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The Management of Indigenous Living Heritage in Archaeological World Heritage Sites:

A Case Study of *Mongomi wa Kolo* Rock Painting Site, Central Tanzania.

Emmanuel James Bwasiri

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master Arts (Rock Art Studies).

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Declaration

I declare that this research is my own, independent work. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any examination or degree in any other University.

_____

(Emmanuel James Bwasiri)

This _____ day of _____ 2008

Abstract

Mongomi wa Kolo is a hunter-gatherer rock art site within the Kondoa district of Central Tanzania. The site is part of a large group of rock art sites in Kondoa that were collectively declared a National Monument by the Antiquities Act of Tanzania, enacted in 1964 and amended in 1979. In July 2006, the World Heritage Committee inscribed the rock art of Kondoa as a World Heritage Site, acknowledging its international significance, its authentic beauty and living heritage.

Mongomi wa Kolo is a focal point for regular ritual practices among the Bantu-language speaking Warangi and Wasi/Waragwa communities in Kondoa District, Central Tanzania. The Warangi and Waragwa migrated to this area at the start of the third century. Since this time they have been using *Mongomi wa Kolo* for traditional ritual ceremonies. Currently, the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo* has sought to control the ritual ceremonies of Warangi and Wasi/Waragwa communities because some rites are damaging the archaeology and rock paintings of the site. This control has led to a conflict between local ritual practitioners and authorities responsible for heritage management.

Management of living heritage is new to the Tanzanian cultural heritage authority. This study explores the implications of including living heritage in the management at the archaeological World Heritage Site of *Mongomi wa Kolo*. Examples are drawn from other World Heritage Sites that manage living heritage. Specifically this study considers how best to integrate living heritage within the management of the *Mongomi wa Kolo* rock painting site. It then discusses the challenges of adapting the Tanzanian Antiquities legislation to cover living heritage. This study will be achieved through a review of the history of the management of living heritage, international and national legislation protecting living heritage, and interviews undertaken with elders, traditional practitioners, communities around Kolo and nearby villages, and with staff of the Antiquities Department.

Dedication

To my parents Masanje J.Bwasiri and Nyawahega Charamba. Their commitment to my education helped me to achieve my academic dreams.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background information

Living heritage is a term used to describe aesthetic, spiritual, symbolic and other social values. It includes knowledge, dance, ritual, music, language, oral traditions and the cultural spaces in which these 'living heritage' traditions play out (Deacon 2004). The concept of living cultural heritage emerged on the international stage in the 1990s within the operational grounds of UNESCO, as an alternative and complementary concept to the Eurocentric understanding of cultural heritage, dominated by ideas of monumentality and authenticity (Sullivan 2002). Living heritage acknowledges that objects and places obtain meaning and significance through the values that are ascribed to them by the people that create and come in contact with them (Munjeri 1995). This shift in international understanding of cultural heritage could signify a new way of understanding objects and spaces by focusing on the human element associated with them.

In 1992 changes were made to UNESCO's paragraph 24 (b) *of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO 1992). The changes allowed for the traditional protection and management to be applied to all cultural properties that were nominated. Since 1992 the World Heritage programme has increasingly focused on traditional knowledge and the role of communities in protection and management. UNESCO has advocated the bringing together of modern science and local knowledge in cultural heritage management (Deacon 2004).

UNESCO's 1989 recommendation on safeguarding traditional culture and folklore resulted in the drafting and adopting of a new living heritage convention in 2003. The convention aimed to ensure that living heritage was preserved and passed on by communities and groups. The convention emphasises that communities should be

communities that can consolidate living heritage and ensure its future. According to Keiko Miura (2005), living heritage brings opportunities and creates relations between cultural properties and communities in achieving their common future. Australia, Canada and the Republic of South Africa are good examples of countries that have used this convention to develop cultural heritage legislation which included living heritage.

This project looks at the preservation and management of living heritage at a particular site, *Mongomi*[1] *wa Kolo* in Central Tanzania. *Mongomi wa Kolo* was listed as a World Heritage Site in July 2006, among a series of other cultural heritage sites. It contains very important archaeological remains ranging from Middle Stone Age to Late Stone Age artefacts, rock paintings as well as well as a living heritage associated with the paintings (Leakey 1983; Ndoro 2003; Management plan 2004). The living heritage of the sites prompted the World Heritage Committee (WHC) to promote the adoption of a management proposal for Kondoa that included conserving archaeological material, rock paintings and the living values associated with them. The Committee listed Kondoa rock art as a World Heritage site based on UNESCO's *Operational Guidelines-Criteria* II, III and VI as:

> II. to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design; III. To bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared; VI. To be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (Kondoa nomination dossier 2004).

Mongomi wa Kolo, including parts of the surrounding landscape that form the World Heritage site, are directly linked to living traditions and beliefs of the local community (Chalcraft 2004; Leakey 1983). Rock art experts agree that both hunter-gatherers as well as agro-pastoral rock art are strongly related to ancient rituals and belief systems (Vinnicombe 1972, 1976; Lewis-Williams 1981; Smith 1995, 1997).

Mary Leakey (1983) noted the presence of continuing traditional use of the site for ritual ceremonies in her first field trip to *Mongomi wa Kolo*. In an entry dated 10th July 1951, Leakey wrote "five local elders told us that before we could start work we would have to provide a goat for sacrifice to propitiate the spirits of the painted site, which are regarded as very powerful" (Leakey 1983:34). Sacrificing goats and sheep to the ancestor sprits as part of healing ceremonies is an ongoing practice at *Mongomi wa Kolo* (Loubser 2003; Ndoro 2003; Chalcraft 2004).

These practices continue today, but have never been recognised by Tanzania's cultural heritage authority, the Department of Antiquities, as they are considered detrimental to the preservation of the paintings (Ndoro 2003). In terms of use of the site, the present management system and legislation fails to recognise traditional practitioners (traditional healers, diviners and rainmakers) as having any rights to use the site for sacrifices to their ancestors. Failure to involve traditional practitioners and to honour and support their connection with the site is presently causing conflicts in the management of this World Heritage Site.

These conflicts arise from divergent perceptions of the significance of the rock art site and are exacerbated because the Antiquities Act (1964 and its amendment of 1979) and government cultural policy in Tanzania do not recognise the significance of living heritage or make any provision for people-oriented rock paintings management (Loubser 2001, 2003; Ndoro 2003). Therefore, this study considers how best to integrate living heritage within the management of World Heritage Sites. Specifically, the study's aim is to: identify key issues relating to the management of indigenous living heritage at *Mongomi wa Kolo* rock painting site; consider how perceptions and attitudes among the local communities and the management authority can be used to come up with solutions for integrating indigenous knowledge into the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*; provide conservation ethics and a management approach that includes traditional practitioners in the conservation and management of the *Mongomi wa Kolo*.

Mongomi wa Kolo rock painting site was specifically selected as a study area, Firstly, because the site retains unique cultural heritage resources both tangible and intangible which need meticulous management. Secondly, the indigenous people around the area

continue to use the site for ritual practices of rainmaking and healing that are not recognised by the Antiquities Department authority. Thirdly, the site has potential educational and economic values for the local community and the country as whole. Fourthly, after its inscription in the World Heritage List, the site has been facing conservation and management issues that need investigation. Fifthly, information generated from this study will provide guidelines for the management, conservation, preservation and presentation of living heritage and for the formulation of policies in Tanzania. The results will attract further scholarship in the area of cultural heritage management that involves living heritage. Finally, no study has been done at on how best to integrate living heritage within the management and conservation practices *Mongomi wa Kolo*.

Chapter Outline

This study comprises of eight chapters. Chapter one is an introduction to the study. Chapter two describes the research area. It provides information about the physical location, past and present habitation, rock painting traditions, traditional ritual contexts of *Mongomi wa Kolo* and the research history of the area. Against this background of the research area, I trace the history of management of indigenous archaeological sites in Africa prior and post independence; I am able then to describe how *Mongomi wa Kolo* was managed during the colonial administration and post independence. I describe, in brief, the instruments used to protect indigenous archaeological sites both nationally and internationally in chapter three. In chapter four I establish the methodology I use in this study and my theoretical framework. In chapter five I present the results of my field interviews, my analyses and I discuss these. This leads me to chapter six where I make a comparative analysis with other archaeological World Heritage Sites with similar living heritage status to Kondoa World Heritage Site. I suggest solutions to the management problems of *Mongomi wa Kolo* in chapter seven. Then I conclude the study in chapter eight.

CHAPTER TWO

SETTING OF RESEARCH AREA

Location

Mongomi wa Kolo is located close to Kolo village in Kondoa District, Dodoma Region, Central Tanzania, at a latitude of 04° 05' 40" S and a longitude of 35° 36' 23"E . Kondoa district covers approximately 14,435 square kilometres and is bounded by the Districts of Babati and Hanang to the north and northwest, Kiteto to the east, Dodoma rural to the south and Singida Region to the west. Administratively, the District of Kondoa is divided into eight divisions namely: Farkwa, Goima, Kolo, Kondoa township, Kwamtoro, Mondo, Bereko and Pahi (Kessy 2005). *Mongomi wa Kolo* is within the Kolo division.

