a symbol of spiritual well-being and proof that the social order is operational (Murimbika 2006:191). In fact, Schoeman (2007:77) points out that rain-control is a social act: aside from procuring rain, the ceremonies ensure that people adhere to society's rules. Rain will come only when the land is unpolluted or symbolically 'cool' (that is if people have not broken taboos). It is apparent that social practices related to the agricultural cycle such as rain-control ceremonies at sacred sites, constitute a social mechanism that reinforces and transmits ethical values related to the conservation of natural and cultural resources, such as respect for sacred places, aside from maintaining the social order.

In addition, continuous use of sites provides the means through which values are preserved within a framework of social, cultural, political and natural environments that is dynamic. Pwiti and others (2007:103) argue that the ritual significance of rock art sites and other heritage icons across southern Africa, suggests that communities in these landscapes draw on past material cultures (Stone Age sites) to negotiate and reconstruct present identities and ritualized worldviews. Various places in the VCL, including Chinhamapere and Moucondihwa rock art sites, have become places of spiritual significance where people derive good health and commune with their ancestral spirits (Sætersdal 2004:194; Jopela 2006:42; Nhamo, Saeterdal & Walderhaug 2007). Consequently, the reverence that emanates from places such as Chinhamapere and other sacred sites is intimately related to the fact that such places are integrated into one of the stages of an important ritual within the agricultural cycle (Jopela 2006:46-47). Thus, it is logical to assume that sacred sites located in the VCL benefit from a traditional management system anchored in sustainable socio-economic and religious practices largely informed by the daily survival needs of the community.

As Nhamo, Saeterdal and Walderhaug (2007) point out, it is difficult to ascertain the historical depth of the social practices and traditions (use of rock art sites for rain-control ceremonies) which are an integral part of wider traditional systems of use and resource management among present day farming communities. Research in southern Arica shows that some rock art shelters were ritually significant places for hunter-gatherer societies (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004). Hunter-gatherer rock art is generally regarded as a reflection of their cosmology: several images are associated with metaphors such as out-of-body-travel and rain-control (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 2000). The association between rain-control, water, and rain or water animals (e.g. serpents, fish, large animals like hippopotamus, buffaloes and elephants) occurs in Manica Shona beliefs as it does over large parts of southern Africa (Dowson 1998:75; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004:215-222; Nhamo, Saeterdal & Walderhaug 2007:58). Sætersdal (2004:210-212) suggests that some images at Chinhamapere and Moucondihwa rock art shelters may be associated with water and rain.

Among Shona-speakers, rock shelters usually offer 'cool' places for the burial of spirit mediums and former chiefs (cf. Bourdillion 1991). In Zimunya communal land in the eastern highlands of Zimbabwe, Dzimbabwe hill rain-control shrine comprises several rock shelters but only one of them has rock art. Atop this hill are six graves of former rain-control spirit mediums of the Zimunya chieftaincy, this is the preferred location for the main rain-control ceremony of the chieftaincy (see Pwiti *et al*. 2007:103-110). Pwiti and others (2007) suggest that there is a shared cosmology between LSA hunter-gatherers, and historical and contemporary Bantu-speaking communities in terms of their perceptions of rock shelters, since both groups ascribe a high degree of spirituality and power to these places (Pwiti *et al*. 2007:108). Therefore, although the authors of the art, the hunter-gatherer groups, no longer exist in Manica and adjacent areas, it is highly probably that sites such as Chinhamapere and Moucondihwa have been actively used for thousands of years by various communities (Macamo & Sætersdal 2004).

As mentioned, these shelters continue to play a role in rituals for contemporary communities during their agricultural cycle. Although some activities appear to be recent adaptations of older practices, conformity with the continuous use or re-use of rock art sites (from hunter-gatherers to present farming communities) suggests that they are still perceived of as powerful places for dialogue with the spirit world and ancestors respectively (Macamo & Saeterdal 2004:196; Saeterdal 2004:205-207). Nhamo, Saeterdal and Walderhaug (2007:58) note that "the current use of rock art sites in present day rituals may point to continuity in use of place (rock shelters) in ritual content as this will have changed considerably through time". This continuous use of rock art sites for local traditional practices integral to the management system of resources, allows continuous preservation of the sacred values associated with the place. I argue that this is an important element to consider when analysing the contribution that traditional custodianship systems offer for the effective management of heritage imbued with sacred values.

In Manica, several places are associated with rain-control ceremonies. Leaders, both alive and dead, play a key role in ensuring that the use of heritage assets (cultural or natural) is governed

by customary rules so that the 'land can be right' (Schoeman 2007:58). Generally, the high chief (*mambo*) controls the main sites, whereas sub chiefs and headmen control local ones. This system operates within a socio-political hierarchy with the chief at the top, followed by headmen and family heads (Murimbika 2006:195). However, in Manica, chiefs (*mambo*, *sabuku* and *samutanda*) only have political power while spirit mediums perform religious duties and are therefore in charge of rain-control ceremonies (Jopela 2006:57). For instance, in Manica district, although *mambo* Chirara is the traditional leader, Mrs Mbeya Gondo is the spirit medium who leads the rain-control ceremony in Chinhamapere area, being the main custodian of Chinhamapere rock art site. Such separation of duties has practical implications with regard to the use and safekeeping of each heritage resource. This then leads to the third aspect of my analysis of traditional custodianship systems in the VCL: the role of traditional authorities in the management of heritage resources.

5.3. The role of the traditional authority in heritage management

Manica District is no different from many African rural areas where the social organization is a lineage based and represented by traditional chiefs and institutions. Traditional chiefs are equated with authority, legitimized by traditional customs, customary laws and a cultural belief in the divine right of the ruler to rule (Blau 1963: 308). Traditional institutions embrace rules and norms based on cultural principles and values of a specific ethnic group to regulate and control social behaviour and maintain cultural practices (Serra 2001:4). The influence of traditional chiefs and institutions varies from place to place however, in many districts of Manica Province their strong influence is widely recognized (Artur 1999; Tornimbeni 2006). Although land has been under state ownership since independence in 1975, in rural Mozambique it is governed by a traditional system, based on lineage and headed by traditional chiefs. These chiefs mediate land and other resource conflicts. In essence, this traditional system exercises *de facto* ownership over the land (Serra 2001:5).

Nonetheless, Mozambique, like many other African countries, has experienced several socio-political upheavals that have affected traditional institutions and authorities and consequently, their role regarding use and management of cultural and natural resources. Focusing on Manica District, I explore: (1) how different socio-political and historical phases challenged the legitimacy and the role of traditional institutions and leaders; and (2) the implications of these shifts for present-day custodianship of cultural heritage. This study considers four main periods: pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and post-war, in which traditional authority changes significantly.

a) The pre-colonial re-organization of the Shona-Karanga *mambos* (1600s-1890s)

The Shona *mambos* of Manica District share a common myth of origin that relates to the Shona-Karanga invasion from Zimbabwe around the 1500s. According to Bannerman (1993:5-7) the first Shona group to arrive in Bvumba were the Nengomasha, who migrated to Bvumba from the Chipinge Area (former Mutapa State). The Nengomasha Dynasty was of the *dziva* or pool totem and *zambiri* or lagan (*mutupu*) sub totem. Around the seventeenth century the first Chirara King arrived in Bvumba from M'bire (Zimbabwe). This King, of the *shonga* (buffalo) totem, established sub-rulers of his own lineage throughout the Bvumba Kingdom. From the mid-1600s to 1820s the Bvumba Kingdom developed a centralised power base around the king's court and his immediate subjects, and attempted to incorporate the smaller territorial chieftaincies of *mambos* under the superior authority of the king. Notwithstanding the influence of the Bvumba Kingdom, this attempt to establish an enduring polity was never completed, and its claim to superior spiritual authority over the *mambos* remained contested. Another Kingdom to emerge was that of the Nguni. The Nguni Kingdom (1830s–1895) exercised indirect-rule through the *mambos,* and it expanded from the simple collection of tribute to the recruitment of slaves and soldiers for the king (Newitt 1995:38-45; Kyed 2007:53-56).

During this pre-colonial period, the legitimate authority of the *mambos* was primarily attached to their ability to mediate between the *woku Wadzimu* (the world of the ancestral spirits) and

the *wa Penhe* (the world of the living) in securing prosperity and protection (Byers, Cunliffe & Hudak 2001:193). Traditional power over land and resources was based on local cosmologies, which linked current inhabitants with the original founders of local dynasties through spiritual intermediaries. Shona-speaking inhabitants saw themselves as custodians of the land, using it in ways sanctioned by local authority and thereby guaranteeing spiritual protection and support for their own livelihoods (Serra 2001:3-4; Schafer & Black 2003:60). For instance, the coronation ceremony of Chirara Mutrage, in 1898, reveals the role of traditional authorities in safeguarding places with cultural significance. On top of Maramba Mountain on *Serra* Vumba is a sacred forest about 25 ha in extent. In this forest, a spring gushes from a stone into a pool called *Che-aridze*. The Chirara dynasty protected the forest because at *Che-aridze* they performed coronation ceremonies and made offerings to their ancestors in times of drought. There are similar places in Bvumba where the Avumba held rain ceremonies. One such place is the Machanjanja, set aside for rain ceremonies and attended only by the elders (Bannerman 1993:13-14).

b) The invention of *régulos* during the colonial system (1891-1975)

After the events of the 1890s the British and Portuguese partitioned Bvumba and the greater part of the Kingdom remained in Mozambique (under Portuguese rule), including the core area around *Serra* Bvumba and Chirara's village. From 1891 to 1942 Manica was colonised, first, by the Company of Mozambique (*Companhia de Moçambique*) and later by the Portuguese colonial administration (Bannerman 1993; Neves 1998). Portuguese colonial rule was similar to other colonizing powers in attempting to co-opt and employ former customary authorities to administer on their behalf. In attempting to extend colonial rule into the rural areas, traditional authority was framed into indigenous authority (*autoridade gentilica)* based on *régulos* (chiefs or village headmen) who were declared as auxiliaries and intermediaries between the colonial government and the rural community (Kyed 2007:57-62).

Within this new framework traditional authorities, led by *mambos* now designated *régulos,* controlled their subjects, collected taxes, maintained the social infrastructure and disseminated government policies and propaganda. In addition, *régulos* were remunerated according to the number of households they controlled (amounting to two per cent of the tax collected) (Serra 2001:7). In Manica District, *mambo* Chirara was formally recognised by the colonial government as the senior *régulo* in the *sede* area, which included the areas that were formally part of the Bvumba and Manica Kingdoms (Bannerman 1993). At the time that these changes were introduced, *régulos* began to play both an administrative role, based on the principles and laws defined by the colonial government and a social and cultural role, based on community customary principles (Serra 2001:7).

The fact that the Portuguese colonial government did not impose *régulos* in Manica District, as well as the adaptability and flexibility on the part of the original traditional institutions at that time in maintaining their influence (e.g guarantors of social order, spiritual satisfaction, cultural continuity, and well-being within the community), suggests that these institutions were recognised and respected during the colonial period (Serra 2001:7). These factors may have enabled traditional institutions to control local-level patterns of resource use and management. However, these institutions were not immune to both positive and negative external influences. For instance, increased labour migration out of areas such as Manica province meant that many people, particularly young men from chiefly lineages, spent long periods away from home. Thus, those who inherited power often had little knowledge of the traditions or practices of resource management in their own home areas (Neves 1998:196; Schafer & Black 2003:61).

c) The post-independence exclusion of *régulos* (1975-1992)

When Mozambique gained independence from the Portuguese in 1975, the Frelimo-led government attempted to eliminate the inherited dualistic system of rule in which traditional authorities ruled over rural African populations while another set of laws applied to those connected with the Portuguese colonial state (Schafer & Black 2003:63-64). Traditional

authorities or régulos were portrayed as collaborators with the Portuguese. Their practices (e.g. rain making ceremonies) were branded as 'feudal', 'tribalist', 'obscurantist' and detrimental to the modernisation of society and the production of national unity (Alexander 1997:2-3; O'Laughlin 2000:26–30). Traditional leaders under this system were dismissed and excluded from any authority and group leadership. Instead, new community leaders, known as Secretários (party secretariats) and Grupos Dinamizadores (Dynamising Groups) supported by the Frelimo party were identified to replace them (Gonçalves 2005:2).

