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Frobenius' archaeological photography at Great Zimbabwe: activating the archive as a creative space of engagement

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Frobenius' Archaeological Photography at Great Zimbabwe: Activating the Archive as a Creative Space of Engagement.

A Research Report submitted to the Department of History of Art, Wits School of the Arts, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (History of Art) (by course work and research report)

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1st June 2017

Declaration

I declare that this is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts (History of Art) (Course Work and Research Report) at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.



Gordon A Massie

Date: 1st June 2017

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Introduction

> Images of the past survive longer than the theories they were designed originally to support; they linger on in museum displays, as illustrations in archaeologically orientated books, and as part of popular culture (Smiles & Moser 2005: 6).

At a time when western audiences grew excited by the news of discoveries and became vicarious armchair explorers, photographers selected subject matter, composed and constructed photographs to meet the audience appetite, document archaeological sites and satisfy their sponsors. When German explorer Leo Frobenius led his 9th expedition [1] to South Africa, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia, Mozambique and India from 1928 to 1930, there were photographers in the team (Wintjes 2013: 171,172). On their two visits to Great Zimbabwe, the primary objective of the team's archaeological photographs may have been to document the monumental stonewalled site, collect archaeological data and illustrate Frobenius' publications; however, once I started to explore the layers within these photographs as more than just re-presentations of the surface subject matter, the narratives became increasingly interesting and complex. The Frobenius photographs have an immediate striking presence as visual re-presentations of the Great Zimbabwe monumental site. I will demonstrate that, through re-looking, re-seeing and re-making, their content extends beyond continued representation of western epistemological ideology to provide a valuable source of new understandings of Great Zimbabwe at the time the photographs were taken and today. Frobenius may not have planned the layers that I examine but that is not relevant. What matters is that these photographs, much like Smiles & Moser's anticipation, were produced for an initial purpose but almost ninety years later provide new information (Smiles & Moser 2005:6).

The Frobenius Institute archive is becoming more readily available, through its digitisation and online presence, but it is at the early stages of being examined in detail, unpacked and contextualised. In my case studies, I focus on three photographs (out of over 100,000 photographs and documents) from the pictorial archive as I address my research question: What can intensive focus on three early twentieth century

[1] Expeditions are officially referred to, in the Frobenius Institute archives, as DIAFE (Deutschen Inner-Afrikanischen Forschungs Expedition (German Central-African Research Expedition).

archaeological photographs from the Frobenius pictorial archive reveal? In my close analysis of these photographs I demonstrate how the contemporary researcher can uncover new information that, as anticipated by Sarah Nuttall in *Refiguring the Archive* (2002), replenishes the archive with information that was not previously present (Nuttall 2002: 299).

In Chapter 1, I contextualise Great Zimbabwe's recent history, as it is the period over the last hundred and fifty years that interests me in this project. During this time, Great Zimbabwe has been re-interpreted frequently as archaeologists have debated its origins as well as its use since the first early European explorers arrived in the late 1800s (see Mauch 1872; Hall 1905; and Posselt 1924). Although the big picture of origin may be settled, there are still continuing debates between academics about some aspects of use which arise as new information and new ways of looking develop (see Chirikure et al 2016). As I delved into Great Zimbabwe's recent history, my research showed that there are multiple narratives and claimants to this enormous, evolving and enigmatic site. In addition to ceremonial rituals, the local clans cite events and locales within Great Zimbabwe to legitimise their narrative and their competing claims as its custodians. I position Great Zimbabwe, as a living site of memory for the local communities, and examine some of the contestations over custodial rights and desecration. My desire to add local voices with authority and knowledge to examine these claims led to a focus on the Mugabe and Nemanwa clans which appear as the dominant voices in my research. Supported by Joost Fontein's theory of traditional connoisseurs, the holders of local community narrative, I include excerpts from his interviews with clan elders, spiritual leaders and my own meetings with the Mugabe Village Headman, Sekuru Samuel Haruzivishe [2]. These voices and narratives contribute a new way of looking at Great Zimbabwe (Fontein 2004 & 2006).

In Chapter 2, I examine how uncovering new information for the archive involves re-looking, re-seeing and re-making; and outline the theories and methods I employ in looking at the Frobenius archive and my selected photographs. I consider the ways in which Nuttall's ideas around the replenishment of the archive and the positive acceptance of research partiality that Athanasios Velios advocates can help to generate new information, as I use the Frobenius materials in ways fundamentally different from the original interests and theories they were collected to support (Nuttall

[2] The interviews were carried out in a mix of Shona and English with some immediate summarised translations by Edward Matenga, former Director, NMMZ Great Zimbabwe. They were sound recorded and subsequently transcribed into English by Munyaradzi Elton Sagiya, current Curator, Great Zimbabwe. The transcript is included as Appendix 4 to this report.

2002; Velios 2011; and Smiles & Moser 2005:6). I am wary of the expectations I bring to the Frobenius and Great Zimbabwe archive as we know little about what the Frobenius team saw but did not record, or the reasons for this. A complete recording of such a vast evolving site as Great Zimbabwe is, of course, impossible because any given site carries a potentially infinite amount of information. The point here is that the Frobenius expedition members saw certain things, and recorded some of them. I have seen and re-seen, and included consideration of other things I deem important today, bringing a different selection of ideas to bear on the same place.



Figure 1. Repeat photography process from the Hill Top Complex into the Great Zimbabwe valley. 2015. © G.A.Massie

My research methodology includes an examination of the positive benefits of a collaborative practice of working within the Frobenius Working Group (FWG), a group of student researchers led by Justine Wintjes with research interests rooted in the Frobenius archive. I have, as part of re-seeing, included an analysis of parts of Barthes' *Camera Lucida* ([1981] 2000) as I realised in reading his text that his 'personal consciousness' approach to photography informed my excitement at identifying new information from a single photograph and my desire to add new information, a sensation that Roland Barthes describes as advenience (Barthes [1981] 2000: 23). Finally I examine my repeat photography practice that was extended into the wider FWG, which I see as a form of re-making. This creative process produces a deep engagement with the subject matter, opening up new ways of seeing and revealing new information, which manifest in both case studies.

Chapter 3 presents my first case study. Here I examine Frobenius photograph FoA-9-11561 *View from the Hill Top Complex over the Recess Enclosure into the Great Zimbabwe Valley*[3] (Figure 15). The analysis of the photograph would support a useful

[3] The descriptive titles given to photographs are mine and are for the purpose of providing ease of reference and clarity in this project. The Frobenius Institute's references, such as FoA-9-11561 in this

archaeological study of the structural changes that have occurred in the last almost ninety years to the Recess Enclosure on the Hill Top Complex at Great Zimbabwe. Much like the greater site, the origins and use of this locale have often been re-interpreted by archaeologists and are still debated (Burrett & Hubbard 2014: 17,18). The original context of construction and use is not, however, the focus of this research report as my re-looking at the photograph resulted in the identification of new information in the valley beyond the Hill Top Complex. This seemingly previously undocumented detail, which I develop into a significant finding, adds to the examination of the recent history of contestation of the site and its narratives.

The second case study, presented in Chapter 4, is Frobenius photograph FoA-9-11492, *Facing East towards the Great Enclosure in the Great Zimbabwe Valley* (Figure 37). In my analysis of the photograph, I identify significant structural changes to an entrance to the Great Enclosure, which was rebuilt twice in the 20th century by different Great Zimbabwe curators. Through my research into the structural changes, I show they may have been made for political reasons in support of agendas of the day, making them relevant to discussions of the contestations of the Great Zimbabwe site. Although this is interesting in the context of a disputed site such as Great Zimbabwe, the information that excited me the most was locating the photographer's vantage point and noticing its close proximity to a living site of memory. This locale was historically used by the Mugabe and Nemanwa clans for ceremonies and is connected to their claims of being the custodians, through ancestral lineage, of the Great Zimbabwe site and their arguments that the site has been desecrated.

I conclude the report by looking at the way that photographs can make things visible and invisible and how these two conditions can change over time. This transformation can come through finding new ways of seeing which result in new things to be seen, which in turn replenishes the archive. The fresh information that this project produces for the archive will also one day become the raw material for new researchers (Chirikure et al 2016: 17). In this self-regenerating way, the Frobenius pictorial archive becomes rich material, with infinite possibilities for augmenting our understanding of the Great Zimbabwe site.

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case, are also used. The Frobenius catalogues have some sort of caption or descriptive tag, usually derived from the photo-albums, and typically some additional information is included in the online archive's metadata fields. These conventions demonstrate the difference between looking at photographs as art type works and archival documentation.

Chapter 1: Contextualising Great Zimbabwe

> Milk is something that is white, but if you see flies inside it you won't eat it. That is what was actually done to [Great] Zimbabwe. [Great] Zimbabwe was milk but flies fell into it (Interview with VaMututucari in Fontein 2006: 112).

In this chapter, I track the characteristics of the recent history of Great Zimbabwe that are relevant to my two case studies. Despite claims within the academy that Great Zimbabwe has been over-researched, this report demonstrates that there is still new information to come from the site when looked at again through a new lens (Matenga 2011: 28). I look at some aspects of the big picture of origin and early use generally sought about the site, but my current intellectual pursuit is informed by a landscape in which the questions of recent, unstable, contested and sometimes undocumented narratives are made possible in what I propose is a living site of memory. I look at Great Zimbabwe as a living site of memory engaging with its commemorative nature, its traumatic recent history and its identity as a place of collective shared knowledge which generates a sense of unity for the local communities (Winter 2010: 312).



Figure 2. Great Zimbabwe Site Map at the NMMZ official visitor entrance. 2014. © G.A.Massie

I shall look at the colonial and Zimbabwe state use of the site, its museumification and how these positions contrast with the local clans' claims to the land. In the opening quote to this chapter, VaMututucari, a respected elder of the Charumbira clan in the Great Zimbabwe locale, uses the metaphor of flies in the milk to describe how Great Zimbabwe has been polluted, desecrated and disempowered as a sacred site (Fontein 2006: 112). The scale of Great Zimbabwe, its mystery and magnetism continue to attract the attention of the Zimbabwe government, UNESCO, tourists and the academic community. This attention is possibly one of Great Zimbabwe's greatest burdens in the eyes of the traditional leaders who claim to be the rightful custodians of the site (Matenga 2011: 116). I brought these conflicting claims into this report because the sites that I investigate within Great Zimbabwe are where some of the complex contestations in Great Zimbabwe's recent history have played themselves out. To

bring forward the voice of the local clans, that become an important part of my analysis of the two case studies, I adopt Fontein's theory of traditional connoisseurs of the past, which I describe together with my main traditional connoisseur informant from the Mugabe clan, Samuel Haruzivishe (Fontein 2004 & 2006).

Great Zimbabwe as a living site of memory

Great Zimbabwe, in the eyes of traditional connoisseurs, whose narrative I draw on in this report, is a sacred site that clan and spiritual leaders lived on, as the custodians of the site until 1928 (Haruzivishe. pers. comm. 2015: 102). Parts of Great Zimbabwe, and in particular the locales in my case studies, were used, and to some extent are still used, by local clans for traditional ceremonies. Pierre Nora, in his seven-volume seminal *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (1984-92) lists numerous component parts of a 'site of memory' and the part that particularly supports Great Zimbabwe's status as a site of memory is its commemorative and evolving nature. Sites of memory are places where groups of people engage in public activity through which they express, as Jay Winter writes, 'a collective shared knowledge […] of the past, on which a group's sense of unity and individuality is based' (Winter 2010: 312). Many sites of memory are constructed to commemorate, physically and through ritual, historic moments of trauma and success. Great Zimbabwe and the sites examined in the case studies, became living sites of memory for the Mugabe and Nemanwa clans through their ceremonial use and, as this report will demonstrate, unifying narratives from shared knowledge of triumph and suffering.

The trauma is manifested in localised events that I detail in the case studies, and more widely in the appropriation of the site by colonisers and the authorities that ensued. Mark Freeman, when writing on memory, argues that history, memory, fictional stories and images interlink to produce a resulting narrative. Recall, from our personal past, becomes suffused with others' memories and this interweaving results in a spontaneous narrativisation (Freeman 2010: 263). I am aware of the potential for spontaneous interweaving of recall and memory as I consider Haruzivishe's narrative in my meetings with him but his accounts nonetheless add a new and valuable way of understanding living sites of memory within Great Zimbabwe.

Great Zimbabwe's recent history

There are numerous histories and claims to Great Zimbabwe and the presence of multiple explanations offered up as the truth is probably well illustrated through an experience I observed with a member of our research group on my second fieldtrip to Great Zimbabwe. New to the site, my colleague availed herself of one the texts in our field library to learn the theory of the origin of Great Zimbabwe. Convinced she now understood the origins and complexity of Great Zimbabwe from this single text, she began a conversation that was met with many contrasting theories from the FWG members. Rather disillusioned, she realised that there is not one true story of Great Zimbabwe, but many. As with many narratives surrounding world heritage sites that are also living landscapes, the differing claimants to the land and political nuances ascribed to it during the last century make Great Zimbabwe complex. These narratives have evolved from academics, archaeologists, ethnographers, amateurs, traditional connoisseurs, curators, political states and the tourism industry, all of whom have viewed Great Zimbabwe from their own perspectives, training, discipline and political agendas. It would be wrong to say, definitively, that any single narrative holds merit over another because arguments as to rights and use of Great Zimbabwe continue to this day. While partiality can be negative if it becomes biased and loses objectivity, I propose, in the next chapter, that the partiality of the contributors can be viewed as a positive. They add to the archive just as my own approach, that takes into account my own subjective position in a productive way, does as I make choices and focus on those aspects of Great Zimbabwe's recent history that I have considered relevant to the case studies.

Great Zimbabwe was established as a substantial urban centre where people lived, in certain social and economic complexity, under sacred leadership, from approximately 1200 to 1500 AD. The population began to decline during the 15th and 16th centuries. Although it became ruinous Great Zimbabwe was still used for particular purposes, such as its continued use as a controlled sacred site for the local communities until the arrival of the first European explorers in the late 1800s (see Mauch 1872; Hall 1905; and Posselt 1924). Before the arrival of the colonial authorities, the local clans competed for, and controlled access to, Great Zimbabwe and its use (Ndoro 2001: 82). Ndoro observes that these control processes were a form of heritage management that contributed to the preservation of many sacred sites associated with religious

practices which were protected by a series of taboos and restrictions (Ndoro 2001: 8).

The claims to Great Zimbabwe are further complicated by political state appropriation of the site, including that of the Republic of Rhodesia[4]. During the colonial and post-colonial periods, the iconography, artefacts and land were appropriated by the state. Great Zimbabwe icons appeared on currency and government emblems; for example, the Zimbabwe Bird incorporated into the Southern Rhodesia and subsequently Republic of Rhodesia coat of arms in Figure 3.



Figure 3. Southern Rhodesia/Republic of Rhodesia Coat of Arms (Courtesy of *States of the World*)

The plundering of Great Zimbabwe icons, most infamously the Zimbabwe Birds, began around 1889 and continued into the 1920s (Matenga 2011: 70-76). During the early Rhodesian occupation, the British South Africa Company commissioned a conservation report by F.E. Masey. The comprehensive report, *Zimbabwe: An Architect's Notes* (1911), included recommendations for general maintenance, the restoration of collapsed walls and actions to stem the rapid erosion of the Hill Top Complex's Western Enclosure. One of Masey's recommendations was the fencing of the Hill Top Complex to prevent cattle grazing and lighting of fires that may cause damage to the ruins (Ndoro 2001: 40, 41; Masey 1911). At this time the local communities were subjected to forced removal and the initial, partial fencing of the site around the Hill Top Complex was completed in 1923. Despite this action to prevent access and damage by local communities, Haruzivishe is adamant that his grandfather, the Mugabe Chief, continued to live on the Hill Top Complex, resisting any attempts to evict him, until his death and burial there in 1928 (Haruzivishe. pers. comm. 2015: 102).

In the early 1900s curators, administrators and archaeologists continued to dig, rebuild

[4] The Republic of Rhodesia was formed in 1965 by the predominantly white government through its Declaration of Independence from the British colonial authorities in an effort to prevent transition to black majority rule.

and interpret without meaningful consultation with local clan elders; Great Zimbabwe was becoming a well-researched site with politically motivated interpretation often denying indigenous construction (Kuklick 1991: 151, 152). The colonial desire over this site was so fervent that some sponsored scientific expeditions up to the late 1920s were persuaded to prove exotic origin to deny the possibility that the local indigenous people could have built such an impressive city (Matenga 2011: 124, 125). The early antiquarian plunderers and proponents of exotic origins included, Carl Mauch in 1871, Willie Posselt in 1889, Theodore Bent in 1896 and Richard Hall in 1902; with David Randal-MacIver, a professional archaeologist, being the first to firmly establish African origins in 1905. Rhodesian public opinion supported Hall and professional British archaeologists backed Randal-MacIver (Fontein 2006: 8). This Zimbabwe controversy, or as Paver would call it, 'a cavalcade of fact and fantasy', would continue unresolved up to Caton-Thompson's arrival in 1928 on a British funded exploratory mission (Caton-Thompson 1931; and Paver [1950] 1957: 197).

When Frobenius arrived on his 9th expedition, in 1928, Great Zimbabwe was easily accessible and tourists were regular visitors. Despite this apparent ease of access, Frobenius was prevented from obtaining a permit to dig on the site (Mason 1989: 112; Kuklick 1991: 151). This was a time of a German economic resurgence between the two World Wars and the rise of the Nazi party and, although Germany had exhausted its imperial initiatives, the sites visited by Frobenius on the 9th expedition were all subject to colonial rule and thus colonisers' systems. Archaeology played an important role in propaganda armoury at this time, as shown in Revil Mason's occasional paper which includes minutes of the Cape Town House of Assembly and British Association meetings in which Frobenius' abilities and his 9th expedition are debated in the South African context (Mason 1989: 93-105, 111-115). Despite the apparent opposition by local authorities to Frobenius' excavation of the Great Zimbabwe site, his team put together a comprehensive pictorial archive of the stone walled structures with some images published in *Erythräa: Lander und Zeiten des heiligen Königsmordes* (Frobenius 1931a: 14-19, 51).

The 'cavalcade of fact and fiction' that surrounded Great Zimbabwe at the time of Caton-Thompson and Frobenius expeditions is demonstrated in the film *The Riddle of Rhodesia* (1932)[5] (Paver [1950] 1957: 197). Made by Wardour Films, a production company in Johannesburg, the film appears to include scenes filmed both in studio as

[5] I was not able to find the film in archives in South Africa or Zimbabwe, but was able to view it at the British Film Institute in London.

well as at Great Zimbabwe. In the opening scene, the film contrasts the indigenous people (drum beating 'others') with the ringing of a church bell (a metaphor for the civilising missionary project) as the narrator, in a rather stentorian authoritative voice, says:

> Africa is still a land of mystery. Many of its people remain as primitive as when the white man first found them. The beat of the drum is still more penetrative than the ring of the mission church bell (*The Riddle of Rhodesia* 1932).

The film's narrative connects Great Zimbabwe to King Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, searches for exotic treasures, practices of human sacrifice, liminality and dreams. It also disparagingly refers to primitive 'natives' as it throws into doubt the indigenous origins of Great Zimbabwe by showing a picture of a Shona group in a homestead, similar to those I will discuss in my first case study, and states that the ruins' carved rocks were:

> designed to be worked into the great walls, which do not coincide with any African native Bantu art. If natives did design and construct these walls then they have lost the art for it seems inconceivable that the majority of them should live today in crude huts such as these (The Riddle of Rhodesia 1932).

I reference this film here as it demonstrates that, despite the findings confirming the indigenous origin of Great Zimbabwe emerging from Caton-Thompson's work at around the same time, the dominant western narrative that indigenous Africans did not have the skill to create such a site and were in some way foreigners to the site persevered. I read this film as perpetuating a narrative set on minimising the influence of the local clans, and denying their narratives and the ancestral lineage that connects them to Great Zimbabwe.



Figure 4. Advertisement for the Great Zimbabwe Ruins Hotel. Date estimated 1930's. Courtesy Zimbabwe Ruins and Other Ruins of Central Africa

The site became legally protected by the state in 1893 and, as a national park, the national monument became a tourist site with hotels, rest huts, campgrounds and a

golf course (Figure 4). It was through these developments that the process of desecration accelerated in the eyes of the clan elders. In the 1950s the entire park was fenced and the authorities imposed entry fees on visiting tourists. The effect of the fencing for the local community was that they were 'not only denied access to the cultural heritage site but also to the natural resources within the monument' (Ndoro 2001: 82). The fencing now controlled who could enter but, more worryingly for the local community elders, this control process allowed anyone to enter on the payment of a fee thus their behaviour was now governed by European museum standards instead of the traditional rituals and practices of the local communities (Fontein 2006: 106,107). On my fieldtrips, I observed that some fences are still present on the site but they are often torn down and only repaired when funding becomes available, indicating that the site is no longer as closed off to local communities but controlled in a more consultative and symbolic way. There are, however, still police officers and security services manning the official pedestrian gate from which a fence extends thirty metres west (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Commuter footpaths straddle the partial fencing at the NMMZ official entry point to the Great Zimbabwe site. 2014. © G.A.Massie

Despite the entrance control points, as Haruzivishe indicated in our meeting, people now enter the site from whichever direction they choose (Haruzivishe. pers. comm. 2015: 111,112). Entrants walk on the sacred land wearing shoes and the site, as we witnessed on our fieldtrips, is heavily laden with the discarded debris from passing tourists on their southern African whirlwind tours and school children on their outings. While entrance fees are charged, it became evident during my fieldtrips that the local clans are not subject to the fee system. The local communities appear to largely ignore the entrance fees as they use the site to commute to and from work and school, and on both of my visits, cattle entered and grazed freely amongst the valley ruins. This freedom of movement is in direct contrast with the pre-colonial control process where only those with the required permission, from the Mugabe chief or spiritual leader, were

allowed to enter at the Mujejeje (Haruzivishe. pers. comm. 2015: 111).

In April 1980, the new nation flag was raised over a country henceforth called Zimbabwe. The government began to appropriate Great Zimbabwe iconography in the form of the Conical Tower and Zimbabwe Birds in a demonstration of Africanness and greatness. The appropriated icons now appear on coats of arms, parastatal logos, visas, ZANU PF's logo[6] and, before its demise, the Zimbabwean dollar (Matenga 2011: 160). The Zimbabwe coat of arms shown in Figure 6 includes the Zimbabwe Bird and representations of Great Zimbabwe walled structures. Galas, sometimes resembling political rallies, have been held at the site and this appropriation by ZANU PF has run counter to the desires of the local elders (Fontein 2006: 221). A recent example is shown in Figure 7, which illustrates the use of the site for President Robert Mugabe's 2016 birthday celebrations.



Figure 6. Zimbabwe Coat of Arms (Courtesy Heraldry *of the World*).



Figure 7. Preparations ahead of President Mugabe's birthday celebrations in 2016. © M.E Sagiya

The National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) now control Great Zimbabwe, pursuing an agenda of curatorship, preservation and revenue generation

[6] ZANU PF (Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front) has been the majority elected party in Zimbabwe since independence in 1980.

under the Ministry of Home Affairs and empowered by the National Museum & Monuments Act Chapter 25: 11 (1976). The site was proclaimed a World Heritage Site in 1986 and Great Zimbabwe became governed by UNESCO convention. Edward Matenga writes that while the UNESCO listing of the site raised its international profile, it also had negative implications in the form of

> the statement of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), which is the badge of world heritage status, singles out architectural merit, and does not seem to acknowledge the critical issue of religious function and meaning in the lives of communities. The criteria of OUV betray UNESCO's worldview, in this particular instance it demeans living traditions and reinforces the prevailing Eurocentric standards based on monumentality and aesthetics (Matenga 2011: 113).

Although the terms of international heritage policies have developed to include a new category of cultural landscapes, and notions of intangible heritage have been incorporated into legislation, the UNESCO status of Great Zimbabwe has, through the fencing and conditions of use, continued the alienation of the local clans. It is, however, considerably less of a monument-type museum than it was in the past, with some uncontrolled access and condoned use by the local communities of the site. This process of museumification becomes problematic as Barbara Bender noted when writing about Stonehenge:

> More often than not, those involved in the conservation, preservation and mummification of the landscape create normative landscapes as though there was only one way of telling and experiencing it. They attempt to freeze the landscape as a palimpsest of past activity. But, of course, the very act of freezing is itself a way of appropriating the land. For the heritage people freezing time and space allows the landscapes or monuments in it to be packaged, presented and turned into museum exhibits (Bender 1998: 26).

Matenga's leadership (1994-2004) introduced a policy of consultation and bridge mending between the NMMZ and local communities. This is evidenced by the good-natured dialogue and respectful relationship between Haruzivishe, Matenga and Sagiya in the transcript in Appendix 4 and in the NMMZ handling of the desecrated Chisikana Spring, to which I return in my second case study.

Traditional connoisseurs of Great Zimbabwe

When writing about traditional connoisseurs of the past, Fontein argues that they have been silenced deliberately by academics. He argues that scientific writers viewed Great Zimbabwe's early twentieth-century occupants as latecomers, therefore of little relevance to the discourse, and that these writers were biased against the validity of

local oral history (Fontein 2006: 13, 16). The oral history of Great Zimbabwe has however been recognised and debated by researchers dating as far back as Karl Mauch in 1872 and, more recently for example, by Thomas Huffman and David Beach (see Beach 1998; Burke 1969; Huffman 2014). Although early explorers to Great Zimbabwe discussed the local inhabitants (for example, see Hall 1905) there was very little academic study of these clans, and their claims[7]. It is only in the last 20 years that writers such as Fontein (2004 & 2006), Matenga (1997, 2000 & 2011) and Ndoro (2001) have documented the Great Zimbabwe recent history, as told by local clan elders, chiefs and spiritual leaders who can, as Fontein argues, be recognised as traditional connoisseurs of the past (Fontein 2004: 7). They are the clans' holders of the local history and tradition whose derived authority is connected to ancestral lineage and the guardianship of Great Zimbabwe. Recent history may not have necessarily been the area of an archaeologist's specialisation or research interest but it is of central relevance to my two case studies. This project has provided an opportunity to bring forward the voice of one traditional connoisseur, Samuel Haruzivishe, whose informative and authoritative contribution to the two case studies provides a new way of seeing the detail I identify in the Frobenius photographs.