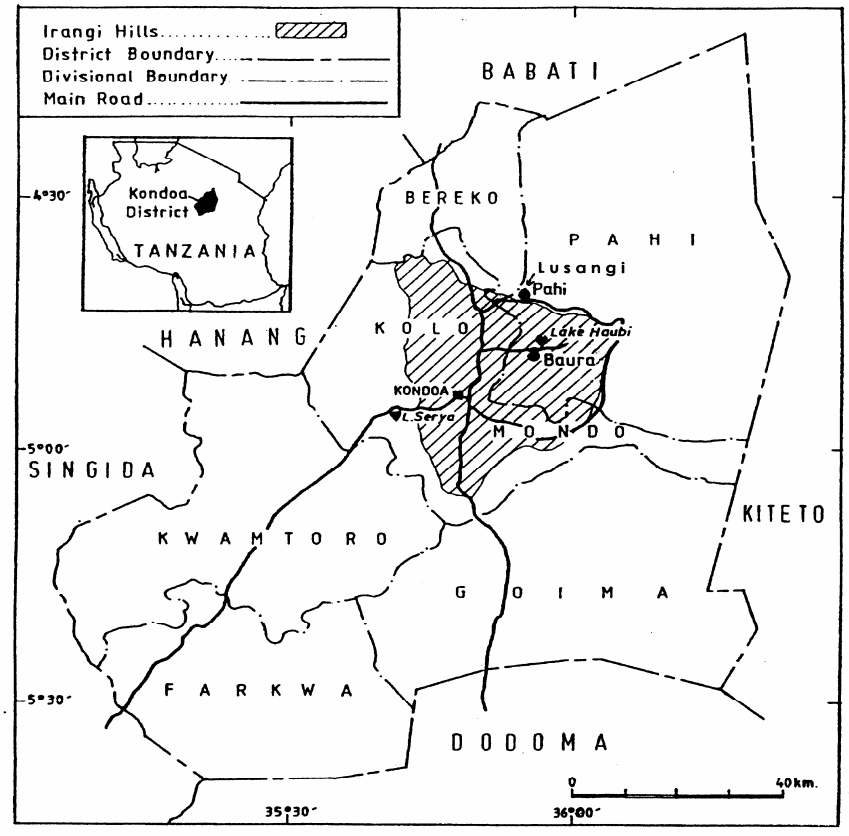

Figure 1: A map of Kondoa showing Administrative distribution (After Kessy 2005).

Geology

The geology of *Mongomi wa Kolo* comprises a complex of group of rocks known as the Basement rock system (Aitken 1950:55). These rocks are of Precambrian age and form part of the central Tanzania Granitoid Shield (Christiansson 1972:319; Saggerson 1972:7). These highly metamorphosed sedimentary rocks occur in series in some places, with veins of pegmatite intruding into the Basement system rock. Most of these sedimentary rocks are rich in quartz and feldspars. Areas of surface quartz can be seen from the Great North Road between Gubali and Kolo village. *Mongomi wa Kolo* area has block faulting denoting old volcanic activity (Masao 1979). Consequently, exposed granite and gneiss boulders from the Precambrian period and volcanic rocks from recent volcanic activities of the Cenozoic period are predominant features (Temple 1972). The tectonic activities of the Cenozoic period caused uplift and resulted in the formation of cliffs and overhangs (King 1967). The subsequent exposed rocks then eroded, forming thousands of shelters and overhangs, ideal surfaces and environments for prehistoric rock paintings. *Mongomi wa Kolo* is one such large rock shelter in the area.

The rocks of the pre-Cambrian era date to five hundred million years ago while the earliest paintings in Kondoa are dated to the LSA, perhaps as long as 30,000 or 20,000 years ago (Masao 1979). The rock art at *Mongomi wa Kolo* may be much more recent than this date. The gneiss rock of the shelter is unstable; actively flaking in many sections, and is therefore unlikely to preserve paintings for many millennia.

Land Use, Vegetation and Climate

Subsistence farming dominates current land use patterns in Kondoa. Agricultural activities are carried out on small scale farms and productivity depends mainly on the availability of rainfall and labour. The major crops cultivated include maize, finger millet, bulrush millet, sorghum, cassava, groundnuts, peas, beans, sweets potatoes, onions, sugar cane, pawpaw and citrus fruits. Livestock such as cattle, sheep, goats and chicken are also kept.

The original vegetation of Kondoa consisted of savannah woodland with small pockets of montane forest and savannah grassland (Kessy 2005). The original vegetation has been subjected to many centuries of human activities such as cultivation, grazing, fire and wood harvesting. The programme *Hifadhi Ardhi Dodoma* (*HADO*)[2] intervened in 1980s and helped to regenerate natural vegetation. The natural vegetation of Kondoa supported a variety of wildlife that was exploited by hunter-gatherer societies. Mary Leakey (1983) surveyed and documented the rock paintings of Kondoa and reported a wide range of animals depicted by hunter-gathers in rock shelters including giraffe, eland, elephants, antelopes, birds, dogs, rhinoceroses, reedbuck, zebra, kudu, hartebeest, pigs, snake, baboons, wildebeest, buffalo, hares, crocodiles, bat, oryx, tortoise and scorpion. Many of these animals were present around Kondoa in the early 1900s (Nash 1984). It is suggested that at one time *Mongomi wa Kolo* may have had as high a carrying capacity as that of the present Manyara National Park (Nash 1984). Today most of the game in the area has been hunted out.

The present day vegetation is dominated by savannah grassland, miombo woodland, scrub and, in a few areas, thickets. The common trees are *Brachystegia sp., Pterocarpus sp., Angloensis sp., Dicanthium sp.* and *Baobab sp*. In the valleys *Acacia kirkii*, *Tortillis sp.* and *Delenix alata sp*. are common trees (Aitken 1950). The ridge crests with their granite outcroppings and thin stony soil do not support much more than a handful of thorny shrubs of *Preudo posoppis, Combretum, Burthia, Grewia* and *Bussia sp*. (Aitken 1950).

[2] Dodoma land conservation programme in Kondoa District.



Figure 2: Landscape view of the study area

Generally the climatic pattern in Central Tanzania is determined by the movement of the Intertropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ) between the northern and the southern hemisphere (Christiansson 1981). On this basis Kondoa experiences a rainfall regime between 600mm and 800mm with an annual average of 640mm. The rainy season is between October/November and March/April with a short dry spell in between, in January and February (Mung'ong'o 1999). The genuine dry season lasts between six to eight months from May to October. The small rivers, such as the river Kolo at *Mongomi wa Kolo,* are ephemeral, flowing during and after downpours. There were seasonal swamps but these have silted up due to deposition of eroded materials from recently cleared sections of highland. *Mongomi wa Kolo* therefore sits in a wooded landscape with seasonal water.

Soil erosion

Kondoa area has been affected drastically by soil erosion for many years. Land degradation and soil erosion are serious problems in this area, particularly in the Haubi area. Eroded areas consist of deep gullies with earth pillars capped by quartz boulders or crusts. In some areas gullies may be as deep as 15-20m. Soil erosion has

left many places stony and strewn with pebbles (Kessy 2005). The land surface has been changing over a long time and buried horizons of laterite and quartz pebbles are evidence of ancient erosion and deposition processes in some areas, including the *Mongomi wa Kolo* area.

Severe degradation in Kondoa was reported by the European traveller Richard F. Burton in 1860. Since that time a number of studies have been done by the British colonial government and the Tanzanian government after independence. Scholars (Christiansson 1981; Ostberg 1986; Mung'ong'o 1990; Kessy 2005) have suggested that three factors led to accelerated degradation in the Kondoa area before British colonial rule in 1919. These are: First, the 19th century caravan trade. It has been argued that Kondoa was a flourishing caravan route centre in the 19th century. This led to a high demand for grain and other provisions. The results were intensive land clearance to increase agricultural production, an activity which accelerated land degradation. Secondly, the outbreak of the great rinderpest epidemic in 1890 caused a decline in livestock populations which led to an expansion of woody biomass on the plains. This created a suitable environment for tsetse flies which caused the local Warangi people to retreat southwards into the more fragile environment of the Irangi Hills and to clear the forest. Again, this contributed to demographic stress in Kondoa and further environment degradation. Thirdly, in 1885 a German colonial government was established in Tanganyika and in 1914 the First World War broke out. During that time agricultural production in Kondoa was increased to provide food for the German troops. This led to additional land clearance for agricultural production and further degradation in Kondoa. Subsequently, anti-degradation campaigns have been unsuccessful; the erosion rate has increased year after year because people continue to clear land for cultivation and pastoralism activities. The *Mongomi wa Kolo* area is still wooded and soil erosion is therefore controlled in this area.