In addition, the Frelimo-led government attempted to move the population from scattered settlements to 'Communal Villages' (*Aldeias Comunais*) to be governed by *Grupos Dinamizadores* and Popular Assemblies (*Assembleias Populares*) (Gonçalves 2005:3). Thus, two communal villages were created in the study area: the Aldeia Comunal de Muzongo (around Chinhamapere) and the Aldeia Comunal de Chinhambudzi (in Chinhambudzi) (Interview with *Mambo* Chirara 2009). This new settlement pattern, coupled with prolonged periods of drought, contributed to cyclical crises of famine that affected several regions across the country. Many communities perceived events such as droughts, famine, floods and especially the civil war (1978/79-1992), as signs of the revolt of the ancestral spirits against the new imposed political system (Meneses *et al*. 2003). This period marked the beginning of 'social disorder' and disrespect of the traditional culture and principles that had previously been important tools to regulate people's behaviour and also to educate them (Interviews with *Samuthanda* Massadza 2009; *Samuthanda* Bandula 2009). On the other hand, the inability of the new community leaders (*Secretários* and *Grupos Dinamizadores*) to solve existing social problems resulted in alliances between the state's local officers and the traditional authorities. Thus, although officially prohibited and generally weakened, the *mambos* and other traditional institutions continued to play a role as personal counsellors, and sometimes they organized clandestine traditional ceremonies (Alexander 1997:18-19; Schafer & Black 2003:64).

With the rapid spread of the civil war in the mid-1980s, RENAMO (Mozambican National Resistance) and Frelimo were forced to seek the support of traditional authorities. Although

former *régulos* were explicitly excluded from political power and marginalized in the management of resources, the exigencies of the war period brought a degree of rapprochement (Schafer & Black 2003:66). Inspired by the experience of Zimbabwe, RENAMO claimed that it was fighting a "war of the spirits" to bring tradition back. In the course of the civil war, RENAMO re-installed *régulos* in areas under its administration. These *régulos* were instrumental in recruiting into RENAMO's army. The *régulos* collected taxes and performed rituals to 'protect' and encourage RENAMO soldiers in the battlefields. In some instances, Frelimo government authorities felt morally bound to seek the collaboration of *mambos* to counteract RENAMO's perceived advantage in the spiritual realm (Alexander 1997:13-15; Gonçalves 2005:3; Kyed 2007:71-75).

Given this scenario, insecurity and the scramble for basic livelihood made it difficult to continue spiritual or ritual practices. Consequently, the occurrence of natural disasters, particularly the severe droughts of the early 1980s and 1990s, added to the disruption and inability to conduct spiritual rites. In addition, during the war, traditional leaders fled the areas they were meant to control (Serra 2001:3-4). In Manica, years of intensive civil strife meant that the *régulos*, their council of elders and the communities in general took refuge within Mozambique (Beira and Chimoio regions) and in Zimbabwe (Zimunya, Nyanga and Mutare regions). Given this context, the *régulos* were unable to practice their annual ceremonies regularly, to hold local courts to resolve conflicts or to conduct alternative forms of collective activities centred around traditional organisation (Jopela 2006:43-46).

d) Post-war recognition of the *mambos* (1992-2000)

The end of the civil war in 1992 saw traditional leaders (*mambos*) re-emerge to play an important role in controlling land allocations according to customary traditions, in resolving conflicts and conducting traditional ceremonies. In general, traditional leaders regained their respect and recognition as landowners and judges who could resolve conflicts within the community (Serra 2001:8). During the resettlement period, many parts of Manica province

experienced increased pressure on natural resources. For the majority of newcomers and the youth, the ancestral heritage evoked in Manica District by the original inhabitants had little significance. For example, whereas the local elders bemoaned the desecration of sacred forests such as Chinhamapere, arguing that such desecration would result in suffering by the culprits or even the entire community, individuals continued to destroy the forests to build their assets (Schafer & Black 2003:71; Buur & Kyed 2006:851-853). Given this scenario, it is probable that the social, political and military displacements and transformations that occurred from the pre-war and war-time, contributed to a breakdown of the process of dissemination of knowledge and acceptance of community principles and norms that had previously guaranteed social harmony from one generation to the next (Serra 2001:8).

In addition, an intense competition for power and legitimacy exploded with the multiplicity of claims to 'traditional' titles arising from the pre-war and war-time changes in the local authority structures (Schafer & Black 2003:72). Around Chinhamapere a spirit medium and traditional healer (Mbeya Gondo) who established herself around the early 1980s, became one of the most powerful leaders in the area, although she was not initially part of the long established local traditional authority (Jopela 2006:44). However, many powerful lineages, such as the Chirara Dynasty, retained power in the study area (Simbine 2003:9). Despite continued respect for the *mambo*s position as the landowner, their powers were diluted over time. Resultantly, they became more interested in empowering themselves by seeking different sources of support from governmental bodies, non-governmental agencies and religious institutions (Serra 2001:8).

The first multi-party elections in 1994 symbolized a new political order purported to promote the decentralization of power to the local level (cf. Abrahamsson & Nilsson 1995; Lundin and Machava 1996). A broad study on decentralisation and traditional authority resulted in the Decree Law 15/2000 officially recognising traditional authorities, now designated "Community Authorities" (*Autoridades Comunitárias*)*,* as legitimate representatives of the rural communities (MAE 2000). These "community authorities" took the form of a traditional chief, a religious

leader, a "civil society" leader, a village/ward secretary (*bairro*), or other leaders legitimised by the local community according to the "local traditions" (Buur & Kyed 2006:847-849). The Decree provides for an extension of the state apparatus by delegating state functions such as taxation, census/registration, justice enforcement, policing, land allocation, road maintenance, health, education, development project implementation, environmental sustainability, labour and food security, to community authorities. The Decree and the *Regulamento* also obligate community authorities to uphold local customs and cultural values, and to participate in investigating and reviving forms of local traditional culture such as dances, cuisine, songs, music and ritual ceremonies (Buur & Kyed 2005:10-13). In terms of this study, community authorities become very instrumental in the management of heritage sites in Manica district. I now consider this role in more detail.

e) Community Authorities and the management of heritage sites (2001-2009)

Currently, the community authorities in Manica comprise:
- o Individuals holding traditional political power such as the supreme chief (*Mambo*), the head of a group of villages (*Sabuko*) and the head of a village (*Samutandha*);
- o Individuals who hold spiritual power such as spiritual mediums (*Swikiro*), traditional healers or those in charge of officiating traditional ceremonies and worship;
- o Individuals who work with mechanisms of social control (enjoy social prestige) and, to some extent, control the transmission of cultural values such as elders and member of the commentary court (Fig. 21).
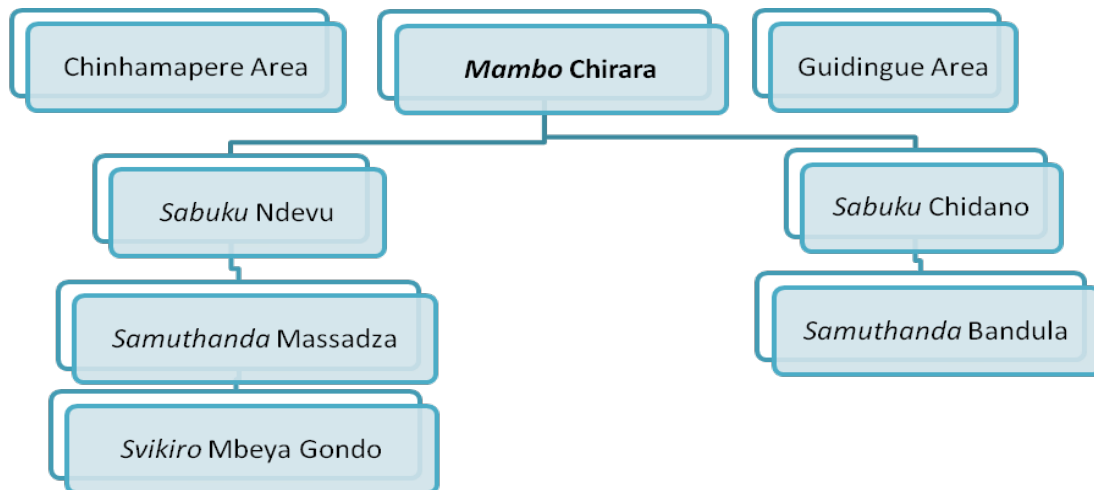
Figure 21: Political structure of traditional authority in Manica District

5.3.1 Discussion

Currently in the VCL, the community authority is the cornerstone of the custodianship system. The authority controls and effectively manages Chinhamapere and related places of cultural significance for the local community. Regarding heritage management in Africa, the recent popularisation of 'tradition' as opposed to 'modernity' led scholars to suggest that "tradition knows best" (Nhamo pers. com. 2009). However, even if everyone were to agree that traditional authorities and the respective management systems are effective in managing sacred sites like Chinhamapere, to meet needs beyond those of the local community, it is also true that such systems can lose their effectiveness in modern developmental contexts (cf. Smith 2006). It is also true today that the content of tradition, and the identity of traditional leaders themselves is often contested (Logan 2008:4). In addition, the changes in the wider economic, social and cultural circumstances under which traditional systems operate raises significant questions concerning the impact of local politics, government policies, development projects, local economic needs as well as globalization and modernity on the traditional use and management systems of cultural heritage in post-colonial Mozambique. These key issues must be addressed when considering the potential role of traditional custodianship in state based custodianship systems and when developing an improved framework for the management of rock art sites.

a) Traditional authority today

After decades of manipulation by colonial and post-colonial governments, and in response to traditional leaders, there are many questions about what is "traditional" or how historically-rooted are the so-called "traditional institutions" (Logan 2008:4). Within an African context, the Mozambican debate on the role of traditional authorities in local government is two pronged, between the so called 'modernists' and the 'communitarians' or 'traditionalists' (Mamdani 1996:3). Modernists argue that traditional political systems were corrupted by colonial rule and that what was 'real' tradition has withered away. They view traditional political systems as relics of the past that may actually impede democratic development, and hence must be overcome. Traditionalists counter, arguing that traditional institutions have proven to be both malleable and adaptable, and that even if they have changed drastically, they continue to draw on their historical roots in unique and valuable ways (Kyed & Buur 2005:7; Logan 2008:1).

Regardless of whether one adopts a "modernist" or a "traditionalist" stance, it is difficult to deny that, in many parts of Africa, traditional authorities, in some form or other, have demonstrated remarkable resilience. I contend that as guardians of local justice, property inheritance, resolvers of conflict and implementers of customary law, they continue to play vital roles. In addition, they are often perceived as the guardians of their communities' culture, playing an important role in cultural events and rituals and providing a sense of continuity and stability in an era of great change (Logan 2008:5). In addition, *mambos* have displayed impressive flexibility in an effort to preserve or enhance their position within local communities (Van Kessel & Oomen 1997: 561).