To hold the authority of a traditional connoisseur it is important to establish links to clan leadership and the clan's rights to the land, traditions and history (Fontein 2004: 16). A traditional connoisseur's authority is also gained from local customary practice and knowledge, as argued by Ambuya VaZarira, a spirit medium or *masvikiro*, in an interview with Fontein:

> If they come and say, "you know nothing", when we know our soil, myself, Zarira, I will tell them, those in office, and say "You are learned and educated in your universities, Zarira has the university of the soil. You have got your own lawyers, but Zarira's lawyer is the soil" He is a big lawyer, this one! Ambuya VaZarira laughs as she indicates the soil (Interview with Ambuya VaZarira in Fontein 2004: 6).

Members of a clan are also able to establish their authority and support from the local community because of their ancestry as they have:

> right of their position as autochthonous owners of the land and access to a body of knowledge which derives from their position as living representatives

[7] Some archaeologists' work provided the material for use in this report - as seen in Frobenius' scientific photographs that I have to work with today - and have enabled me to approach this site in ways unrealised up to now. Even though Frobenius may not have engaged directly with the local community at Great Zimbabwe, he was very much involved in collecting evidence of living culture and oral histories elsewhere (Dinslage 2009: i. 11).

> of the ancestors (Alexander 1990: 2).

Haruzivishe is the custodian of Mugabe clan tradition and history, which is passed on by ancestors verbally from memory. In my interviews with Haruzivishe, he established this provenance, through his ancestral connection to Great Zimbabwe, clearly and forcefully. His grandfather, crowned Chief Mugabe in 1895, was the last chief to live on the Hill Top Complex and was buried there in 1928 (Haruzivishe pers.comm. 2015: 103,104). Haruzivishe was born in 1928 at a homestead adjacent to the stonewalled structures of Great Zimbabwe, a protected heritage site from which all occupants have been removed. His immediate family was removed from the site when the Park Warden pursued the program of forced removals and the fencing off of the site (Haruzivishe pers.comm. 2015: 107). Haruzivishe was educated at the Morgenster Mission, became a school teacher, qualified as a nurse in Harare, rose to the rank of sergeant major in the British South African Police and finally settled back in the Mugabe Village from which 'no one will evict me anymore' (Haruzivishe, pers.comm. 2015: 115-117)[8].

Traditional connoisseur authority can also be derived from structural factors such as the political state recognising village heads and chiefs (Fontein 2004: 16). In our interviews, Haruzivishe ensured we understood a recently identified bureaucratic bungling at the district commissioner's office. They had failed to recognise the current Mugabe Village and Haruzivishe's position as Chief, which is now rectified (Haruzivishe, pers.comm. 2015: 101).

Traditional connoisseurs are knowledgeable about a clan's past and the tradition, *chikaranga* (Fontein 2004: 7). Their histories are not uniform as they become imbued with nuanced and biased telling of rituals, rights and local history informed by their clans' rival claims to the rights and custodianship of Great Zimbabwe as I will show in the detail of the case studies. Haruzivishe welcomed us into his narrative through a process of group clapping. Once he had established the legitimacy of his narrative as a traditional connoisseur; he enthusiastically shared stories, from his perspective, in response to questions about many parts of the site. His two-and-a-half hours of narration seemed influenced by his political perspective and his quest to be recognised as the rightful custodian of Great Zimbabwe, as shown in this excerpt from the interview when he is discussing the cultural village built on Great Zimbabwe as a commercial tourist attraction:

> As you know the village should have a resident elder, but this village contradicts with other villages. Because this village was for the chief who was looking after

[8] See annotated Google Map in Appendix 4.

> the ruins. So that chief, no one doubts who he is – he is just Chief Mugabe. Other issues that people talk for example, that the ruins belong to the Manwa or Charumbira, and those are greedy people who just want to be associated with this great place (Haruzivishe pers. comm. 2015: 101).

Fontein finds, in his interviews with traditional connoisseurs, that a certain agency is exerted to adapt oral history to suit needs:

> Within the limits of certain fixed markers – like the names of certain people and places, as well as ancestors, totems and praise names, and well known stories about past events – individuals are sometimes able to exert a high level of agency to renegotiate and manipulate stories according to their collective, and individual interests. Their authority within their own communities, clans and beyond, depends on their kinship and descent ties, their status and age, their political allegiances, and their reputation as knowledgeable of the tradition or *chikaranga.* Perhaps most of all, it depends on their ability to perform adequately within their roles (Fontein 2004: 6).



Figure 8. Sekuru Samuel Haruzivishe addresses the FWG on 25th November 2015. © G.A.Massie

Prior to the arrival of the first explorers and colonial appropriation three clans, the Charumbira, Nemanwa and Mugabe, contested the rights to the custodianship of Great Zimbabwe. Oral history and the writings of early explorers indicate that these clans waged war over the land but the territorial disputes and bloody conflicts were, in Matenga's view, more about the right to the sacred site of Great Zimbabwe than about the land itself when he writes:

> The renowned historian R. G. Mutetwa [sic] thought the standoff was over land (Mtetwa 1976: 187), a view that was also shared by the Rhodesian Administrator Sir John Willoughby in 1892 (Willoughby 1893:6). In my view, the dispute was not about land *per se*; the real cause of conflict was control of Great Zimbabwe which further attests to the importance of the site as a shrine and the objects found there (Matenga 2011: 128–129).

The Mugabe clan legitimise their claims that Great Zimbabwe is theirs to control and

use for sacred rituals by claiming to be the last occupants of Great Zimbabwe and stating that their ancestors are buried on the Hill Top Complex (Haruzivishe. pers. comm. 2015: 103,104). The Nemanwa clan, having absorbed the Charumbira into their ranks through a power struggle, claim that their genesis was on the Great Zimbabwe site and therefore, like the Mugabe clan, they claim it is theirs (Matenga 2011: 63).

Haruzivishe was keen to spar verbally with Matenga, Sagiya and the FWG, whose narratives and versions of history were at least partially at odds with his own. Although interacting with good grace and humour, he was adamant that his oral history, passed down through generations, provides the true narrative of Great Zimbabwe. It also provides the foundation for the claims that his clan is the single true spiritual custodian of Great Zimbabwe, from which they are still excluded.

The Mugabe and Nemanwa local connoisseurs add to the mystery of Great Zimbabwe by claiming to be holding back certain secrets. In their interviews with Fontein, Chief Nemanwa and Aiden Nemanwa (the Nemanwa clan spokesman) refer to their inability to relate all stories until such time as the suspension of the sacredness of the land has been lifted in response to the spirits' authority being respected once again (Fontein 2006: 176). Just as I sensed in conversation with Haruzivishe, there is a suggestion that if the clans' authority is recognised and the Great Zimbabwe site is handed back to them to manage, they will tell all. I do not suggest that there is one single truth to the story of Great Zimbabwe but the local elders seem to be offering that the secrets of Great Zimbabwe would finally be revealed to the foreign enquirers, who have longed to know the origins since the 19th century, in return for the site being returned to the local clans. It is almost as if they believe that their knowledge may hold some currency in bartering for the custodianship of Great Zimbabwe.

I have contextualised Great Zimbabwe in this chapter with information that provides an understanding of the recent history of the site and a way of reading this living site of memory. The complexity of claims and narratives in its recent history demonstrate the contested nature of Great Zimbabwe and, while in introducing traditional connoisseurs (in particular Haruzivishe) I have added to the complexity, I have added another way of looking at the site and thus of augmenting the archive. It is this topic of new ways of seeing that I turn to in the next chapter where I argue that new ways of seeing are valuable tools to uncover hidden information.

Chapter 2: Re-looking, re-seeing, re-making and replenishing

> Yet both – biography and archive – are open to the order of the imagination. They turn us towards life. Imagination can keep excising the archive, replenishing it with things that were not there at the beginning (Nuttall 2002: 299).

Throughout this report I am arguing that by re-looking, re-making and re-seeing, the contemporary researcher can add new information to the archive. In the previous chapter I contextualised Great Zimbabwe as a living site of memory and examined its variable, contested and largely undocumented recent history which provides new ways of seeing the site. In this chapter, I develop the concept of refiguring and replenishing the archive as I track the Frobenius Institute pictorial archive from Leo Frobenius' 9th expedition insofar as it relates to my case studies. The Nuttall quote that opens this chapter refers to replenishing the archive with information which is not there to begin with. I argue that it is precisely this that my case studies do for the Frobenius, FWG[9] and Great Zimbabwe[10] archives. In order to achieve this, my methodological approach includes the exercising of my imagination. The detail of this emerges in the presentation of the case studies but an example would be how, through close examination of a high-resolution digital file of an almost ninety-year-old photograph, I identified distant obscure details that I developed into significant findings. This was my first cognisant journey down this path and I was faced with a vast unknown. Art historian Martin Kemp writes about how, when faced with the unknown, the process of visual intuition is triggered:

> I have a powerful sense that effective art and science both begin at the points where knowledge breaks down. Visual intuitions are one of the most potent tools we possess for feeling our way into the unknown (Kemp 2006: 330).

Following Kemp's reference to visual intuitions, I suggest that it is through the use of imagination, re-seeing and the making of objects that I have developed new understandings of Great Zimbabwe.

I am re-looking at material produced in recent history but I think it is useful to look at the process of knowledge-making as a dialectical relationship across time and place

[9] The FWG has a growing archive of documents and photographs that are adding to the understanding of the 9th expedition and the more recent history of the places visited.
[10] The Great Zimbabwe archive I refer to is the academic archive in general and, more specifically, the archive at the NMMZ administration offices adjacent to the Great Zimbabwe stonewalled site which contains artefacts, historical park administration documents, maps and photographs.

bringing renewed and contemporary significance as proposed in this extended quote from *Life of Bone*:

> What this line of thinking does is negate the one-way street or linear process of knowledge construction. In showing how the present shapes the past as much as the past shapes the present, it dispels any notions of a static past, and shows how a dialectical relationship across time and place brings renewed and contemporary significance to things from the recent or ancient past. One of the aims of *Life of Bone* is to re-see, in a sense, the Taung fossil, and by extension other palaeontological and historical material in terms of the present. How do the visual and textual responses to issues arising from the material presence of these fossils prompt a re-seeing of the past and of the present? How is it useful to think about what bones do and do not tell us? (Brenner et al 2011: 11)

If we replace bones in this quote with the Great Zimbabwe structures and related Frobenius photographs, we can start to see how early 20th century archaeological photography and the FWG repeat photography of the site inform my reading of Great Zimbabwe. By identifying, in the present, new details in the Frobenius photographs, I develop my understanding of what existed in 1928 beyond the initial *spectrum* of the Frobenius pictorial archive. I also use this new information to understand present day Great Zimbabwe as it informs my investigation into its current contested landscape through which I produce more new material.

In my process of using records, originally intended for scientific archaeological purposes, to make new photographs and to investigate the recent history, narratives and current politics of Great Zimbabwe, I am crossing over the boundaries of archaeological science and humanities-orientated practices. This multi-disciplinary approach is an outcome, I suggest, which Horst Bredenkamp contemplates when he writes that:

> [a]s soon as natural objects are seized by humans they cross boundaries in the zone that separates natural images from works of art (Bredekamp 2005: 11, in Moxey 2013: 65).

My two case studies demonstrate this crossing of established boundaries but also, as the surface images of the Frobenius photographs become my natural objects, my creative engagement with them becomes the work of art.

In re-looking at the Frobenius pictorial archive I consider the positive benefits of the researcher's partiality and how this adds to the archive as it is through my personal interest and readings of historic photographs that I have generated new information. My personal reaction to the Frobenius pictorial archive resonates with the personal consciousness approach in Roland Barthes' *Camera Lucida* ([1981] 2000) so I present

an examination of the relevant aspects of his seminal book. Finally I discuss the repeat photography process as a way of re-making that is a core part of my methodological approach in examining and replenishing the archive.

Leo Frobenius' 9th Expedition and the Frobenius Institute Pictorial Archive

Leo Frobenius, born in 1873 in Berlin, was a German self-educated ethnographer, anthropologist, archaeologist, historian and collector (Wintjes 2013: 167). He undertook 12 expeditions across Africa between 1904 and 1935, producing an archive – now housed at the Frobenius Institute in Frankfurt – of 100,000 photographs, drawings, documents and maps. Frobenius was captivated by Africa and its potential to help develop his theories of connectedness, cultural diffusion, deep human history and continuity (Wintjes 2013: 167). His 9th expedition in 1928-1930 had four primary objectives, one of which was '[t]he [study of the] development of excavations of the ancient so-called *Zimbabwe* ruins'. This would have referred to *dzimbahwe*-type (Zimbabwe Tradition) ruins, collectively including Great Zimbabwe which he visited with his team more than once during the expedition[11] (Wintjes 2013: 167). His activities and theories, however, were not readily accepted by the academy during his lifetime (Wintjes 2013: 168). In addition to the formation of his archive, Frobenius produced two publications in the year following the 9th expedition's return to Germany (Frobenius 1931a & 1931b).

I first engaged with the Frobenius Institute pictorial archive when Justine Wintjes presented me with it in preparation for a fieldtrip to Great Zimbabwe. This was part of an African Art History course on which I began the process of repeat photography and investigating the layers of meaning within the photographs. I became more interested when, having started work on my research report proposal, I joined the FWG, a group of postgraduate students led by Wintjes with interests in the Frobenius archive and research questions connected to the 9th Frobenius expedition. The original materials may have been collected by Frobenius to support his research interests at the time but the FWG have now redeployed them for different purposes and in other contexts just as is anticipated in the opening quote of the introduction of this report (Smiles & Moser 2005:6). Averaging six scholars at any one time, the group's collective research interests include rock art sites, expedition travel patterns, ethnography and Great

[11] The photographs do not have specific dates. The FWG are still deciphering the field diaries and itinerary details so it is still unclear exactly when the photographs were taken during the expedition. My reference to Frobenius' visits to Great Zimbabwe visits can be read to be during 1928-1930.

Zimbabwe. The FWG work contributes to histories of research, creates site-specific archives, digitally reconstructs sites from the archive, and examines the archive for invisibilities and omissions; and in doing so replenishes the archive with new information. Additionally all the individual FWG projects have notions of revisiting, repetition and re-enactment in common. The FWG meets regularly in Johannesburg to share knowledge, discuss research progress and generate questions. Four members of the team (Janus Boshoff, Laura de Harde, Justine Wintjes, and myself) took part in the November 2015 Great Zimbabwe fieldtrip and contributed to the re-seeing and re-making of photographs from the Frobenius pictorial archive through the repeat photography process I return to later in this chapter. Prior to the digitisation process at the Frobenius Institute, and the work commenced by Wintjes, there was little research on the Frobenius archive in a southern African context but it is the glue that holds this and the other FWG projects together. It is now that the FWG research work is developing, together with the Frobenius Institute endeavours to make the primary data accessible online, that the value of his archive to the 21st century researcher can be examined and realised.



Figure 9. Frobenius Institute catalogue. Expedition IX. Süd-Afrika. Band 4 and 5. Süd-Rhodesian, Ruinen I and II. 2016. © J.Wintjes

The Frobenius photographs that I examined are kept in an exemplar catalogue (*Expedition IX Süd-Afrika Band 4 Süd- Rhodesien, Ruinen 1*) at the Frobenius Institute archive in Frankfurt and available digitally in low resolution[12] (Figures 9 & 10). The catalogue is in good condition and was part of a reconstruction following partial destruction of the Frobenius Institute during a World War II allied bombing raid over Frankfurt (Steigerwald pers. comm. 2015). There are 11 albums relevant to the southern African expedition; the one I am interested in contains the work done by the Frobenius team on their two visits to Great Zimbabwe. I became interested in the

[12] http://bildarchiv.frobenius-katalog.de/start.fau?prj=isbild_en

photographs through these albums, because they suggested something of a context in which Great Zimbabwe could be viewed rather than being isolated frames of a complex and contested site that I described in the previous chapter. The prints are small and appear to have been prepared without good photographic technique. The Frobenius Institute provided me, under contract, with high-resolution digital scans of the negatives that show much more detail than the small photo-album prints. The great difference in detail between the photo-album prints and the high-resolution digital files, together with my close examination, resulted in the identification of details that would not have been easily identifiable on site as they were not as readily discernible in low-resolution field images.



Figure 10. Cabinet in the Frobenius Institute archive including the Southern African expedition photo-albums. 2016. ©J. Wintjes

Archival Partiality

In looking at the Frobenius pictorial archive and my work I argue that there is an inescapable partiality in archival and research practice that can be used positively as proposed by Velios, the principle researcher for *Archive as Event* (Ligatus 2015*).* When arguing for new forms of creative archiving based on modern technology and knowledge, Velios accepts the partiality of archives and archivists. Instead of trying to fight it he proposes a way in which partiality can be turned to an advantage. By accepting partiality and reading it as one, incomplete, version of the truth, the knowledge contributes to other narratives, developing the richness and potential of the archive (Velios 2011: 260). Partiality allows new methodologies, technologies and approaches that can have positive results as shown in the previous chapter and the case studies with the introduction of Haruzivishe narratives and those of other

traditional connoisseurs. These narratives bring new understandings to the archive that – despite their partiality – enrich it. Reinterpreting traditionally scientific archival objects, such as archaeological photographs, through a new humanities-orientated lens, removes some barriers and opens the way for exploration of the possibilities of the archive. I do this by applying my own reading of *studium* and *punctum* to the Frobenius photographs and making my selections. This personal approach is in Barthes' *Camera Lucida* ([1981] 2000) where he declares that, in order to do justice to his analysis, 'it was necessary to take a look at myself', a sentiment that also applies to my methodological approach within this research project (Barthes [1981] 2000: 18). I am a mature student, amateur photographer, outsider to Great Zimbabwe, and Africa more widely, and, having accidently fallen into this project, I am examining aspects of Great Zimbabwe to develop new information. In carrying out my work, I am conscious of my alien position and throughout my research have questioned my right to interpret the recent history and current meaning of an African sacred site. I also carry an awareness of the situatedness of different truths in my arguments and in my work's contribution to the archive. Conscious of this partiality, I now turn to examine aspects of *Camera Lucida* ([1981] 2000) that resonate with my decision-making processes in this project.

Barthes' *Camera Lucida* ([1981] 2000)

In *Camera Lucida* ([1981] 2000), Barthes signals his intent to embrace feelings in saying 'I have determined to be guided by the consciousness of my feelings'; he does not try to mask his sentiment and conform to the conventions of the academy of which he was a senior member (Barthes [1981] 2000: 10). When engaging with the Frobenius pictorial archive, I had an emotional reaction to the photographs and to the potential to add new information through deeper engagement and examination. It was difficult for me to understand and define this reaction until I became familiar with Barthes' *Camera Lucida* ([1981] 2000). I have included my reading of *studium* and *punctum* and how Barthes' personal consciousness approach applies to the two case studies within which I extend the notion of *punctum* to reach beyond what is immediately visible in the photograph to include what is experienced in the act of re-taking a photograph.

I see *studium* as the deliberate and intended *spectrum* of a photograph. It is what the photographer intended when deciding on the referent, selecting the vantage point and framing the photograph (Barthes [1981] 2000: 27,28) *Studium* has an interest, an average effect, that the spectator meets with general enthusiastic commitment, but without acuity. The spectator does not love the *studium;* it does not excite or become

memorable (Barthes [1981] 2000: 26, 40-42). The Frobenius photographs of Great Zimbabwe are striking visual documents taken in a process of site documentation and data gathering rather than having been made as 'art' photographs. They include iconic stonewalled features of Great Zimbabwe, ruins, large boulders, vegetation, wide-angle shots of the valley and the Hill Top Complex. These features are *studium* to me as they are the intention of the Frobenius documentation process and there is nothing, on first examination, which triggers a lasting excitement or memory.

The same photographic spectrum in the Frobenius photographs could be *punctum* to spectators with different interests, as *punctum* is a personal reaction. *Punctum* is an engagement typified by I see, I feel, hence I notice, I observe, I think, which in turn can delight and produces 'the pressure of the unspeakable that wants to be spoken' (Barthes [1981] 2000: 9, 21). This physical experience excites the spectator and stimulates advenience, the adventuresome adding of a new perspective to the whole (Barthes [1981] 2000: 23, 27). While *studium* encompasses the intended *spectrum,* the copresent discontinuous *punctum* is the photographer's accident or unintended referent. It can also be a subtle beyond, which the spectator adds to what is already there (Barthes [1981] 2000: 55,59).

Punctum, for me, goes further than the definition offered by Barthes. While Barthes looks to an accidental inclusion that stimulates the personal reactions, I also look to an accidental, or deliberate absence. This is not always a clearly definable occurrence. For example, in my first case study there is an accidental inclusion in the distant valley that is the *punctum* for me. The detail of the accidental inclusion, however, is seemingly absent from Great Zimbabwe narratives and documentation. This absence excites me and I am stimulated to find out more. It does not matter if the absence is deliberate or accidental; it is the undocumented status of this detail that is my extended *punctum*. In the second case study, the *punctum* is not an accidental inclusion in the *spectrum,* it is an omission that I find in my examination of the context of the photograph that becomes an extension of my *punctum*. In both case studies the absent or omitted are an extension of the Barthes *punctum*, as they provide scope for the uncovering of new information in my process of examining and repeating the Frobenius photographs – in other words, the act of re-making and creating.

I worked on a large pictorial set from the Frobenius archive that I reduced to a repeat photography selection of less than 20 photographs and my two case studies are focussed on a total of three photographs. In addition to the emotional reaction and the

extended *punctum*, I selected these three photographs for their argumentative value as they support my argument regarding the significant benefits of re-looking and re-making. Barthes too selected photographs in *Camera Lucida* ([1981] 2000) for their supportive role in his arguments, as he stated in an interview:

> The photographs I chose have an argumentative value. They are the ones I use in my text to make certain points (Batchen 2009: 11).

My selection process echoes my earlier argument of the positive value of partiality as it reinforces the theoretical arguments through the concrete findings presented in the two case studies. There are undoubtedly other ways to identify the extended *punctum* and other archives to which the process could be applied but it is to my successful Frobenius repeat photography process that I now turn.

Repeat photography process



Figure 11. Repeat photography set up. 2015. © G.A.Massie

I consider repeat photography to be a form of re-making and re-seeing. Re-photographing a referent helps me to interrogate it deeply and to see things which may not have been apparent on my first glance, or when Frobenius' team photographed at Great Zimbabwe. In my two case studies, the repeat photography process contributed to the disinterring of images from the Frobenius pictorial archive, their re-examination and to the gathering of new information. Although repeat photography is an established methodology that has proven to be valuable and reliable for evaluating changes in the landscape, my process has gone beyond that as I use it to identify previously unrecognised details in the field (Cliff White 2007: 312). The field, when considered in this context, is made up of many sites and activities. The Frobenius Institute archive holding the photographs in 2016, the digital catalogues publicly available, desktop

folders, the Great Zimbabwe site and my own field experiences all form part of the field which I think of in terms of a habitus, ‘a cluster of embodied dispositions and practices’ (Clifford 1997: 69).

Repeat photography, in my practice, is reshooting an archival photograph from the same, or similar, vantage point. This provides a valuable and reliable technique for evaluating changes to the referent between the times the photographs were taken. I have extended my repeat photography process to include contextual photography, recording the vantage point and the areas surrounding it, in order to capture the field context of the referent. This process enables the spectator to have an appreciation of the landscape in which the referent resides and often a fresh perspective on the assumed or preconceived context. Through my combined photographic processes I developed the extended *punctum* that I examine in the case studies. Each case study merits its own chapter in this report, in view of my significant findings, but first I will describe my process, which I see as that of re-making and re-seeing.

I visited the Great Zimbabwe site for a week in 2014 for the fieldtrip segment of an African Art History course and for ten days in 2015 for my Frobenius-related project. For some months in advance of travel, the FWG had the benefit of being able to conduct extensive research and preparation through the immediate desktop availability of digital information. This extended the amount of research we could achieve on site as we were able to locate referent sites in advance and plan our shoots efficiently. I expanded my original selection of images for repeat photography to incorporate the wider FWG research questions and the results are summarised in Appendix 1 along with high level details and information for future research projects.



Figure 12. Lining up a repeat photograph. 2015. © FWG

The FWG took a collective decision to use a camera, for the repeat photographs, that approximated the equipment used in by the Frobenius team. Through this strategy we sought to get similar photographic results and to experience some of the photographic challenges that may have presented themselves to Frobenius team at Great Zimbabwe. This choice of labour-intensive manual equipment had an unexpected benefit in that it helped us to slow down our process and immerse ourselves in the referent and context. The camera, a Thornton-Pickard Triple Imperial Extension, demanded considerable manual intervention with each shot taking an hour on average[13]. This was probably longer than it took the Frobenius photographers because of the time it took the FWG to line up the shot to get as close as possible to the original photograph. One member of the FWG held the viewfinder in place, one rotated the camera on its two axes and one viewed the field image print and directed the framing. Once the image was stabilised we manually focussed it and all team members checked it for sharpness. We took light meter readings, selected, aperture and shutter speeds and then took three shots on ISO400 and two on ISO100. All shots, direction, GPS coordinates, light readings and settings were manually recorded in a notebook.

The multiple exposures were required as back-up to the high risk of failure from the manual processes. For instance, the shutter speed was achieved through my sunhat or a lens cap replacing a shutter. Exposure in this process was counted out loud for the number of seconds required. As we rotated roles, there was a variance in timing. We benefited from the latitude that film allows, in that it allows for wide ranges of under- and over-exposure with the ability to still produce a good print. We checked our results each day in the developing lab we had set up on site for this purpose.