The Rock Art of Kondoa World Heritage Sites

Mongomi wa Kolo is part of the Kondoa rock art World Heritage Site, and is one of the richest areas with a high concentration of rock paintings in Tanzania. The sites cover an area of 2336 square kilometres including the village of Kolo, Kinyasi, Pahi, Kundusi, Chungai, Chora, Cheke, Kisese, Thlawi, Swera and Bubu River (Kondoa management plan 2004). The Kondoa rock paintings consist of three rock painting traditions: hunter-gatherer, pastoralist and Bantu language-speakers (Masao 1979; Leakey 1983; Anati 1986; Mturi 1998; Smith 1997), each tradition has a distinctive style and content, and sometimes these three traditions are found in the same shelter.

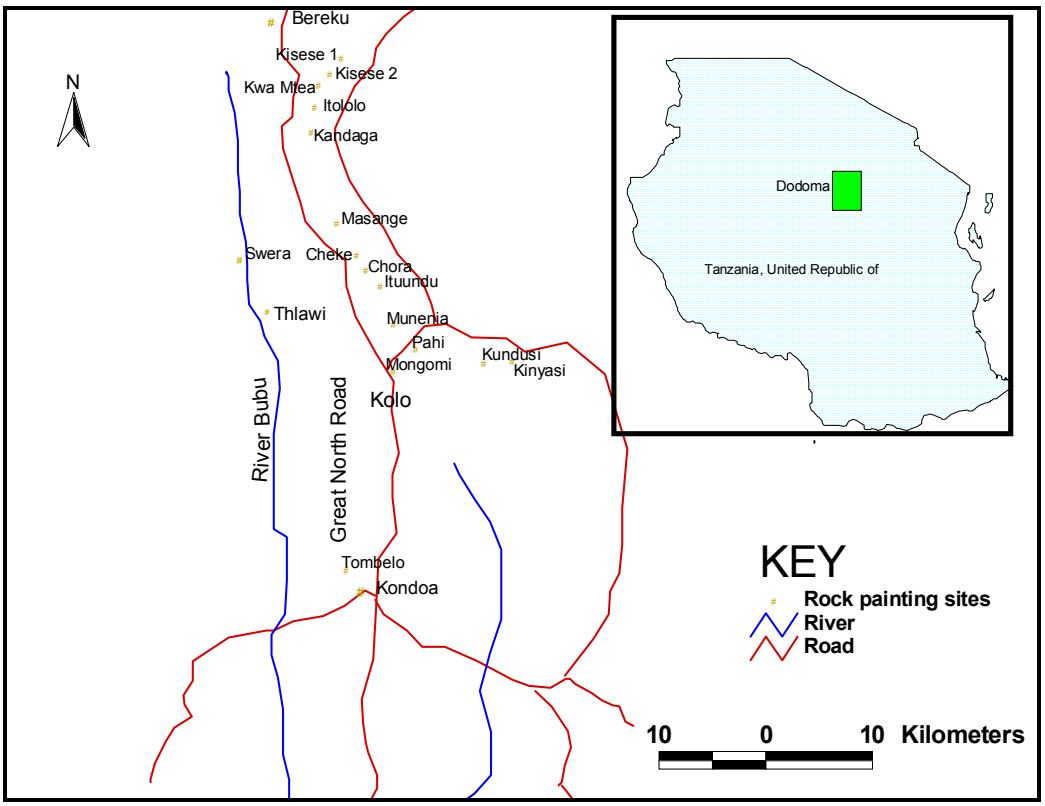

Figure 3: Map showing location of *Mongomi wa Kolo* rock paintings site within broader context of Kondoa World Heritage Sites (After Kondoa Management Plan 2004)

The rock paintings of Kondoa World Heritage Site can only be understood against a background of the archaeological sequence of the area. Kondoa district has been inhabited by three major groups: hunter-gatherers (Sandawe and Hadza); Pastoralists (Iraqw, Burenge, Wasi, Aragwa, Datoga and Masai); and Bantu language-speaker (Warangi). The rock art of Kondoa can be tied broadly to ancestors of these groups.

Hunter-gatherer groups

Linguistic and archaeological evidence indicates that hunter-gatherers who were ancestors of the modern Hadza and Sandawe were the first ethnic groups to inhabit Kondoa. They resided in Central Tanzania long before the arrival of agricultural and pastoral people (Bagshawe 1925; Bleek 1931a, 1931b; Woodburn 1962, 1970; Ten Raa 1969; Newman 1970; Ambrose 1982; Tishkoff 2007). The presence of click speaking groups (Hadza and Sandawe) in Tanzania was earlier considered likely to indicate that click speaking ethnic groups once inhabited all southern Africa and eastern Africa. The click speaking Hadza and Sandawe are now seen as traditionally hunting people, separate from the southern African San and who have lived in Central Tanzania for thousands of years (Ambrose 1982; Tishkoff 2007).

Hadza and Sandawe oral traditions show that their ancestors lived in rock shelters, and practised hunting and gathering. The men hunted wild animals while the women collected plant foods. The relationship between the hunter and wild animals was expressed in ritual form, where the animals were seen as vested with spiritual power (Ten Raa 1971, 1974; Lewis-Williams 1986; Lim 1992, 1996). This spiritual power appears to be quite different from the practice of agriculturalists and pastoralists whose rituals most often involved the sacrifice of animals and reflect the need for fertility and rain (Culwick 1931).

Pastoralist groups

Archaeological data provides evidence for early pastoralism in the form of early plant and animal domestication. Around 3000 years ago, increased arid conditions in the northern Ethiopian highlands and the east central Sudan resulted in the migration of two groups of pastoralists to East Africa: Cushitic and Nilotic speakers (Clark 1976; Ehret 1974, 1976; Williams 1984).

The herding and cultivation practices of Cushitic-speaking people, originated in Ethiopia, and first reached northern-central Tanzania about 3000 years ago (Bower 1973; Clark 1976; Ehret 1998). This group, known as the Southern Cushitic, is represented by the present-day Iraqw, Burenge and Aragwa. The Cushitic-speaking people introduced the earliest livestock and cultivation into north central Tanzania and their primary subsistence seems to have been pastoralism. They raised cattle, sheep and goats and kept donkeys. About 2000 years ago the Cushitic people were followed by pastoral Nilotic-speakers who originated in southern Sudan (Ehret 1974). The present-day Datoga and Masai belong to this group. Like the Southern Cushitic people, the southern Nilotic-speakers put major emphasis on livestock. However, for Nilotic people, cattle are potent in terms of social significance, and their vocabulary contains many words that refer to cattle symbols (Gramly 1975).

Bantu language-speaking groups

Early Bantu language-speaking groups arrived in the area approximately 300 years ago (Kesby 1981). These were ancestors of the modern Warangi. Warangi oral traditions indicate that their ancestors came from the North and passed through Kenya on their way to Tanzania. When the Warangi arrived in Tanzania, they settled in Arusha, north Tanzania, before Babati. The Warangi needed to settle near water sources and because Babati was dry, they migrated southwards to Magugu before settling at a place called Haubi. Lake Haubi provided an assured source of water for agriculture and livestock, a factor that encouraged settling in the Haubi area. At Haubi the Warangi met with the Masai people, fought against them and forced the Masai to move south and east of Kondoa. Today the Warangi claim they originate from Haubi and spread to other areas in Kondoa, forming the largest ethnic group in Kondoa District.

Iron smelting is one of the main features to identify the arrival of Bantu-speakers in Kondoa. Early examples are known from Haubi (Lane, Mapunda and Erickson 2001). Other evidence of iron smelting has been reported in the Usandawe area (Sutton 1968). Iron smelting residues such as tuyere from Haubi date to about 300-200 years

ago. This date is taken by scholars to be the age of the early Warangi settlement in Kondoa (Mturi 1998).

In the past the Warangi used initiation ceremonies to teach both boys and girls the Rangi culture. These initiations were conducted in groups from Rangi families and were held on the hill nearby the village for several weeks. Initiation ceremonies were aimed at transforming youth to adulthood. The teaching involved instructing the youth on how to take care of their wife/husband, their children and to respect elders. Respected old men and women were chosen to teach children who participated in the initiation ceremonies. Often initiations ended with boys/girls getting married. In the 1980s, the Government of Tanzania banned the initiation ceremonies in all parts of the country. This was due to fact that children undergoing initiation did not attend school. Today, the Warangi no longer practise initiations. About ninety percent of Warangi are Muslim and follow the Muslim beliefs system and the remaining ten percent is Christian.

These ethnic groups contributed at least three different rock traditions in Kondoa: hunter-gatherer, pastoralist and Bantu language-speaker rock paintings. Each tradition has its own symbolism and social context.

The hunter-gatherers rock paintings tradition

The hunter-gatherer rock paintings of Kondoa are dominated by human figures and animals. The animals are sometimes portrayed with masks or strange hairstyle headdress, necklaces and sometimes they hold bows and arrows. Groups of human figures are also shown bending at the waist, taking on animal features such as ears and tail, floating or flying (Fosbrooke 1950; Masao 1976, 1979, 1982; Leakey 1983; Anati 1986; Lewis-Williams 1986; Mabulla 2005, 2007; Smith 2006). The dominant colour is dark reddish brown; other colours include yellow, orange, red and white. Among the animal identified are elephants, giraffes, antelopes, eland, rhinoceros and wildebeest. *Mongomi wa Kolo* has many good examples of hunter-gatherer paintings.