The brief historical background on the role of traditional authorities in governance has illustrated that shifting polity formations and wars have extensively reconfigured chiefly practice, population units, kinship lineages and claims to authority, not only when traditional authorities were banned, but also in periods when they were recognised and reinstated (Ray &

van Nieuwaal 1996; Buur & Kyed 2007). According to Buur and Kyed (2007) traditional authorities have for a long time been drawn into re-defining and re-constituting their authority in relation to wider polities (Bvumba Kingdom, Nguni-Kingdom, Portuguese colonial system, Post-colonial State). For this reason, they argued that colonialism only partially invented and encapsulated 'traditional authority'. Frelimo's ban of *mambos* was less than total, and Renamo's reinstatement of *mambos,* less 'traditional' than was claimed (Buur & Kyed 2007). In several districts of Manica Province, traditional leaders have demonstrated that despite being reshaped by colonial and post-colonial state interventions, they retain legitimacy that is rooted in a culture and tradition that derives from the pre-colonial past (Artur & Weimer1998; West & Kloeck-Jenson 1999; Buur & Kyed 2005; Tornimbeni 2006).

This historical process, however, has led to a form of neo-traditionalism in which the *mambo* and other traditional leaders are no longer simply 'traditional' authorities, but also 'modern' ones (Kyed 2007:14). Thus present-day traditional authority is defined as a 'hybrid authority' straddling two radically different worlds: (1) bureaucratic positions, national political and economic networks, and European dress from 'the modern world'; and (2) dispute settlement, allocation of land, elimination of witches and performance of rituals to sustain the local cosmological order from the 'traditional world' (Kyed 2007:12-13). Today, the majority of people in Manica Province are active participants in both systems; the official bureaucratic system inherited from the Portuguese and the traditional African system. The preferred system of justice in case of minor offences, neighbourhood or kin conflicts is the *mambo* and the traditional court system (Sætersdal 2004:194).

This case study suggests that, as is the case in other rural African contexts, the sharp contrast often drawn between 'modernist' and 'traditionalist' approaches may reflect a false dichotomy. Conversely, scholars have argued that although traditional authorities and all that they encompass have many weaknesses and imperfections (e.g. characteristics that are un-democratic), they may embody strengths that can be constructive (e.g. the legitimacy that they still seem to enjoy in many communities) (Logan 2008:6-7). Following Lund (2006), I suggest

that an improved management framework for sacred sites in Manica district must account for the role of traditional leadership and institutions as part of, or alongside, the democratisation processes, not because these authorities are inherently good, but because they are a clear and effective enforcer of 'public authority' on the ground, in Mozambique and much of Africa.

b) State recognition of traditional authority and current developments

Mirroring the processes of re-traditionalisation across sub-Saharan Africa since the 1990s, Decree 15/2000 is the first piece of post-colonial legislation to officially recognize 'traditional authority' in Mozambique (República de Moçambique 2000: Art. 1). It is envisaged that these recognized authorities perform a double role: on one hand as representatives of rural communities with regard to the state (e.g. "community authorities should be consulted on behalf of the communities they represent when natural resources such as forest products or minerals are procured from their territory and when land is leased out"), and on the other, as assistants of the state (e.g. "*inter alia* policing, taxation, population registration, justice enforcement, land allocation and rural development") (República de Moçambique 2000: Art. 5; Buur & Kyed 2006:1). However, Buur and Kyed (2005:5) have argued that these two functions were given unequal attention in the Decree 15/2000. The Decree focuses more on what the community authorities can do for the state in executing administrative and developmental tasks rather than on their role as community representatives.

Decree 15/2000 has been presented as token recognition of already existing local authorities and the institutionalisation of the articulation between two discrete entities: state organs and community authority. Nonetheless, several case studies in Manica Province have shown that formal recognition of traditional authorities' in colonial times reconfigured the Shona-Karanga chieftaincies in Manica (Buur & Kyed 2005; Tornimbeni 2006; Kyed 2007). With regard to Decree 15/2000, the recognition of traditional authorities is intimately linked to processes of reordering and transformation (Buur & Kyed 2005:15). For example, legitimisation of traditional leaders should be pursued in accordance with the "traditional rules of the respective

community", according to the Regulation of the Decree (MAE 2000). In practice and somewhat contrary to the principle of 'community legitimisation', the state officials in Sossundenga District (Manica Province) are the single most important decision-making instrument, determining the legitimacy of chiefly families and, in some cases, acting as the final arbitrator where "traditional rules of the respective community" cannot address disputes amongst competitors to the chieftaincy (Buur & Kyed 2006).

The historical background suggests that the traditional leadership system in Manica District is quite flexible. Different individuals within the traditional leader's family can, according to tradition, assume the position of leader for varying periods. This may happen when, for instance, the acting leader seeks employment in Zimbabwe, South Africa or elsewhere in Mozambique. The traditional system, as opposed to state formalisation, is based on kin-based family relations rather than individuals, and an area of spiritual and administrative rule (Artur 1999). It has then been argued that this formalisation of traditional authorities will potentially affect the flexibility of the traditional systems in the future. After registration and recognition of traditional leaders, it is anticipated that it will be more complicated in practice to pass on a position from one individual to another within a given chieftaincy, because that requires the involvement of state-organised procedures for leadership instalment (Buur & Kyed 2005:13). From a historical perspective, the flexibility of the traditional system has formed an important part of its survival through years of colonisation, war, migration, displacement and natural disasters. This is a contentious issue in terms of continuity of traditional custodianship of heritage places (such as Chinhamapere) where the main custodian is a spirit medium, who is currently engaged in power disputes with local political leaders.

Following formal recognition, traditional institutions have began to work more closely with the government, primarily by mobilizing the community to participate in different events such as electoral and general censuses and elections, which helped them to garner important formal support and re-empowerment. This empowerment involves alliances and material achievements (payment and uniforms) essential for the recognition of traditional institutions,

as in the colonial times (Serra 2001:9). It is common for traditional leaders to talk about community behaviour during the colonial period with some nostalgia. For example, *Samuthanda* Massadza commented that during colonial times, "uncontrolled cutting of trees was not as frequent as it is now, because whoever caused it was immediately arrested by the chief and sent to the colonial administration…But nowadays, everyone cuts trees even in sacred forest and nothing happens (…) at that time, people respected the chiefs and that was why we had order…" (Interview with *Samuthanda* Massadza 2009). It is apparent that, at present, traditional leaders' concerns have shifted to empowering and sustaining themselves in power through alternative sources of support (e.g. drawing on elements from both 'traditional' and 'state-administrative' domains of authority in order to be recognized) (Buur & Kyed 2006:1). This may imply that currently, control and management of resources such as forests and wildlife are no longer priorities (Serra 2001:9).

In addition, the immigration of Zimbabwean nationals into Mozambique due to the economic hardships and political tensions in Zimbabwe since 2000 represents a new dynamic in a society traditionally characterised by similar but outward migrant movement (Artur 1999; Caliche 2004). These immigrants are free to settle in Manica provided they abide by the traditional procedures, and respect and observe the authority of the land. In this regard, Tornimbeni (2006:13) noted that, currently, chiefs favour the immigration and settlement of new people in their areas for practical personal benefit: more people equates to increased tax collected, within the current political conjuncture and framework of the Decree Law of 2000. Moreover, increased taxes equates to an increased quota of funds so generated that comes back to the chiefs. However, what will happen to the traditional custodianship systems, when demographic pressures in Manica District grow to unsustainable levels, remains to be seen.

c) Local socio-cultural and political dynamics

The traditional custodianship that ensures the use and protection of places of cultural significance operates within a socio-political hierarchy, as discussed previously. . However factors such as the separation of powers and duties between the political and religious institutions; the current need of traditional leaders to enhance their authority by controlling people and resources; and the monetary compensation derived from current tasks ascribed to traditional structures, constitute some of the reasons for political tensions among traditional authorities in Manica Province (Serra 2001:8; Tornimbeni 2006:16). For instance, the politics around the control over the use and management of places with cultural significance in Manica District is best captured by the current relationship between *mambo* Chirara and *swikiro* Mbeya Gondo (the site custodian) over the control of Chinhamapere. Although the socio-political factors such as the civil war and consequent populations movements have, to a certain extent, negatively affected the integrity of Chinhamapere, the traditional institutions ensured the survival of the sacred forest on top of the hill, and current practices testify to the survival of other associated values of the landscape (Jopela 2006:53). In fact, Macamo and Sætersdal (2004) point out that, with few exceptions, the absence of deliberate human damage (e.g. graffiti) of the rock art site and its environs is a testament of community reverence for these archaeological remains.

When asked about Mbeya Gondo's role in the chieftaincy, mambo Chirara replied:

> "Mbeya Gondo's was once called to this court [traditional court] for a hearing. The court
> said - 'we heard that you have been speaking up at the Mkwati Congress. Who gave you
> the authority to do that? We do not want you to continue with this. We recognize only
> the local sub chiefs'. If she wants to do something, she must turn to the *samuthanda*...
> She has an old dispute with the chiefs over sacred affairs. I have informed the district
> government of her behaviour. She was judged for selling graveyard space. If people
> want to go to see Chinahamapere rock paintings, she charges visitors for that... She

should not do that" (direct quote from the documentary *Making Rain* by Frod Storaas 2007).

On the other hand, Mbeya Gondo recognizes the authority of Chirara as *mambo* of Manica but she claims to be customarily the one in charge of all issues regarding to sacred affairs in the area around Chinhamapere. She said:

> "This land belongs to Semukadzi (female *svikiro*)...When my grandmother [Semukadzi] died the people felt that they could not live without a ruler...After local disputes and consultation, Mr Sadza (*Samuthanda*), proposed appointing someone to fill her place...because I grew up with my grandmother and I was well familiar with our heritage ...this is not a man's land. The area will run dry because this land cannot be ruled by a man" (direct quote from the documentary *Making Rain* by Frod Storaas 2007).

Warning community members, as well as enhancing her position as the primary custodian of the site, Mbeya Gondo reported at another occasion:

> "Those who went there [referring to the rock art site] without my permission, they went mad... David [the district cultural director], went up with Chirara [mambo], two people, who went with them, fainted... They fell down as if dead. I was told of that later when I came from church... They went with Chirara but he alone reached the painted cave.... I clapped hands to appease the spirits. I said 'Semukadzi this is not my fault. This is what takes away the rain'" (direct quote from the documentary *Making Rain* by Frod Storaas 2007).

Despite the political dispute among local leaders, *mambo* Chirara and other sub chiefs recognize the role of Mbeya Gondo as the legitimate custodian of Chinamapere. According to these leaders, Mbeya Gondo possesses the ability to perform small rituals in order to obtain the permission from the ancestral spirits to go up the mountain to visit the site. Disagreement between *mambo* Chirara and Mbeya Gondo stems, apparently, from the appropriation of economic benefits and political power over other leaders by Mbeya Gondo. In fact, visitors

usually present offerings in cash as a sign of respect for the spirits, the 'real' authors of the paintings. These offerings are kept by Mbeya Gondo as a reward for being the site custodian and spirit medium of the area (Jopela 2006:54). It is not clear what the outcome of the succession of the *swikiro* and site custodian for Chinhamapere and other sacred sites will be, when Mbeya Gondo's term comes to an end. A conversation between *mambo* Chirara and the son of the former *swikiro* of Guidingue area helps shed some light on the current trend. During the preparation of the rain-control ritual, the young man approached the *mambo* to inform him that there was nobody in his family who knew how to lead the ceremony since their father died. After enquiring if there was anyone who used to work with the former *swikiro*, *mambo* Chirara ensured the community that the son would lead the ceremony. Further, the *mambo* emphasised that "from now on the younger generation should be able to perform rituals" (Storaas 2007). The son of the former spirit medium, who had no experience in performing traditional rituals, had to be assisted throughout the rain control ritual by elder members of the traditional court in Guidingue (Fig. 22).