Miriam Davis's biography of Dame Kathleen Kenyon (one of Caton-Thompson's assistants, working at the site almost contemporaneously to the Frobenius expedition) describes the field photographic development challenges that prompted her determination to produce satisfactory results at Great Zimbabwe. Davis states that Caton-Thompson was impressed with Kenyon's photographic ability and determination in less than favourable conditions. Using the field laboratory, which I discuss in Chapter 3, Kenyon's negatives came out well. Despite having sourced good quality printing paper, Kenyon grew frustrated by her inability to produce acceptable prints (Davis 2008: 36). There is no evidence either way that Frobenius would have developed images using his own field laboratory on Great Zimbabwe or used Caton-

[13] We were fortunate to have Janus Boshoff in the FWG as he provided access to vintage photographic equipment and the technical skills required to operate it.

Thompson's facilities. I imagine his brief visits, unlike Caton-Thompson's extended stay, would not justify establishing a laboratory. It is probable that developing facilities would at least be available in commercial photo laboratories in Mutare and Salisbury [Harare] or at Frobenius' Pretoria or Cape Town bases.

To repeat photographs with high levels of visual accuracy is challenging because of the variety and instability of factors involved; for example, time of day, season, vegetation, film quality, lens, tripod height and change to ground levels. Although some archival photographs and negatives from the 9th Frobenius expedition give us some idea of the equipment available to the Frobenius team at the time, we did not know the exact photographic equipment used resulting in our approach and technology being approximative. A major contributor to the variables was the veld fire around the Great Zimbabwe structures three weeks before our arrival on the 2015 trip. While on first consideration we felt it may hamper our fieldwork, the fire proved to be of considerable benefit. The reduction of some vegetation to ash had opened the landscape to further identification of details that would have proved difficult to see with full vegetation. The analysis of the photographs in the case studies show field variables demonstrating that my repeat photography process approximates the original *spectrum*, capturing the quintessence of the space while providing meaningful research material and valuable time to re-look and re-see.



Figure 13. Context shot FWG repeat photography at Diana's Vow. 2015. © FWG

While the FWG shot the repeat photographs, a team member, often de Harde, photographed the process and the context from the referent to the vantage point and at all angles from the vantage point. These context shots, which I have submitted to the FWG archive, provide information on details outside the frame of the original photographs.

On our return to Johannesburg, the dark room process was done at the Alternative Print Workshop, a photographic laboratory run by print masters Denis da Silva and Janus Boshoff who develop, use and teach historical photographic processes. We included their input in selecting appropriate equipment, safe transport of the photographic process and in setting up the field lab. Despite our establishing in the field that we had workable negatives, the equipment's limitations and faults required intensive darkroom processing to achieve exhibition quality prints as shown in Figure 14.

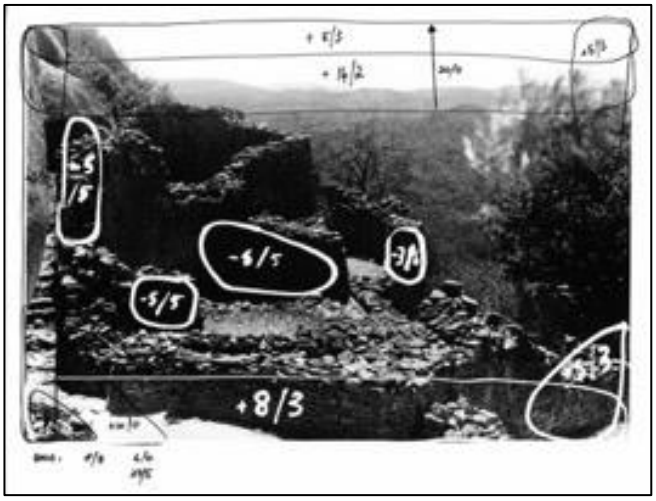


Figure 14. Repeat photograph of FoA-9-11561. Print process. 2015. © FWG

In this chapter I have examined methods of uncovering new information for the archive through re-looking, re-seeing and re-making. This process involves using materials in an essentially different way from which they were first proposed and accepting new partial voices as valuable contributions to opening a way into archaeological photographs. Using my repeat photography process and accompanying practice of close looking, I have opened the way for a research process that incorporates other sources but is tightly guided by the content and context of the original photograph. In the next two chapters, I turn to the case studies and examine three photographs that were originally intended to document an archaeological site. I uncover a new locale and new narratives of the recent history and contested nature of Great Zimbabwe by re-looking at them and applying the methods outlined above. The Frobenius photographs, used in this way, provide new ways of understanding Great Zimbabwe both when the photographs were first taken as well as today by making things visible that may have been hidden originally.

Chapter 3: Re-seeing the Mujejeje and Mujejeje Village

> But what I know is that Mujejeje was like a door or an entrance to the ruins. All the people visiting the ruins were not entering the site on whichever side, but they would come through the Mujejeje, then they would be welcomed. Those who were not welcomed would be turned down (Haruzivishe. pers. comm. 2015: 111).



Figure 15. View *from the Hill Top Complex over the Recess Enclosure into the Great Zimbabwe Valley* Image FoA-9-11561. 1928-1930. © Frobenius Institute

In the previous chapter, I argued that, by re-looking, re-making and re-seeing, the contemporary researcher can add new information to the archive. In this first case study, I develop the argument as I track my investigations into Frobenius photograph FoA-9-11561[14], *View from the Hill Top Complex over the Recess Enclosure into the Great Zimbabwe Valley,* identifying an otherwise undocumented village in the eastern section of the Great Zimbabwe valley. By undocumented I mean that the village's existence was met with surprise by traditional connoisseurs, NMMZ Great Zimbabwe curators and academics with knowledge of the Great Zimbabwe site, including my supervisors. Although the village excited and surprised us, it existed as a concrete reality for those that lived in it and would, from its prominent position on a low granite outcrop near to the Hill Top Complex, have been clearly evident to travellers that passed through the Mujejeje on entry to or exit from Great Zimbabwe over a protracted period of time, which would have also been the case at the time when the Frobenius photograph was taken. In the opening quote to this chapter, Haruzivishe lays the foundation with the FWG that the village is the Mujejeje gatekeeper's homestead,

[14] Frobenius Institute Catalogue *Expedition IX Süd-Afrika Band 4 Süd- Rhodesian, Ruinen 1* page 209

controlled by a member of his clan, the Mugabe. In this chapter, I present an analysis of photograph FoA-9-11561, describe the Mujejeje and the local clans' traditions surrounding this sacred entrance to the Great Zimbabwe site. I also investigate the multiple reasons given for the village's origin. All of these examinations provide new information that has arisen from new ways of looking, seeing and making. I would, however, like to acknowledge a liberty taken with the name of the village. It is not my right to name a village in the Great Zimbabwe valley but for the purposes of this project, I have called it the Mujejeje Village because of its proximity to the Mujejeje and informed speculation surrounding the village's purpose.



Figure 16. Mujejeje Village foundations facing west to the Hill Top Complex. 2015. © G.A.Massie

Photograph analysis

I first became aware of the existence of the village when, in advance of the fieldtrip to Great Zimbabwe in November 2015, I selected the photographs from the Frobenius pictorial archive shown in Appendix 1, as the foundation of a repeat photography project. In the process of examining the images in detail, I identified a number of interesting subjects for further research. One such image was FoA-9-11561, *View from the Hill Top Complex over the Recess Enclosure into the Great Zimbabwe Valley* (Figure 15). This photograph provides an east-facing view from the Hill Top Complex, referred to as the Acropolis[15] in past interpretations, such as the maps from Hall and

[15] Nomenclature has changed often at Great Zimbabwe and is influenced by successive writers or curators as well as the time in which the naming took place. The Hill Top Complex is often referred to as the Acropolis in earlier sources as shown by this quote from Summers and Caton-Thompson's map (Caton-Thompson 1931: insert between pages 14 and 15)

Caton-Thompson shown in Appendix 2 (Hall 1905: insert between pages 8 & 9; Caton-Thompson 1931: insert between pages 14 and 15). Rubble from collapsed walls lies scattered over the ground in the frame's foreground. On the right of the foreground there is some vegetation penetrating the frame. On the left there is a large boulder that, like many boulders on the Hill Top Complex, forms part of the walling and foundations for erected structures. There are built-up walls in the middle of the frame that include the Recess Enclosure, an often re-interpreted and unresolved structure that I imagine is the focal point of the photograph. It appears three times in the Frobenius catalogue and is described by Rob Burrett and Paul Hubbard in the following way:

> The so-called Recess Enclosure has a number of vertical grooves in its walls and it is presumed that they once held wooden posts. They may have supported a roof, making this the only covered enclosure at Great Zimbabwe. Seeming sunken and cave-like, this hidden enclosure may have had religious significance. Similar underground chambers have been found at other ruined *madzimbahwe*[16]. Alternatively the grooves may once have held wooden poles, possibly decorated and maybe even studded with gold. Unfortunately no archaeological deposit remains to solve this debate as it was all dug up in 1891 (Burrett & Hubbard 2014: 17,18).



Figure 17. Google Maps 2016 satellite imagery of Great Zimbabwe area showing location of key considerations to Mujejeje Village

The grooved walls on the outer section of the Recess Enclosure also provide an interesting research point as I identified, through repeat photography of photograph FoA-9-11545[17] on my 2014 fieldtrip, that the wall had been rebuilt since the Frobenius

[16] Fortified residence or fortress for clan royalty and spiritual leaders.
[17] Frobenius Institute Catalogue *Expedition IX Süd-Afrika Band 4 Süd- Rhodesien, Ruinen 1* page 203

expedition. I initially selected image FoA-9-11561 as it provides context to the Recess Enclosure. In analysing the detail of the photograph I identified, in the area above the Recess Enclosure, a number of residential structures in the valley to the east of the stonewalled site[18] (Figure 18, 19). The buildings, in a loose configuration, appeared to be traditional residential structures made with circular *dhaka*[19] walls and thatched roofs, with grain huts and a large tree marking the court area. These structures correspond with a traditional homestead, which I realised could have been occupied by a family cluster, at around the time the photograph was taken as the houses seemed in good condition and they deteriorate quickly if not occupied (Figure 19). But I did not have any evidence to support this and therefore entered into several enquiries to ascertain if academics, curators or traditional connoisseurs knew of the homestead's existence.



Figure 18. FoA-9-11561 Mujejeje Village identified in the distance. 1928-1930. © Frobenius Institute



Figure 19 FoA-9-11561 Close Crop to show the Mujejeje Village. 1928-1930. © Frobenius Institute

These enquiries produced various theories including that these structures were an expedition camp for visiting archaeologists, such as: Caton-Thompson whose work on Great Zimbabwe coincided with Frobenius' expedition; hotel accommodation for

I have included annotated Google Maps satellite imagery to provide context to locations discussed in this report.

[19] *Dhaka* comprises paddled clay soil used to bind granite gravel aggregate and is a common building material in the area.

visiting tourists; dormitories and stores for prisoners serving their hard labour sentence by working on Great Zimbabwe; a homestead for clans who moved frequently on the site until the 1930s; and a sentinel's homestead to guard and control entry into the site through the Mujejeje. My enquiries tapped into local intimate knowledge of the site provided by Edward Matenga, ex-director, and Munyaradzi Elton Sagiya, current curator, of the site. Both expressed surprise at the identification of a homestead in a photograph taken approximately thirty-five years after the colonial authority's assumed expulsion of the Mugabe clan from the site (Matenga pers.comm. 2015). Matenga and Sagiya both assisted in gathering historical information and a number of the possible explanations arose in conversation with them ahead of and during the fieldtrip (pers. comms. Matenga and Sagiya. 2015). I return to these possible explanations later but to contextualise the Mujejeje Village, I now turn to an examination of the Mujejeje, the sacred entrance to Great Zimbabwe.

Re-seeing the Mujejeje



Figure 20. Facing east over the Mujejeje. 2016. © G.A.Massie

A path on the granite outcrop traverses the Great Zimbabwe site from the eastern entrance into a valley occupied by ancient ruins, visitor infrastructure and the Hill Top Complex. A natural quartz line bisects the granite approximately four hundred metres from the Eastern Ruins and forms the spiritual entrance to the site, known as the Mujejeje (Figure 17 and 20). When the Mugabe and Nemanwa clans controlled the site, visitors approaching from the east were expected by the site's custodians to remove their shoes at the Mujejeje, open the spiritual gate by tapping the length of the

quartz line from south to north with a stone and enter the site. Having stepped over the Mujejeje and closed the gate with the same tapping activity, the visitor would place the used stone on a cairn at the north end of the quartz line. Exit from the site was achieved through the reverse of this process. Given the current open nature of the site, with regular commuters, visitors and tourists entering from numerous access points, this entry ritual does not seem to be commonly practiced anymore; however, the existence of cairns and their disturbance does suggest some activity. When I observed the cairns on my visits, they appeared demolished in that the stones were spread across the ground and not stacked in a neat pile. Matenga observed that this destruction could have been by rival clan claimants to the land during the course of one of their frequent disputes over custodianship of the Great Zimbabwe site (Figure 21) (Matenga pers. comm. 2014). Matenga's publication (2011) has two photographs of the Mujejeje in which the cairns are well formed, possibly indicating a time of relative calm in the inter-clan rivalry (Matenga 2011: 105).



Figure 21. Facing west over the Mujejeje to the Hill Top Complex. 2014. © G.A.Massie

The Mujejeje is interesting to contrast with the Great Zimbabwe stonewalling that has attracted so much attention. It is an entirely natural feature, understood as a feature of cultural significance through: a performative practice that would be entirely intangible if it were not for the ephemeral cairns; the sparse documentary archive we have, stretching nonetheless over more than a century; and the people who have told us about it and demonstrated to us how it works. There is one lone sign, near the Eastern Ruins ("Mujejeje 395m"), on the Great Zimbabwe site that directs visitors to the Mujejeje (Figure 22). The main map at the entrance to the park (Figure 2), and two of the maps in Appendix 2, do not extend geographically to the point where the Mujejeje is located. Hall's map, which extends geographically to the area of the Mujejeje, does not note it despite discussing the Mujejeje in his text (Hall 1905: insert between pages 8 & 9). The maps I photographed in the Great Zimbabwe offices archive, which I

estimate to be from the late 1950s, are annotated but they too do not reference the Mujejeje (Appendix 2). I include a Google Map with annotations that I have added to include the Mujejeje and other points of interest to me (Figures 17, 25). Maps are an interest of mine in that they are a way of documenting the land and thereby providing an insight into cultural and political priorities. J.B. Harley proposes the importance of maps in his collection of essays on cartography as being

> [an] index to the location of things, processes and events in the past maps are a unique form of documentation. Locating human actions in space remains the greatest intellectual achievement of the map as a form of knowledge (Harley 2001: 35).

Harley argues that mapping and signage are used for propaganda and to exert political will and ownership, and I wondered if, in view of the contestations over Great Zimbabwe's custodianship, this was also the case with regards to the Mujejeje (Harley 2001: 52-81). Whilst my earlier example of early 20th-century narratives in *The Riddle of Rhodesia* (1932) may suggest a deliberate silencing in the mapping, I would argue that it could simply be that the Mujejeje did not get priority from cartographers of the time because of its natural, and relatively inconspicuous, state in comparison to the ancient ruins. My own mapping of the site shows that I too have made my own selections and omitted some parts of the site but ensured my research interests, including the Mujejeje, are clearly marked. It is also only really through the lone sign and consultation with the local community that one can know about it.



Figure 22. Sign in the Great Zimbabwe valley indicating the distance and direction to the Mujejeje. © G.A.Massie

In considering other forms of documentation I found that the traditional connoisseurs' narratives confirm the Mujejeje is significant. Matenga confirms a Mujejeje entrance ritual similar to my earlier description, when quoting an interview with Aiden Nemanwa, an elder from the Nemanwa clan (Matenga 2011: 106). Matenga and Haruzivishe

related a similar Mujejeje use and entrance ritual to the FWG on my fieldtrips. The Mujejeje is absent from the vast majority of written material on Great Zimbabwe but is documented by Hall, Matenga and Summers, where the entrance process and purpose are their main considerations (Hall 1905: 56-57; Matenga 2011: 106; Summers 1963: 115). Summers writes that

> individuals reaching this point in the course of a journey to Great Zimbabwe would pick up a pebble and tap it along the line, meanwhile murmuring a prayer to the ancestral spirits for their aid in the coming confrontation with the authority. From this line there is a first clear view of the Acropolis of Great Zimbabwe (Summers 1971: 115).

Writing at a much earlier point in time, Hall provides a different, less spiritual, version of its purpose:

> The idea in so tapping the bar is that by so doing the back is strengthened for the journey, and also that the man they are going to see may be at home, that the food will not be cooked till they arrive, and that their journey may be successful. There is no appeal to spirits or ancestors in performing this act (Hall 1905: 56).



Figure 23. The Mujejeje as shown in Hall (1905: Plate between page 56 & 57)

Hall is not specific as to the journey being into or out of Great Zimbabwe and connects his version of the function of the line to two entrance, or exit, points where the tapping may take place. The photograph he uses of the ritual is also unclear as to location and direction but I note, at the end of the Mujejeje, in the 1905 photograph, a well-formed cairn indicating a time of respect for the process (Figure 23). I cite Hall as an example where an omission or differing version, whether deliberate or not, adds to the complexity of understanding Great Zimbabwe and its contested landscape.

The Mujejeje had become a magnet to me on my 2014 fieldtrip to Great Zimbabwe from the moment Matenga introduced me to the entrance ritual at this serene spiritual entrance. On both trips, I visited it with the group and returned to it frequently on my own or accompanied by an FWG member to photograph it. One such return visit in

2015 became so long that my colleagues tell me they were contemplating sending out a search party as six hours of absence signalled to them that we may have encountered trouble. I was drawn to the Mujejeje by many tangible and intangible aspects. The required performance and calling on the spirits to enter the site, the calm stillness surrounding the Mujejeje and its photographic appeal attracted me. Like Barthes' notion of advenience, I could sense my wanting to add to the presence of the Mujejeje through my photography, imagination and understanding more (Barthes [1981] 2000: 23). The natural sounds of the wind, distant villages, cattle, birds and movement in the undergrowth that surrounded me when I sat on this granite outcrop almost belied the absences and silence of Great Zimbabwe as contemplated by Fontein in his *Silence, Destruction and Closure at Great Zimbabwe: Local Narratives of Desecration and Alienation* (2006). While the Mwari[20] may have moved away or been silenced, life in the area seemed peacefully sonorous.

I felt a great respect for the Mujejeje and experienced moments of awe including a striking example when my colleague Laura de Harde and I heard cattle approaching one morning at sunrise. The cattle were un-herded and, we would learn later, headed to the area around the Great Enclosure, which had been spared the ravages of the fire, in order to graze. We sat still on a granite outcrop as the cattle approached. They were nervous of our presence and watched us for what seemed an age (Figure 24). They could have headed in any direction around or away from us but eventually, seemingly calmed by our stillness, they walked slowly towards us and stepped directly over the Mujejeje. Having passed us, the cattle spread out through the area heading towards the Eastern Ruins and the Great Enclosure. As we followed to observe their behaviour one cow stayed behind the group watching us almost as though she were a sentinel. It would be ridiculous to imagine the cattle performing any form of entrance ritual but it was an extraordinary moment that I suggest reflected centuries of custom and guidance onto the site via the Mujejeje as this granite outcrop also forms a natural kind of road (as illustrated on Halls' map, the road to Mutirikwi, or 'M'Telekwe') that people and animals follow naturally (Hall 1905: insert between pages 8 & 9).

[20] The Mwari is a supernatural being that forms part of the Shona belief system. According to Matenga[t]here are at least three types of supernatural beings that are hierarchically ordered, starting with *Mwari,* also called *Musikavanhu* (Creator of human beings), and descending to *Mhondoro* (territorial) spirits, and finally, to the ancestral or family spirits (V*adzimu*) (Matenga 2011: 125)



Figure 24. Cattle at the Mujejeje. 2015. © G.A.Massie

Re-seeing the Mujejeje Village

On the morning of the 24th November 2015 the FWG, guided by Edward Matenga, headed on foot to the Mujejeje to participate in the entrance ritual to the Great Zimbabwe site in anticipation of finding the Mujejeje Village. Following the traditional entrance ritual, the FWG moved north in search of the Mujejeje Village armed with field prints of photographs and satellite maps with which we had calculated the area where the Mujejeje Village may be. When first planning the fieldtrip, I had been warned that we might have to hack our way through dense snake-inhabited vegetation in our search but the fire had reduced the vegetation to charred remains, easing our search process. Approximately fifty metres from the Mujejeje, on a granite outcrop elevated a further fifty metres above it, we identified the site of the Mujejeje Village. Signs of human habitation including hut foundations, *dhaka* with pole imprints, a grinding stone, fragments of pottery, metal and glass supported our conclusion that this was the site of the Mujejeje Village. The moveable finds were all handed over to the NMMZ for research and archiving. They have not been dated yet but clearly date back to the historical period of the Mujejeje Village.



Figure 25. Google Earth 2016 satellite imagery showing the Mujejeje Village, Mujejeje, path and the site of ceremonial artefacts.

The approximately 100 x 40 m granite outcrop on which the Mujejeje Village once stood is not uniform in shape[21]. It approximates an ovoid with the sharper ends facing east and west. You would, however, need to use some imagination to accept this ovoid shape as marked in Figure 25. The clearest signs of dwellings and grain stores are in the eastern and central sections of the outcrop where we identified foundation remains. When I stood at the central point of the village, where I imagine the homestead's central tree in the Frobenius photograph once was, I had a clear view of the Hill Top Complex, Mujejeje and Great Enclosure. This can be seen in the panoramic photograph below showing the Mujejeje on the extreme left, the Great Enclosure in the centre and the Hill Top Complex towards the right (Figure 26). I stood at this point and could imagine the people living in this homestead with this seemingly strategic vista that Haruzivishe would later, on his visit to this site with us, suggest may have been for *vatarisi,* sentinels or gatekeepers (Haruzivishe pers. comm. 2015: 131). Before considering his narrative I will address the other possibilities provided for the homestead's existence.



Figure 26. Panorama taken from centre of Mujejeje Village. 2015. © G.A.Massie

[21] The outcrop and village area have not been fully identified and measured so these dimensions and shapes are my estimates based on the site visit and the use of Google maps.

Possible reasons for the Mujejeje Village's origin

Several of the people I consulted proposed theories that the Mujejeje Village was a purpose-built camp to serve a range of different functions. I examine each of these ideas in turn, considering their provenance and the probability of their veracity.

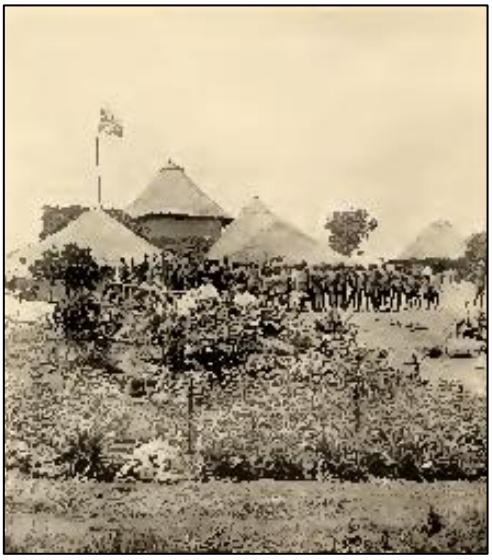


Figure 27. Havilah Camp, Great Zimbabwe. (Hall: 1905: Insert between pages 2 and 3)

Firstly I shall look at the suggestion that the homestead was an archaeological camp; and to do so I shall look at writings about the Great Zimbabwe site by Hall and during Caton-Thompson's dig, which occurred during the time that Frobenius' team was there. In his description of the Havilah Camp (Figure 27), where he was based at Great Zimbabwe, Hall writes:

> The camp is within a few feet of the north side of No. 3 Ruins (see map), and faces the south side of Zimbabwe Hill, and the Acropolis Ruins are on the summit of a very precipitous cliff, 90 ft. high, forming part of the side of the hill, the ruins being 220 ft. directly above the camp. The camp of Mr Theodore Bent, the archaeologist, was a third of a mile to the south of our camp. Ours is the more convenient spot, as it is half-way between the two principal ruins, and close to its east side lies "The Valley of Ruins," beside which the situation is far healthier (Hall 1905: 2,3).

On his general plan (Appendix 2), Hall shows numerous camps of previous visitors to the site all situated close to the centre of the valley or on the spot of exploratory digs (Hall 1905: insert between pages 8 & 9). He also describes that there were sometimes three visitors' camps on the outspan (Hall 1905: 48). These camps were all built within easy reach of the locales in the process of being dug, researched and, many would say, plundered during this time. Caton-Thompson's decisions during her dig on the site

suggest the Mujejeje Village is unlikely to have been built to house her, her team or equipment. By the time Caton-Thompson and her team arrived at Great Zimbabwe, the park was preparing itself for an influx of tourists by introducing a hotel. Davis, in her biography of Kathleen Kenyon (one of Caton-Thompson's assistants at Great Zimbabwe) includes this useful description:

> There in the south-central part of what is now the country of Zimbabwe, two hundred miles east of Bulowayo, Kathleen was introduced to life on an archaeological dig. They stayed at a small hotel, about half a mile from the ruins. Run by a pleasant couple, the Stappards, the hotel was a simple one, consisting of thatched huts which contained a restaurant, a sitting room and the individual bedrooms. The bedrooms were lit by candles, but the sitting room had a kerosene lamp. The bath was primitive – only a large tub and two buckets of water but K was grateful that at least the water was hot. The only thing that seemed to bother her about these conditions was the army of ants that one morning swarmed out of the floor and over her while she was sleeping (Davis 2008: 32).