The hunter-gatherer paintings have been associated with Sandawe cultural beliefs. Eric Ten Raa observed some Sandawe making rock paintings early in the twenty

century. His accounts provide evidence that the practice of rock painting was linked to particular Sandawe rituals. The Sandawe communicate with the spirits by taking on the power of an animal (Ten Raa 1971, 1974). Some features at *Mongomi wa Kolo* can be understood by reference to the Sandawe traditional practice known as *simbó* (eg. See Lewis-Williams 1986).



Figure 4: An example of hunter-gatherer paintings at Mongomi shelter

For the Hadza, it is difficult to associate them directly with rock paintings because no research has been done linking their social behaviour or religious beliefs with the iconography of the rock paintings. Research has concentrated on understanding the distribution of the Hadza in Central Tanzania and their hunting practices (Bleek 1931a, 1931b; Woodburn 1962, 1970). Ten Raa (1969) pointed out that Sandawe (N/ni) and Hadza (Ne/ni) used to live together, but he didn't associate the Hadza directly with the paintings.

Today, the Hadza and Sandawe live approximately 150 kilometres apart. The Sandawe are situated in Kondoa district southwest of Arusha. The Hadza on the other hand, are a relatively small group of individuals living at *Mang'ola, Yaeda Chini* near Lake Eyasi in Arusha district, north central Tanzania. Traditionally, both populations subsisted through hunting and gathering. Many Hadza continue to do so, whereas the Sandawe currently subsist on types of agriculture and pastoralism recently introduced by neighbouring Bantu-language speaking Taturu (Newman 1970; Mabulla 2007).

In terms of age, some researchers contend that the hunter-gatherer paintings in Central Tanzania are the earliest rock paintings in eastern and southern Africa (Anati 1986). According to Anati (1986) the paintings might date as far back as 40,000 years ago, while Inskeep (1962) suggested a period of 29,000 years before present (BP) based on ochre recovered from Kisese II. This date is questioned by other researchers. For instance, Mabulla (2005) suggested that the surviving paintings probably date to between 20,000-1000 years ago. Other researchers place a maximum date of 10,000 years (Coulson and Campbell 2001) while Masao (1979) put the age of the hunter-gatherer paintings in Singida and Kondoa at a minimum of 3,000 BP. Although the date of hunter-gatherers paintings in Kondoa and Singida regions is still controversial, the oldest known date for African hunter-gatherer paintings was calculated from fifteen radiocarbon dates, taken from occupation layer in Apollo 11 cave in southern Namibia, dating back at least to 27,000 years (Wendt 1976). The next oldest date is from Matopos in Zimbabwe, where a spall that had flaked off the painted wall in the Cave of Bees was found incorporated in the deposit in the floor. Charcoal from the relevant layer was dated to about 10,500 BP, giving a minimum age for the original paintings (Thackeray 1983). The age of Kondoa rock paintings is not of critical importance to this study. The significance of the paintings does not rely on their age. The exact age of the paintings is unlikely to be resolved soon since direct dating of exposed parietal paintings is still difficult.

The pastoralists' paintings tradition

The pastoralist rock paintings in Kondoa are associated with two groups, Cushitic and Nilotic-speaking groups. The two groups are found through-out areas where rock paintings are found at Kondoa. It is possible to associate them with certain pastoralist paintings that are found in Central Tanzania because these paintings are stylistically similar to paintings in areas of the horn of Africa from which these groups came **(**Clark 1976**)**. Early cultural sequences for these groups are found at sites south of Lake Eyasi in north central Tanzania (Phillipson 1977; Smith 1992). In central Tanzania these pastoral people (Aragwa, Burenge, Wasi, Masai and Datoga) had extensive contact with the hunter-gatherer people (Mabulla 2007). This contact was probably friendly, as seen in the relations with local Hadza and Sandawe hunter-gatherer communities, as well as in cooperation between Pygmies and farmers on the

forest fringes (Turnbull 1961; Mabulla 2007). In Kondoa, some rock painting shelters show evidence of cultural continuity with hunter-gatherer paintings occurring together with pastoralist paintings. There are some examples of this at Pahi (personal observation).

The pastoralist paintings are spread from central to north Tanzania including the areas of Mbulu, Babati and Karatu. These paintings mostly executed in black and grey are characterised by image of large herds of cattle, and few tools and weapons such as spears and shields (Masao 1976, 1979; Leakey 1983; Anati 1986; Mabulla 2005, 2007). It is difficult determine whether it was Cushitic or Nilotic language-speaker people who made the paintings. Wasi oral traditions link the Cushitic group to the use of rock shelters for rainmaking. By correlating with the archaeology of the area, I suggest that the pastoralists' paintings probably date from 2000 to 300 years ago.



Figure 5: Pastoralists paintings Pahi site, Kondoa District.

The Bantu language-speaker paintings tradition

This painting tradition, otherwise known to as the 'Late White' tradition is mostly of the finger-painting type. It is dominated by white geometric or designs including dots, lines, circles, squares and other symbols. Other painted images are spread-eagle designs that have a central vertical body and arm or legs spreading out from this body horizontally and at right angle (Smith 1997). Alongside this dominant image one finds a few recognisable animal forms, notably elephant and antelope. These are executed

in a dirty white colour, but some are painted in orange, brown, red or black. The Pahi rock painting sites in Kondoa district provide good example of these paintings (Masao 1979; Leakey 1983; Anati 1986; Mturi 1998; Smith 1997; Mabulla 2005)



Figure 6: An example of Bantu-speaker rock painting, Pahi site, Kondoa District

At Kondoa, rock paintings in this tradition are attributed to the Warangi because of the pattern of site distribution. Many of the shelters where this painting occurs were used in initiation ceremonies (Smith 2006). Initiation symbolism may still be known to some elders and can still be understood within the symbolic value system of coming-of-age among Warangi. Referring to the Bantu language-speaker migration pattern and the age of the spread of iron into Kondoa, I suggest that the age of paintings be placed between to 300-100 years ago, the time when the Bantu-language speaker Warangi settled in the area.

Research history on Kondoa rock paintings

The study of Kondoa paintings in Central Tanzania began in the 1920s when colonial administrators and officials discovered the paintings in the course of their duties (Bagshawe 1923, 1925; Culwick 1931; Aitken 1948; Fosbrooke 1950; Fozzard 1959, 1966). Reports from these non-professionals were generally descriptive, discussing the location and content of the paintings, with some reports categorising the paintings according to style and pigment colour to establish typologies (Aitken 1948; Fosbrooke 1950; Fozzard 1959, 1966). Aitken (1948) found, for example, that red and

purple coloured figures were older than any others in all cases of superimposition. This was supported by Leakey (1950). Both Aitken and Leakey recognised that the age of the white and black colours was relatively recent, and that both were made by Bantu-language speakers or Pastoralists.

These early studies were followed by publications by a series of professional archaeologists (Leakey 1950; Leakey 1983; Inskeep 1962; Masao 1976, 1979, 1982, 1990; Anati 1986). A categorising of the paintings according to style and pigment colour was adopted. The colour of the paintings provided the primary variable by which styles were divided. For instance, Leakey (1950) recognised thirteen styles of rock paintings based at three rock shelters namely: Kisese II, Cheke and *Mongomi wa Kolo*. Using the same methods, Masao (1979) produced a chronological cultural sequence based on colour as well as form (Masao 1979). He attempted to define the kinds of stylised representations into the categories: naturalistic, semi naturalistic, silhouette and abstract/ geometric (Masao 1976, 1979).

However, professional archaeologists have yet to establish a clear link between the rock paintings stylistic sequence and the cultural sequences, probably because of difficulties in the association of the two. Nevertheless, one point on which there is agreement is that the finger painted black and white images are recent and can probably be attributed to Pastoralist and Bantu language-speakers (Culwick 1931; Aitken 1948; Fosbrooke 1950; Leakey 1950).

The failure to determine clearly which tradition is related to which group created a major problem for understanding the Kondoa rock paintings. A third group of researchers attempted to resolve the problem by establishing the meaning of the paintings through considering the relationship between the image of the paintings and the ritual beliefs of the indigenous people. The idea of understanding rock paintings through ethnography had already been effectively used in southern Africa to study San rock art (Vinnicombe 1972, 1976; Lewis-Williams 1981).

The use of ethnography to interpret rock paintings of Kondoa was initially used by Ten Raa in 1971. Ten Raa (1971) recognised three categories of rock paintings made by Sandawe namely: casual, magic and sacrificial rock paintings. Casual rock

paintings are a kind made without ritual association, but painted on a particular occasion such as an unsuccessful hunt, when an accident occurred or where there was sickness in the family. Magic rock paintings were associated with hunting rituals and practices before a hunt. In their hunting rituals the Sandawe performed rites of inductive magic; this took the form of the hunter making an effigy of the animal he hoped to kill. Sacrificial rock painting involved sacrifices to clan spirits on hills in clan property. The sacrifice was performed away from the residence, mostly at the foot of a large bolder or overhanging rock. Ten Raa linked some paintings to the specific Sandawe ritual of *Simbò*.