Figure 22: Mambo Chirara (in brown uniform) during the rain-control ritual in the Guidengue area
(Image courtesy: Tore Sætersdal)

Like other contested heritage places, the case of VCL also illustrates that management of heritage is often inseparable from issues of power and ultimately from local and national politics. Chinhamapere, Moucondhiwa and other places of cultural significance are

manifestations of power and all who need power, either to control a small community (village) or the whole chieftaincy (district), turn to them for legitimization (Sinamai 2003:3). The power dynamics associated with the current control over heritage resources are clearly part of the local politics that are also shaped by power relations amongst members of the community. The disputes among traditional authorities in regard to control of these places also exposes the impact of the current socio-economic and political conjuncture (increased integration of rural settings into cash based economy, state formal recognition of traditional institutions and development pressures) on these institutions. Such changing environments have led some to suggest that traditional leaders are currently more concerned with re-acquiring powers and economical benefits, rather than controlling access to and using natural and cultural resources (cf. Serra 2001:9). Nonetheless, as guardians of the spirit realm and customary traditions, traditional authority (*Mambo*, *Sabuko*, *Samutandha, Swikiro*, and other elders or group of counsellors) assert control over the social life of community and exercise significant power over others (e.g. agents of community based resource management programmes).

Apart from the local power dynamics, current traditional custodianship systems, have undergone and will certainly continue to undergo dynamics and evolutionary changes as factors such as migrations, civil-war, and globalization constantly incorporate new value systems into people's understanding of spiritual, social and physical environment (Katsamudanga 2003:3). However, if traditional custodianship has survived thus far (or appears to have) and continues to play a key role in the management of heritage, we can assume that it will continue despite the impact of factors such as globalisation or modernity. As I have argued above, traditional custodianship is a value-based system that is prone to change according to dynamics in the socio-cultural and political-economic atmospheres of the community in which they operate. Currently, the general consensus is that culture needs to be recognized as dynamic and having the ability to adapt under change (Cocks 2006:193). Therefore traditional custodianship systems, as derived from specific cultural settings, must be understood as a dynamic processes of social, political, ideological, economical and cultural exchange with the constant re-

articulation of tradition resulting in a persistence of certain cultural practices among the local community in Manica (cf. Cocks 2006:195).

Such dynamics are also illustrated by the fact that cultural heritage resources are constantly appropriated, re-constructed and re-used by living communities to suit the present needs, such as their use for tourism or ritual activities. These processes of constant reinvention (or production) of cultural heritage resources are visible through the placement of values and meanings on natural and cultural icons in the environment (Skeates 2000:9–10). For instance, regarding Chinhamapere, very often the site custodian's interpretation of the imagery at the site reveals a permanent association with the close ancestors of the area, in a claim for descendancy from the original artists and at times the custodian identifies angels in the rock images, revealing the strong influence of Christianity to the interpretation. Such continuous appropriation, re-use and reinterpretation of the material culture of past societies in the present offers a platform whereby traditional intellectual knowledge and values of the natural and cultural resources in the landscape can be constantly presented to the community by the traditional authority through oral traditions and customary practices (cf. Keitumetse 2009).

A further illustration of the false dichotomy that exists between 'traditional' and 'modern' in VCL is provided; In Manica, next to ancestral spirits, in terms of power, are the saints of the Catholic Church. Similarly, Mbeya Gondo attends Mass every Sunday. However, she also speaks with her grandmother's ancestral spirit, by walking up the slope to Chinhamapere rock art site. Similarly, the supreme traditional leader, *mambo* Chirara, is a devout Christian, and is very often visited for bible study (Storaas 2007). Although the traditional authority and the local community frequently refer to community behaviour and practices as 'traditions', often with nostalgia (expressing the feeling that something 'traditional' has been lost), they also embrace what we might consider symbols of modernity (e.g. Christianity) that become part of their contemporary way of living (Fairweather 2003:284). Traditional institutions operate at both the traditional and the modern level. They act as African custodians of local tradition and heritage, (traditional ceremonies, sacred places, etc) and also as modern cosmopolitans (c.f. Appiah

2006; Meskell 2009:23) who engage with other cultures, (by dressing in African, European and Asian clothes; interacting with neighbours through labour migration across SADC region and in religious belief (Christianity, Zionism)), within the geographic space of Manica. This hybrid nature of traditional custodians is an important element for developing an improved system for the effective management of sacred rock art site.

5.3.2. Conclusions

From the ongoing analysis of the nature of traditional custodianship system in the VLC, several points of significance emerge. First, the analysis clearly illustrates that the use and management of natural and cultural resources is sustained by a wider frame of religious beliefs that define the codes, roles, obligations and behavioural patterns of the community towards the space and the resources. The access and use of places of cultural significance (e.g. rock art sites) is restricted by various social mechanisms (taboos and customs), with control vested in specific members of the community, traditional custodians.

Second, the custodianship system is largely dependent on local social mechanisms and social institutions that regulate the use of resources. These institutions follow the shifting of the social organization of societies and the flux of historical change, since some elements of the traditional custodianship system (e.g. customary rules, cultural values) are backed by collective concern for economic, social and cultural survival.

Third, there is a natural linking of sacred places to the life-sustenance of the community (e.g. the integration of rock art sites into the socio-economic and religious practices [rain-control ceremonies] within the agricultural cycle). Therefore, the continuous usefulness of places of cultural significance (rock art sites) as locations for important social events/institutions allows for the preservation of the values associated with the heritage.

Lastly, traditional leaders (custodians), both living and dead, play a key role in ensuring that the use of heritage assets (cultural or natural) is governed by customary rules and government laws. And traditional institutions (traditional custodians) are hybrid in nature; they operate at both traditional and modern levels, appearing as African custodians of local tradition and heritage, and also as modern cosmopolitans.

These features of the traditional custodianship system in VCL help to build a platform for an in-depth understanding of traditional custodianship in the region. Chapter 6 will centre on the analysis of traditional custodianship in other cultural settings in southern Africa.

6. TRADITIONAL CUSTODIANSHIP SYSTEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

One of the concerns of this study is to determine whether an understanding of traditional management systems can provide direction towards a more effective and sustainable method of managing rock art sites imbued with sacred values. Cognisant of the management challenges raised in Chapter 5, case studies from the Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe and the Chongoni Rock Art Complex in Malawi are used in this chapter to draw comparisons between the traditional custodianship system within the VCL and others systems in southern Africa (Fig. 23). Detailed descriptions of these case studies will be enriched by discussion of other traditional custodianship systems at the heritage sites in Kondoa in Tanzania and Mwela Rocks in Zambia. The varied cultural settings of these sites, when one considers such things as the intangible heritage associations of the landscapes to the rock art sites, as well as the geographical, political and socio-economic contexts in which each site or landscape exist, present different dynamics in terms of the working relationship between traditional custodianship and state-based management systems in the colonial and post-independence periods. These different scenarios will provide new insights in terms of both the shared or the unique contexts of traditional custodianship systems and highlight the actual role of traditional custodianship in heritage management in the region today. However, this comparative analysis has been constrained by the lack of published data, and a lack of detailed research, on traditional custodianship systems in Africa.

Figure 23: Map showing the VCL in relation to other case studies in Southern Africa

6.1. Case studies

6.1.1. Matobo Hills World Heritage Site

The Cultural Landscape of Matobo Hills is located 35 km south of Bulawayo in south-western Zimbabwe (Fig. 24). The landscape includes Stone Age and Iron Age archaeological sites, historical sites, natural heritage (in rock forms, high biodiversity, and rare species), a huge

corpus of rock paintings and living intangible heritage associated with the rock forms (NMMZ 2000; ICOMOS 2003).
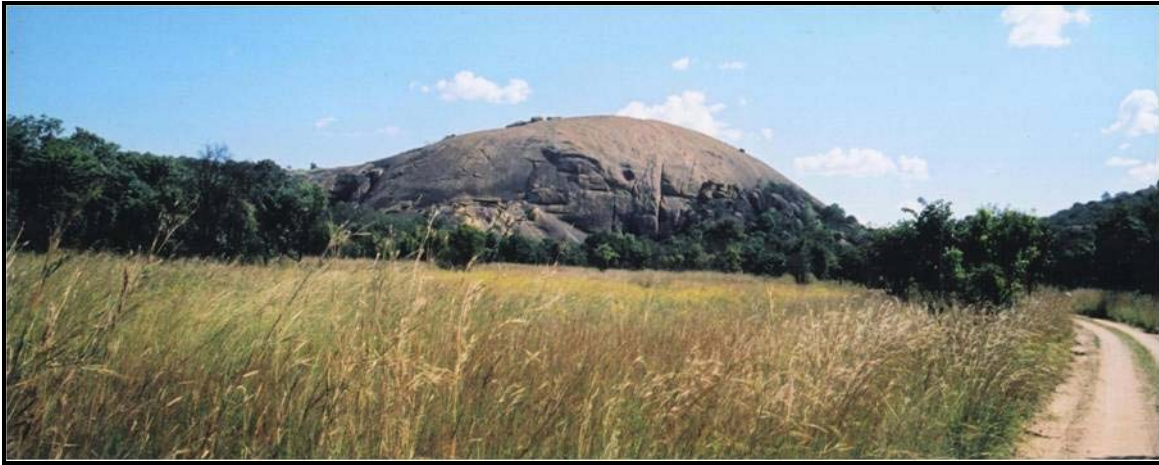
Figure 24: View of Pomongwe Hill, Matobo Hills
(Image courtesy Pascall Taruvinga)

Traditionally, the Matobo Hills is home of shrines of the *Mwari/Mwali* cult, believed to play tangible roles in the lives of the Shona/Kalanga and Ndebele, both in the past and the present communities (Ranger 1999). For the local communities, the Matobo Hills are *Malindadzimu,* 'a burial place', and hence a sacred place. From historical times local communities buried their relatives in different parts of the hills and most Ndebele Kings are buried in secret places (*ninga* in Shona and *ubhalu* in Ndebele) in the cultural landscape of Matobo Hills. Prominent in the landscape are a number of religious shrines such as Njelele, Dula, Zhilo, Wirirani and Manyanga, of which Njelele is the most important (NMMZ 2004:13).