Caton-Thompson more practically describes her gratitude for the comfort of the hotel and not having to deal 'with the tedious arrangements of camping in an unknown country' (Caton-Thompson 1931:Preface: vi).



Figure 28. Frobenius photograph FoA-9-11529 taken from Hill Top Complex facing west. The hotel structures are visible in the marked area. 1928-1930. © Frobenius Institute

From this, we know clearly that a rest camp had not been built for Caton-Thompson's extended stay. Davis's uncertain description of the hotel's location raises the possibility that the Mujejeje Village may in fact have been the hotel. After all, the Mujejeje Village is 'about half a mile from the ruins' and the structure, as shown in Davis's photograph of the hotel, is of thatched roofing and circular walling similar to the structures at the Mujejeje Village (Figure 29 & Davis 2008: 32). However, Caton-Thompson's map (Appendix 2) is marked "To Hostel" on a road heading west from the valley ruins

towards the position where the contemporary Great Zimbabwe Hotel now stands (Caton-Thompson 1931: insert between pages 14 and 15). The hotel can also be seen in Frobenius photograph FoA-9-11529[22] taken from the Hill Top Complex facing west which also shows some round thatched structures (Figure 28).



Figure 29. The hotel at Great Zimbabwe as illustrated in Davis (2008: 32)

In determining whether the Mujejeje Village was built to house workshops and staff for Caton-Thompson's major excavations, I identified that St. Claire Wallace, the resident Great Zimbabwe curator at the time, built a workshop for Caton-Thompson's use (Figure 30). In this photograph, we can see that the rectangular building was proximate to the Maund Ruins (as they were still entitled in the 1930s, currently known as the Eastern Valley Ruins) where Caton-Thompson was expending considerable effort (Caton-Thompson 1931: facing page 16). We were unable to find any trace of this workshop on our 2015 fieldtrip, which is surprising given the evidence of other structures existing on site at the time. The workshop also included a darkroom in which Kenyon developed and printed photographs of the archaeological work (Davis: 2008: 36). Caton-Thompson described the hut as

> [a] rectangular workshop hut of pole and Dhaka was constructed on the outskirts of the excavations, where equipment and finds were stored and one end of which was partitioned off as a darkroom. (Caton-Thompson 1931: 19)

Caton-Thompson's workforce varied in number between eight and twenty-eight with an average of twenty and all were recruited locally (Caton-Thompson 1931: 19). The recruitment and control process was largely under the authority of Wallace. It seems improbable to me that neither Davis in her biography of Kenyon nor Caton-Thompson would mention building a camp for their workers given the detail they shared about their accommodation and workshop.

[22] Frobenius Institute Catalogue *Expedition IX Süd-Afrika Band 4 Süd- Rhodesien, Ruinen 1* page 198



Figure 30. Photograph showing the workshop on the right. (Caton-Thompson: 1931: facing page 16)

In *Erythräa. Lander und Zeiten des heiligen Königsmordes* Frobenius describes numerous purpose-built rest camps during the course of the expedition[23]:

> I then established a base camp across from the royal estate of Makoni, near Rusapi (1931: 50).

And:

> After the return trip to the Tati district, I moved my camp to the Belingwe district (located between Masvingo and Bulawayo) and dedicated myself to the study of the Waremba and the (old) mines (1931: 52).

The Frobenius notebooks, which are currently being transcribed by Wintjes, note that the Frobenius team stayed at the hotel on their first visit in October 1928 (Wintjes pers. comm: 2016). It seems unlikely to me, given the limited time and restricted access he had at Great Zimbabwe, that Frobenius would have commissioned the building of dedicated structures for his team's subsequent visits.

Another theory is that the homestead was built specifically to house the park's contracted staff and hard labour prisoners. My earlier analysis indicates it unlikely that workers and their equipment would be located at such a distance from where their work activity would be. It cannot, however, be discounted on this basis as, when at Great Zimbabwe, I witnessed commuters crossing the site to and from work and school, travelling a distance of up to seven kilometres each way. The theory that the Mujejeje Village was prison quarters is still open as it is not clear whether prisoners were working on site during the Frobenius expedition. I can, however, indicate that I identified prison hut foundations close to the Great Enclosure and Chisikana Spring, located almost a kilometre west of the Mujejeje Village.

[23] Translation provided by Justine Wintjes

Haruzivishe's declaration that the Mujejeje Village was the homestead for Great Zimbabwe's sentinel, and the fact that the village in the photograph comprises traditional granaries supporting the idea of a family cluster, would negate all the preceding theories if his narrative in the next section were to be taken as the authoritative voice of the traditional connoisseur on Great Zimbabwe.

The Sentinel or Gatekeeper's Homestead

On the 25th November 2015 the FWG had a meeting with Haruzivishe that Matenga and Sagiya facilitated. The meeting started at Haruzivishe's homestead, a few kilometres outside the Great Zimbabwe site[24]. Haruzivishe opened the meeting through a clapping process and by expressing his authority as the heir to the Mugabe clan's right as custodians of Great Zimbabwe. In so doing he was ensuring we understood that from his position, in Fontein's 'traditional connoisseur' mode, his was the valid history of Great Zimbabwe (Fontein 2004: 7,16). He concluded the meeting by leading the group in a clapping process and offering us his traditional homemade beer. He then accompanied us in vehicles, at our request and guided by our interest, to the Mujejeje Village. This was my first time on the Great Zimbabwe site in a vehicle. This mode of transport felt somewhat inappropriate for a site on which, prior to the arrival of the colonial settlers, all entrants had to be barefoot (VaMututuvari interview in Fontein 2006: 95). Now we were traversing the archaeological valley in two vehicles for ease and convenience. Although ours were not the only vehicles allowed on the site, our arrival in them felt, to me, to be a lack of respect for the site, even though we were in the company of a local elder. This activity seemed consistent with ideas surrounding the desecration of the site, but it was now being done with the blessing of a clan elder that was travelling with us to provide his narrative on the Mujejeje Village (Matenga 2011: 166).

On arrival at the Mujejeje, Haruzivishe performed the entrance ritual to the site that, apart from his not removing his shoes, mirrored the one I described previously (Figure 31). In our interview, Haruzivishe had said that it is no longer a frequently used entrance so I wondered if Haruzivishe demonstrated the ritual process more for our edification than as his formal entry to the site through the spiritual gate; or perhaps he was establishing the sacredness of the site with us as part of his performance of custodianship.

[24] Both meetings were recorded with the permission of all attendees and later transcribed and translated by Munyaradzi Elton Sagiya. The transcript is included in Appendix 4 and added to the reference list.



Figure 31. Sekuru Samuel Haruzivishe ending his entrance ritual at the Mujejeje. 2015. © G.A.Massie

Having now formally entered the site, we walked fifty metres west and saw, for the first time, a circular foundation on the main path (Figure 32). I had walked over this path at least ten times previously and never noticed these foundations. They were now very evident and I was re-seeing the area for the first time. A debate ensued between Matenga and Haruzivishe regarding whether the foundations were brick or 'adobe', concluding in an agreement that they were clay. Haruzivishe stated the following:

> I think the occupiers of these houses are the ones who were responsible for granting visitors entry into the monument (Haruzivishe. pers. comm. 2015: 125).

Haruzivishe seemed to be starting to formulate his argument that his clan, as the custodians of the sacred site, would have had gatekeepers or sentinels controlling access to Great Zimbabwe at the Mujejeje.



Figure 32. Circular foundations on the main path to the Mujejeje. 2015. © G.A.Massie

As we walked further up the main path, we saw rocks that appeared purposefully arranged near a path to the Mujejeje Village. Some had rope or cloth tied around them and there were also modern shoes lying near them (Figure 33). There were three

noticeable aspects to this arrangement. The first is their proximity to the path to the Mujejeje Village. The second is the presence of shoes connecting to the process of shoe removal at the Mujejeje. The final was that I was looking at this arrangement and the Mujejeje Village path for the first time having walked past it without seeing it on numerous occasions previously. I used the path to the granite outcrop where the Mujejeje Village stood with Haruzivishe and during my subsequent visits to photograph the Mujejeje Village. It was now a clear access to the homestead. It is not just a question of the fire having removed the vegetation making the path more visible; it was about having learned to see in a different way – by re-looking and re-photographing, new information was emerging.



Figure 33. Ceremonial objects on the main path from the Mujejeje into the site and adjacent to the entrance path to Mujejeje Village. 2015. © G.A.Massie

Once we were at the centre of the Mujejeje Village, Haruzivishe demonstrated his authority over the site by pointing at the Hill Top Complex, connecting his ancestors to it and legitimising his narrative (Figure 34). I have included an excerpt from the transcript here as it demonstrates how he establishes his authority and claims through reference to being born at a time when his clan still lived on Great Zimbabwe; to the fact that his clan's former chiefs and his ancestors lived and were buried on the Hill Top Complex; as well as to the fact that the Mujejeje Village would have been the home of a Mugabe clan in-law.

> **Haruzivishe:** As I told you these people had big families. Some remained within the ruins… So the one who was the owner of this homestead I can't know because I was born in 1928. Also in that same year some of us were still [living] within the ruins.
> **Matenga:** He said that there were several homesteads around here. And the process of eviction had started but there was resistance of course from the big man Haruzivishe. Explaining why they were still some homesteads by that time

although some were already moving out. He would not be able to tell whose homestead it was.
Haruzivishe: *(Points to the position where some of his ancestors were buried such as Haruzivishe).* You see those walls, on the other side around those boulders that's where Haruzivishe was buried. Then Chipfunhu is buried on the northern slope of the Hill, that side.
Matenga: He says that when you go up to the summit and facing south, somewhere on this slope that's where Haruzivishe is buried. Then Chipfunhu, you remember I was talking about the rock spur, you see the place where he is buried from that side. Chipfunhu is the one who had a conflict with the Rhodesian administration after that it was Haruzivishe. So Chipfunhu this side, Haruzivishe facing east.
Samuel: So I believe that this homestead was there in 1928. If am not mistaken it may have been the homestead of Mugabe clan's in-laws.
(Haruzivishe et al. pers. comm. 2015: 128,129)



Figure 34. Sekuru Samuel Haruzivishe, in the centre of the Mujejeje Village site, indicates the point on the Hill Top Complex where his ancestors lived and were buried. 2015. © G.A.Massie

The following extract from the transcript shows how, having established his authority as the holder of the Great Zimbabwe narrative, Haruzivishe was able to provide a logical and convincing reason for the existence of the Mujejeje Village.

Matenga: He has got an interesting point now. Justine and everybody you want to listen to this one. Where is the tape recorder? He is of the view that maybe this homestead could have been some kind of gatekeeping.
Wintjes: Connected to the Mujejeje?
Haruzivishe: Yes even at Mujejeje we have seen a house floor almost like this one. So I believe the same people were the sentinel.
Matenga: Sort of keeping guard of the approach to the site.
Massie: And this type of construction points to that or was that unrelated?
Matenga: He is actually pointing…when he is looking at this homestead would have been…
Massie: Is it because of his suggestion, no - because of the type of construction?
Matenga: Not the type of construction. He is just looking at the location of the

homestead in relationship to that of Mujejeje.
Massie: It makes so much sense, that's under that tree.
Matenga: It's very close.
(Haruzivishe et al. pers. comm. 2015: 133,132)



Figure 35. View of the Mujejeje from the Mujejeje Village. 2015. © G.A.Massie

Haruzivishe's description of his clan's *dhaka* and pole homestead building methods was consistent with the Mujejeje Village in photograph FoA-9-11561. He explained that his clan used to build their homesteads on granite outcrops or bare rocks, according to the availability of space and not in any predetermined linear manner. The Mugabe clan is polygamous and each wife would have her own house with a granary hut and the husband would have his own as a sort of bedroom. If there were a large tree near the homestead, it would form a court (Haruzivishe. pers. comm. 2015: 118,119). The close proximity of the Mujejeje Village to the Mujejeje and its raised vantage point, as can be seen in Figure 35, supported a plausible argument that it was the sentinel's homestead (Haruzivishe. pers. comm. 2015: 132).

Matenga managed the meetings with Haruzivishe and provided immediate brief translations between Shona and English as required. The detailed translation and transcript was subsequently prepared by Sagiya and then edited by me. In this process there are some language interpretations that can add complexity to one's understanding. One such occasion was the use of the word 'sentinel'. Haruzivishe had used *Vatarisi* to describe the person that would have lived in the Mujejeje Village and its translation to 'sentinel' worried me as it carries a military connotation that I was uncertain was Haruzivishe's intent. I imagined that the Mujejeje was a ceremonial sacred entrance, treated respectfully by visitors, with the sentinel's control being more of a formality to ensure arrivals were authorised. Haruzivishe described the sentinel as

‘the ones who were responsible for granting visitors entry into the monument’ (Haruzivishe. pers. comm 2015: 23). Although there is a sense of conflict on the site that arises, in my mind, from the inter-clan disputes, NMMZ security and Zimbabwean military, it would be unlikely that the Mujejeje would ever have been the sole guarded entry point. I say unlikely as the enormous site would be open to physical entry through numerous parts, as we experienced when there. Haruzivishe also softened the meaning of the sentinel by describing the arrival process as a welcoming process, as in the opening quote to this chapter (Haruzivishe. pers. comm 2015: 111).

Haruzivishe used the Shona word *Vatarisi*, which Matenga spontaneously translated as ‘sentinel’. Sagiya also suggested ‘guard’, lookout or sentry as possible translations of the word (Sagiya. pers. comm. 2016). On our return, I wanted to address this notion of militarisation that the word ‘sentinel’ was invoking. In correspondence with Matenga I learned that the vagaries of translation and the colloquial nature of Shona, where words carry interlinked figurative and literal meanings, might be introducing an unintended vision. He continued to explain that

> *Vatarisi* is plural of *Mutarisi*, for which the literal meaning would be lookers. For the verb *Kutarira* means to look at, not necessarily to look after. Actually meaning to guard. Perhaps another word you want to consider is custodian. As you say, sentinel might be off the mark (Matenga. pers. comm. 2016).

Through Haruzivishe’s use of words such as ‘welcoming’ and ‘granting visitors entry’ and from the way I now understand the Mujejeje, I would propose that the residents of the Mujejeje Village should be thought more in terms of gatekeepers (Haruzivishe. pers. comm. 2015: 111, 125). I can imagine these gatekeepers ensuring that arriving visitors to the site were there with the permission of the spiritual leaders or clan chief and that they adhered to the expected practices and procedures.

I am reluctant to rely on one traditional connoisseur’s opinion for the answer to the origins of the Mujejeje Village. As Fontein writes, traditional connoisseurs

> are able to draw on a wide range of sources in their efforts to legitimise their own agendas. It also illustrates that the opposition between 'traditional knowledge' or 'wisdoms' and the knowledge of 'books' or 'education' is but a conceptual construct through which people try to authorise their own positions and narratives, and through which they make sense of what they see (Fontein 2004: 13).

I am also left with a concern that only interviewing Haruzivishe about the Mujejeje Village gave him the opportunity to pursue his own agenda, leaving the emergent interpretation open to criticism. He was, however, the only traditional connoisseur available for me to interview and he provided new information that has replenished the

archive. His opinion is not definitive but is corroborated by what we identified on site including the proximity to the Mujejeje and the long-standing practice of using the Mujejeje as an entrance to the site. It is ultimately all speculative but the important thing is not so much to arrive at a definitive interpretation but that the process demonstrates how we can see things anew and how to see new things. It adds a new set of interpretations which supports my argument for re-looking and highlights the new contributions that such a process offers.



Figure 36. FWG repeat photograph of FoA-9-11561. 2015. © FWG

To close this chapter I return to the repeat photograph of FoA-9-11561 (Figure 36) in which there are many similarities to the original in the boulders and some of the walling. The Recess Enclosure and some of the fallen walls have changed, as has the vegetation. Although I would not expect to see the Mujejeje Village foundations, I note that the granite outcrop on which they stand is barely discernible in the distant valley of the repeat photograph and is likely to go unnoticed by unprompted spectators. Even in this repeat photograph, despite our knowledge of the place and my intention to make it more visible, the Mujejeje Village has once again, taken a lower priority to the iconic ruins of the Hill Top Complex. On our final day on site it became apparent how quickly the vegetation had started its regeneration process, which led me to think that the site of the Mujejeje Village would once again be hidden to the visitor and perhaps to local knowledge. It would, however, following my work, continue to exist in some form in the Great Zimbabwe and FWG archive and in Haruzivishe's traditional connoisseur narrative, and in this research report. The identification of the Mujejeje Village from my repeat photography opened a research process into aspects of the site that are rarely researched and documented. In addition to the Mujejeje Village, and its associated

narratives, I uncovered other examples of new information in my project. I discuss some of these narratives further in the next case study as, in examining another Frobenius photograph, I re-look at the impact of curatorial decisions on the site and their corroboration of the traditional connoisseurs' claims of the desecration of the complex, contested landscape of Great Zimbabwe.

Chapter 4: Re-seeing the Chisikana Spring and the Western Entrance to the Great Enclosure

> Continuous research is always essential for very large and important sites such as Great Zimbabwe. Research material produced by different generations, automatically becomes raw material for another generation (Chirikure et al 2016: 17).

In this chapter I present my second case study, which is an analysis of Frobenius photograph FoA-9-11492[25], *Facing East to the Great Enclosure in the Great Zimbabwe Valley* and, to provide a clearer view of the Western Entrance of the Great Enclosure, Frobenius photograph FoA-9-11494[26], *Western Entrance to the Great Enclosure in the Great Zimbabwe Valley* (Figures 37 and 38). The analysis I provide below supports the argument that through re-looking and re-making, new information emerges that can replenish the archive and develops my examination of the contested nature of the Great Zimbabwe site in recent history (Nuttall:2002: 299). I begin with an examination of the general *studium* of the photographs and their *punctum,* which is my personal reaction to elements of the photographs that excite me. I then extend photograph FoA-9-11492's *punctum* through its context to the area adjacent to the vantage point, the Chisikana Spring, that, similarly to the photograph explored in Chapter 3, held the kind of attraction Barthes referred to as advenience, making me want to investigate it and add more information (Barthes: [1981] 2000: 23).

Photograph Analysis



Figure 37. Frobenius photograph FoA-9-11492. *Facing East to the Great Enclosure in the Great Zimbabwe Valley*. 1928-30. © Frobenius Institute.

[25] Frobenius Institute Catalogue *Expedition IX Süd-Afrika Band 4 Süd- Rhodesien, Ruinen 1* page 179
[26] Frobenius Institute Catalogue *Expedition IX Süd-Afrika Band 4 Süd- Rhodesien, Ruinen 1* page 180

The vantage point of FoA-9-11492 is on a granite outcrop approximately 150 metres to the west of the Great Enclosure[27] in the Great Zimbabwe valley. The granite outcrop, which is not the same outcrop discussed in the previous case study, is visible in the foreground of the photograph and leads the spectator, by way of the footpath it joins, to the Western Entrance to the Great Enclosure. There is a line of collapsed walls on the northern side of the footpath, to the left, which at some stage in the history of the site would have been a recognisable structural part of Great Zimbabwe. On both sides of the footpath and from within the Great Enclosure, there is vegetation in the form of long grasses, shrubs and trees. Most trees are located inside the Great Enclosure in the Frobenius photograph whereas now there are more trees surrounding it. This change in vegetation is an example of another research interest that repeat photography could serve. The large elliptical outer wall of the Great Enclosure, reaching 11 metres at some points, is the focal point of the photograph.



Figure 38. Frobenius photograph FoA-9-11494. *Western Entrance of the Great Enclosure in the Great Zimbabwe Valley*. 1928-30. © Frobenius Institute.

The vantage point of FoA-9-11494 is approximately 20 metres to the west of the Great Enclosure. The path which the operators used as their vantage point can be seen leading to the Western Entrance and passing to its right. An unidentified human figure stands to the left of the entrance in front of the Great Enclosure wall. This is a type of *mise-en-scène* that was commonly used by archaeological photographers to demonstrate scale. In this photograph, the *mise-en-scène* is such that the high walls

[27] Local people call the Great Enclosure 'Mumbahuru', the great big house or figuratively the house of the family of the senior wife. It is the largest building at Great Zimbabwe, and believed to be the largest pre-colonial structure in Sub-Saharan Africa (Matenga 2011: 104, 228).

dwarf their surroundings emphasising the imposing monumentality of the Great Enclosure. It is interesting to note the figure's outfit including high boots, jodhpurs and pith-like helmet characteristic of an early 19th-century explorer fashion. This attire is comparable to that of Caton-Thompson and other contemporary visiting archaeologists in the region, such apparel being characteristic of holidaymakers of the time (Figure 29 and Shepherd 2015: 118).

The sign to the right of the entrance reads:

VISITORS ARE REQUESTED
TO CAREFULLY EXTINGUISH
ALL FIRES LIGHTED BY THEM
AND TO LEAVE NO PAPER OR DEBRIS
IN THE VICINITY OF THE RUINS

This sign confirms that the site was so well visited by 1928 that the experience for the visitor was no longer that of an explorer but more that of a tourist who could easily find accommodation at the nearby hotel, as discussed earlier.

In both photographs the path in the foreground approaches the Great Enclosure from the west, passes in front of the entrance, travels past on its southern side and continues to a village in the east. During my fieldtrips, I observed commuters using this road daily to walk to school and work and at times to bring their cattle onto the site to graze. There is an interesting coexistence between controlling authorities and cattle farmers as the bush fires are minimised through the grazing cattle that reduce the grass levels, but the potential for other kinds of damage to the ruins is increased. This, possibly informal, open access for the local clans, supports my comments in Chapter 1 that there is a coexistence that contradicts the NMMZ museum policy, fencing and entrance fees and is illustrative of the difference between policy and practice. There is a certain freedom that the local communities have now that they did not have in the past, but it is not the kind of control or freedom the clan elders want. In other words, it is not a question of control or no control, but what kind of control. Local clans seem to have freedom to pass through and use the site for cattle grazing and wood collecting. They cannot live on it, and ceremonies seem to be either conducted covertly or with permission from the NMMZ. Despite this coexistence, clan elders do not have complete control of the access to the site or its traditional and ceremonial use. Such control would be of great significance to them and could help to end the desecration of the site (Ndoro 2001: 100).



Figure 39. Repeat of photograph FoA-9-11492. *Facing East to the Great Enclosure in the Great Zimbabwe Valley*. 2015. © FWG.



Figure 40. Repeat photograph FoA-9-11494. *Western Entrance of the Great Enclosure in the Great Zimbabwe Valley*. 2015. © Frobenius Institute.

The *punctum,* for me, in both photographs is the structural change to the Western Entrance as can be seen in comparing the Frobenius photographs to the repeat FWG photographs (Figures 39 and 40). I will return to these changes later in this chapter as they relate to the issues of contestation and desecration at Great Zimbabwe but first I extend the *punctum* to the vantage point of photograph FoA-9-11492 to examine the Chisikana Spring.

Re-seeing the Chisikana Spring



Figure 41. Two FWG members set up the FoA-9-11492 repeat photograph. 2015. © FWG

While many pictorial archives on Great Zimbabwe may be structured around foregrounding the very tangible monumental stone structures rather than, for example, 'natural' landscape features and the more intangible experiences attached to them, my examination of this single photograph has provided me with a way to re-see the Chisikana Spring and, through it, provide another example of the contested nature of the site. I found the extension of *punctum* that demonstrates the 'adventuresome adding of a new perspective to the whole' in the context shot that captures the vantage point of photograph FoA-9-11492 (Barthes [1981] 2000: 23). The vantage point is on the granite outcrop that has probably been the same commuter path for a long time. In the process of repeating photograph FoA-9-11492 and FoA-9-11494, it became clear to me that the Frobenius team's vantage point was close to the Chisikana Spring. In Figure 41, two members of the FWG can be seen lining up the repeat shot of FoA-9-11492 after we had calculated the vantage point. The area of the Chisikana Spring is marked on the photograph and located beyond the two operators in an area of burnt vegetation, which contributed to our being able to locate it with ease. Although it was a small and almost stagnant pool of water in 2015, I can imagine, from the research results that follow, the Chisikana Spring and the stream which it fed being abundant, as it was in Hall's description:

> Fifty yards behind the Ridge Ruins is the Zimbabwe Chisikana Spring, marked by a group of trees, where most excellent water can be obtained, even during the driest season (Hall 1905: 8)

The water, however, dried up in the late 1950s when the Park Warden concreted over the Chisikana Spring, an act that led to claims of desecration of the site that continue today.



Figure 42. Google Maps 2016 satellite imagery of Great Zimbabwe with key research report locations marked.

The Chisikana Spring is approximately 150 metres west of the Great Enclosure and 200 metres south of the Outspan ruins that mark the beginning of the ancient ascent towards the Hill Top Complex (Figures 42 and 43). As with the Mujejeje discussed in the previous chapter, the Chisikana Spring is rarely identified on maps of Great Zimbabwe but I have added it, through annotations to the Google Maps satellite imagery because it is my research interest[28]. This is a further example of the positive nature of partiality and its potential to add to the archive (Nuttall 2002: 299; Velios 2011: 260). Until the 1950s, the Chisikana Spring fed a stream that ran northwest across the Great Zimbabwe site to feed the Mushagashe River. This was dammed in 1960 to form the Mutirikwi Lake in a project of the colonial government intended to provide irrigation water to the farms in the area (Matenga 2011: 106).

The Chisikana Spring is an important sacred site for the local clans and its treatment offers significant grounds for claims of the desecration of the Great Zimbabwe site. The Mugabe and Nemanwa clans both call the spring 'Chisikana', which means 'little

[28] Whilst it is fairly common to use custom-made maps indicating places mentioned in the text to illustrate research papers, it should be noted that I have added the text to the Google Maps in this report and these places are not tagged in Google. This is an example of how, through the use of certain digital tools, we have more control in generating illustrations and in attaching supplementary information to pictures. In the past, a map might have had to be prepared by a technical cartographer, for example.

girl' in Shona, but attach differing narratives to the site, providing some insight into the complexity of local custodial claims to the site.