Lewis-Williams (1986), using Ten Raa's writings describes *simbó* as a spirit control cult. According to Lewis-Williams, *simbó* is a ritual of being a lion. During *simbó* Lewis-Williams suggests that *simbó* dancers are believed to turn into lions rather than being possessed by spirits. *Simbó* dancers fight off evil spirits. Lewis-Williams, drawing from San trance dances, suggest that both *simbó* dancers and San medicine men attribute the ability to know things from afar to extra-earthly travel. Lewis-Williams' analysis suggests ways of studying hunter-gatherer paintings by considering specific features in the rock painting in relation to the Sandawe ritual *simbó.*

Like Lewis-Williams, Imogene Lim (1992, 1996) undertook research on Kondoa rock paintings, particularly in the Usandawe area. Lim attempted to interpret the hunter-gatherer paintings by combining both the physical environment and the social context of the site using "*a site-oriented approach to rock art"*. The site oriented approach focused on the relationship between the rock paintings and sites, sites and the landscape, and the landscape and the community. Lim concentrated on understanding the Sandawe beliefs and how these beliefs tied to the rock paintings. She recognised that most of the Sandawe sacrifices were held on the hill; therefore, she considered hills as important points of a symbolic landscape. From this observation Lim suggested that the hill is the second object in the process of studying rock paintings while the belief system is the first. According to Lim the meaning and the potency of a place is produced through ritual activities, **"**that is, the meaning is in the doing (=process), not in the object (=painted figure)" (Lim 1996: 79). The work of Ten Raa, Lewis-Williams

and Lim 1992 form the basis for any understanding of the original meaning of the paintings at *Mongomi wa Kolo.*

While some researchers worked to interpret the Kondoa rock paintings, others attempted to understand the archaeological deposits at *Mongomi wa Kolo*. In 1951 Mary Leakey dug a test pit, but the resultant materials were never published (Leakey 1951, 1984). In 1979, Masao excavated at *Mongomi wa Kolo* and established a trench outside the shelter measuring 3m × 2 m and excavated nine levels in total. The excavated archaeological materials included microlithic flakes characterised by geometric scrapers. These materials indicated a presence of LSA people. There were no Iron Age finds. The absence of Iron Age material led Masao to suggest that the inhabitants of *Mongomi wa Kolo* did not have contact with Iron Age people. In comparison with the Kandaga A9, a shelter which was also excavated in the same year, Masao argued that *Mongomi wa Kolo* was occupied before Kandaga A9. According to Masao (1979), the *Mongomi* artefacts are closer to those of the Kisese II site. Kandaga A9 and Kisese II are approximately ten kilometres from *Mongomi wa Kolo*. Archaeological material from Kisese II shows the transition between MSA and Late Stone Age LSA (Inskeep 1962). Masao's finds from *Mongomi wa Kolo* dated to between 3500 and 1000 years ago. But, it must be remembered that he only excavated a small trench in front of the shelter. It is possible that much older deposits exist in other parts of the shelter.

Traditional ritual practices at *Mongomi wa Kolo*

Bantu language-speaker religion and worship embraces life as a worship that touches every aspect of life. In many parts of Africa there is no direct cult of a Supreme Being, yet god is the ultimate object of worship people approach through intermediaries: religious functionaries, ancestors and divinities. There is an abundance of temples, shrines, groves and altars all used for public and private worship in most parts of Africa. Some special trees, some rivers, forests, rocks, rock shelters and mountains are considered manifestations of the sacred. These features often serve as places of worship. God and the divinities are worshipped through sacrifices, offerings, prayers, invocations, praises, music and dance (Mbiti 1969, 1975).

Such types of worship continue to be practised at *Mongomi wa Kolo* rock painting site. One of the most complex aspects of this site is its religious and spiritual associations with local communities from nearby villages. South of the shelter (about three metres), below the drip line, is a cavern underneath a massive boulder that is used by diviners, healers and rainmakers to conjure up visions and communicate with the spirits of *Mongomi wa Kolo*. Across the landscape of Kondoa the principle sacrificial sites are near fig and baobab trees and springs, making the use of *Mongomi wa Kolo* somewhat unusual.

During fieldwork for this study in July 2007, one of the traditional healers *mwenese*[3] said that she visits the site five times a month with goats/sheep or chicken for curing sick people. Her clients come from Arusha, Dodoma, Kondoa town and the neighbouring villages. Rainmakers from a village nearby practise rituals at *Mongomi wa Kolo* three time a year: at the start of the year (November/December when the first rains come), to determine how the year will be; a second time to ask the spirit to bring good rain at the end of February and a third, when the cereal crops have matured, to thank the spirit for giving a good harvest. The rain ceremony is controlled by the *hapaloe*[4]. Along with diviners, healers and rainmakers, individuals also come to *Mongomi wa Kolo* for divination (this was confirmed by Antiquities staff from the Kolo station and local communities from Kolo, Pahi and Mnenia village during this study). Oral traditions indicate that *Mongomi wa Kolo* is a land spirit and it is considered more powerful than other ritual places in Kondoa (eg.see Kondoa management plan 2004).

Within the *Mongomi wa Kolo* ritual area, there are also two other shelters used for ritual ceremonies: *Kolo-Majilili II* and *Kolo-Majilili III*. *Kolo-Majilili III* is found north of *Mongomi wa Kolo* and is characterised by human, animal and geometric figures while *Kolo-Majili II* is located south of *Mongomi wa Kolo* and it is near the car park. Human and animal figures can be seen in this site. These three sites, *Mongomi wa Kolo-Majilili I (Mongomi)*, *Kolo-Majilili II* and *Kolo-Majilili* III, are open to the public. Visitors access the sites with a guide from the Antiquities office-

[3] The head of the land from the Warangi ethnic group who practices ceremonies at *Mongomi wa* Kolo.
[4] The head of the land from Wasi/ Aragwa who practices the rain ceremonies at *Mongomi wa* Kolo.

Kolo. Most of the visitors' visit all three sites in the same visit because they are located in the same area about twenty or less minutes walks from one another.

Apart from the above sites, Mary Leakey in 1951 recorded seven other rock painting sites near Mongomi; making a total of ten sites in the Mongomi area. These sites were recorded as follows:

> Kolo 4: a well preserved painting and nine figures were records. Kolo 5: it has fine paintings on ceiling and on a side panel with a naturalistic white giraffes and animals in red outline with yellow wash, including a stylised lion. Human and euphorbias are also found. Kolo 6: twelve figures were recorded and traced. Large elephant "Kolo-type" human figures, standing on their heads are found. Kolo 7: the site has four well preserved panels in the low south on the hill above Kolo 1.The site has buffalo and cheetah figures. Human figures carrying poles and other objects are also found. Nineteen figures were recorded. Kolo 8: a small rough rock below Kolo II has only 2 unclear paintings. Kolo 9: a site found bellow Kolo 4 and few obscure paintings are observed. Kolo 10: a site characterised by human and animal figure with very good figures. Seventeen figure were recorded (Leakey 1951: 4).

These seven sites are not open to the public, probably because they are not known to the Antiquities office, but their location is known to the local people.

Conclusion

Mongomi wa Kolo has hunter-gatherer rock paintings that are the main visitor attraction to the Kondoa World Heritage Site. The site was documented by Mary Leakey on her first visit Kondoa. *Mongomi wa Kolo* is better known to local communities than other sites in Kondoa due to its use in traditional ritual practices. The name of *Mongomi wa Kolo* seems to have come from the name of a family who settled in the area. Although the site was listed on the World Heritage List it is experiencing management problems. Mary Leakey in her 1983 work on Kondoa rock paintings predicted that if serious management measures were not taken the paintings would be destroyed by 2020. The paintings are destroyed by the dust from the ground and in some parts of the shelter rain water causes the paintings to deteriorate. The

paintings of Kondoa are still only partially documented and some areas remain unsurveyed. The recordings from old research work remains scattered among individuals and institutions. There is an urgent need to collect all of the existing information together and to begin to update the information within a dedicated sites and monument register that also takes notice of living heritage values.

CHAPTER THREE

MANAGEMENT AND LEGISLATION

This chapter presents a background to the management of indigenous living heritage in archaeological sites in Africa. It traces the history and ways indigenous archaeological living heritage were managed prior to and post independence. It also considers the history of management of *Mongomi wa Kolo* during the colonial administration. The role of Antiquities legislation, government cultural policy in Tanzania and international instruments to assist to protect indigenous living heritage worldwide are discussed.

African heritage, in pre-colonial and the early colonial periods was managed by Africans without any written law. Many archaeological sites had traditional custodians who managed the sites through a series of taboos, rituals and restrictions. The traditional custodian was chosen from the clan which used the site for their activities and rituals. Custodians decided who had the right to enter a site. Custodians usually fell under a traditional authority system made up of headmen and chiefs. All sections of this system had commitments and responsibilities for the protection and maintenance of cultural heritage. If a problem occurred, all levels would be held accountable and action would be taken. At *Mongomi wa Kolo* for example, there was a complex system of traditional management made up of *mwenese* and *hapaloe* (Bwasiri interview 2007).