Njelele is situated on a hill south-west of Rhodes Matobo National Park in the Khumalo communal area within the cultural landscape of Matobo Hills (Fig. 25). Njelele is a rock outcrop similar to hundreds of others in the landscape. Access to the site is through a sacred forest that stretches for more than 500 metres (NMMZ 2004:11). The hill is considered sacred (it is believed that the voice of *Mwari/Mwali* is heard from the stone at Njelele) and must not be tampered with in any way; cultivation and grazing are forbidden (Ranger 1999:21). Although

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Njelele remains the centre of rain-control ceremonies, as well as other religious activities in this cultural landscape, several other places are regarded as sacred as well. For instance, local people regard the rock art site, Nswatugi, as the place where *Mwari/Mwali* passed enroute to the Njelele shrine, where he now resides (Pwiti *et al*. 2007:107). Silozwane is another LSA rock art site within a sacred forest in Matobo Hills. The local people value Silozwane as a rain-control shrine and as part of the broader religious importance of the Matobo (cf. Ndoro 2003).
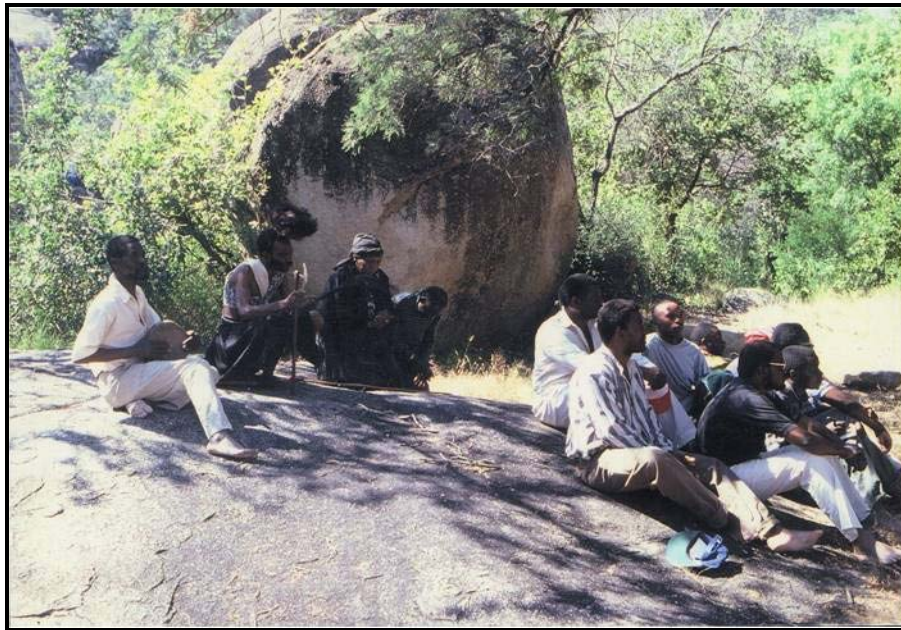
Figure 25: Local residents gathered at Njelele shrine, Matobo Hills
(Image courtesy Pascall Taruvinga)

These powerful oracles link local communities to the Matobo hills – where the ancestral spirits live in sacred forests, mountains, caves, hollow trees, pools and rock art sites. The Matobo Hills have become objects of spiritual significance from where local people derive inspiration, fertility and health and contact their ancestral spirits (NMMZ 2000:9). Hence, it has been suggested that since time immemorial, traditional management systems were in place to regulate the highly valued relationship between the local communities with the natural and cultural environment of Matobo Hills (Ndoro 2003; Mahachi & Kamuhangire 2008). The traditional custodianship system at Matobo Hills is characterized by the active use of shrines

and sacred places, closely linked to traditional, social and economic activities (ICOMOs 2003:1). According to Ranger (1999) people of the Matobo "value their special relationship to a unique environment, their ownership of shrines, and their very particular form of agriculture; all these associated with the Matobo Hills area" (Ranger 1999:24).

The respect accorded to these sacred areas and their environs, lies partly in a series of customary usage and access laws (taboos relating to sacred site etiquette) to these places. For instance, adherents of the traditional *Mwari* and the ancestral spirits attach great reverence for the environment because they argue, by desecrating it, they deprive their God and their ancestors of a place to live. At Njelele a traditionally appointed and tested custodian resides at the shrine to manage it. Sacred site etiquette that must be observed within the cultural and environmental landscape of Matobo hills includes:

- Individuals or groups of people must visit a sacred place or its environs only in the presence of the official priest or priestess or his/her appointee.
- Songs of praise to the ancestors precede an approach to the shrine and a spiritual custodian leads all visitors.
- It is taboo to cut down a tree in a sacred place since trees constitute the dwelling place of the ancestral spirits and removing them is tantamount to exposing *Mwari* and the spirits. Such behaviour is deplorable and punishable.
- Ancestral spirits' consent must be obtained by a priest/priestess before a tree is cut down within the sacred forest.
- Failure to observe these norms is believed to result in punishment by the spirits of individuals, or their families, or the entire community (NMMZ 2000:13).

It is apparent that traditional custodianship was (and still is to some extent) in place to manage activities within Matobo and that it is primarily related to religious shrines such as Njelele and the rain-control sites. Ranger states, "[t]he shrine guardians also control agriculture. Seeds soaked in the water of the rock are bound to be fertile. The shrines lay down when planting can

start and where; where fire can be used for clearing the land and where not; what the rest days shall be; when harvesting shall commence. Even today in Matobo Communal Area in the eastern hills the old control still persists" (Range 1999:24). Likewise, at present, Silozwane rock art site is a rain-control shrine with sacred forests that cannot be ploughed. According to customary law and traditions, the rock paintings are part of a large cosmological environment (Ndoro 2003:82). In the pre-colonial period, the traditional custodianship system at Matobo Hills relied on the support of the political authority to enforce the observance of customary rules and beliefs. Thus the entire natural and cultural landscape, held in high esteem by the local people, benefited from traditional custodianship practices as enriched in the *Mwari* religion (cf. Nyathi & Ndiwini 2005).

Colonization of Zimbabwe (1890/93) marked the introduction of new knowledge systems and ideologies, such as Western formal education and Christianity, the two main sources of new values and ideas in the area. With these changes the authority and significance of the rain shrines was undermined. The political authority that had hitherto controlled society in collaboration with traditional religious authority was supplanted. With the exclusion of the local communities from the political arena, the shrine's power was restricted to fertility matters. The colonial government discouraged the use of shrines. When the colonial government declared national monuments, the Njelele shrine was not declared a national monument. In 1926 the Rhodes Matopos National Park was established and the local communities were evicted from the Matobo Hills. Since then, major developments in the area, such as a network of tarred roads to facilitate tourism in the hills and the introduction of mixed farming systems including livestock to supply the growing market in Bulawayo, have challenged and undermined the conservation-conscious ethic of traditional custodianship systems (Ranger 1999:209; Nyathi & Ndiwini 2005:62-63).

Despite the expectations of the local communities, after attaining independence in 1980, the new government did not restore glory and power to the shrines. Many shrines and sacred places in the country were desecrated, and the culture of caring for heritage waned in the

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process (NMMZ 2004:13). The independent government policy on heritage was equally lax, as Nyathi and Ndiwini (2005) describe:

> "The religious shrines have not been declared national monuments. The National Museums and Monuments Department plays only a supportive role. In the name of respecting traditional religious values, the staff of the department left the custodianship to the local leadership, which included the chiefs. Without any legal mandate for the shrines, NMMD staff had their hands tied. The perceived political power of the shrines has not helped the situation either. The political leadership has interfered in the choice of shrine custodians: the perceived political influence of the shrines is seen as an opportunity for unlocking the door to economic power" (Nyathi & Ndiwini 2005:64).

In 2003 the Matobo Hills was inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List under criterion (iii)[3], (v)[4] and (vi)[5]. According to the ICOMOS evaluation report "what gives Matobo its continuing relevance to local communities today is the strong persistence of indigenous beliefs and practices associated with Matobo as a sacred place – the seat of God, (Mwari/Mwali), the home of ancestral spirits, and the focus for rituals and ceremonies linked to rain, harvest, disease and appeasement of spirits" (ICOMOS 2003:1). Despite the fact that over the years the conservation ideology imposed by the rain-shrines has helped to preserve the environment, currently, such an empowered conservation ideology is lacking because the traditional management systems have been tampered with by colonization and the post-independence politics. The new conservation ethic (a western approach) has not been embraced by local communities. Consequently, there is rampant cutting of the grey *mukwa* tree (*Pterocarpus angolensis*) due to

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[3] Criterion (iii) : The Matobo Hills has one of the highest concentrations of rock art in Southern Africa. The rich evidence from archaeology and from the rock paintings at Matobo provide a very full picture of the lives of foraging societies in the Stone Age and the way agricultural societies came to replace them (WHC 2003).
[2] Criterion (v): The interaction between communities and the landscape, manifest in the rock art and also in the long standing religious traditions still associated with the rocks, are community responses to a landscape (WHC 2003).
[3] Criterion (vi): The Mwari religion, centred on Matoba, which may date back to the Iron Age, is the most powerful oracular tradition in southern Africa (WHC 2003).

demand for curios. The taboos that would have once restricted the cutting of these trees are no longer enforced or respected, nor so they hold sway amongst the population, whose ultimate concern is monetary gain (Nyathi & Ndiwini 2005:64).

According to the Matobo Hills World Heritage Site Management 2004-9 Plan (March 2004), two organizations are bound by legal instruments to manage Matobo Hills World Heritage Site (WHS). The National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ), under the National Museums and Monuments Act (Chap 25:11) is mandated to manage cultural and natural heritage within the landscape. The Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority manages parks and wildlife through the Parks and Wildlife Act (Chap 25:11) (NMMZ 2004:17). The 2004-9 Management Plan stresses that traditional management systems implemented by local communities contribute to the sustenance of the integrity of Matobo Hills. However, given that Chiefs, shrine custodians, the Rural District Councils, Conservation Committees, National Parks officials (all integrated within the Management Committee of the Matobo Hills WHS) are the main custodians, the role of traditional custodianship today is not the primary management system for sacred sites.

In fact, the 2004-9 Management Plan points out a number of situations that may clarify the current state of affairs regarding the traditional systems in Matobo Hills. For instance, it states that sacred sites are contested landscapes in Matobo due to their importance and significance. Conflicts often arise regarding who are the rightful owners of the sacred sites, with different sections often claiming ownership of shrines. In addition, graffiti usually in the form of charcoal, is a problem at some sites, with those grossly affected being in communal areas such as Silozwane. Likewise, the violation of taboos and access restrictions to sites by both the local people and visitors, has led to the desecration of some heritage places. Deforestation is a pronounced problem in communal areas due to over population and uncontrolled burning and the absence of alternative sources of fuel for domestic use. The high local and regional demand for curios has contributed to uncontrolled logging of selected wood species. Such practices have severely degraded parts of the World Heritage Site (NMMZ 2004:27-30). These situations

clearly show that traditional systems are currently under strain and their effectiveness in protecting places of cultural significance in and around Matobo Hills has been reduced.

6.1.2. Chongoni Rock Art Area

The Chongoni Rock Art World Heritage Site shares boundaries with the Chongoni Forest Reserve (Fig. 26). It is situated within a cluster of forested granite hills high up on the plateau of central Malawi in the Dedza District, 80 km south of the capital, Lilongwe. The 127 documented rock art sites reflect the traditions of the BaTwa hunter-gatherers (early red schematic paintings), who inhabited the area from the Late Stone Age to the Early Iron Age; as well as the white paintings associated with the Chêwa agriculturalists who moved into the area during the Iron Age and added to the rock paintings until the 20th century (Department of Antiquities 2004a: 14-16). According to ICOMOS, the strong association between the rock art images and living Chêwa traditions of initiation (*chinamwali*), the *nyau* secret society and rain making ceremonies, together make the Chongoni landscape a powerful place in Chêwa society (ICOMOS 2006a:34). This landscape was inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2006 under criteria (iii)[6] and (vi)[7].

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[6] *Criterion iii:* The dense and extensive collection of rock art shelters reflects a remarkable persistence of cultural traditions over many centuries, connected to the role of rock art in women's initiations, in rain making and in funeral rites, particularly in the Chewa agricultural society (ICOMOS 2006:37).
[7] *Criterion vi:* The strong association between the rock art images and contemporary traditions of initiation and of the *nyau* secret society, and the extensive evidence for those traditions within the painted images over many centuries, together make the Chongoni landscape a powerful force in Chewa society and a significant place for the whole of southern Africa (ICOMOS 2006:37).