Figure 43. Google Earth 2016 screen print showing Chisikana Spring, dormitories and vantage point to image FoA-9-11492

The Nemanwa oral history of the Chisikana Spring is a type of founder myth that relates the Chisikana Spring as fundamental to the birth of a Great Grandmother "Ambuya Chisikana" (Matenga 2011: 106). According to the myth, she was found as a young girl sitting at the Chisikana Spring. Chief Nemanwa adopted and subsequently married her and she became the progenitor of the clan (Fontein 2006: 23,24). The Mugabe clan tell the story of a young girl, Chisina, who was sent to the Chisikana Spring to fetch water, was abducted by a mermaid and has never returned (Matenga 2011: 106). In my interview with Haruzivishe he described the Chisikana Spring and the story of Chisina in the following way:

> Because that Chisikana Spring was amazing. Because where water was coming from, it was from the rocks, and alongside where *mikute* [indigenous trees that usually grow at water sources[29]]. So water was coming from there. If you would pass through when it is quiet. The moment when you are approaching the Chisikana Spring you would see something, animal-like running into the Chisikana Spring…
> It was sacred for sure. I remember this is where my aunty, the sister of my fathers was taken by a mermaid. My grandmother, the senior wife of Haruzivishe had three boys, and then she later had one girl whose name was Chisina. I remember that day when I was telling you this story [referring to

[29] Mukute – Singular. Mikute – Plural. Botanical designation – *Syzygium cordatum*, English Common Name is waterberry. It is a wetland evergreen edible fruit tree, with a wide distribution in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and eastern parts of South Africa (Matenga pers.comm. 2017).

> Matenga]. So when my grandmother was going to that Chisikana Spring, she met a certain man who asked her why she was coming to fetch water as if she did not have a girl child who can fetch water for her. My grandmother did not want to bother her daughter because she was the only girl child. But one day my grandmother sent her daughter to fetch water, as had been mentioned by that man she had met at the Chisikana Spring. She did that for the second time and she came back. The third time the girl did not come back. So when she failed to come back, my grandmother cried as she was wondering where her daughter could have disappeared to (Haruzivishe. pers. comm. 2015: 110).

The Chisikana Spring is not only used to legitimise narratives for the Mugabe and Nemanwa clans' claims to the guardianship of Great Zimbabwe. It was also a site, according to oral history, for ceremonies (Matenga 2000: 1). There were many such occasions held each year, according to Matenga, but the two most important were in May, after the harvest, and at the beginning of the rainy season, around November. These were hosted by the spiritual leaders of the clan in control of the site at the time until the colonial and museum authorities largely eradicated all such practices on Great Zimbabwe (Matenga 2000:1).

During my 2015 fieldtrip, Sagiya invited the FWG to visit the archives at the NMMZ administration offices. On that visit I was able, with Sagiya's assistance, to access some of the Park Warden's 1954 and 1955 monthly reports to the Department of National Parks (Appendix 3). These show that the Chisikana Spring was creating a problem for the golf course in the western valley section of the Great Zimbabwe site with reports containing references to: the golf course being water logged; a marsh; and the need for pole bridges where it had become impassable. In our meeting with Haruzivishe, he discussed the golf course and when asked to describe where it was, he added to my imagination of the abundance of the stream fed by the Chisikana Spring:

> You see, from this hut were people pay entrance fees and that other gate where tickets are being checked. From there, going to the curio shop, in between that area there was a stream that was not easy to cross, when we were still boys, our legs would sink up to the knees when crossing to the curio shop on our way to the Hill Top Complex (Haruzivishe. pers. comm. 2015: 113).

The Park Warden's reports show that professional surveyor reports were being sought in order to address the water and flooding issue that could have been having a significant impact on revenue for the park (Appendix 3). In 1958, the park management sealed the Chisikana Spring by filling the water source with concrete, extinguishing the stream that was the main source of their problem (Matenga 2000: 1). The traditional connoisseurs claim that this act desecrated the sacred Chisikana Spring, silencing the mermaid and other voices that were previously heard there.

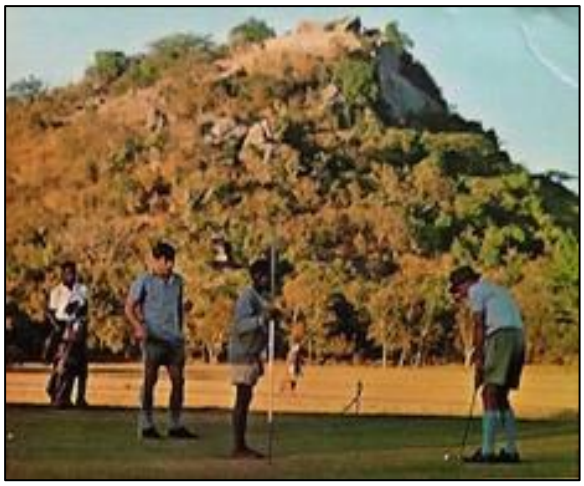


Figure 44. Golfers on the Great Zimbabwe golf course in the valley below the Hill Top Complex. Estimated c 1970. Courtesy Zimbabwe Ruins and Other Ruins of Central Africa.

The frequent use of the silence as a metaphor appears to me to be an allusion to the loss of sacredness of the site and the loss of the local elders' voice as custodians. Fontein summarises this silence of the Great Zimbabwe site as one of anger and not of happiness; he defines it as the loss of the *Mwari*, god, the site's voice and the sound of people and animals going about their daily business with no visible source (Fontein 2006: 77). I can imagine that the sound of the stream was also a significant experiential aspect of this part of the site in the past, and its removal would have contributed to the new soundscape on the site. But, while walking on the site, I heard and recorded the everyday sounds of people and animals and I therefore read the silence he refers to as being metaphorical and related to ancestral voices.

In 2000, Matenga, in his capacity as the NMMZ's director of Great Zimbabwe, hosted a *bira*, cleansing ceremony, to revive the Chisikana Spring. Several NMMZ officials and elders from the Mugabe, Nemanwa and Charumbira clans attended. The concrete was broken open, ceremonies and speeches ensued and the attendees drank beer brewed on site. Following a speech by Haruzivishe, in which he claimed the Mugabe clan's sole rights to custodianship and management of Great Zimbabwe, a fight almost broke out but was quelled (Haruzivishe & Matenga. pers. comm. 2015: 132).



Figure 45. The Chisikana Spring. 2015. © G.A.Massie

The Chisikana Spring is symbolically unchanged in the eyes of the elders since the *bira* and appears to me from my fieldtrips to be far from the abundant spring that used to flow. The concrete was broken in the hope of restoring the flow of water, but the water never returned with any clarity or abundance. I took a photograph of the Chisikana Spring in 2015 following some heavy rain at the site and it resembles a stagnant pool with a trickle of water leaving it; there was no evidence of the flowing stream that it used to produce (Figure 45). In the water I saw shards of pots that appear to have been left from ceremonies. During my two fieldtrips, I observed similar shards in the Great Enclosure and on the Hill Top Complex. The remains of the concrete that was broken for the *bira* are visible on the edges of the pool and, for scale, I included the reflection of one of my co-supervisors, Justine Wintjes, in the water. This photograph only shows a small part of the original Chisikana Spring that extended, prior to the concreting, to where there are now dormitories on the site as marked on my annotated map (Figure 43). As Haruzivishe recollected during our interview,

> I think it's 1960s, from 1959 or 1960, that's when that Chisikana Spring was closed using concrete. But prior to that, there was water throughout. There was actually a garden that was being cultivated by whites. And I do not know what then made them to put concrete. But that concrete, we strongly suspect that it is the one that caused the water to stop flowing from the Chisikana Spring. Am not mocking you… is it not you who later on constructed dormitories just close to the Chisikana Spring. I think that also contributed to the stoppage of water from flowing out of the Chisikana Spring (Haruzivishe pers. comm. 2015: 109).

The Chisikana Spring is connected to wider issues of desecration and conflicting claims to Great Zimbabwe also appearing, in their own way, in the history of the Western Entrance to the Great Enclosure that I will now address.

The conflicting claims to Great Zimbabwe as seen through the Chisikana Spring and Western Entrance to the Great Enclosure

Great Zimbabwe, in the view of the traditional connoisseurs, has been misappropriated. The silences that arise from this misappropriation are a metaphor for the local clans' exclusion as the site's custodians as argued by Matenga:

> Recently there have been scholarly critiques on the apparent competition between state agenda and local voices on how the same heritage is perceived at the level of local communities in Zimbabwe. The titles of the recent works on this subject, *Your Monuments*, *Our Shrine: Preservation of Great Zimbabwe* (Ndoro 2001), and *The Silence of Great Zimbabwe: Contested Landscapes and the Power of Heritage* (Fontein 2006) both on the management of Great Zimbabwe, are loaded metaphors of perceived pent-up concerns of local communities on the apparent lack of accommodation of local narratives and views of how the site should be managed (Matenga 2011: 34).

The NMMZ's official stance is that the concrete was removed from the Chisikana Spring and its sacredness returned through the *bira*, but this is not the opinion of the local elders. The Mugabe and Nemanwa insist that the Great Zimbabwe sacredness will only return once they are recognised as the rightful custodians to Great Zimbabwe. As Aiden Nemanwa pointed out to Fontein, their contention is not just a question of the colonials departing but also their practices:

> Before the colonials came, the surrounding people were responsible for Great Zimbabwe's management. White people came and started managing it. The only people who were allowed to be seen there were those working there. During the colonial regime, white people controlled Great Zimbabwe. After independence, people are not yet independent, they are still following the ways of the white people. As there is not yet independence, spiritual independence, I have knowledge that I cannot divulge until independence. When Great Zimbabwe is again ruled by the traditional custodians, then there will be independence. Great Zimbabwe and the other shrines are still ruled in the white man's strategic ways (Aiden Nemanwa interview with Fontein. 21st October 2000 in Fontein 2006: 111).

It also is not just a question of changing the museumification, as the contest between the Nemanwa and Mugabe clans makes it difficult for the NMMZ to arrive at a fully cooperative process. For example, when the NMMZ tried to allow ceremonial practice back on Great Zimbabwe, it became 'a well-nigh impossible task to find a common position over the ruins' between the two clans (Matenga 2000: 1). The result is that most ceremonies including those at the Chisikana Spring, unless licenced on rare occasions by the NMMZ, are reduced to unclear, clandestine events which seem to be tolerated to some extent, even if only unofficially so.

The structural changes of the Western Entrance highlight some of the conflict arising from the curatorial politics at Great Zimbabwe. At the time of the 9th Frobenius Expedition, the collapsed entrance had been rebuilt as an open doorway, under the direction of the then curator St. Clair Wallace, between 1910 and 1914. Despite the fact that Wallace almost certainly knew at least two of the three entrances had been covered by lintels, he decided to rebuild the entrance as an open doorway. This rebuilding was guided by the architectural practice of Haram Bilqis[30], the 7th century BC temple traditionally associated with the Queen of Sheba (Matenga 1997: 6-13; Garlake 1973: 31). The reasons for Wallace's changes are arguably political and in pursuance of a colonial agenda as argued by Peter Stone:

> Whilst some sympathy must be expressed to early western archaeologists and explorers dealing with material cultures unknown to them, it is difficult to see this rebuilding as anything other than a deliberate attempt to bolster the colonial regime (Stone 2015:19).

Matenga argues that Wallace was also driven to convert the entrance on the Great Enclosure to open doorways to prevent further disintegration and to stop visitors from climbing to the top of the eleven-metre high walls (Matenga 1996: 2). Matenga, Garlake and Stone's observations highlight that there are also multiple contesting curatorial voices around Great Zimbabwe (Garlake 1973: 31; Matenga 1997: 6-13 and 1996; 2; Stone 2015:19). I identified in Matenga's 1996 paper that, when he began a project to rebuild the Western Entrance, there were further examples of the complexity of multiple curatorial voices in the form of contestations that I summarise here. The first argument from curators opposed to the reconstruction was that the original entrances may have failed in the early stages of the Great Enclosure and become an integral component of the 'space, use and meaning of the structure' (Matenga 1996: 11). The second argument was that the Mugabe people had seen the wall collapse and come to terms with it (Matenga 1996: 11). The third argument was that spectators had come to terms with the Wallace entrances and the rebuilding would bring 'an unwelcome revision of peoples image of the Great Enclosure' (Matenga 1996: 11). The arguments in favour of rebuilding were mainly based on it being a form of rehabilitation for Great Zimbabwe, bringing it back to its precolonial and pre-museumification time (Matenga 1996: 11).

[30] Haram Bilqis or Mahram Bilqis, is located outside the ancient city of Ma'rib which is 120 kilometers east of Sana'a, the capital city of the Republic of Yemen.

Matenga's project to rebuild was put on hold in view of the contesting arguments. It was re-activated in 1994, when the bulging of the walls presented a serious risk of collapse and a practical argument for reconstruction; reconstruction was completed in October 1995 (Matenga 1996: 10). Curiously, the two other Wallace open-style entrances to the Great Enclosure were not rebuilt, indicating that the strength of argument against change prevailed. Further examination is required to understand what influenced this decision but preliminary findings indicate this was due to budgetary constraints, the absence of any structural soundness concerns and the NMMZ's reluctance to allow further changes[31].

The curatorial politics over the Western Entrance, museumification of the site in general and contest amongst the Nemanwa and Mugabe over the Chisikana Spring demonstrate a part of the competing demands at Great Zimbabwe in recent history. As a living site of memory, the Chisikana Spring demonstrates there is collective shared knowledge of the past which brings unity but, in some cases, the inter-clan rivalry also brings some disunity (Winter 2010: 312). The Chisikana Spring has two historic moments of trauma, the kidnapping of Chisina and a point of desecration of the site through the colonial concreting process, with both stories having a parallel narrative as they relate the taking away of something from the site. The Western Entrance and Chisikana Spring narratives in this chapter also demonstrate that the reluctance of the NMMZ to freely allow ceremonies, clan control, observation of *chikaranga,* and the lack of consultation in the management, restoration and conservation of the ruins collectively contribute to the Mugabe and Nemanwa claims of desecration and silence. Fontein quotes Haruzivishe from his field notes:

> About the Chisikana Spring. Things are better now because water is running from there. But it is still cloudy it has not been settled and begun running clear yet. When things are sorted out, the soil has settled – when the dust has settled – then the Chisikana Spring might run clear and then I still think the Voice could return and be heard from the rocks on that hill in Masvingo here (Fontein field notes of discussion with Haruzivishe 21st July 2004 in Fontein 2006: 225).

My fieldtrip, nine years after this comment from Haruzivishe, indicates that physically and metaphorically the water is still not running clear, the soil has not settled and the voice has not returned.

[31] Edward Matenga (pers. comm. 2014) contends that the unstable nature of the Western Entrance enabled him to accelerate his motivation for permission and funding to reconstruct it.

This case study shows how photographs can make things both invisible and visible. In both photographs, the changes to the Western Entrance are, on the face of it, invisible. The structural changes are only recognisable through comparison between the original and repeat photographs and what they show about the conditions existing at each time. Through my subsequent step I moved beyond the frame of the photograph and was able to examine the broader social and geographic context of the Chisikana Spring. It is the hidden, whether deliberate or not, and the uncovering that is at the core of this research report and to which I now turn in the concluding chapter.

Conclusion

On my first field trip to Great Zimbabwe, I became aware of the local narratives and contested nature of the land but I was faced with a site and a body of research that were both enormous and I therefore needed a framework through which to enter the narratives and focus my research. The Frobenius pictorial archive provided that structure. During my research ahead of the second fieldtrip, my focus shifted to the recent history of Great Zimbabwe and its complexities. The Frobenius photographs that I examined are mediated translations, or re-presentations of what was present at the moment the shutter was released by a Frobenius team member. They appear to be intended as documentation of an archaeological site with some photographs intended for publication although not necessarily as art-type photographs. Art-type photographs tend to have an intentional and enduring impact, a *punctum*. When discussing what makes a notable photograph, Henri Cartier-Bresson proposed that it was a combination of the right spectrum and the selection of a specific point in time or event, the decisive moment, which he described thus:

> To me photography is the simultaneous recognition, in a fraction of a second, of the significance of an event as well as of a precise organization of forms which give that event its proper expression (Cartier-Bresson 1952: Preface).

The precise organisation of forms is present in the selected Frobenius archaeological documentary photographs as they are impressive re-presentations of monumental structures. The decisive moment in them may not initially include the event that occurs in a fraction of a second as anticipated by Cartier-Bresson. It is, after all, photography of structures that have stood for long periods of time with little or no activity save for archaeological intervention, local community activity and natural developments. There is no immediate distinguishable intended event per se on the surface of the photographs in my case studies but the moment of the shutter release provides Barthes' 'having been there' quality, which certifies the referent and photographer's presence (Barthes 1981: 76,87). The photographs are more part of a documentation process and not necessarily the capturing of an instant or event, which Cartier-Bresson may be calling for, but they have developed over time to be representations of events. This latent development resonates with the quote from Smiles & Moser (2005) in the introduction to this report and can be extended to include Susan Sontag's viewpoint when she writes of a photograph

> with the passing of time its moorings come unstuck. It drifts away into a soft abstract pastness, open to any kind of reading (Sontag 1977: 71).

The Frobenius photographers may have deliberately or accidently hidden or included information but this opening up to new readings changes what we can see over time. In both of my case studies, I have shown this drifting from the original photographs' purpose or *studium* and opened up new readings in my extended *punctum*.

In my first case study, the photograph, a contextual shot of the Recess Enclosure on the Hill Top Complex, offers, at first glance, an immediate striking visual representation of part the Great Zimbabwe monumental stonewalled ruins. It is only after deep close looking that I identified, in the background of the photograph, that the shutter release had seemingly unknowingly, or accidentally, captured a homestead which almost ninety years later forms the basis of new understandings of Great Zimbabwe through the Mujejeje Village. The enthusiasm and interest this finding evoked amongst those I consulted demonstrates what can be revealed through revisiting an archive and close re-looking. The various theories for the Mujejeje Village, each with its own merits, triggered new understanding of events on Great Zimbabwe both at the time of the original shutter release and now. The Frobenius photographer had accidentally, through including the homestead in the frame, captured the significant event of members of the local community continuing to live within the boundaries of this closed site long after it was believed the colonial authorities' enforced evictions had taken place. This event is seen in two locales: the Mugabe Chief residing on the Hill Top Complex until his death and burial there in 1928; and the Mugabe clan's gatekeepers, should we follow Haruzivishe's narrative, still on duty at the Mujejeje. Frobenius' photographer has accidentally complied with the decisive moment by capturing these momentous events, which over time came to be recognised in my work.

Photographers initially only capture what is in the frame, in a way decontextualizing the referent. By this I mean that photography involves a natural or deliberate selection process leading to the final image. In a photograph, there are many choices made by the photographer including extensive cropping, selection of vantage point, depth of field and length of exposure, as well as the development of the negative and printing of positives, which all influence the resulting photograph. The photograph, produced at the decisive moment, denies the viewer context, the surrounding elements, beyond that which is captured in the frame. This framing and selection has the dual effect of making things both visible and invisible as the photograph evidences a pre-existing condition while the spectator can become, with some training, aware of additional lost

or hidden aspects. In the second case study, the photographer's framing process rendered the Chisikana Spring invisible but almost ninety years later, through my process of re-looking, the Chisikana Spring has become visible and central to my findings. It has by extension captured two traumatic events, the abduction of Chisina and the closing of the sacred spring by park authorities. Both events mark something being taken away, resulting in trauma that adds to the locale's being a living site of memory and a continuing part of the traditional connoisseurs' narrative.

In this report I argue that by finding new ways to see, there are new things to be seen. This new information can in turn replenish the archive, providing new material that will one day become the raw material for other researchers (Chirikure et al 2016: 17). In this self-regenerating way, the archive takes on a new life with infinite possibilities, irrespective of its original purpose. My findings in this project support this argument in contributing meaningful information to the Frobenius Institute Archive, the FWG and academics interested in the recent history of Great Zimbabwe. But my project goes beyond re-seeing the Mujejeje Village and Chisikana Spring as this can be read as merely a starting point. Deeper investigation, for instance, into the materials identified at the site of the Mujejeje Village, and a more intensive survey of the granite outcrop on which it stood, could provide more information as to time periods and activities. The repeat photographs listed in Appendix 1 show the wide array of projects the Frobenius pictorial archive could generate, including a fascinating identification, for me, of the use of forced labour prisoners by colonial authorities to maintain and work on a sacred colonised site. While the depth of layers of this finding lie beyond the scope of my research project, it is a significant finding of the recent social history of Great Zimbabwe that Frobenius has, accidentally I imagine, opened up to the possibility of further investigation through his pictorial archive.

Through my interest in recent history, I have placed the contestation between the Mugabe and Nemanwa clans, and in turn with the NMMZ, over guardianship of Great Zimbabwe at the core of this report. VaMututucari's metaphorical fly in the milk and the cloudy waters at the Chisikana Spring I discussed earlier continue today (Fontein 2006: 112,225). Fontein acknowledges that the contestations will continue between all parties but, on a more optimistic note, he sees a way forward by having discussed the silences and brought them into the public consciousness. Although the site may never be handed back to the elders to manage, by respecting it and consulting with the elders the voices may return (Fontein 2006: 225). Although the NMMZ's museum practice has evolved to be more consultative and take into account the traditional connoisseur narrative, my experience during this project was that the contestations and resulting

impasse remain largely as they were when documented by Fontein (2004 & 2006), Matenga (1997,2000 & 2011) and Ndoro (2001). It may be through repeatedly revisiting recent history and local narratives, as I have done, that the awareness of the contestations may increase. There will, however, need to be a major shift in NMMZ policy to increase the understanding and awareness of the local communities' recent history and relevance at a site where it seems, on the whole, the museumification focus is on the 13^{th-} to 16th century origins and use.

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SAGIYA, M.E. Curator, Great Zimbabwe National Monument. E-mail communications with Gordon Massie. Various from May 2015 to December 2015.

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WINTJES, J. FWG leader and WITS academic staff. Various from September 2014 to March 2016.

Appendix 1. Repeat photography catalogue

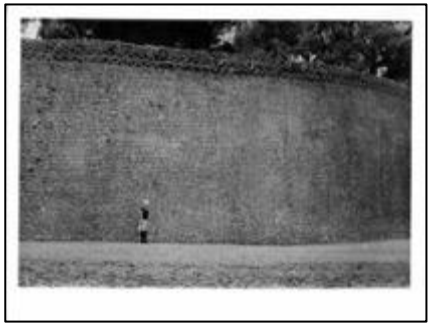
Frobenius thumbnail **All © Frobenius Institute**	**Repeat photograph.** **All © FWG**	**Observations**
FoA-9-11491 	Not repeated	**View of Great Zimbabwe valley from the Hill Top Complex** Provides a research overview of the valley with the ability to research landscape, vegetation and curatorial changes. Repeat failed due to inability to locate vantage point and low lying mist on day of planned shoot
FoA-9-11492 		**Facing East to the Great Enclosure in the Great Zimbabwe Valley** Re-seeing the Western Entrance to the Great Enclosure and Chisikana Spring case study

FoA-9-11494 		**Western Entrance to the Great Enclosure** Re-seeing the Western Entrance to the Great Enclosure and Chisikana Spring case study
FoA-9-11495 		**Inside the Great Enclosure 1** Provides ability to discuss politics of curatorial change as this entrance's structure was rebuilt and expedition team member as a *mise-en-scène*.

FoA-9-11497 		**Inside the Great Enclosure 2** Provides ability to examine, vegetation change, politics of curatorial change as there are signs of rebuilding, and site management as the vantage point appears to be on top of the walling.
FoA-9-11500 	Not repeated	**Inside the Great Enclosure 3** Repeat failed in view of wrong lighting conditions and project time priorities.

FoA-9-11502 		**Inside the Great Enclosure 4** Provides ability to examine, vegetation change, politics of curatorial change as there are signs of rebuilding and landscaping,
FoA-9-11504 		**Inside the Great Enclosure 5** Provides ability to examine, vegetation change, politics of curatorial change, as there are signs of rebuilding and the ground level change, as it appears higher than in original image.