In 1863 when the colonial administration was established in Tanzania, the colonial governors were aware of the existence of the traditional management of archaeological sites. We know this because, in many cases, they sought to interfere in the traditional management structures and practices. The reason for the imposition of the colonial controls is complex and multiple, but a major factor could be that many of these sites had magic power that was used by the local people to resist colonial policies (Kimambo and Temu 1969). Therefore, the sites sometimes became centres of resistance and conflict between the colonial government and communities.

In order to control heritage sites, colonial administration in Africa tended to impose their approaches on management. They introduced a Western-style approach which was against African traditional ways of managing heritage sites. It concentrated on the preservation of the fabric of sites rather than on the living heritage which was of great importance in pre-colonial times. The new approach to management of heritage sites was therefore centred on the tangible and emphasis was placed on physical monuments, archaeological sites and objects. People were often not allowed to access heritage sites and were sometimes forcefully migrated hundreds of kilometres from their traditional homes. At Great Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe), Kilwa Kisiwani (Tanzania), Brandberg (Namibia), Timbuktu (Mali) and Thulamela (South Africa), for instance, this forced migration created both physical and spiritual distance between the communities, their ancestral homes and their sites for ritual practices (Ndoro 2001b).

Traditional ways of managing these sites were seen as "backward" while the western approach was regarded as natural, more advanced and therefore progressive. Scholars (Ndoro 2001a; Munjeri 2000, 2003; Sullivan 2003; Mulokozi 2005; Msemwa 2005) argue that the management of archaeological sites during the colonial period was mostly protective and administrative in nature. It ignored the role of the communities and community values associated with sites.

Traditional ways of managing archaeological sites, where they managed to survive, were also affected when Christianity and Islam spread through rural Africa. Many African religions were based on the respect for natural spirits and ancestors, belief in the continuing involvement of ancestors in their lives, beliefs in the forces of good and evil that can be manipulated by direct communication with the ancestors and spirits through prayer and sacrifice (Mbiti 1969). Places such as mountains, water springs, rocks, rivers and caves were typical sacrificial places for indigenous people and therefore they became "archaeological" sites. Examples of these archaeological sites include: *Mongomi wa Kolo* rock paintings site (Tanzania), Lamu Old Town (Kenya), Tsodilo hill (Botswana), Chongoni rock paintings site (Malawi), Asante traditional buildings (Ghana) and Suker cultural landscape (Nigeria) (Ndoro 2001b; Chiwaura 2005; Fontein 2006).

When Christianity and Islam imposed new beliefs about life after death, that one's "post mortem existence will not be like that of the ancestors and that one's deeds will be judged by a creator" (Mbiti 1969: 32), African traditional practices were deemed heathen and suppressed. In addition, education also encouraged Africans to suppress their traditional beliefs. Since early formal education was most often offered through missionary schools, those Africans who attended these schools gradually lost their traditional beliefs through the acquisition of colonially introduced religions. In many places the traditional management of ancient sacred sites therefore ceased (Mulokozi 2005).

In post-colonial Africa, many countries instituted heritage management systems that did not change much from the colonial approach. Heritage institutions continued to reinforce conservation strategies borrowed from colonial masters. Cultural institutions used a scientific approach established during the colonial era (Pwiti and Ndoro 1999, 2001). The scientific approach adopted by cultural institutions continued to define cultural heritage based on physical objects only, without considering the intangible values associated with the objects. Traditional leaders and indigenous people continued to be denied access to their sacred sites (Katasamudanga 2002).

Cultural policies formulated in most African countries did not recognise the living heritage as heritage. For instance, in post-colonial Tanzania, Nyerere's Ujamaa policy in 1974 led to land redistribution and the forced migration of people from their original homes (Michael 1977). Despite the useful community facilities and services that were provided to these evacuated peasants, the separation from their ancestral land and sacred places could not be compensated for by the comforts of development. Sulayman Nyang (1992) argued that the Ujamaa policy failed due to the separation of indigenous people from their ancestral lands. This means that forcing indigenous people away from their spiritual places created problems for traditional practitioners and for the development of the country.

Management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*

Before the arrival of European colonialists, the local indigenous people were responsible for *Mongomi wa Kolo* management through the *mwenese* and *hapalo* (Bwasiri interview 2007). Traditional custodians allowed people access and permission to conduct their ritual ceremonies at the site. When the Europeans came, they found the site intact. Its preservation was a direct product of traditional management. The colonialists assumed control over the site when they formulated an Act in 1937 to "protect" the cultural heritage in Tanzania. The Act was known as "the Colonial Monuments Preservation Ordinance" and *Mongomi* was managed through that Act (Kamamba 2005).

From 1937 to 1957 management of *Mongomi wa Kolo* and other rock paintings sites at Kondoa District were administered by a District Officer. Although the colonial Act did not recognize the management of living heritage, at *Mongomi wa Kolo,* local communities were told to inform the colonial district officer (Bagshawe, F.J.E.) when they wanted to conduct rain rituals. In turn Bagshawe would sometimes provide a sheep for the ceremonies (interview at Kolo village, Bwasiri 2007)**.** This means that local people and traditional practitioners continued to access the site for ritual ceremonies through consultation with the Kondoa District Officer.

In 1957, the Antiquities Department was established in Tanganyika, now Tanzania, by colonial administrators. It aimed at protecting movable and immovable cultural heritage without considering living heritage. Neville Chittick was the founder of the Antiquities Department in 1957. He was a British archaeologist interested in coastal archaeology. As Director of Antiquities, he enforced the colonial Act, by fencing some heritage sites in Tanzania. The purpose of fencing was to stop local people and traditional practitioners from accessing sites illegally. In 1961-1962 Chittick erected cages on eleven rock paintings at Kondoa; including *Mongomi wa Kolo.* Because of a lack of funds Chittick was unable to complete erecting protective cages to all sites before leaving the Antiquities Department for the British Institute in Nairobi, in 1963.

In the same year (1963) Hamo Sassoon, succeeded Chittick as Director of the Antiquities Department. He continued erecting protective cages around the sites

which had been left unfinished in the previous years by Chittick. In 1964 he cleared and improved access roads to eleven protected rock painting sites in the Kondoa area including *Mongomi wa Kolo*. He also set up green sign boards indicating the direction to *Mongomi wa Kolo* shelter (Antiquities Annual report 1964).

In 1965 *Mongomi wa Kolo* was surveyed and marked by two members of the "*Peace Corps",* Mrs Allen Podell and Howard Siegel. The survey aimed to construct a road from Kolo village to *Mongomi wa Kolo*. The construction of the road faced difficulties due to the thick forest of the area. The road was completed after about two years and the Department employed two guards, Juma Said Boke and Juma Mpole to guard the rock paintings sites in the Kondoa area. Both Boke and Mpole were local people from the Warangi ethnic group. Mpole was the head of station until he retired in 1999. In 1965 a short guidebook for the eleven protected Kondoa rock painting sites was published (Antiquities Annual Report 1965).

During Sassoon's time research on Kondoa rock paintings progressed particularly at *Mongomi wa Kolo*. For instance, Mary Leakey recorded and traced rock paintings figures at *Mongomi wa Kolo* shelter. Leakey's work contributed to publicising Kondoa's rock paintings world wide. Visitors from different parts of the world visited Kondoa rock paintings including *Mongomi wa Kolo* shelter. Kolo village become a centre for visitors who visited *Mongomi* wa Kolo shelter and other nearby sites. The flow of visitors at *Mongomi wa Kolo* passing Kolo village influenced Sassoon to develop the idea of establishing a heritage office at Kolo village.

In April 1966, Sassoon visited the Kondoa rock paintings. Sassoon sought to erect a guards' house to protect the paintings. The plot was set across the Great North Road within Kolo village approximately six kilometres to *Mongomi wa Kolo*. To secure the plot a foundation was erected (Antiquities Annual Report 1966). The guard's house was completed at the end of 1968 (see Antiquities Annual Report 1968: 9). After completion, the guards' house was converted into the Kolo Antiquities office of Kondoa District. The Kolo office was a welcome point for visitors. They stopped at the office to register before visiting the site. The office is still used today as the place for visitors' registration. On the 13th of July 1968, Sassoon left the Department of Antiquities after he completed his contract. Assistant conservator Amini Mturi filled

the vacancy as acting Director of Antiquities Department on 14th July of 1968 (Antiquities Annual Report 1968).



Figure 7: The old Kolo office

Amini Mturi, a history graduate from Makerere University obtained his Masters' degree in archaeology and conservation at the Institute of Archaeology, London University. Mturi worked as Acting Director of Antiquities for two years. He was later promoted to Director in February 1970. Mturi worked with Mary Leakey in the Kondoa area before becoming Director of Antiquities. This helped him to develop an interest in the management of rock paintings. In 1968 on his way to Olduvai, Mturi visited Kondoa rock painting sites. While there he organised a meeting with the local people at Kolo, Kisese and Masange. The meeting aimed at explaining the importance

of rock paintings to the communities in order to reduce vandalism which he had observed since the protective cages were erected (Antiquities Annual Report 1968).