Figure 26: Partial view of the Chongoni Rock Art World Heritage Site
(Image courtesy: Philip Segadika)

The rock art sites of Chongoni are surrounded by dense *miombo* woodland. "Together they are perceived as the Chongoni sacred landscape, a scarce and valued resource used for traditional ceremonies" (ICOMOS 2006a:35). Researchers link the BaTwa geometric rock art tradition to ancient rain-control and fertility divination practices (Smith 1995). The Chongoni area has the highest concentration of BaTwa rock art in Malawi and it is therefore no coincidence that the area is at the core of the most powerful rain shrine complex in central Africa (Department of Antiquities 2004b:5). Chongoni Forest Reserve is encircled by important rain-shrines such as Kaphirintiwa, Tsangoma, Msinja and Bunda (cf. Schoffeleers 1973; Zubieta 2010:76). Special rain shrines such as Kaphirintiwa (considered the mythical place of creation in central Africa) and their associated landscape (a sacred forest with sacred pool known as "the getaway") appear to have benefited from traditional custodianship systems (see Smith 2005b:952 on Kaphirintiwa).

The most powerful shrine custodian in central Malawi was entitled Makewana, the rainmaker, who presided over a rain-shrine complex that spread across much of central Malawi (Lilongwe Plateau). Makewana was a spirit medium, the keeper of the Msinja rain shrine and a prophetess. Makewana is seen as the wife of god (Chiuta) and once a year at the culmination of the girl's puberty rituals (*Chinamwali*), *Thunga* (god in the form of a snake, usually a python) would have ritual intercourse with Makewana, and thereby bring fertility to the young maidens. Makewana's hut is close to the Msinja spirit shrine. In between this hut and shrine, there is the hut of the sacred rain-control drum, *Mbiriwiri*. It is believed that in this area, there once was a large village with a network of functionaries who all served the shrine. During the rain-control ceremony (*Mgwetsa*), Makewana would go to a sacred pool, the 'pool of Malawi' and submerge herself for three days. The area around the pool was sacred so trees could not be felled and fishing, drinking or washing in the pool was prohibited. As part of the rain-control ritual, offerings of black-skinned animals would be made in the shrine. Unfortunately, in the late nineteeth century, the power associated with this shrine complex declined and it was ransacked by Nguni invaders. Today, Msinja still functions as a rain-shrine although its influence is local and limited. Its importance is restricted to times of drought. At present, the traditional custodian of Msinja is a widow who does not consider herself Makewana (Smith 2005c:1030).

Although at present these are Chêwa shrines, it is apparent that they have hunter-gatherer roots since, according to Smith (1997), hunter-gatherers also used similar places in the landscape for rituals purposes. It is highly probable that the rock art feeds into the ritualized landscape, through rain-control and the girls' initiation ceremonies for the Chêwa (Interview with Smith 2010). In fact, most of the rock art sites are located in areas with shrines: together, the shrines, the rock art, mountains, forest, pools, and other icons form part of a big cosmological landscape. Emerging from this, shrines are the most culturally significant places in the landscape managed by a traditional system. Shrines were managed through traditional custodians (shrine priestesses) and each shrine was surrounded by a sacred forest (which today is approximately 100 meters in diameter). There were rules of use, access and etiquette at

sacred sites (Smith 2005c; Interview with Smith 2010). However, it is difficult to determine the influence priestesses had on managing rock art sites.

According to Smith (1997:26) and Zubieta (2010:100), some of rock art sites such as Mpata wa Milonde, were used as secret places where instruction such as the *tsimba* and the *mtengo* are given during *chinamwali,* girls' initiation ceremonies. Currently, the Chêwa no longer paint as part of initiation and rock art sites are no longer used for initiation. However, Zubieta argues for a historic link between the white rock paintings of the Bantu-speaking farmers at sites such as Mwana wa Chentcherere II rock shelter and the modern Chêwa's *chinamwali* (cf. Zubieta 2006; Zubieta 2010:257). Today, some sites with hunter-gatherer rock art site, such as Nthulu are used for fertility rituals for barren women. Although shrines are the most important rain-control centres, rock art sites such as Mpata wa Milonde are still used for rain-control ceremonies at the village level. Within the Chongoni sacred landscape, rain rituals are often performed in caves or rock shelters (Interview with Smith 2010). Although local residents in the Chongoni area are familiar with rock art sites in the area and know that some sites are associated with girls' initiation and broadly conceive of rock art as part of Chêwa heritage, there is a loose connection between present communities and the rock art sites. Smith (2001) argues that the Bantu-speaker rock painting tradition ceased early in the early twentieth century and that today the rock paintings associated with *nyau* are no longer part of the regular *nyau* activities, "Today the paintings are largely forgotten by the descendents of the people who made them; they are now part of the history rather than the living ritual landscape" (Smith 2001:188).

In 1924, Chongoni and the surrounding hills were declared a Forest Reserve. The reserve boundaries, revised in 1928 and 1930, excluded 41 villages and more areas were excluded in 1961 and 1965 due to encroachment (ICOMOS 2006a:35). Around the 1950s, several rock art sites, including Mphunzi, Chencherere, Chigwenembe, Nsana wa Ng'ombe and Diwa were publicized. In January 1969, the rock art of Chencherere was declared a Protected National Monument and the sites were officially opened for public visitation. To manage the site for

public visitation, a wire perimeter fence was erected to control access and to prevent touching of the paintings; signage and information panels on metal sheets fixed on metal poles were installed. Later, in the 1980s, Mphunzi rock art sites located in the buffer zone, outside the forest reserve, were opened to the public and signage directing visitors to them was erected. Two caretakers were employed to manage Mphunzi and to guide visitors. However, no one was employed to manage Chencherere since it was assumed that the sites were already protected within the forest reserve. Unfortunately, Chencherere was vandalized, the perimeter fence and signage were stolen and some of the paintings have suffered graffiti while others are no longer visible due to excessive touching, dust and neglect (Department of Antiquities 2004b:8).

According to the ICOMOS evaluation of the Chongoni area in 2006, currently only sites that are difficult to access or regarded as sacred by the local community, are well protected (ICOMOS 2006a:35). It is apparent that despite the historical connections (cf. Zubieta 2010), present communities are not motivated to protect the paintings. "The local communities do not feel that the rock art is part of a family heritage that needs to be protected" (Interview with Smith 2010). Regardless of the significance of this sacred landscape, the Management Plan for Chongoni Rock Art Site (January 2004) shows that previous attempts at formal site protection (fencing, signage and notice boards), were unsuccessful and counterproductive (Department of Antiquities 2004b:8-9). Hence, it is probable that a traditional custodianship management system for heritage places imbued with sacred values, such as the Chongoni sacred landscape, must not focus exclusively on rock art sites but on the broader values that the community holds for the landscape.

6.2. Lessons learnt from the case studies

The emerging picture from these other landscapes is that, like Manica, rock art sites in the Matobo Hills and the Chongoni sacred landscape are essentially not sacred; their sanctity derives from their association with other elements within the same landscape. Indeed, rock art

research in southern Africa shows that paintings may have been executed at sites previously regarded as sacred (cf. Lewis-Williams & Dowson 2000; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004; Nhamo, Saeterdal & Walderhaug 2007). In this respect, I argue that traditional custodianship management systems should embrace aspects beyond specific archaeological sites, because archaeological elements, such as rock art, may not be the main focus within the system. Traditional custodianship of heritage places revolves around the belief in the spirits at the sites. Therefore, the protective norms (taboos and customs) relating to access and use of places of cultural significance do not focus only on rock art, but on the broader values in the landscape in which ancestral spirits dwell (such as sacred pools or forests).

Traditional custodianship of sacred sites is not unique to the above case studies. Mwela Rocks in Zambia are located within a sacred forest, within the Kasama Forestry Reserve, about 5 km from Kasama town. The forested plains of northern Zambia are characterized by massive rock boulders. The densest areas of rock outcrops each have a name (e.g. Mwankole, Sumina, Mulundu, Fwambo, Changa Mwibwe) and these names refer to a series of spirits that are believed to dwell in the rocks, in the water sources and in other unusual natural features on the landscape. Mwela Rocks contains more than a 1000 paintings and the area has one of the densest concentrations of rock art sites in central Africa (WHC 2010: Ref. 5425). The Bemba people who live in the area today refer to the spirits collectively as *ngulu*. Each *ngulu* has a particular site of residence, a rock, usually in a group of boulders with a dark crevice in between. At these sites, the communities consult *ngulu*. Under the jurisdiction of senior Chief Mwamba a traditional custodianship system through spiritual and traditional custodians was (and probably is) in place to manage access to these sites. Each *ngulu* had a 'keeper', a traditional custodian, who ensured that the dwelling place (shrine) was neatly maintained. These traditional custodians ensured adherence to traditional etiquette, taboos and restrictions at the shrine. Traditional preparation (e.g. no shaving, bathing and sexual abstinence for a certain period) was required of visitors. There was no logging in the forest and annually, each 'keeper' would make an offering to the *ngulu*. These 'keepers' were answerable to the spirit

priest, Kamima (the key spiritual adviser to the Bemba paramount chief Chitimukulu) (Smith 2005a:954).

According to Smith (2010), in 1992 there were at least four main shrine sites, two of which had rock art. However, the connection between the rock art and the shrines is uncertain. Given that there are over ten spirit sites in and around the Mwela Rocks area – more than any other part of Northern Zambia – this is an indication of the spiritual importance of the area and the probable reason why rock art is concentrated here. This spiritual importance may hold true for the Chongoni area and Matobo Hills where, despite the geological occurrence of rock outcrops widely across the region, these specific locations are host to the highest concentration of rock art. Like Chongoni and Matobo Hills, there is no evidence that rock art in Mwela Rocks was perceived as sacred and protected for its own sake. It is equally not possible to infer any rock art conservation motivation from current traditional protective norms around rock art sites. Instead, I argue, rock art sites were protected within a wider framework of traditional beliefs that define the codes, obligations and behavioural patterns of the community in relation to landscapes imbued with sacred values, such as sacred pools, forests or rain-control shrines. In 1992, Smith observed that the local community took no offence when he visited rock art sites in Mwela Rocks, yet they objected to him visiting spirit sites (Interview with Smith 2010). This observation supports my argument, in chapters four and five, that the traditional custodianship system that revolves around protecting places of cultural significance has a protection ethic towards sacred places that may have an indirect conservation effect for rock art sites.

Emerging from this argument is the question: if traditional custodianship systems do not aim at conserving rock art *per se*, can the indirect conservation effect be used to manage rock art sites today? The different contexts, roles and historical relationships that the traditional management systems have had within state-based systems in the colonial and post-independence periods will impact on current heritage management practices. Today the two different systems are accorded different status and play different roles in heritage management. Although traditional custodianship systems are now considered vital

prerequisites for any management strategy to be effective in a rural setting (e.g. Eboreime 2005; Munjeri 2005; Loubser 2006), and a joint or co-management system (where traditional and modern day knowledge and techniques are fused) appears to be a better solution (cf. Maradze 2003; Ndoro 2006; Smith 2006), several issues still need to be addressed in terms of the role of traditional custodianship in the effective management of heritage places today.

At Matobo Hills, the impact of colonialism (seen in massive population displacement caused by land policies; the news values brought by Christianity; and heritage policies that were guided by western concepts of heritage) and of the post-colonial heritage policies (that failed to recognise the spiritual value of heritage to local communities), resulted in the alienation of local communities from management of natural and cultural heritage (cf. Ndoro & Pwiti 1999; Ndoro 2001b). The result of this was that the traditional conservation ideology that had protected the landscape over the years was now eroded. The interaction of traditional institutions with the broader socio-political and economic contexts in which the traditional custodianship system operate, led to the collapse of the system due to conflicts between the community spiritual values and perceptions, and the broad heritage values espoused by institutions charged with heritage conservation (cf. Nyathi and Ndiwini 2005). Today although the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe and the Matobo National Park are moving towards a holistic approach to the conservation of the landscape, the local community of Matobo Hills has been stripped of their environmental protective ideology (anchored in the traditional custodianship system) and are now infused with a new "economically-driven and conservation unconscious ideology" (Nyathi and Ndiwini 2005:65). This shift clearly illustrates how heritage sites can be threatened when the traditional management institutions undergo drastic changes or where such institutions become ineffective before the community embraces the new conservation ideology (from the state-base management system).