FoA-9-11505a 		**Inside the Great Enclosure 6** Provides ability to examine, vegetation change, politics of curatorial change as there are signs of rebuilding,
FoA-9-11507a 		**Inside the Great Enclosure 7** Provides ability to examine, vegetation change, politics of curatorial change as there are signs of rebuilding,

FoA-9-11508 		**Inside the Great Enclosure 8** Provides ability to examine, politics of curatorial change as there are signs of rebuilding,
FoA-9-11512 		**Great Enclosure Western Wall** Provides ability to examine, vegetation change, politics of curatorial change, as there are signs of structural change and the *mise-en-scène.* Extending the context provides an exciting punctum, as the foundations of the prison huts for hard labour prisoners are 100 metres from this wall

FoA-9-11519 		**Inside the Great Enclosure 9** Provides ability to examine politics of curatorial change as there are signs of rebuilding,
FoA-9-11529 		**View of Valley from the Hill Top Complex** Provides ability to examine, vegetation change, politics of curatorial change, as there are signs of rebuilding, the hotel in the valley and, in the context of plundering, the monoliths leaning against the temple wall that do not recur in the repeat photograph

FoA-9-11533 (and 11534,11536) 	Not repeated	**Western Temple on the Hill Top Complex** Provides ability to examine, vegetation change, politics of curatorial change as there are signs of rebuilding and the presence of graffiti on the boulders
FoA-9-11545 		**Recess Enclosure 1** Provides ability to examine politics of curatorial change as there are signs of structural change,

FoA-9-11546 		**Recess Enclosure 2** Provides ability to examine, vegetation change and politics of curatorial change as there are signs of structural change,
FoA-9-11561 		**View from the Hill Top Complex over the Recess Enclosure into the Great Zimbabwe Valley** Re-seeing the Mujejeje and Mujejeje Village case study

Appendix 2. Great Zimbabwe Maps

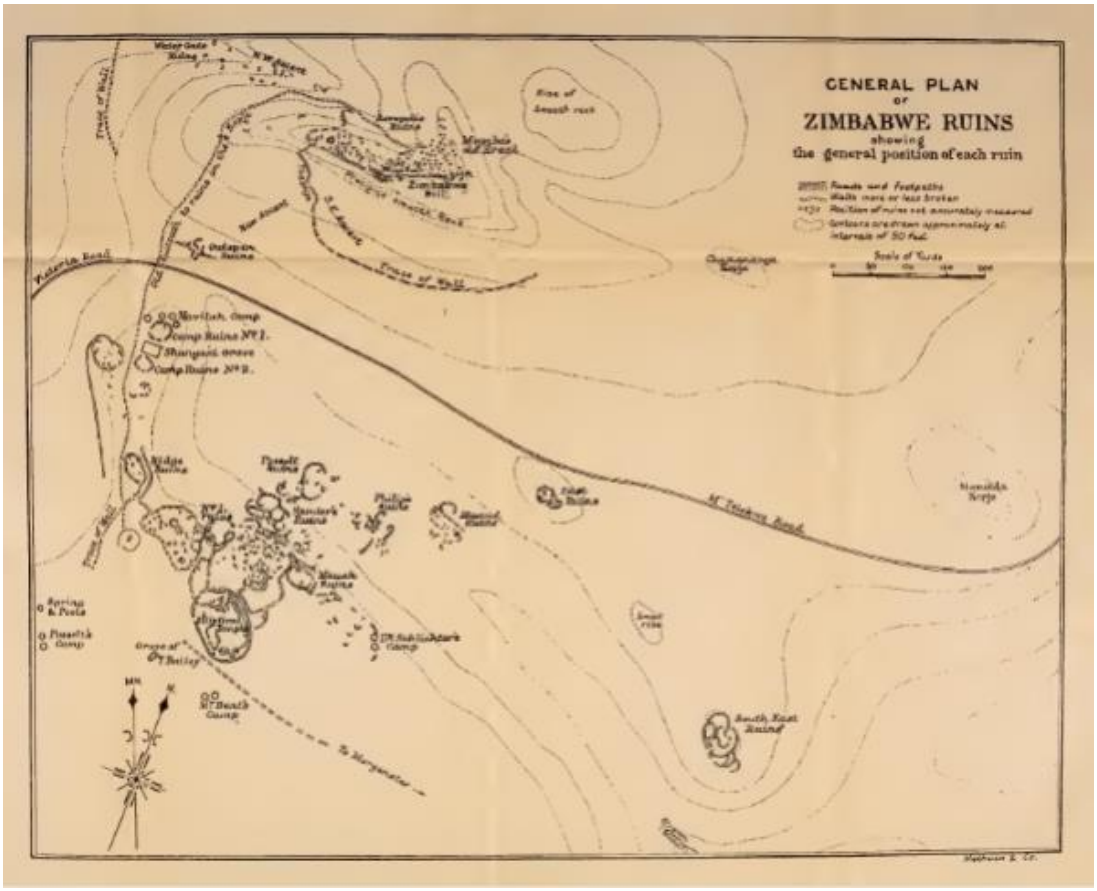
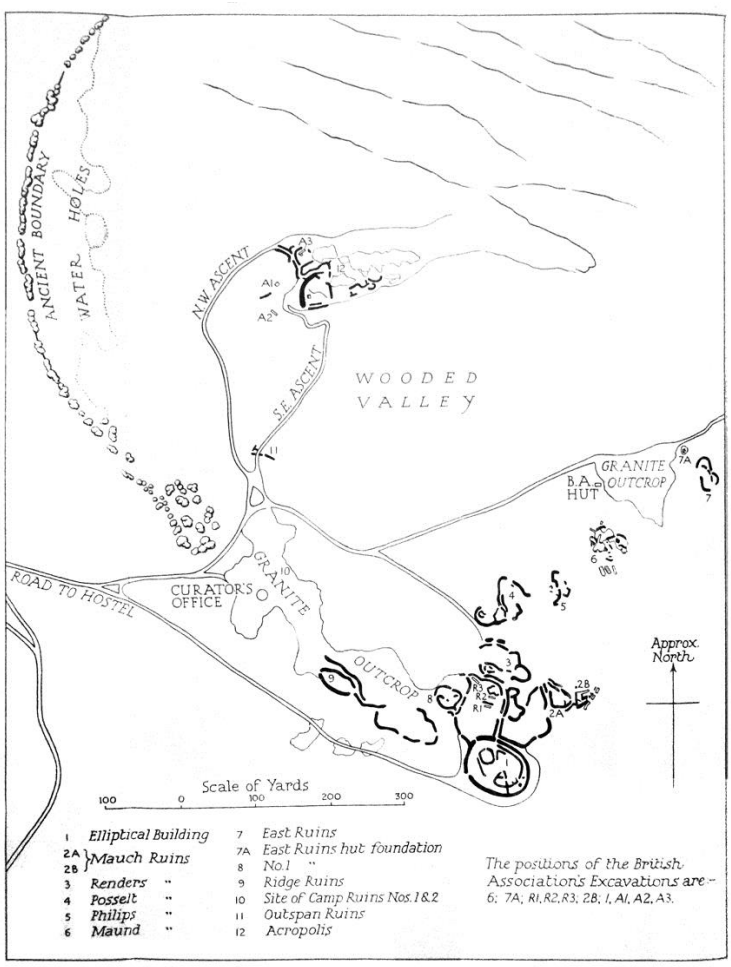


Figure 46. General Plan of Zimbabwe Ruins (Hall 1905: insert between pages 8 & 9)



ZIMBABWE: RUIN-FIELD

Figure 47. Map of Great Zimbabwe produced (Caton-Thompson 1931: insert between pages 14 and 15).

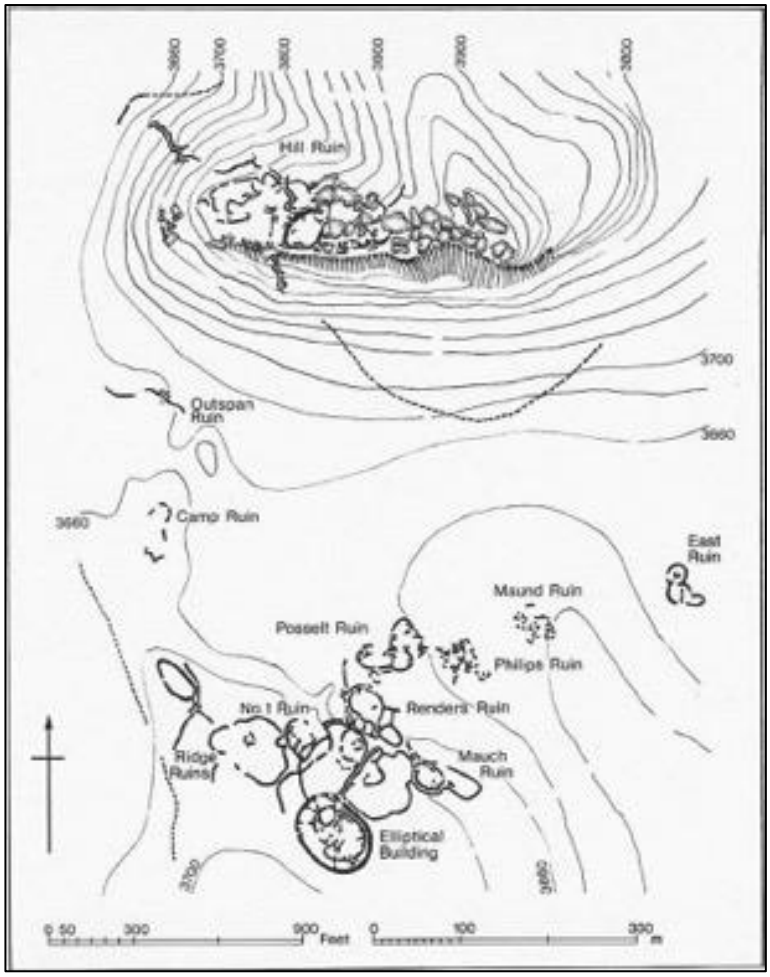


Figure 48. Map of Great Zimbabwe (Garlake: 1973)

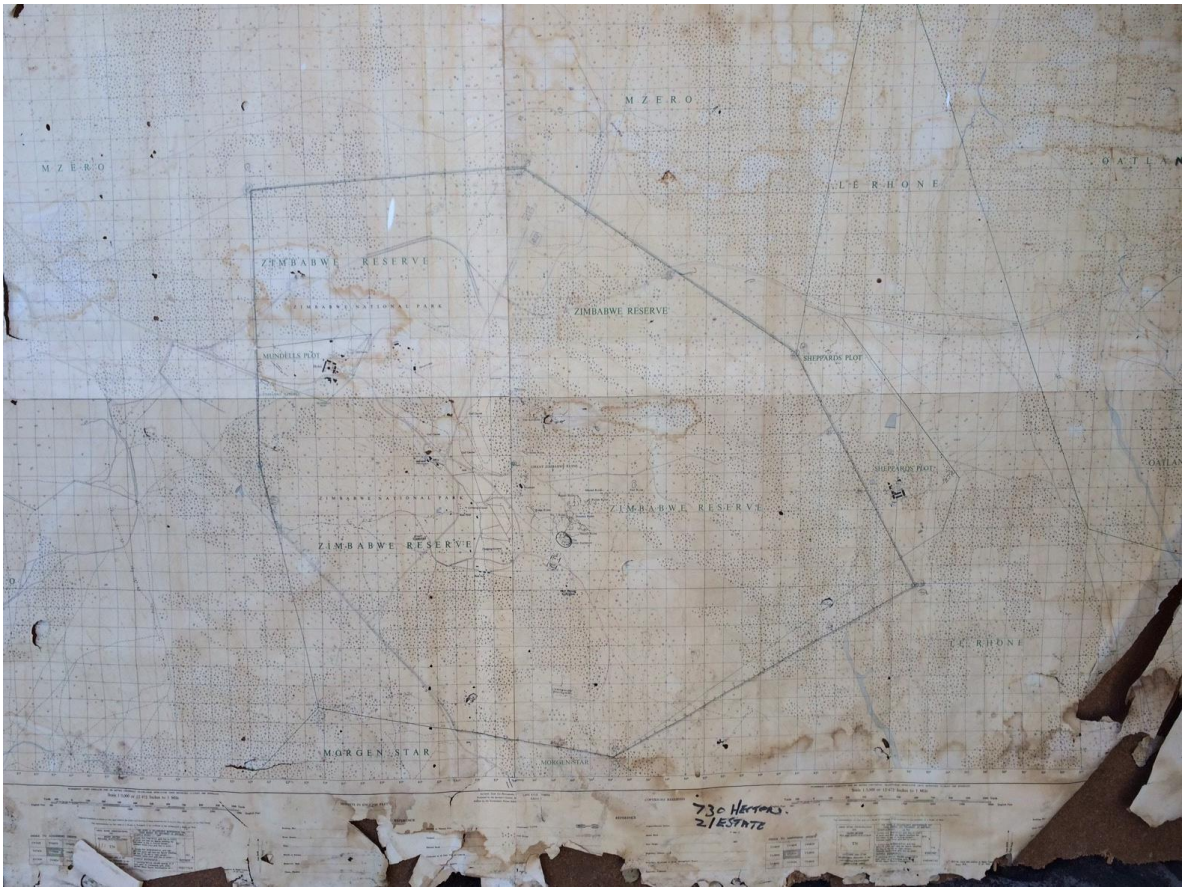


Figure 49. Crop of 1950's map photographed in the Great Zimbabwe administrative offices archive. 2015. © G.A.Massie

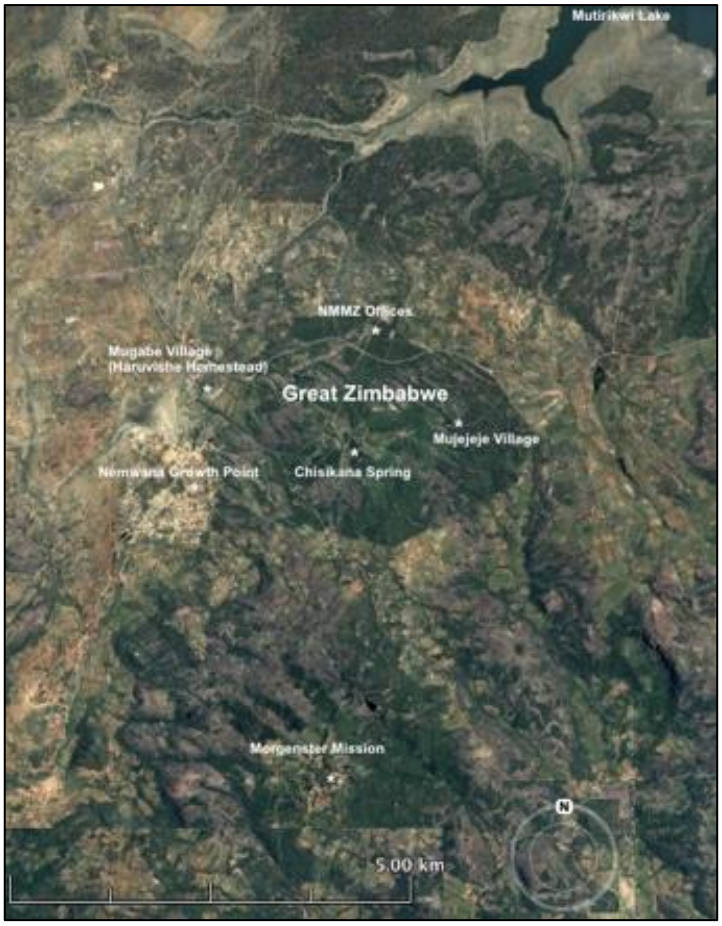


Figure 50. Google Maps 2016 satellite imagery of Great Zimbabwe area with research report locales marked

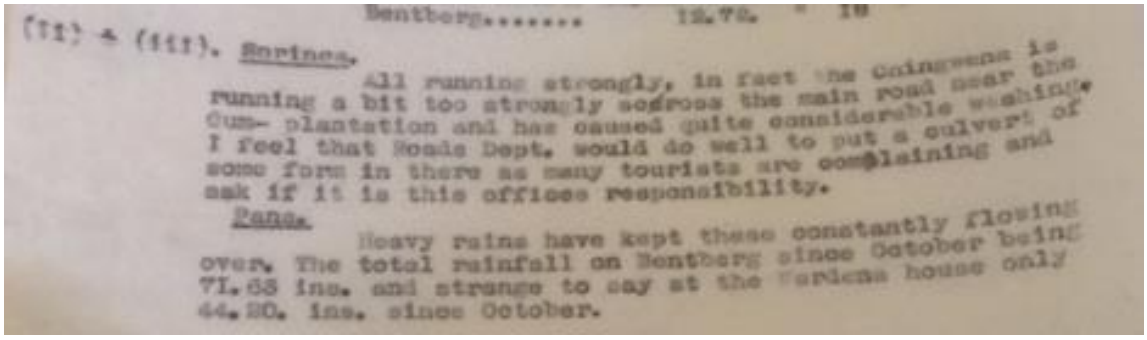
Appendix 3. Extracts from Park Warden's report

The following clips are extracted from monthly reports examined at the Great Zimbabwe Administration offices archive during my 2015 fieldtrip. They are included to illustrate the concerns over water ingress on the golf course at Great Zimbabwe in 1955 that led to the Chisikana Spring being concreted. They are all:

Addressed to: The Director, Department of National Parks, and PO BOX 8140 Causeway.

From: Zimbabwe National Park, P B. [PO Box] 87 Fort Victoria.

Signed: Warden, Zimbabwe National Park (no name on report) or by the Assistant to the Warden



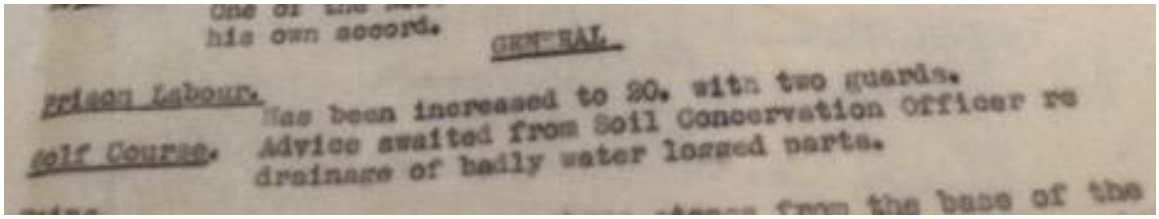
(ii) & (iii). Springs.

All running strongly, in fact the Coingwena is running a bit too strongly acgross the main road near the Gum- plantation and has caused quite considerable washing. I feel that Roads Dept. would do well to put a culvert of some form in there as many tourists are complaining and ask if it is this offices responsibility.

Pans.

Heavy rains have kept these constantly flowing over. The total rainfall on Bentberg since October being 71.63 ins. and strange to say at the Fortress house only 44.80. ins. since October.

Figure 51. Extract from Park Warden report for March 1954



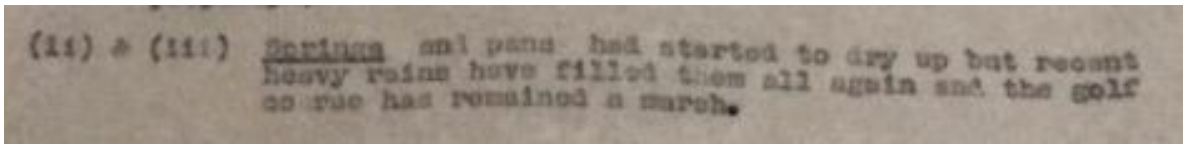
his own accord.

GENERAL.

Prison Labour. Has been increased to 20. with two guards.

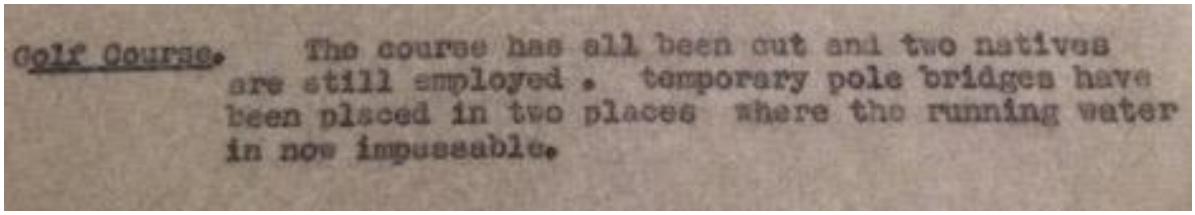
Golf Course. Advice awaited from Soil Conservation Officer re drainage of badly water logged parts.

Figure 52. Extract from Park Warden report for February 1955.



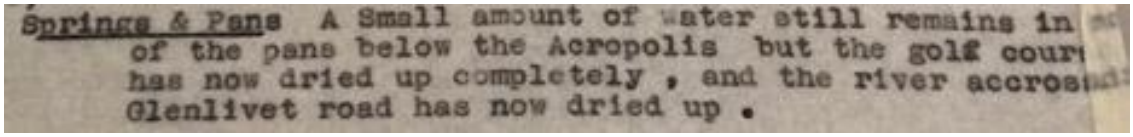
(ii) & (iii) Springs and pans had started to dry up but recent heavy rains have filled them all again and the golf course has remained a marsh.

Figure 53. Extract from Park Warden report for April 1955



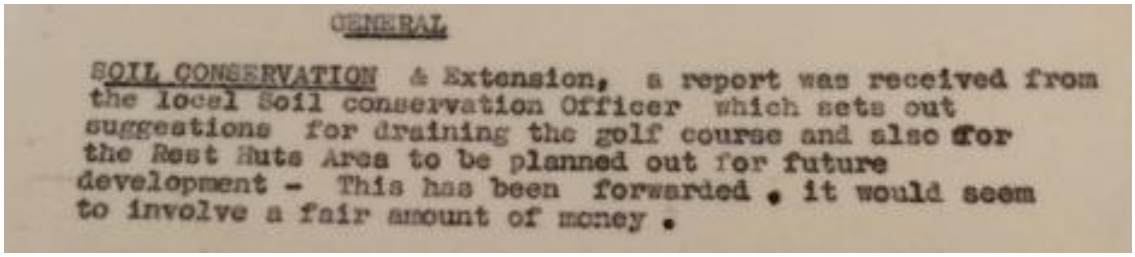
Golf Course. The course has all been cut and two natives are still employed . temporary pole bridges have been placed in two places where the running water is now impassable.

Figure 54. Extract from Park Warden report for April 1955



Springs & Pans A Small amount of water still remains in
of the pans below the Acropolis but the golf cour
has now dried up completely , and the river accros
Glenlivet road has now dried up .

Figure 55. Extract from Park Warden report for June 1955



GENERAL

SOIL CONSERVATION & Extension, a report was received from the local Soil conservation Officer which sets out suggestions for draining the golf course and also for the Rest Huts Area to be planned out for future development - This has been forwarded . it would seem to involve a fair amount of money .

Figure 56. Extract from Park Warden report for August 1955

Appendix 4. Transcript of Meetings with Sekuru Samuel Haruzivishe, Mugabe Village Headman

In two recorded meetings Samuel Haruzivishe discusses aspects of Great Zimbabwe with the FWG. Topics discussed include the Mujejeje, Mujejeje Village, Chisikana Spring, burial sites, ancestral lineage, Haruzivishe's biography, sprit mediums, recent history of Great Zimbabwe, relationships with other clans, custodial claims and management of Great Zimbabwe, the traditional (Karanga/Shona) village, traditional pottery, homestead building techniques and homestead traditional arrangement, the hotels and golf course at Great Zimbabwe, visiting tourists and hard labour prisoners.

Date of meetings:	25th November 2015
Contributors[32]:	
Interviewee	Samuel Haruzivishe (Mugabe Village Head)
Interviewers	Dr. Justine Wintjes (FWG and Wits Great Zimbabwe excursion leader, Wits academic staff) Gordon Massie (Wits student and FWG member) Stacey Vorster (Wits academic staff) Meeting translation Dr. Edward Matenga (Former Director, Great Zimbabwe, NMMZ)
Transcript drafting	Munyaradzi Elton Sagiya (Curator, Great Zimbabwe, NMMZ)
Audio files	Available from Dr. Justine Wintjes (Wits) Justine.Wintjes@wits.ac.za Length 1:39:12 and 46:32

Meeting process and context

Matenga and Sagiya arranged the meetings. Matenga managed the meeting process and provided immediate brief translations between Shona and English as required. The detailed translation and transcript was subsequently prepared by Sagiya and then edited by Massie. Throughout the process an objective balance was required to ensure the transcript was true to the intent of the speakers and understandable to a reader not familiar with the meetings. The meetings were in two locations. The first, which was opened and closed through a process of group clapping led by Haruzivishe, was on the porch of Haruzivishe's home in the Mugabe Village with attendees seated on chairs and benches in a circle. Traditional homemade beer was shared. The group then drove into the Great Zimbabwe site where Haruzivishe demonstrating the entrance ritual at the Mujejeje and started the second meeting. The group subsequently walked to the granite outcrop on which the remnants of the Mujejeje village are visible.

[32] Four additional members of the Wits excursion group attended the meetings but were not recorded in the discussions.

Transcript

Meeting at Haruzivishe's home

Background Information

Haruzivishe: (*Indicating Matenga*). These issues are between you and me

Matenga: You can talk about those issues, its fine.

Haruzivishe: You should not turn back now; you are the one who started this. You remember when we did the Chisikana Spring traditional ceremony? You remember when we worked together in the rehabilitation of the Great Zimbabwe environment? You uprooted the gum *(eucalyptus)* trees, and I did not approve the mounting of those scaffolds. Did those scaffolds collapse? *(Referring to scaffolds that were mounted on the Hill Top Complex in the early 1990s, monitoring a bulge in the walling)*.

Matenga: No they did not collapse.

Haruzivishe: So now that you have started, I want you, together with Sagiya, to relocate me to the monument. You should leave me settled within the site. I was not happy with that location when you relocated the Karanga village to the northern side of the Hill Top Complex. But now I am happy the village is located back at the side that I like. There is no home without a father or a chief. For your village you dropped the name Karanga and you now prefer to use the name Shona village. I acknowledge that we have many languages in this country but we were not supposed to change the language of our region because it is within us.

Matenga: Let me try to give a summary of what he is talking about. He said Edward, the process that you started a long time when we were working together. He began with the rehabilitation of the spring. You remember we talked about this, that place close by the Great Enclosure and also the uprooting of eucalyptus. I think I showed you yesterday. And then all the process to make this place what it should be. But he is disturbed that the Shona village is called the Shona village. It should be called the Karanga village, which refers specifically to the people who are living in this area. You know Shona is much bigger.

Wintjes: Yes Karanga is a smaller unit.

Matenga: Yes a unit within that bigger group. So he wants restoration, if you started the process of restoration we believe everything must be carried to the final conclusion, which is the restoration of Karanga as the name of the village.

Haruzivishe: As you know the village should have a resident elder. This village contradicts other villages. This village was for the chief who looked after the ruins. Nobody doubts who that chief is; he is Chief Mugabe. The other claims that people raise, for example that the ruins belong to the Nemanwa or Charumbira, are for those greedy people who want to be associated with this great place. We have been quiet about their claims thinking that they will realise that this place has got its owners. This place has caused trouble to offenders; it has caused death to many people. None of the Nemanwa clan members who received the Zimbabwe Bird are still alive. *(Referring to bird number 8, which was returned during a handover ceremony from Germany.)*

Matenga: He is talking about the role of traditional leadership in the entire management system of Great Zimbabwe. For example he is of the view that the Shona village, if it is going to be a genuine restoration of a Karanga village, must have a village head and as far as we know, the last village head was his grandfather. This is just background and we are supposed to go into the specifics and ask questions but I suppose we have to listen to this background information.