Mturi re-visited Kondoa rock paintings, particularly *Mongomi wa Kolo*, where he witnessed an increasing destruction of there paintings and two other nearby sites (Majilili 2 and Majilili 3). To prevent this destruction Mturi decided to re-build protective cages for these sites by replacing the old cages. The construction work begun in November 1969 and was completed in 1971 (Antiquities Annual Report 1969, 1970-1971). The protective cages were aimed at controlling access to the sites. The fence was aimed at restricting local people from conducting illegal excavations in search of treasure. Some local people believed that the Germans buried gold at the site at the end of World War 1. While local people insisted that the painting panels were where the gold was left after World War 1, Mturi believed the rituals destroyed the paintings, and therefore fencing was the only way to stop local people and traditional practitioners from having access to *Mongomi wa Kolo* shelter there by rescuing the paintings. The local people subsequently removed the fence and took the frame and wire for building purposes and gained access to the site for their rituals. This vandalism was constant headache for Mturi as can be seen in his 1970-1971 annual report:

> The problems of vandalism have not decreased despite the Conservator's effort to educate the public on the importance of protecting the rock paintings (sea 1968 A.R). Fortunately in May, 1971, two people were arrested after wire mesh similar to that removed from Cholocholi A.22 site was found in their house. One was convicted and sentenced to one year imprisonment and the other one freed (Antiquities Annual Report 1970-1971: 4)



Figure 8: An example of the remains of the wall of protective cage, *Mongomi wa Kolo* shelter.

During Mturi's administration, a six kilometre-long access road was constructed to the site, upgrading the older track made during the time of Sassoon. A camping site was set aside along the road by Mary Leakey. Leakey also constructed an air-strip a few hundred metres from *Mongomi wa Kolo.* The area of the air-strip is today used as a visitors' car park. Whilst the research by Mary Leakey was done in 1950, she continued to bring visitors every year to *Mongomi wa Kolo* until her death in 1996 aged 83. She came with groups of tourists who stayed at the camp site. Mturi tried his best to develop Kondoa rock paintings including *Mongomi wa Kolo* before retiring in 1981.

In 1981, Simon Wane took over from Mturi as Director of the Antiquities Department. Wane, a PhD holder in ethnology, recruited two more staff: Maulid Rauna and Paschal Lubuva in 1981 and 1986 respectively. Both Rauna and Lubuva were assistant conservators of Antiquities at the Kolo office. Rauna and Lubuva were secondary school leavers with no formal training in archaeology or conservation. Rauna become the head of the Kolo office in 1999 after Mpole retired. During Wane's tenure the Department of Antiquities experienced a lot of problems in terms

of administration and funds for managing cultural heritage. The additional staff did not bring about any desired change in the protection and management of the *Mongomi wa Kolo* and other rock paintings sites at Kondoa area. In order to rescue the cultural heritage, the government decided to make radical changes within the Department of Antiquities in the mid 1990s. Wane retired in 1997 and Donatius Kamamba took over as Director of Antiquities.

In 1997 Kamamba was appointed Acting Director and in 2000 was later promoted to the post of Director of the Antiquities, where remains to this day. He had worked at Bagamoyo stone town as head of station. He holds a Masters' degree in the conservation of historical buildings from the United Kingdom. Under Kamamba's administration, various important management measures have been instituted for Kondoa rock paintings, including *Mongomi wa Kolo*.

In 2000 the Antiquities Department requested the World Heritage Committee to inscribe the Kondoa rock paintings onto the World Heritage List. This was followed by a lengthy nomination process. The process involved seminars and meetings between the heritage authority and the local community/indigenous people associated with the sites. As part of the nomination process the Department of Antiquities also constructed a new Kolo office in 2002. The new building was designed to accommodate the office of the Antiquities staff at the Kolo station, as well as to provide a place for displays. The National Museum of Dar es Salaam was mandated to design and arrange cultural material for the displays at the Kolo office. At the time of the writing of this report these displays are still not in place.



Figure 9: A new Antiquities Department office, Kolo station, Kondoa District.

In order to convince the World Heritage Committee to inscribe Kondoa rock paintings onto the World Heritage list, the Director of Antiquities in 2005 transferred two staff members Mr. Remigius Chami and Mr. Emmanuel Bwasiri from Antiquities Department, headquarters, Dar es Salaam to Kolo office. Both Chami and Bwasiri are archaeologists trained at the University of Dar es Salaam. Chami holds a Masters' degree specialising in the archaeology of the Chagga people while Bwasiri is currently a Masters' student (rock art studies) at the University of the Witwatersrand, Republic of South Africa. The Kolo office now has four staff members who are custodians of the Kondoa rock paintings including *Mongomi wa Kolo*. Chami is head of the Kolo station while Bwasiri is assistant head of the station. Maulid and Lubuva are assistant conservators.

The Department of Antiquities continues to take measures in managing Kondoa rock paintings. In 2007/2008 the Department budget allocated fund to purchases a vehicle for the Kolo station and some money was allocated for upgrading the road from the Kolo office to *Mongomi*. Currently the Kolo Station has two motor cycles which are used for inspecting the Kondoa rock painting sites. The Director of Antiquities sought has funding to install electricity at the Kolo station. Currently the Kolo office has installed a solar energy generator for electrical equipment use such as computers.

All these measures seek to improve the management of Kondoa rock painting, including *Mongomi wa Kolo*. The challenge facing the management strategies of the site is the exclusion of those local communities associated with living heritage, an exclusion that can be traced back to 1957.

Antiquities legislation in Tanzania

Legislation aimed at ensuring the preservation of cultural heritage exists in many countries. The Antiquities Act of Tanzania, enacted in 1964 and amended in 1979, replacing the Colonial Monuments Preservation Ordinance promulgated in 1937, is the basic legislation for the protection and preservation of cultural heritage in Tanzania (Antiquities 1964 Amendment Act No. 22 of 1979).

The Act defined a monument as:

> any building, fortification, internment, midden, dam or structure erected, formed or built by human agency before the year 1863, or the ruins or remains thereof; or any rock painting or carving or any natural object painted, incised, modified or erected in Tanzania by human agency before the year 1863, or any earthwork, trench, well, road or other modification of the soil or rock, dug, excavated or otherwise engineered by human agency before the year 1863 (Kamamba 2005:13).

The Act provides a definition only for physical objects: movable and immovable. Values attached to the physical object (living heritage) are not defined within the Act. With regards to the *Mongomi wa Kolo* rock paintings, the legislation prohibits any one from:

> destroying, injuring or vandalizing a monument or making any alteration, addition or repair; write, draw or carve on a rock with painting; permit any animal to damage the same or to enter any part of the shelter; modify the course of cultivation so as to affect to its detriment any part of the paintings (Kamamba 2005: 14).

The Antiquities authority at Kolo office uses this Act to stop local people and traditional practitioners from accessing *Mongomi wa Kolo* without permission from the Director of Antiquities Department.

Instruments for safeguarding living heritage internationally

Instruments that specifically aim at managing living heritage have been developed within a growing number of national and international Acts of legislation and institutions. The importance of cultural life for indigenous people is one of the reasons for formulating ways of protecting living heritage and involving the people attached. A few examples of international conventions and organisations that emphasise the management of living heritage are the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity 1992 (CBD); the United Nations Declaration on the Right of Indigenous People of 1994; the UNESCO 2003 Convention for Safeguarding Living Heritage; International Council of Museum (ICOM); the International Centre for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and the International Network on Cultural Policy (INCP). These conventions and institutions encourage state parties to recognise living heritage and to involve those people holding living heritage in its management. Tanzania is a member of UNESCO but not has yet ratified the Convention of Safeguarding Living Heritage, one reason contributing to poor management of living heritage at *Mongomi wa Kolo* rock paintings.

At a national level, much of the policy work concerning living heritage has been done in Australia, Japan, Republic of South Africa, Canada, and a number of other countries are currently developing legislation to protect living heritage. The majority of countries whose legislation protects aspects of living heritage do so within the framework of copyright and other intellectual property laws (Hales 1989). The spirit of these organisations is certainly the spirit within which the Kondoa rock paintings

were inscribed as a living heritage World Heritage Site, but this good intention has not yet been fully realised by the Tanzanian government.

Conclusion

Cultural heritage is more than monuments and objects that have been defined by Antiquities legislation. Cultural heritage also includes the living expression and traditions that communities and groups in every part of the world have received from their ancestors and are passing on to their descendants. This living cultural heritage provides communities, groups and individuals with a sense of identity and continuity; it helps them to understand their world and gives meaning to their lives and their ways of living. Managing living heritage ensures that this heritage continues to be practised and transmitted within the community or group concerned. Communities must be actively involved in safeguarding and managing their living heritage, since it is only they who can consolidate its present and ensure its future. The government of Tanzania through its Antiquities Department should therefore have strategies to accommodate living cultural heritage in the management of the Kondoa World Heritage Site.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter describes the methodology used to collect data and outlines the theories which guide the best ways to integrate local communities in the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo.* I describe the field work I conducted in Kondoa District, Dodoma region and at headquarters of Antiquities Department in Dar es Salaam for three weeks in July 2007. Data collection was only done after permission was obtained from the Kondoa District officer. People interviewed within the villages were shown my research proposal in the presence of either the village chairman or village executive officer. Both were vital in directing or linking me with elders or traditional practitioners who were key stakeholders for this study. Kolo, Mnenia, Pahi, Haubi, Thlawi, Kandaga, and Chikaluli were the villages where my field work was conducted.