Additionally, despite the now growing recognition of the important role that traditional institutions play in safeguarding heritage places, these systems remain informal in terms of the legal heritage framework in Zimbabwe and only operational at a low level within a state-based

management system (cf. Mupira 2008:80). Often, state-based management institutions (e.g. National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe and the Matobo National Park) fail to place heritage within a local context since they operate within a framework informed by a western orientated heritage legislation with no clear-cut provision for local traditional custodianship within the management process (cf. Ndoro & Kiriama 2008:61). Consequently, the traditional custodianship system has no choice but to remain outside of the state practices to ensure the maintenance and survival of the values associated with sites imbued with sacred values. Across central-southern African, traditional custodianship systems are considered tangential in the practical heritage management for rock art sites within National Parks (e.g. Matobo Hills, Chongoni or Mapungubwe).

For instance, although the National Heritage Resources Act (1999) of South Africa recognizes community ownership of heritage places and involves custodians (traditional leaders, urban authorities, universities, national parks) in heritage management; in practice, the role of local communities in the management framework remains minimal (cf. Mahachi & Kamuhangire 2008). In the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park World Heritage Site, the local community as represented by the Duma clan requested permission in 2002 (as they do annually) to perform a ritual function at Game Pass rock art site. Permission was granted, subject to the following conditions: only ten clan members, as well as one official each from Amafa aKwaZuluNatali, the Natal Museum, and Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife (EKZNW) were allowed inside the shelter at any given time. The clan was not permitted to light fires within the shelter and could only do so in an open area below the site. However, fire was an important and integral part of the intended ritual; smoke from the fire is meant to rise out of the shelter to indicate that the ancestors accept and approve the ritual. Consequently, interference from Amafa and EKZNW denied the Duma clan what they set out to achieve - communication with their ancestors in a spiritual setting (Ndlovu 2005; Ndlovu 2009). Although the heritage authorities believed they were accommodating intangible values and preserving the heritage of 'outstanding universal value', they failed to realise that the preservation of sacred values associated with heritage places such as rock art sites, cannot be managed and controlled exclusively by professional

heritage managers (cf. Ndlovu 2009). On the contrary, intangible values associated with sacred places do not require heritage managers to survive.

Even in contexts where rock art sites or sites imbued with sacred values are located outside National Parks, their effective management goes beyond the legal empowerment of traditional authorities and institutions, as is the case in most African countries, within the global trend of democratization (cf. Mamdani 1996). For example, in Mozambique, where traditional institutions (traditional custodians) have an hybrid character (they operate at both traditional and modern levels appearing as African custodians of local tradition and heritage, but also as part of the State administrative system), 'empowerment' of traditional institutions is designated only to improve the effectiveness of the state-based system in terms of territory administration (cf Buur & Kyed 2006; Kyed 2007). This implies that traditional institutions are more concerned with empowering and sustaining themselves rather than in conserving heritage and involving local communities in its conservation. Hence, control and management of heritage may no longer be a genuine priority of these traditional institutions. The heritage law in Mozambique, similar to other parts of the continent (cf. Ndoro, Mumma & Abungo 2008), ignores the fact that communities operating within traditional custodianship systems can manage their heritage on behalf of the State.

An attempt to use an indirect conservation effect to protect rock art sites (since some rock art sites form part of the larger cosmological environment of communities), assumes that the traditions and norms of the traditional institutions of local communities will effectively conserve rock art. A fundamental problem with this assumption is that some of the traditional uses of heritage may not be in accordance with the conservation philosophy of state-based heritage institutions. For instance, where rock art sites are used for rituals, often these social practices damage the rock art. Ceremonies at Silozwane include lighting fires inside the shelter under the rock art panels to make rain (cf. Ndoro 2003), while at *Mongomi wa Kolo* (a hunter-gatherer rock art site regularly used for ritual practices among the Bantu language-speaking Warangi and Cushitic communities in Kondoa, Tanzania), animal fat and beer are thrown over

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the rock art paintings during rain-control rituals (cf. Bwasiri 2008). Similarly, the spattering of millet in the aftermath of rituals at *Mongomi wa Kolo* are considered detrimental to the preservation of the paintings. Such practices raise concerns for heritage managers as there is a conflict between the impact of ritual activities and the integrity and preservation of rock art sites. Ironically, it is these 'destructive' rituals that provide the context in which the intangible values associated with the sites exist and are maintained. The above examples clearly illustrate that since the goals and motivation for traditional custodianship systems often differ radically from those of contemporary conservation, compatibility between the two management systems is difficult to attain (cf. Siebert 2008:175).

In fact, community attachment to cultural landscapes (where heritage sites are used for ritual ceremonies) does not imply that such communities are the traditional custodians or that they embrace custodianship systems. In Chongoni, although communities recognize the rock art as part of their heritage, this recognition does not permeate to conservation. The Chêwa communities of Chongoni do not feel that the rock art is part of their family heritage and thus, do not think that it needs to be protected (Interview with Smith 2010).

It is also evident that traditional custodianship can undergo drastic changes in a short period of time and this may impact on its capacity to protect heritage places. For example, at Mwela Rocks, although the traditional custodianship system preserved the forest for centuries, the system was under strain in the early 1990s. The keeper or spirit custodian (*Kungu*) converted to a Jehovah's Witness and in so doing experienced a personal conflict between his role as spirit custodian and his beliefs as a Jehovah's Witness (Interview with Smith 2010). In 1994 when charcoal producers moved into the Mwela Rocks area, logging the forest and quarrying rock art sites for gravel, the traditional custodians lacked the power to prevent the destruction (Smith 2006:328-29). Today, the traditional custodianship system is dysfunctional, the sacred forest is desecrated, the older generation of traditional chiefs have died and the spirit custodians have ceased to practise their rituals.

Lastly, in many cases management arrangements for the protection of heritage places imbued with sacred values in not effective due to the centralized state-based administrative systems for heritage management that characterize most of African countries. In fact, state institutions in charge of heritage such as the National Directorate for Culture in Mozambique, are frequently understaffed due to limited funding, hence interaction with communities is limited and this makes it is difficult for such institutions to be responsive to the needs of communities and other stakeholders (cf. Mahachi & Kamuhangire 2008:46). These aspects constitute twilight areas for a poor match between traditional custodianship and formal heritage management systems.

Nonetheless, from the community point of view, the objective of traditional custodianship systems is to ensure continuous use of cultural and natural resources, while safeguarding the site and its associated values. This view is consonant with the current accepted values-based management approach (cf. Lennon 2002; Sullivan 2003), wherein "conservation of heritage sites comprises all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance" (Burra Charter 1999:2). Seen from this perspective, traditional custodianship systems may offer sustainability in terms of conservation and protection of the values that make rock art sites significant to communities. This would be the role of traditional custodianship systems within an integrated management framework because traditional custodianship represents a value-based model of natural and cultural heritage stewardship. For instance, traditional custodianship would guide the preservation of the values associated with rock art sites that are continuously used for local traditional practices (for example at Chinhamapere). However, as mentioned previously, considering that traditional custodianship does not revolve around rock art sites these systems do not to necessarily protect the tangible heritage (the rock art itself) which is also imbued with other values (e.g. archaeological, educational) for the wider public (other groups of stakeholders beyond the local community). Therefore, the formal heritage institutions have to ensure that a more complete management system is in place and that all the heritage values are protected and maintained.

Drawing on Sheridan (2008:29-30), and in light of the challenges outline above, I believe that traditional custodianship systems are unlikely to be integrated into state-based systems without first making drastic changes to the social relationships and cultural conservation mechanisms of traditional systems. Thus, it is crucial to question, not only how to incorporate traditional custodianship systems into state-based management systems, but also, how to re-orientate heritage management in Africa through engaging with social institutions. Traditional institutions must have a bearing on the rock art sites and must become responsible for the long-term survival of their associated intangible heritage values. The adoption of a legal framework that preserves and facilitates the dynamism manifested in cultural landscapes (e.g. community engagement with rock art sites) as well as the interaction between different management systems (formal and traditional), is perhaps one of the crucial steps towards a more integrated management system. Therefore, I believe that the concept of legal pluralism in heritage legislation, as defined by Mumma (2002), would be best suited for a more integrated and meaningful management system, because the concept is premised on the idea that the "legal protection of cultural landscapes is best provided by a protective system, which incorporates the various normative systems that, in practice, operate in the African communities concerned, i.e. the state law regime and the customary/traditional law regime. Both regimes would be placed in a symbiotic and complementary, rather than in an antagonistic, relationship" (Mumma 2002:156).

Following from this discussion, in the next chapter, I suggest how such a framework can contribute towards building a more effective management system for heritage places imbued with sacred values in central Mozambique.

7. THE WAY FORWARD: AN INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT SYSTEM FOR HERITAGE IN MOZAMBIQUE

In this chapter I suggest and discuss some of the legal and institutional arrangements that can contribute towards building a more effective management system for heritage places imbued with sacred values in central Mozambique. Since general recommendations have been made on how to improve heritage management in Mozambique (e.g. through the promotion of community participation; awareness campaigns; and the development of cultural tourism) (see Macamo 2006), I will focus on specific aspects that derive from my analysis of the traditional custodianship systems as laid out in the previous chapters.

Mozambique has adopted a number of laws and heritage policies that provide the legal framework for the protection and management of cultural heritage (e.g. Law nr.10/88; Decree 27/94; Resolution nr. 12/97). The Monuments Policy (*Política de Monumentos*) recently approved by the Council of Ministers in their 15th Ordinary Session (27th April 2010) aims, among other things, "to integrate traditional custodianship practices in the conservation of monuments and sites" as well as "to support the involvement of local communities and private sector in the management of heritage places in order to ensure its sustainability" (Ministério da Cultura 2010:4). These national instruments are also reinforced by the principles of good conservation practices defined by UNESCO Conventions (UNESCO 1972, 2003, 2005) and the Operational Guideline (2008). The purpose of this legal framework is to promote good management and to enable and encourage communities to nurture and conserve their legacy.

Despite the existing legal provision for the protection of heritage in the country, the formal heritage system has fallen short by not providing a legal basis that acknowledges and defines the role of communities and their traditional custodianship systems in managing cultural heritage. Certainly, whilst the importance of involving local communities in managing heritage has been recognised for some decades, the heritage legislation has not managed the relationship between the Government institutions and local traditional institutions, to adopt a

more integrated philosophy and policy. There is no definition and provision for the role of traditional custodianship systems in the heritage legislation. Such a legal basis is indispensable to regulate powers among heritage stakeholders and to fulfil, to borrow from Virtanen (2001), the 'administrative vacuum' in which the traditional custodianship systems operate when it comes to the management of cultural heritage in Mozambique.