Matenga: Grandfather, I hear what you are saying. Sagiya is the curator now; myself I was chased away *(joking, and laughing)*.

Haruzivishe: I will tie him on my belt such that he will reveal everything to me and not hide things. *(Laughing)*

Matenga: That's true. The purpose of our visit is for the people we have brought to you to ask you their questions Sagiya and I will be assisting each other in doing the translation. We have already given them the background information and they already know that there are issues. I also suppose that when you were talking they now have an understanding of your position with regards to the history of Great Zimbabwe. You are the grandchild of the last custodian of the site.

Matenga: I am saying that you know his position in the management system of Great Zimbabwe. I also said to him that you are going to be asking specific questions directly

and which he needs to answer. There is going to be a direct conversation between you and him.

Haruzivishe: Before I move on to that, Edward you used to know me as village head Gwauya, is that not so? But this is not what was discovered at the District Administrator's offices during the election days. My sisters went there to register and they were asked about their village of origin, they said Gwauya. They were told that there is no village called Gwauya within the Mugabe area. So when they told me about that, I questioned why I am the village head Gwauya if there is no such village in the Mugabe area. They then tried to look for such a name within Masvingo District and they realised that it was a village within Chief Murinye. So we went to the District Administrators offices to verify why it is being said I am not within Mugabe as village head. They checked their records and that's when they noted that I am the Village Head Mugabe. So this village is now known as Mugabe.

Matenga: So you are saying this place is now known as Mugabe Village?

Haruzivishe: Yes this is official and it is known at the District Administrators offices.

Matenga: I heard you and let me translate this one. He is also giving background to the process of restoration that he is talking about. There were some problems in the manner in which the documents were archived. I think it has something to do with death and birth registrations, which also involves these village heads. The information had been lost but now they have managed to locate the documents. He has been made village head of this area. So he is now the Headman Mugabe. If I may explain the relationship between Mugabe and Haruzivishe?

Wintjes: Yes

Matenga: Mugabe is the name of the chieftainship of this area. Say 1870, 1890 this territory was under Mugabe.

Wintjes: Yes, Mugabe name comes up so often in those books.

Matenga: Absolutely and Haruzivishe, his grandfather, was crowned Mugabe in 1892, 1894?

Haruzivishe: 1895.

Matenga: 1895, yes. This is the reason why he can be called Mr Samuel Mugabe. It is because they are using the chieftainship name. So grandfather, I now handover to them so that they can ask you their questions.

Clapping of hands (for about 6 seconds)

The Mujejeje homestead

Wintjes: Where should we start? Do you think we should start by showing him the picture?

Massie: Sure.

Wintjes: So Edward you have been speaking with Samuel about this village. What have you talked about the discovery of this village? Have you guys spoken about the village before?

Sagiya: Yes we did. From what he was saying, he emphasised that he was born and bred within the Great Zimbabwe estate. As were some of his forefathers who stayed within the estate. He said that there were homesteads within the estate but it was a bit tricky for him to identify the family of that particular homestead that I explained to him, close to the Mujejeje.

Massie: *(while showing Samuel Haruzivishe the photograph of the Mujejeje village)*: So this photograph is taken in 1928. It is from the Hill Top Complex looking down into the valley and the Mujejeje is over this way. Here there is a settlement, which I think has got 8 houses on it.

Wintjes: And grain bins as well. You know grain bins that look like small houses. You can see the houses, the big houses and small houses for the grain; there is also a big tree in the middle of the village*. (Showing Haruzivishe these features on the photograph).*

Haruzivishe: This village is likely to be that of the Mugabe family because Matorevhu was Mugabe's son. Matorevhu had, as the ruling family, the following sons. Haruzivishe who was the elder son and then Chipfunhu who was killed by the pioneer soldiers in 1894. So he died, during the early years of the coming of the Europeans. It might be not be clear but the whites no longer wanted to recognise that there was a Chief Mugabe within the ruins. Chipfunhu was killed near a place called Danger where

our tunnel is. That's where Chipfunhu was killed. When Haruzivishe heard that his brother was shot he went there to collect the body and re-buried his remains within the ruins. He left a false grave in the place where he was killed. Haruzivishe reigned from 1895. He ruled Great Zimbabwe for a long time. He was chief for 33 years. The year he died is the year I was born, 1928. So Haruzivishe is the one who ruled from the Hill, following his father Matorevhu who also ruled from the Hill. There are two passages linking the top of the Hill. During the time Matorevhu, the son of Mugabe, ruled, there used to be people with drums. One would be at one path then the other one on the other path. When Matorevhu was climbing up the hill to rule from the Hill Top Complex, they would play their drums so his footsteps would not be heard. I believe these houses *(the Mujejeje Village photographed in 1928)* belong to the Matorevhu of Haruzivishe families. Haruzivishe never left the ruins, he was born there to his father Matorevhu and he grew up within the ruins. He then ruled from the ruins. His brothers did not rule from Great Zimbabwe, one was at Uvuri, and Dumbu was at Ganda, Morgenster Mission now. They ruled from there. But Haruzivishe ruled while permanently residing within the ruins.

Matenga: You know what we will probably do is a very close transcription. But let me summarise what he is talking about. He is saying there was a conflict in 1894 with the white administration (or the Rhodesian administration) in Masvingo. There was a conflict between the Mugabe chief, Chipfunhu, whose homestead or headquarters were at Morgenster Mission. In that conflict Chipfunhu was shot, it's in the books, he was shot and killed. After that, Haruzivishe, his grandfather, took over the reins.

Wintjes: 1895?

Matenga: 1895 and Haruzivishe was located on top of the Hill.

Wintjes: And those photographs we see in the books of the houses on top of the Hill that we have not found yet.

Matenga: You remember the summit?

Wintjes: Yes on the other side, down, the northern slopes.

Matenga: Yes, the homestead was located there before he became chief and after he was installed chief in 1895. So he said that those homesteads, he is making a general statement, could be connected to the Haruzivishe settlement.

Haruzivishe: There is no doubt about it. It is true that those where the homesteads of Matorevhu and Haruzivishe because Matorevhu never left Great Zimbabwe. He remained there after his father. Those who ruled from outside Great Zimbabwe were his brothers, Chipfunhu and Dumbu. Haruzivishe ruled, after his brothers, from within the ruins where he was born until his death, Even his grave is on the Hill.

Matenga: He is saying Haruzivishe never left the Hill, the Great Zimbabwe area, throughout his reign he was located at the site and he was actually buried there.

Wintjes: On the hill?

Matenga: On the hill yes, just behind.

Massie: When was that?

Matenga: He died in 1928.

Haruzivishe: 1928, this is the year I was born.

Matenga: That's when he was actually born.

Wintjes: You were born in 1928?

Haruzivishe: Yes!

Wintjes: Wow that's amazing!

Haruzivishe: (*laughing*).

Massie: So were you born on the Hill?

Haruzivishe: No. I was born *(speaking in English, then he stops, laughs)* I can say, do you know the hill close to the Masvingo Rural District's offices *(the mountain 3 km southwest of Great Zimbabwe)*

Sagiya: Romorehoto.

Haruzivishe: Yes Romorehoto, I was born at Romorehoto. It was the area occupied by some of Haruzivishe's junior wives.

Matenga: He was born at the homestead where his grandmother was located, not very far from Growth Point, now called Nemanwa. It is in this direction *(south of where the meeting was taking place)*. Because Haruzivishe was a polygamous man as a chief, his wives would be located in different places. His grandmother was there. But all this area was known as Great Zimbabwe.

Haruzivishe: Yes, yes that's true *(speaking in English)*

Wintjes: So the village was on top of the Hill, when did they move off the Hill?

Haruzivishe: I can say it was 1928 because when Haruzivishe was ruling he did not want that hill to be accessed by everyone. His wish was to look after the place as the home of his father. He had challenges with the people who first fenced the Hill. I cannot remember exactly when the Hill was fenced. I think the Hill was fenced from round 1923 or earlier. But he did not want it fenced. So when the Hill was fenced people were removed from the ruins to reside around Great Zimbabwe. You know where the primary school is located?

Matenga: Nemanwa?

Haruzivishe: Yes, that area belongs to Manunure, son of Haruzivishe. Then there is the place currently occupied by Rati (Radison), that hill is called Mashongwe. Haruzivishe was giving his sons hills. Then Madungwe was on this side. Where I live. The place was given to the Madungwes. They were now residing around the Hill, Great Zimbabwe.

Matenga: He is says that the gradual dispersal of the homesteads took place after 1928 when Haruzivishe died. That's basically the message. But he had resisted evictions from the site until he died in 1928, when the evictions were completed.

Wintjes: And he was still up the hill to that time?

Matenga: Where is the actual location, where was your grandfather staying?

Haruzivishe: Where did grandfather reside? Do you remember that granite outcrop that I mentioned during that traditional ceremony when you provided us with grains? *(Referring to Matenga)* I indicated to you that granite outcrop where Haruzivishe stayed. But when ruling, he would rule while on top of the Hill.

Matenga: Okay, he is saying that his homestead was situated on the other side; you know those rock spurs?

Wintjes: On the northern side?

Matenga: Yes of the Hill. That's where his homestead was. But when he wanted to bring his *indunas* and all of the important arms of the state, he would climb on top of the hill and hold a conference and then people, as he said earlier on, would be beating drums.

Wintjes: Yes, I see that.

Haruzivishe: All the chiefs, you say in Great Zimbabwe but we call it Dzimbahwe, used to gather at Dzimbahwe every year.

Matenga: They used to hold conferences for the chiefs, important people, and an annual conference and when they came they would host them.

Wintjes: On the Hill?

Matenga: Yes on the Hill.

Wintjes: I heard you mention 1923, what happened? I think you said 19...something, 1923, what happened in 1923?

Haruzivishe: 1923. I think that is the first year the Hill was fenced by the whites so that people could not easily access it. But my grandfather did not move out of the Hill. They left him alone up to the time of his death. When he died that's when the whites got the power to say now the locals are no longer permitted to reside within the ruins.

Matenga: He is saying that around 1923, this process of removal of people from the monument had started which also involved putting a fence around the site. It was difficult for them to go straight to the chief and tell him to leave the site. So he remained there until 1928. And after 1928 of course that sort of force was employed.

Wintjes: Okay, do you remember anything about a village in this kind of a location, close to the bottom of the Hill? *(Showing Haruzivishe the picture of a village close to Mujejeje taken in 1928)*

Matenga: May I ask, Sagiya, did you try to explain the location of this village to him?

Sagiya: Of the village, yes, this is the village that I explained, so close to Mujejeje *(directing this to Haruzivishe)*

Wintjes: And this photograph is about 1928.

Haruzivishe: 1928

Wintjes: Yes and the village or homestead is quite close to the Hill and close to the Mujejeje.

Haruzivishe: 1928. I believe that is when the majority of the people were being evicted. Had the Ancient hotel *(Lodge at the Ancient City, east of Great Zimbabwe estate)* been built?

Matenga: That is the place close to the location of the village, when you are there one actually sees the Ancient City hotel.

Haruzivishe: When these people were being evicted, I believe not all families moved out of the monument. I think this village belongs to one of the Haruzivishe family or a homestead of a family belonging to the Matorevhu family who remained behind on that side. But the majority of the people had been moved out of the monument.

Matenga: So he is saying that specifically he would not be able to tell. But in the extended family, because this is a big family. It is not only the incumbent chief but also the chief before him, so this is a big family. I just want to ask my question. Grandfather, a homestead that was referred as the homestead belonging to Chenga, did you ever heard about that?

Haruzivishe: You know that our history is about memory, but these ones *(Wintjes and colleagues)* have 'recorded history' *(speaking in English)*. So I might have heard about that homestead as told by elders. There are maybe different homesteads that belonged to our relatives living with us.

Matenga: He said that there is a difference between recorded history and their own history. So that name does not ring a bell.

Wintjes: Chenga, okay.

Massie: I wonder if we can describe to him using the ruins further on, beyond the Mujejeje and the settlements there, who would be there?

Matenga: Richard Hall, in his journey east, the next village from Mujejeje is Chenga.

The Chisikana Spring

Massie: Thank you. That's great. Can I ask him for a moment please? There is a fountain/ spring that is near the Great Enclosure which was concreted over at some stage and do you remember that happening? When was that and why did the authorities do it?

Sagiya: He is asking about the Chisikana Spring that was once closed with concrete, do you still remember or what stories do you know about that act?

Haruzivishe: That one I still remember. I think it was in the 1960s, from 1959 or 1960, that was when that spring was closed using concrete. Prior to that, there was water throughout. There was actually a garden cultivated by the whites. I do not know what made them put the concrete but we strongly suspect that the concrete is what caused the water to stop flowing from the spring. I am not mocking you (*looking at Matenga*). Wasn't it you that you who later on constructed dormitories close to the spring? I think that also contributed to the stoppage of water flowing from the spring.

Matenga: Just to give a sort of short translation. He said that the concrete sealing could have been done around 1959, 1960. He remembers that before that, there used to be a garden. The Rhodesians or officials, authorities at the site, used to grow vegetables on the western side of the fountain.

Haruzivishe: At some point there was a small jail, with inmates. I think they provided labour for that garden.

Matenga: And he is aware that the prisoners were also used in the tilling, working in the garden. He believes that the desecration was the putting of the concrete construction. And also that the buildings, you know the dormitories which were located at the head of this spring, are the cause of the trouble. That's the reason why it's called desecration basically.

Massie: So prisoners staffed the gardens and the produce was for whom? The hotel?

Matenga: For the authorities.

Haruzivishe: We no longer had any say about what was happening in the monument.

Matenga: It could have been for the curators at the time. That was around 1959s, 1960s as he said.

Haruzivishe: That spring was amazing. Water was coming from the rocks, and alongside where *mikute (indigenous trees that usually grow at water sources)*. If you passed by when it was quiet, at the moment you approached the spring, you would see something, animal-like, running into the spring.

Matenga: He said there was water coming from some rocks there. The water was oozing from below the rocks. There was also, I think I can find it from Google, *mukute,* a tree that grows where there is water. I know that tree I can look for the botanical name. He also said that there was some kind of animal. Was it sacred?

Haruzivishe: It was sacred for sure. I remember this is where a mermaid took my aunt, the sister of my fathers. My grandmother, Haruzivishe's senior wife had three boys and, later, had one girl, whose name was Chisina. I remember the day when I told you this story *(referring to Matenga)*. When my grandmother went to that spring she met a man who asked her why she was coming to fetch water, as though she did not have a daughter who could fetch water for her. My grandmother did not want to bother her daughter because she was the only girl child. But one day my grandmother sent her daughter to fetch water, as had been mentioned by the man she had met at the spring. She did that for the second time and she came back. The third time the girl did not come back. So when she failed to come back, my grandmother cried as she was wondering where her daughter could have disappeared.

Matenga: You said Chisina was the daughter of whom?

Haruzivishe: She was Haruzivishe's daughter.

Matenga: I will sort of give a short translation, like I said we will transcribe the interviews. He says that his grandfather, Haruzivishe, had many sons and one daughter. And one day his grandmother went to fetch water; there was a gentleman or a man. I don't know whether to describe him as a gentleman or a man. *(Laughter)*. He said why do you bother yourself coming to fetch water. Don't you have a daughter to fetch water for you? Just a friendly conversation and she went back. The next time the daughter fetched the water, which she did it for a couple of time. The third time she went there she disappeared. That's why the spring is called Chisina.

Haruzivishe: Chisikana *(correcting Matenga)*, Chisina was the name of my aunty and then Chisikana is a name of the spring that was derived from my aunt.

Matenga: So the name of his aunt is Chisina but the fountain is now called Chisikana. Chisikana means a little girl in Shona, which refers to the abduction of this girl by, possibly, a mermaid. He gives the story of the sacred dimensions of this place. Maybe you want to ask about the golf course.

The Mujejeje

Massie: There are few questions that I would like to ask about the Mujejeje, excuse my pronunciation. Could you tell me, during your lifetime, what it was used for? How was it respected? Why are the stones sometimes spread out? Could you tell us the story of that place?

Haruzivishe: I will not say much about the Mujejeje because I was still very young at that time. Also people were no longer narrating detailed histories about such things. As you are aware we were not writing down our history. By that time the whites had fenced the Hill. What I know is that Mujejeje was like a door or an entrance to the ruins. All the people visiting the ruins were not entering the site on whichever side. They would come through the Mujejeje and be welcomed. Those who were not welcomed would be turned down.

Matenga: That's a very beautiful answer. He said by his time the Mujejeje was no longer being used the way it was being used in the past. But what he heard is that you couldn't enter the site anyhow. You had to use special entries and these were special entries. One dimension that he added, which is important, is that some people would be allowed in at the Mujejeje but others could be denied entry into the site.

Massie: By guards or by the spirits?

Haruzivishe: Some would have entered but later on would be identified that they do not deserve to be inside the ruins.

Matenga: They are asking whether there would be people manning the Mujejeje or was it something that would happen spiritually.

Haruzivishe: What I can say is that the chief was not staying alone. The chief always had a spirit medium within the ruins. The spirit medium was there to check and confirm

whether one was supposed to be inside or not. In addition, the spirit medium was not only for Mugabe. As you are aware those of the Moyo totem (the Rozvi and the Duma) built Great Zimbabwe. So this is national heritage, we cannot say Mugabe is the one who built, but he is the heir to this heritage. For example, when a father who is a carpenter or mechanic passes away, tradition tells us that the son, a nephew or any other close relative should inherit that skill or properties. So the chief who was residing at Great Zimbabwe could not stay without a spirit medium. It is because the spirit medium was the one that would warn the chief of unseen dangers and then advise accordingly. So the spirit medium that we currently have is vaZarira. She is the spirit medium for us, the Duma people, and for the whole nation, like Mbuya Nehanda *(the 1st Chimurenga spirit medium)*.

Matenga: I will give a short translation. He says that, as custodian, Mugabe would have a spirit medium in his court or in attendance around him. That spirit medium would be a territorial spirit medium. It means when a person crossed the Mujejeje they would be able to detect if this person qualified to enter the site.

Massie: Thank you. Thank you very much. Can I move on to other questions?

Wintjes: I think so; go through your other questions.

Great Zimbabwe's Golf course

Massie: Thank you. There was a golf course that was built on the site, I'm not sure exactly when. Maybe you can tell me when it was built, what was the impact of the golf course and when was it taken down and some of the politics around the golf course?

Matenga: Grandfather, do you know that golf that was being played by the whites?

Haruzivishe: Yes. We used to carry those bags and then we would be given a tickey. They used also to play tennis. So we would at times go there to pick up balls going outside the tennis court.

Matenga: He would pick up balls, off the course.

Massie: Did you carry the bags yourself?

Haruzivishe: Yes I use to do that, carrying those bags. The whites were the ones with those sticks. *(Laughing for some seconds).* But we had an almost similar game that

we used to call *Ndoma* in Shona. I am no longer quite sure what we used to hit, but I think we would hit a pebble.

Matenga: He said we had a similar kind of game called Ndoma which we would hit kind of a pebble.

Massie: Ntoma?

Matenga: Ndoma. Maybe can you explain where the golf course was? When was it closed?

Haruzivishe: It was starting from the Great Zimbabwe Hotel area, towards the monument. The golf course would extend to that area around that place where exotic trees were uprooted. At the area that was landscaped. The golf course would also go as far as where you built the accommodation facilities, and then it extended close to the Great Enclosure. At times they would go close to the Shona village. The golf course would also extend to the road that leads to the Conservation Centre.

Matenga: I am not very good at describing a golf course, but anyway the starting point was close to the hotel. Then it ran in the direction of the monument. Then there was one arm going in the direction of the Great Enclosure, the fountain. Then there was another one going in the direction of the offices (*Conservation Centre*).

Sagiya: They have also asked about the impact of the golf course at Great Zimbabwe.

Haruzivishe: You see, from the hut where people pay entrance fees and that other gate where tickets are being checked. From there, going to the curio shop, in between that area there was a stream that was not easy to cross, when we were still boys, our legs would sink up to our knees when crossing to the curio shop on the way to the Hill Top Complex.

Matenga: He is saying that between the fees gate and the curio shop, now you do not see it because of the landscaping. There used to be a perennial stream going north and because of the landscaping it has disappeared. It is also the desecration of the place, why the stream is no longer active.

Massie: I think Stacey wants to ask about the hotel.

Great Zimbabwe Hotel

Vorster: *Sekuru (grandfather)*, I picked that every time Edward asks a question, he says *Sekuru*.

Matenga: This one, she is a Zimbabwean; her mother was born in Karoi. She is ours. (Laughing)

Haruzivishe: So she is our daughter! *(Laughing for few seconds).*

Vorster: *Sekuru,* am interested in the hotel, it could have been built when you were a small boy, the Great Zimbabwe Hotel. Was that part of the landscape changing, the inclusion of that hotel and the golf course? Is there anything particular about the hotel that you can tell us? Stories or interesting things?

Haruzivishe: I just know that the person who was running the hotel, I hear some saying his name was William, but we use to refer to him as Jakata. We would meet, at the hotel, with the whites coming to play golf. The whites would hire us to carry their bags from the hotel. I can say that the hotel was built at the time when Europeans were coming to visit Great Zimbabwe. It was built so whites would find something to eat after the tour of the monument.

Matenga: He remembers that one of the owners whose name was William was nicknamed Jakata - meaning someone who is a giver, generous, someone who has got provisions, who can give. And then they would go to the hotel obviously expecting to see people who want to go and do golfing and then get employment carrying these bags and being paid a tickey.

Sagiya: He was also saying that maybe the reason the hotel was constructed was mainly to cater for those European visitors to Great Zimbabwe. Such that they would get decent food and accommodation. The other question of hers is that - do you still remember some of the stories about the hotel, how was it built, was it the same as today or have here been some changes?

Haruzivishe: They were just houses that were thatched with grass. The thatchers were doing that well and the thatch would last for years before re-thatching. The place use to host whites coming from all over the world. We were not regular visitors to the hotel but it was established for the visitors coming to see the ruins.

Matenga: To shorten the translation, he is saying he remembers that the grass thatch was very neat thatch and it would stay for a long time. Basically they were not going there as regular, frequent visitors. The regulars were the whites coming to see the site.

Samuel Haruzivishe's Life

Wintjes: I was wondering if you could tell us where you were born and the different places that you lived around the site. In summary.

Haruzivishe: I have already told you I was born close to that hill. I grew up there with my parents. Then when we were evicted from the site, when it was fenced. After my grandfather, Haruzivishe, who had the powers to deny the evictions, died. We were relocated to what you now refer to as Nemanwa, I don't like to use that name.

Matenga: He said that he was born at where the rural district council is located. I will show you the place. It's just 1½ km from the monument. And then after the death of Haruzivishe when everybody was moved out of the place (*monument*). One of the main villages was where Growth Point, the modern village, where I live myself.

Wintjes: That's where people were moved from the site?

Matenga: Yes most of them.

Wintjes: What period?

Haruzivishe: I can say from the time I was born up to 1936, 1937, 1940 and 1941 when we moved. All of this area was under Mugabe; all this area that surrounds the ruins belonged to Mugabe. When the mission took it we stayed within the mission farm. We then went to Chikarudzo in 1941. So during that time, Mugabe's sons especially Matorevhu, the most popular were scattered. But my father's family remained; we went to Chikarudzo. From Chikarudzo we went to Gwanha. I then did my education at Morgenster Mission up to when I completed my standard six. By then it was a respected level of education. They use to call us the Rhodesian Completers. After my education, I was a teacher for one term at Mudhenge Primary School in 1949. The other two terms I was at Gurutsime in Nyajena. I came back home to Gwanha in 1950 to teach, from 1951, 1952. My aim with teaching was I expected an opportunity to do my secondary education but, although I was once promised a place at Goromonzi, it didn't materialise. So I quit teaching in 1952 and went to Harare in 1953 to do my nursing course at Salisbury General Hospital. I completed my nursing course in 1956

and went on to study laboratory work, checking blood, urine etc. After I completed that course, my first deployment was at Norton clinic where I befriended police officers. They told me that the police force was in need of nurses. I was supposed to work at Ngomahuru hospital, known for leprosy, but I did not want to work in such an environment. That is why I decided to work for the police and joined what was then known as the British South Africa Police. I used to be asked a lot of questions by the man in charge. My brain was sharp and some of what I used to say would come to pass. For instance, police officers all over the country used to attend the camp hospital or general hospital. So at one point, a police officer came from Bikita, this side of Masvingo, but he only had the flu. This is when I talked to the man in charge. I highlighted to him the need to establish clinics at other police centres. I highlighted how the officer had wasted time by coming to Harare just to be cured of flu. In the end, all police centres ended up having clinics. I can say that was my idea. When joining the police you would start as a constable and the salary was low compared to that of a sergeant. At the time I joined technicians started off as sergeant. I was one of the people to benefit from such an arrangement. I was promoted to sergeant major of the African side and worked there 16 more years.

Matenga: The homesteads were still at Gwanha? Because they want to know about the specific location of your homestead.

Haruzivishe: From Gwanha we purchased a small-scale farm at Nyajena, at Makungubwe in 1955. I had finished nursing course and lived at the farm. Then from Nyajena that's when I relocated to this place where I am to this day.

Matenga: So let me try to sort of describe the career path. The career path is that he is educated at Morgenster Mission, which I think you want to go and see. Starting off as a teacher briefly. Then training as a nurse and changing over to become a policeman using that profession in the police force. Then he remained a sort of nurse. That's his profession until his retirement but working within the police force. In terms of different locations, after 1928, I will try to explain and expand. They were moved to the Growth Point, the village. This area is outside of the monument and Morgenster Mission owned the land. That one we know. It was called Mzero farm, including where we are, it was part of Mzero, which belonged to Morgenster. Morgenster being a Christian institution, there was some kind of *modus vivendi* that allowed people to settle within the farm. Then they later moved to Chikarudzo. You remember seven million natives?