At present the heritage legislation is exclusively enforced through governmental structures, at both national and local levels, which operate in a more or less centralized system (Fig. 27). The National Directorate for Culture (NDC) is the central body of the Ministry of Culture, whose tasks include, among others, the "preservation and valorisation of cultural heritage through the involvement of local communities, public institutions and private sector" (DINAC 2009:6). Notwithstanding the achievements of the formal heritage system in preserving heritage through public awareness, creation of local contact groups, and the involvement of the community in archaeological and heritage management projects (see Sinclair 1987; Macamo 1996, 2003, 2006; Macamo & Sætersdal 2004), the heritage management strategy in the country still relies, in part, on the involvement of structures outside state hierarchies, such as traditional authorities, without giving them the backing of a legal framework. Even when communities are involved, the management framework is often characterized by strong government control through local level representatives (districts officers) (see Shackleton & Campbell 2001; Nhantumbo, Norfolk & Pereira 2003; Mumma 2003). Such institutional arrangements and management frameworks have no room to share authority with the local communities; neither provides room for a truly integrated management system for cultural heritage.

As the process of revising the heritage legal frameworks is underway in Mozambique, the major challenge for the country is to design and enforce a heritage legal system that can use traditional forms of protective mechanisms without forgoing the benefits of the formal state legal systems. Therefore, I believe that the way forward is to adopt a legal pluralism framework in heritage law and cultural polices (see chapter six) oriented by a rooted cosmopolitanism type

of philosophy (see chapter two) so that the heritage framework is able to accommodate the two different management systems with their different values, interests and concerns. This will allow the broader society (stakeholders outside of the local community and heritage sector) to assume important roles and responsibilities in heritage management. In such a framework, the NDC will act more as a regulatory authority (e.g. setting broad standards or benchmarks to be adhered to in the management of heritage places) rather than as the 'owner' of heritage. It will also provide expertise, where necessary, on how heritage should be managed (see Ndoro & Kiriama 2008:62). This would leave the day-to-day management of heritage to the local communities, through their traditional custodianship systems. This would all take place within a management framework with clearly defined roles, responsibilities and incentives for all role players.
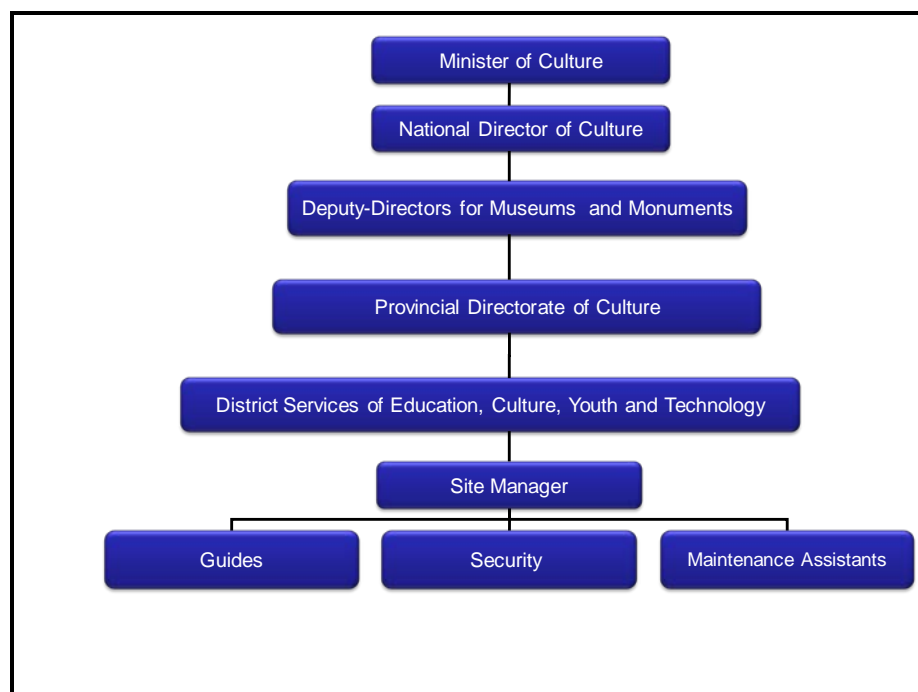

Figure 27: The State's administrative structure for Cultural Heritage Management in Mozambique

To operationalise this heritage framework, the existent political discourse on devolution of decision-making powers over the resources (with tonic on natural resources) to a lower level (cf. Nhantumbo, Foloma & Puna 2004) should be broadened to include cultural heritage and be accompanied with the provision of tools to guide the various actors. For instance, in order to implement the strategy of establishing partnerships between local communities, state agencies and the private sector in management of cultural heritage, the Government needs to put in place an unambiguous supporting policy that espouses clear-cut principles and guidelines for community-private sector-Government partnership, such as the definition of powers and limits of state intervention in cases where such partnership is in place as well as procedural and monitoring mechanisms. However, even considering the potential of these enabling features of this heritage framework, it is important to note that perhaps the bigger challenge remains at the level of interpretation and implementation.

The suggested heritage framework has the potential to ensure the rights of local communities to access cultural heritage (e.g. the use of rock art sites for ceremonies). For places like Chinhamapere, traditional custodianship would allow for the continuous use of the site and the preservation of values within a framework of social, cultural, political and natural environment that is dynamic. At the same time, through the formalisation process, traditional custodianship would also be given charge of protecting other elements of archaeological sites (tangible heritage) that are currently protected under the formal heritage legislation (e.g. Law nr. 10/88), but that are presently unimportant elements for the local communities. While the traditional custodianship system would manage the continuity, or change, of the spiritual values associated with the sites, the formal heritage system would be in charge of guiding the traditional custodianship systems to protect the broad range of values that are not currently protected under traditional custodianship systems.

Although the current formal heritage legislation relies on various mechanisms and tools to protect heritage places (e.g. clear guidelines on offences and the penalties for committing offences), it still falls short when it comes to implementation. Formal state laws and norms

concerning cultural and natural resources have relatively little practical meaning for the local population in Mozambique (Virtanen 2001). In addition, there is a lack of professional heritage managers to facilitate effective management actions such as the monitoring (e.g. inspecting sites, giving advice on better management practices, increasing the awareness of the general public) of heritage sites. Therefore an integrated management system should imply not only the recognition of traditional custodianship systems (traditional rules, regulations and inbuilt penalties for infractions which can be implemented *pari passu* with formal legislation), but also specific guidance on what conservation and monitoring mechanisms should comprise and, how they should be implemented and by whom (see Mupira 2008:85-86).

Hence, the adoption and implementation of an integrated management system for heritage in Mozambique will require much more than just reforming legislation (e.g. thereby making traditional custodianship systems 'formal') and putting in place implementation arrangements. The process transcends the purely legal to the attitudinal and calls for the political willingness of the formal heritage institutions to move from the state-centered management system to a more integrated one. In fact, a key question within the proposed heritage management framework should be: is the government prepared to fill the gap between the present policy statements (e.g. that call for community involvement) and their actual implementation and to enable state-based institutions to give away part of their control over cultural heritage to local communities?

An integrated management system for heritage in Mozambique may also require a continuous public awareness, as has been suggested before by Macamo and Sætersdal (2004) and Macamo (2006), in order to increase the appreciation of values of heritage and its role in Mozambican society and in so doing to promote an understanding of the need to preserve heritage at different levels. This should also be accompanied by capacity building regarding the role of the different stakeholders in the new management framework, as well as the provision for adequate funding. For instance, while communities may need to be sensitised about other aspects of their heritage which are not currently valued and protected by them, state heritage

authorities may also have to be sensitized to shift from their administrative and technical cadre that have been trained and habituated to top-down management processes, and to change to a more participatory and integrated one.

Drawing from the lessons learnt from many Community-Based Natural Resource Management Projects promoted in Mozambique in the 1990s (e.g. Pindanganga in Manica Province, initiated in 1999; Chipange Chetu in Niassa Province, initiated in 1998) (see Serra 2001; Nhantumbo, Norfolk & Pereira 2003; Anstey 2005), it may be important to note that such an integrated management system will only be effective and feasible if it is able to bring tangible and intangible benefits for the communities. Therefore, the message of conservation should be coupled with a bundle of social, economic and political incentives. Perhaps it is also important to recognize that the change in cultural heritage management should be slow and incremental rather than profound.

7.1. Conclusion

Formal heritage management systems have failed to protect rock art sites and their associated sacred values in many parts of southern Africa. Local communities living in close proximity to heritage places usually have, since historical times, a large role in ensuring the survival of places of cultural significance through their traditional custodianship systems. However, often these systems are ignored or not fully recognized by the current state heritage organizations when it comes to heritage management. We know that local traditional custodianship systems protect the places that the community values. So this system is an obvious one to explore for ideas on how to improve the management of heritage places imbued with sacred values.

The study investigated whether an intimate understanding of traditional custodianship systems in Mozambique could provide direction towards a more effective and sustainable method of managing rock art sites imbued with sacred values. To this end, I analysed the nature of the southern African traditional custodianship systems and, more specifically, their relation to rock

art sites. My focus was on the VCL, in Central Mozambique and the traditional custodianship system here was compared to those at Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe and Chongoni Hills in Malawi. This analysis then allowed me to advocate for an integrated management framework for the effective conservation of heritage sites imbued with sacred values in Mozambique.

I have argued that the traditional custodianship of heritage places revolves around the belief that spirits reside in certain places in the landscape. The focus of the community is on the broader value of the landscape in which ancestral spirits dwell (such as sacred pools, forests or shelters) and not necessarily on the rock art itself. The access to, and use of these places is governed by protective norms, in the forms of taboos and customs. These are regulated by social institutions represented by traditional custodians.

This means that rock art sites that are located within such sacred landscapes benefit from a range of rules and regulations to control people's behaviour in them. However, despite the benefits, my case studies have shown that not all behaviour permitted at such places is beneficial to conserving rock art. Some actions, such as the lighting of fires near rock art, or the touching of rock art during rituals, are destructive. The implication of this finding, in light of the aims of heritage management today, is that whilst traditional custodianship offers a framework for managing sacred values associated with sacred places, the philosophical orientation of these systems does not always converge with the goals of formal heritage management, that aim to preserve all the values associated with rock art sites; not just the spiritual ones.

In an attempt to harness the positive parts of the traditional and formal systems for the effective management of heritage sites imbued with sacred values in central Mozambique, I have suggested, through adopting a cosmopolitanism philosophy, that a sustainable framework might be achieved by using legal pluralism in heritage legislation and cultural policies. This will provide the framework within which preservation and meaningful management of the dynamism manifested in cultural landscapes, as well as a complementary interaction between the different heritage management systems, can be achieved. Managing heritage places

imbued with sacred values requires that traditional custodianship and formal heritage management systems be interwoven so that the defined good management strategies can be translated into sustainable and effective management of cultural heritage.

This is not about just recognising the role that living communities have to play in heritage management, as this has been continuously advocated for decades. But rather it is about seeing this recognition translated into heritage legislation and management mechanisms that give the same weight to both systems. This can only be achieved if there is political will on the part of policy makers.

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9. APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE TRADITIONAL CUSTODIANSHIP SYSTEMS IN THE VLC

Section 1: Identification of the interviewee

1. Name:

2. Age:

3. Gender:

4. Ethnic group:

5. Occupation:

6. Education level:

7. Current residence:

8. Length of time living in the research area:

Section 2: The significance of rock art sites in relation to other places of cultural significance

9. Are there sacred places nearby?

10. What are the sacred places in the area?

   (e.g. location of the site, the type of site, brief description of the site)

11. Why are these places considered sacred?

12. Are there sacred places with rock paintings in the area?

Section 3: Local practices related to rock art sites

13. Which activities take place at rock art sites?

Section 4: Rules and institutions concerning the use and access to rock art sites

14. Are there rules about sacred sites?

15. Do people respect rules concerning the access to and use of sacred places?

16. Who does not respect the rules that control access to sacred places and why?

17. Who is responsible for the protection of sacred places in the area?

18. Is it good to respect sacred places?

19. Why is it good to respect and protect sacred places such as rock art sites?

20. Anything would you like to add/suggest?

Thank you