Wintjes: Yes, yes.

Matenga: Yes that place. They moved from Morgenster in about 1940. They moved to Chikarudzo – Seven Million Natives.

Wintjes: It's like a tavern called Seven Million Natives. (*Laughing*)

Matenga: From there they moved slightly off to the southwest. Gwanha would be about 6 km from Seven Million Natives and about 12 km due south from here. So Growth Point, Chikarudzo, Gwanha, and then they bought what used to be called African Purchase Areas. These were small-scale farms. There were different allocations in terms of land ownership. There were big commercial farms and areas that were allocated to Africans on some kind of leasehold basis. So they bought a farm there. That place is close to Renco Mine, you can Google it, and it is one of the most productive gold mines in the country. It's about 40 km straight line from here. After independence, which is 1980, they came here and settled here.

Haruzivishe: I never then relocated; no one will evict me anymore!

Matenga: He says now he is almost like a stone, nobody will remove him, and he is not going anywhere! *(Laughing for some seconds).*

Haruzivishe: Because I am now in my father's land.

Matenga: He is in his father's country.

Haruzivishe: This is the same area that we use to live in. We use to reside around Great Zimbabwe, and this is our land.

Early village houses

Wintjes: Okay, I have another question about your earliest memories of the houses, village houses the people were living in, what they looked like and how they were built and how the villages were laid out?

Haruzivishe: We use to reside in houses made of poles and mud (*dhaka*). We would plaster the pole walls with clay/mud then make roofs using grass.

Wintjes: I don't know if my question made any sense?

Matenga: He said that they used to reside in traditional thatched pole and adobe houses.

Wintjes: How were the houses arranged in a village, construction of a village?

Matenga: How was the arrangement of houses within a homestead or village?

Haruzivishe: Our set up was similar to that of the whites. Don't the whites prefer to live together? We used to build our homesteads on granite outcrops, bare rocks and stay there together. The same set up as the present day Karanga (*Shona*) village at Great Zimbabwe.

Matenga: They use to build close to each other on bare rocks.

Haruzivishe: Our farmlands were located a distance from the villages, although some had farming fields close to their village.

Wintjes: And the houses were in a circle, in a line or how were the houses actually arranged?

Haruzivishe: We did not build our houses in a linear pattern as you do. We built our houses according to availability of a suitable position such as close or on top of a bare granite rock. We did not build following a line.

Matenga: But maybe they are asking for such a situation when there are many wives. They would want to know how the husband's house was arranged in relationship to those of his wives. I am trying to ask him how the houses were arranged in a polygamous family.

Haruzivishe: Each wife was supposed to have her own house within the homestead. In most cases, the husband would have his own house.

Matenga: He is saying in a situation where a man had several wives; each wife could have her own house and a kitchen house. And the husband, or male figure, would have his own as a sort of a bedroom.

Haruzivishe: This was for the days that he did not want the night business. He would just stay in his house.

Matenga: Basically he is saying that should he (*the polygamous man*) not want company he was free to stay in his own house.

Wintjes: So he had his own house and then the wives have their own houses?

Matenga: Yes, and that would explain why there are so many houses (*referring to the photograph*). How many did you count?

Massie: I think there are eight large roofs, and eight very small roofs, could they have been kitchens?

Wintjes: They are granaries

Matenga: The small ones are certainly granaries.

Wintjes: And the big tree in the middle could have been some kind of a court?

Matenga: Yes

The Interviewee asking the Interviewers

Haruzivishe: What about where they come from, how do they live? They have been asking me. Are they not other men who marry many wives?

Matenga: This one is an interesting question. He is saying in your culture don't you have people who marry several wives?

Unidentified voice *(Laughter)* ---we have got Zuma…(*laughter)*!

Haruzivishe: But was it something that was within your culture in the past?

Matenga: In the past did you have polygamy?

Haruzivishe: For we are all humans, we are just the same

Massie and Wintjes: Yes, in Europe - The Danes, Saxons, some Royal families…

Pottery

Wintjes: One more question about pottery. What are your earliest memories of pot making and decoration?

Haruzivishe: Our mothers use to go and look for a special type of clay, the type of clay, which is fine and plastic-like when wet. That clay that does not crack. They would collect this type of clay. They would refine or grind it before mixing with water and moulding different types of pots. Examples of the type of pots they would make include *Mbiya*, used for serving relish. Some of the pots they would mould were *Hadyana*, used to cook meat or relish. Some of the pots were *Shambakodzi*, used to cook sadza. Then *Zvipfuko*, used to fetch and store water. Then there is *Nyengero*, used to brew beer. Next time when you visit again, I will arrange for each one of you to have your own pot of beer. Then the *Makate*, those were used to store beer, like that one *(pointing).* Then they were some type of *Makates,* used during the process of brewing beer, we did not use the modern kitchen utensils that you use now. The next time you visit, we arrange that you will make use of traditional clay pots.

Matenga: I want also to give a short translation. He said that they would mine special clay. You know, if you have been into pottery technology, that there are different clays. Some clay, if you try to make a pot, crumbles, cracks. But there is special clay that can hold. So they would make different kinds of pots that he has given function specific names like *Hadyana* is for cooking relish. *(These different types of pots were brought to the porch where the group was sitting). Shambakodzi* is for cooking sadza. Then there is *Mbiya* for serving relish, meat. And *Nyengero* is for serving beer, and he was saying next time you come he will serve you beer in this *Nyenegero*. (*Laughing*). And then the big one like that one is called *Gate.*

Wintjes: Are there still women making traditional pots locally, not for tourists?

Haruzivishe: Yes in this village there are some women who are still making pottery.

Matenga: Who made these pots?

Haruzivishe: a certain woman who lives down there made these.

Estimating the capacity of Mujejeje homestead

Massie: If we had eight roofs in that village, how many people could be residing at that homestead?

Matenga: As you saw on that photograph, there were about eight houses; roughly do you think how many people were staying there?

Haruzivishe: I think they were many people because there would be for each wife, who could have three or four children. So there were many people living at that homestead.

Matenga: He did not give a specific figure but he said that if we count each household there could be a mother, maybe with three, four kids

Massie: In each house?

Matenga: Yes

Samuel Haruzivishe's family

Massie: Do you have many grandchildren?

Haruzivishe; I do not have many; I can say that I have 6. My first son has got 3 children, my other child a lady… (*Ends indistinctively with jokes and laughter*)

Matenga: So you have six grandchildren?

Haruzivishe: Yes

Massie: Do they live here in this area?

Haruzivishe: Three live here in Zimbabwe, then the other three are with their parents in the U.K.

Matenga: This one *(referring to Massie)* comes from Britain. He is Scottish.

Haruzivishe: My son who has three kids is in London with his wife. Another works at Kingston Hospital in West London. So two of my children are in England. The one at Kingston Hospital is the third one. The second born is in Germany. I am not sure what he is doing but he did a fitting and turning course in Harare. I heard him saying he started engineering.

Massie: And the one at Kingston Hospital is he a doctor, a surgeon, a nurse?

Haruzivishe: He went there after training in taking of X-rays.

Massie and Matenga: So he is a radiographer!

Haruzivishe: But I heard him saying he has started studying towards hospital or doctor's management, something like that. The fourth one is in South Africa. I am not sure but it could be Johannesburg.

Matenga: The fourth one is in South Africa, when they refer to Joburg usually they will be referring to South Africa.

Haruzivishe: Yes he is in South Africa; he did a course in computers. So those are my children. My daughter is married here in Zimbabwe. She has got three children.

Massie: Thank you.

Pottery

Wintjes: I want to show you also this pottery shard that we found at the village (*referring to the Mujejeje Village*), it's so similar to these. *(Wintjes is showing a decorated potshard).*

Haruzivishe: Yes that's the real piece of pottery. That cooks good food!

Brewing of *maheu*

Massie: *(Addressing Mbuya Haruzivishe, Haruzivishe's wife.)* How do you brew the *mahewu? (This is the beer that was served to the group)*.

Matenga: The first stage is to boil, you boil the mount then you add more mount, after boiling she adds more mount. The fermentation starts, then you add some sugar. This one is not the important stuff, its soft material. The important one, then you have to bring blankets. You will not be able to drive back (*group laughter)*.

Pots at the veranda:

Vorster: Mbuya Mugabe, can you tell me the different functions of these pots.

Mbuya Mugabe*: She explains the function of each and every pot that had been gathered at the veranda with the assistance of her husband Samuel Haruzivishe*.

Vorster: How do you make this? (The *decorations on the clay pot).*

Matenga: She is explaining the pattern would be done when it is wet. But I was wondering what was used here?

Sagiya: I think we can also check with the ladies at the Shona village because they are also involved in pot making, decoration.

Clapping of hands

Thanking

Matenga: Grandfather we thank you very much, we are very pleased with the information you gave them.

Haruzivishe: It was a very friendly discussion.

Vorster: Thank you for the delicious food.

Matenga: Now we kindly ask you to accompany us to the place where the homestead was located, the one we showed you on the photograph. We managed to identify the place yesterday.

Recording stopped

Meeting at the Mujejeje and Mujejeje Village

Recording started after Haruzivishe demonstrated the Mujejeje entrance ritual. The group is standing on the path to the Mujejeje on which they have identified circular foundations of a hut.

Haruzivishe: I can't remember the place but I think it's not around this area. Maybe it's in those mountains.

Sagiya: I had asked him about a story of a granite outcrop with some footprints on it. I was checking if he knows the place, which is alleged to be in this area.

Haruzivishe: The footprints should be somewhere around those hills where there is indeed a granite outcrop with some footprints.

Matenga: What about a rock that rings?

Haruzivishe: A rock, that sounds?

Matenga: I thought there was one. **Sagiya** you are the specialist on Bantu speaking pots (laughing). This is the Zimbabwe pottery, is not it? (**Sagiya***, confirmed*)

Haruzivishe: You mean the *pfuko yakuvanji* (zoomphorphic pot)?

Matenga: Yes, what is the story of that pot?

Haruzivishe: The pot that is now at Bulawayo Museum?

Matenga: Yes the one at the Bulawayo Museum

Haruzivishe: It would come from Mupfurawasha to Great Zimbabwe and would mean the rains will be close. It is the pot of which we were told that a person once put his hand inside and it swallowed up to a point that his hand was amputated.

Matenga: He is talking about this magical pot. A replica of the pot is in the site museum and you will see it. It's also referred to as a zebra pot because it has got stripes. And he is saying that it used to live, you can use the word live, on a mountain called Mupfurawasha, which is south west of Great Zimbabwe. It would make journeys to the

monument and back, and when it made that journey you knew that rain was coming.

Sagiya: He is saying these were remains of the Great Zimbabwe period. But from the look, I think it is part and parcel of the Great Zimbabwe settlement. Also in connection with the midden. There was probably a homestead.

Haruzivishe: As I said earlier, there was supposed to be a homestead around the Mujejeje for the people who looked after those entering the monument in ancient times. If we agree that this was a house which I think it is. But that looks like bricks?

Sagiya: It's not clear whether they are bricks or clay. (*Assessing the hut foundations*).

Haruzivishe: If its clay (adobe), they would mould the walls and then make fire within the walls for the structure to be strong?

Sagiya: Yes, we have evidence up the hill of these fired houses.

Haruzivishe: Yes.

Massie: Justine! *(Calling her to the exposed house floor along the road, a few metres from Mujejeje)*

Wintjes: Yes, a house!

Matenga: This is a house.

Haruzivishe: I think the occupiers of these houses are the ones who were responsible for granting visitors entry into the monument. I think they would mould the walls and then burn them before putting up the roof.

Matenga: But Gordon, Elton, I suppose you have read about the Zimbabwe sort of structures. That is one of the fundamental differences between the Zimbabwe houses and the ordinary, conventional, is that in the case of the Zimbabwe ones, they were not using timber.

Haruzivishe: Yes.

Matenga: You can see in these foundations that there is no timber. So I want to put this one back to about the Zimbabwe period.

Haruzivishe: Edie, even to this day there are some people who are actually building houses like this. Just moulding up to the point when it is complete. Then they put firewood inside and burn. When it is burnt, this helps in strengthening the structure. The house will remain strong even during the heavy rains,

Sagiya: He is saying that he is aware of this style of construction. He said that they would fire the building.

Matenga: Yes and make it a strong and resistant to all weather kind of structure.

Haruzivishe: Just like we do with bricks.

Massie: Well, thank you.

Haruzivishe: Those surrounding this place but I can't remember their names. But there were people around the site. These were the same people, sons' in-law and other relatives. It is said Great Zimbabwe belonged to all the people.

Matenga: All the people? But their rulers being from the Mugabe clan?

Haruzivishe: Yes those of the Rozvi-Duma totem. Some people say the Rozvi built it (Great Zimbabwe). There is Chingwedere who wrote that book. He was actually saying Great Zimbabwe belong to the Nemanwa or Charumbira people. The book that I read, he says the Mugabe were of the lion totem.

Matenga: We are going this way (referring to those behind)

Haruzivishe: That book version made some people, like Madangure, angry.

Matenga: Yes I know him; he was from the Mugabe clan?

Haruzivishe: Yes the same family as Dr. Moyo from Chitungwiza. He is also the one who attends to me when I am not feeling well.

Matenga: He is talking about the new histories, which we read in the books. Which basically he is saying are distorted when it comes to who was living around the site. Of course he feels insulted by some of the narratives, especially the recent narratives. Some people in his clan have actually protested strongly against these narratives.

Haruzivishe: He Mr Mugabe (president). You know Mudenge *(the late Minster of*

Higher and Tertiary education, Stan Mudenge). You know that the first people we interacted with were the Portuguese who came from Mozambique. These are the people who we traded with, in beads. So Mudenge got his history from Portugal. We are descendants of Munhumutapa, who resided for a long time in Mozambique, in Tete province. So Mudenge was a historian. So when he did his last political campaign he sponsored a traditional ceremony that was held at Chikarudzo (*about 10 km south east of Great Zimbabwe*). He brought us photographs from Portugal. The photographs of Chipfunhu and Haruzivishe. I have those photographs. When he died, the President said at his funeral at the National Heroes Acre 'you Chingwedere you write confusing histories'. The true history is that the people of the Moyo totem built the ruins of Great Zimbabwe. This is the history that we had been told by Mudenge, who gave us the photographs as examples that Chipfunhu and Haruzivishe are some of the people who built the monument.

Matenga: I think to give a short translation. This is a very important issue about the contestations. I think, Sagiya this is the subject matter that you are probably dealing with and it is also what Jooste Fontein was dealing with. That is, part of the history of Great Zimbabwe is in the present and it has to do with ownership of the narratives. Whose narratives? For what purpose, what is the purpose of the narrative and so on? And these are the things he is trying to address. In this context there is always an attempt to dispose the other. In their case, he is saying that their totem is Moyo, which is the same as Rozvi. The Rozvi were the last Shona state builders. The last Shona state, up to the 1866 was of the Rozv and they (*Mugabe*) are actually the same people as the Rozvi. So their totem is Moyo, which is the same as Rozvi. So basically in looking after the site, it's something that had been delegated to them by the Rozvi because they are one people. But of course other people come with other narratives and these narratives never agree. If you read Fontein there is quite a lot of those histories and contestations, which I think are important when it comes to the continuing histories of the site.

Haruzivishe: If those who claim to be owners of the site are genuine, why are their no graves belonging to their people?

Matenga: He is saying part of their evidence of ownership is that they have got graves on the site. Why do these people who have all these claims, why don't they come here and point to their graves or graves of their ancestors.

Haruzivishe: I can't really point out the exact places of the Mugabe or Matorevhu (his

ancestors) graves because these people lived way before the coming of the whites, around the 16th or 17th century. At that time there were no people recording their life history. As I have said, our history is based on memory but the current history is now being written. I believe our earliest forefathers were buried within the monument but we can't identify their graves. For those who came later, such as Chipfunhu and Haruzivishe, we know where they were buried. Even those buried outside Great Zimbabwe, such as Dumbu, we know those burial sites.

Matenga: Also to shorten the translation. The graves of his immediate ancestors are actually on this Hill and he believes that those before are also on the Hill although he can't pinpoint the sites. He believes that it's a long tradition of burying their ancestors at Great Zimbabwe. Perhaps you are going to be kind enough to point the general direction of the graves*. (Referring to Haruzivishe).*

The group is now at the Mujejeje homestead site

Massie: Where do we think was the centre of the homestead?

Haruzivishe: This is a house!

Sagiya: *(addressing Haruzivishe.*) The photographs that we have been showing you were taken from the Hill Top Complex. Looking closely at that photograph it shows that this is the area of the homestead.

Wintjes: It's quite strange that there are not any houses left…. That looks like a midden that side. So I think is this probably one of the furthest houses. That will be my guess.

Massie: Okay, we have taken GPS readings of the Mujejeje and other houses, I took central readings here and we can also use Google Maps etc.

Haruzivishe: As I told you these people had big families. Some remained within the ruins. I have already indicated to you where I was born on Romorehoto Mountain. So the owner of this homestead I can't know because I was born in 1928. Also some of us were still within the ruins that year.

Matenga: He said that there were several homesteads around here. The process of eviction had started but there was resistance from the big man, Haruzivishe. This explains why there were still some homesteads at that time although some were already moving out. He would not be able to tell whose homestead it was.

Haruzivishe: ***(****Points to the position on the Hill Top Complex where some of his ancestors were buried, such as Haruzivishe).* You see those walls, on the other side around those boulders, that's where Haruzivishe was buried. Then Chipfunhu is buried on the northern slope of the Hill, that side.

Matenga: He says that when you go up to the summit and face south, somewhere on this slope that's where Haruzivishe is buried. Then Chipfunhu, you remember I was talking about the rock spur, you can see the place where he is buried from that side. Chipfunhui is the one who had a conflict with the Rhodesian administration, after that it was Haruzivishe. So Chipfunhu this side, Haruzivishe facing east.

Haruzivishe: I believe that this homestead was here in 1928. If am not mistaken it may have been the homestead of Mugabe clan in-laws. You see those homesteads *(pointing to the villages on the south east of the Mujejeje Village)* belong to Mukungwa. The Mukungwas for them to be where they were, they had killed an elephant for the Chief.

Matenga: He says for example, Mukungwa. There was a village there, which has had some restoration. It has been brought back because it was part of Morgenster Mission but they came back to occupy their ancestral land. Mukungwa was an in-law of the Mugabe. You become an in-law usually because you have done an honourable service. He had brought down an elephant and so he was given a daughter as a wife and then became related to the big family.

Haruzivishe: This is also the same as the coming of Charumbira people *(another clan on the western side of Great Zimbabwe)*. It may sound as if am talking politics but I think I should say it because it's true. Mugabe's land stretches from Mtirikwi River all the way to Tugwi River. Nemanwa was the one given the task to ensure that not every group occupied the Great Zimbabwe landscape. He was settled at Mupatawachidzive, to guard against people crossing Tugwi to Great Zimbabwe. For the Charumbira to occupy this area would be because they had killed elephants that had been troubling Nemanwa in his farmlands. Charumbira was then given a daughter and I have forgotten the name. But Veneka was Nemanwa's granddaughter, the one given to the pioneers when Nemanwa and Mugabe were fighting so he would receive protection from them.

Matenga: Like I said, there are many versions. Part of this story I think it's in Fontein's book. That is, in his narrative, Mugabe's land goes as far as the Tugwi River. Tugwi

River, you remember the last tollgate when we were approaching Masvingo.

Wintjes: Yes

Matenga: There were some shops, this side. Actually we were following a big truck then the truck turned this way and then we went into a river, the Tugwi River. That's sort of their territory. This thing of bringing in other people who came into the service of Chief and is given a royal daughter to marry. These people are always portrayed as hunters. For example, when elephants were causing problems on that side, someone else came in to get rid of elephants and became part of the wider family.

Wintjes: We have found a grinding stone.

Haruzivishe: A grinding stone!

Massie: So this was Morgenster and then re-occupied and there are three homesteads. Are they all part of Mugabe?

Haruzivishe: Have you have been to the Mtirikwi dam wall? There is a big river where the dam is situated. That is the boundary of Mugabe and Murinye. Over the other side of the river, the area is under Murinye, but from the river up to this area the land belongs to Mugabe. So tell him (*referring to Matenga*) that all that area up to the river belongs to Mugabe.

Matenga: This territory is Mugabe's territory. The limits are the river that is flowing like this.

Massie: In front of this…beyond this.

Matenga: No, it's further, it's about 9-10 km.

Massie: Okay, I got you. So there are two other clans contesting the land?

Matenga: That's historically. The other two clans are situated west of the monument. East of the monument now the contests are also complicated I must explain. Murinye has crossed the river where my shops are. It's the hazy boundary between Murinye and Mugabe. You remember my shops. The Murinye and Mugabe are related. Murinye was the father. It's just one family but now Murinye has crossed the river into this area.

Massie: Thank you. Great. Thank you.

Haruzivishe: What he did is not proper. If you give your son a farm, then you later harvest that farm saying it's your land.

Matenga: He says that what Murinye has done is like you give your son a piece of land to till and cultivate and when it comes to harvest you come and harvest his crops.

Haruzivishe: Is that allowed?

Massie: Okay, okay.

Matenga: He is using sort of an allegory.

Massie: I got that. Interesting.

Matenga: Thus bad politics.

Wintjes: Did you see the house?

Matenga: Come and see the place that shows that it was a homestead.

Haruzivishe: So this is the place?

Matenga: On the pictures, it shows that there were many houses.

Haruzivishe: That's why I was telling you about the people who were responsible for controlling entry into the monument. Can we say these are bricks?

Matenga: No, look, that piece of adobe indicates that there were poles. You see that.

Haruzivishe: Yes I see. So I think long ago there were some people guarding the entrance to those visitors passing through the Mujejeje.

Matenga: He has got an interesting point now. Justine and everybody you want to listen to this one. Where is the tape recorder? He is of the view that maybe this homestead could have been some kind of gatekeeping.

Wintjes: Connected to the Mujejeje?

Haruzivishe Yes, at the Mujejeje we saw a house floor almost like this one. I believe the same people were the sentinels.

Matenga: Sort of keeping guard of the approach to the site.

Massie: And this type of construction points to that or was that unrelated?

Matenga: He is actually pointing to where this homestead would have been.

Massie: Is it because of his suggestion or the type of construction?

Matenga: Not the type of construction. He is just looking at the location of the homestead in relationship to that of Mujejeje.

Massie: It makes so much sense, that's under that tree.

Matenga: It's very close.

Haruzivishe in conversation with Matenga

Haruzivishe: You never experienced major problems because you were working with Mbuya vaZarira *(the spirit medium)*. You remember what happed during the sacred spring (Chisikana) ceremony *(held in July 2000).* The Nemanwa clan used a shovel to dig but I was instructed by the spirit medium to just use a stick. That documentary that was filmed by journalists from London, wasn't it because of the spirit medium Zarira? Did the journalists with umbrellas, that recorded when I delivered my speech, record any Nemanwa speech?

Matenga: No, they recorded yours.

Haruzivishe: I am not boasting about our clan, everything happens because of God's will. My wish is for you to write the story of my life. I want to narrate everything to you.

Matenga: He is going back. You remember that he made a speech when the fountain was re-opened in 2000. And Sekuru *(grandfather)* I must say you made what nearly caused a storm. You remember that day, at the time the people were a bit sozzled. There was a near fracas, confrontation, because he had said this site is our site. (Laughing)

Haruzivishe: Yes I did that whilst pointing to the Hill Top Complex (laughing)

Matenga: And other people said no! It was a mixture of people angry at the same time. There was beer (*Laughing*).

Haruzivishe: Edward is the one who gave us three bags of finger millet.

Matenga: I gave them buckets of finger millet.

Haruzivishe: When he was the director (*of Great Zimbabwe*) he denied us permission to brew beer within the ruins.

Matenga: They did not brew it here but they did that at home (*Laughing*)

Haruzivishe: But the Charumbiras and Nemanwas brewed beer within the monument.

Matenga: He is accusing me of favouring the other groups (*Laughing*).

Haruzivishe: He was director then *(Laughing*). I am not angry because what is good comes on its own.

Matenga: Okay, if we have to get something good it has to come because we deserve it. If we do not deserve something we should not get it.

Haruzivishe: Now you see he has brought you to me; he has seen the light now.

Matenga: (*Laughing*) He was keeping this grudge for a long time. That this young man allowed other groups to brew beer in the monument but not allowing him. (*Laughing)*

Haruzivishe: But I like my cousin. I like him very much. He later realised that, when he was writing his book, I was telling him some of the issues.

Matenga: When he was writing his book he considered my narratives.

Matenga: So what do you think caused this fire? *(Referring to the fire that gutted the lodges and part of the landscape at Great Zimbabwe in November 2015)*

Haruzivishe: We do not know why it happened. But the cause is clear. There is a lady who cooks sadza at the shops, she threw the ashes outside the kitchen and that's where the fire started. People coming from Masvingo and Morgenster could not cross the road. The fire gutted the hill where I was born. When it crossed into the Great Zimbabwe estate it was not controllable until everything was burnt.

Matenga: But what do you think could have caused the fire to destroy to that extent?

Haruzivishe: It's difficult my son. I should have gone to see the spirit medium. Even

the site close to her place was burnt. The manager of the chalets close to the spirit medium's place, Zarira, mysteriously woke up one day sleeping outside his house. He then resigned.

Matenga: He is talking about the fire that destroyed everything in the monument. He thinks that there is something mysterious about that fire, that they cannot explain and he wants to reserve his opinion about the fire. But he thinks it's a mysterious fire. And also where it started. Most of the fires start from this direction (*east*) but that fire started from the west.

Haruzivishe: They tried all they can but failed to put it off.

End of recording