Methodology

The main objective of the research design was to ensure that the results would be scientifically valid, and to carry out research as efficiently and economically as possible. To achieve these objectives, the research design adhered to the following described research methodology.

Interview and Discussion

According to Just and Monaghan (2000), interviews are by far the most important technique to elicit and record social data. I conducted most of my interviews in the Swahili language, so that the informants could express themselves better. This helped considerably, because I was able to understand my informants in their Swahili language, rather than having to use a translator. In rare cases where people could not speak Swahili I used someone to translate. This was only needed when I met elders who only knew their mother tongue.

During these interviews, I engaged in open discussion with interviewees and tried to maintain an egalitarian role. Individuals (traditional healers, elders, students) were selected from a range of clan groups (*mwenese/hapaloe*), language group (Warangi and Wasi), geographical locations (Kolo, Mnenia, Pahi, Thlawi, Kandaga, Haubi), local schools (Kandaga and Kolo secondary schools), as well as from a range of gender and age sets. All groups known to be using the site were approached for interviews. Traditional practitioners and elders were specifically targeted as key stakeholders. However, to find a solution of how to integrate the Antiquities authority with the indigenous people, I also interviewed Antiquities staff, at their headquarters in Dar es Salaam and in the regional office at Kolo and the Director of the National Museum, Dar es Salaam.

Closed and open-ended questions were mainly used during this study. The questions allowed the interviewee a high degree of freedom and they were not limited to one-word answers (Creswell 1994; Bernard 1995; Sarantakos 1998; Galplin and Kirlon 2006). Sufficient time, about 20 to 30 minutes, was allocated to interview a large range of local people individually. Verbal recorded consent forms were used for those who were unable or unwilling to write.

All key elders and traditional healers were interviewed individually. Other stakeholders were interviewed in small manageable groups depending on the specific wishes of the members of the group. This practice of interviewing in small local groupings reduced the chance of my masking views held by different groups. The assumption was that different sets of groups in the same community may have contradicting views, thus splitting them into separate small groups gave them more chance to disclose divergent views, opinions and experiences (Galplin and Kirton 2006).

A tape recorder allowed me to capture more than what memory alone could hold. Permission was requested from the informants to use a tape recorder before the interviews begun. Written notes were also taken down. Notes helped in cases where there were technical difficulties with recording. For instance, when I was interviewing the Kondoa site World Heritage Manager, the tape recorder did not work properly but since I was taking notes I did not lose information.



Figure 10: The researcher interviews Mr. Ramadhani Mwaja from Kolo village, Kondoa District on 13 July 2007

Experimental Observation

Experimental observation appears to be the most effective way of understanding the manner in which other people see the world and interact with it. It provides a check with other perceptions and beliefs. The ability to observe unusual, unique events is one of advantages of the ethnographic method. During this study I spoke with one of the traditional healers from the *mwenese* clan to understand ritual sacrifices which were conducted. She showed me the procedure used for healing at *Mongomi wa Kolo*. This led to the observation that if the Antiquities authority works together with traditional healers there will be no negative impact on the paintings. I observed that, when the local beer, water and stomach contents are splashed in the shelters they are not specifically aimed at the paintings, but, rather towards floor and rock surfaces. By directing to the ceremony to sections of the site without paintings, such as in the spirit cave, the paintings will not be affected in any way.

Data Analysis

Both the taped interviews and the research notes were used for analysis of the data collected during the research. I transcribed each taped interview as soon as possible after the actual interview, when the discussions were still in my mind. Data collection and data analysis must be a simultaneous process in qualitative research (Marshall and Rossman 1989; Miles and Hubermann 1984; Sarantakos 1998). I analysed my field data by categorising the information received and captured it on computer in the Rock Art Research Institute, student laboratory, University of the Witwatersrand. My data analysis was divided into three categories: understanding the personal data of the interviewees, the use of *Mongomi wa Kolo* by local communities and the role of the Antiquities Department in the management of living heritage in Tanzania.

The first set of questions considered the personal data of the interviewees such as their age, ethnic group, education and geographical location. This was important in this study in order to judge the person's knowledge and biases. Knowing the ethnic group assisted in knowing which clans use *Mongomi wa Kolo* and for what purposes. Understanding the location assisted in knowing which villages use *Mongomi wa Kolo* for rituals. This detail assisted me to understand the local specifics of *Mongomi wa Kolo.* So that the full social complexity can be considered when making recommendation on managing living heritage at *Mongomi wa Kolo*.

The second part of the analysis sought to understand the use of *Mongomi wa Kolo* by the local communities. Several questions were asked about the meaning and importance of *Mongomi wa Kolo*, how rituals were performed and how often, who performed the rituals, local perceptions of the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo* and who should manage *Mongomi wa Kolo*. The purpose of these questions was to understand the value of *Mongomi wa Kolo* to local communities and to see if past alienation of access to the site has caused negative impacts upon management.

The third part of the analysis concentrated on Antiquities Department staff, where I asked questions regarding the role of Antiquities Department in the management of living heritage in Tanzania; what the vision of the Kondoa management plan was, who were the key stakeholders during the nomination process, the intention of

involving the local community in management and what could be done to improve the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo.* The aim of these questions was to know why local people were excluded in management and what strategies could be used to create integration between local people and the Antiquities Department in managing the heritage site. Some of the answers analysed were converted into percentages and presented in bar and pie charts. This analysis is supported by a theoretical framework that considers how best to integrate living heritage in the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*.

Theoretical Framework

Multiculturalism

To address the cultural diversity and complexities in the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*, I have chosen the theory of multiculturalism. Any discussion must include a definition of culture. Multiculturalism generally refers to a context of plurality or multiplicity of cultures (Barry 2001). Kuper states that:

> Culture refers to a collective material and nonmaterial accomplishment of a particular group, the way of doing things, and the manner in which these patterns of behaviours are transmitted from one generation to another (Kuper 1999: 23).

A basic thing about culture is that it is never static. In this respect, multiculturalism appreciates the necessity of dealing with diversity in a way that affirms the value of different cultures and respects the various claims made by minority groups. For others, multiculturalism concerns the explicit policy of protecting particularistic local culture in the face of hegemonic and global culture (Richard 1969).

According to Gingrich (2006), the practice of multiculturalism can be a way for a divided society to transform itself. Multiculturalism provides opportunities for all members of society to participate in social life by employing principles of multiculturalism such as equality, respect, harmony and recognition. In this regard, the Canadian government established the Multiculturalism Act in 1971 and appointed a minister responsible for multiculturalism in 1972. The Act aimed to protect

Canada's indigenous minorities and emphasised respect of human rights, equality and the recognition of the participation indigenous people in decision making on cultural heritage (Gingrich 2006). For these same reasons multiculturalism is a particularly useful way of approaching the management of living heritage.

I am aware that one of the criticisms of multiculturalism is that it undermines national unity (Watson 1996, 2000; Wieviork 1998). If multiculturalism and democracy appear together in history then this coexistence is neither fortuitous nor accidental. Only democracy can reach out and explore formats of interaction that presume equality and respect. It is this concern for equality that precludes the possibility of democracy being ever associated with the majority, either of the political or cultural type. The dangers of political majority are by now widely accepted. They have become an assimilated ingredient in the metabolism of modern democracies. Multiculturalism adds to this awareness by sensitizing us to the dangers of cultural majority. In particular, it points to the way in which a cultural majority disadvantages minorities, alienates them, enhances conflicts between communities and limits self-understanding (Watson 1996; Wieviork 1998; Michael 2003).

For the purposes of this study my use of multiculturalism seeks to recognise the rights of the Warangi, Wasi and Waragwa people and explore how they can be integrated in to the management decisions of Kondoa World Heritage Site. Meskell (2005) adopted a multiculturalism approach to suggest the great value of encouraging multiple stakeholders, communication and collaboration in the cultural heritage management process. In this way one can embrace stakeholders while also working for the mutual benefit of the Antiquities Department and indigenous communities. The challenge for the Antiquities Department of Tanzania is to lay down the direction for the management of Kondoa World Heritage Site based on community involvement. It must give the local people the freedom to reshape the rules and norms that impact them (Rawls 1993; Ivison 2002). The legality of weak representation by local communities within the legal system and Antiquities management practices in Tanzania must be overcome. Harding wrote:

> One of the most important issues with respect to cultural heritage is the historical denial of indigenous peoples' right to determine the fate of their own cultural heritage and to protect it from violation and theft (Harding 1999: 315)

Harding was writing not only about the physical violation and theft of cultural heritage by looters but also about the intangible, metaphysical violation and theft of cultural heritage by national governments.

Within a multicultural framework, the rights of local people in cultural heritage management are three fold. First, the local peoples have the right to a degree of access over their heritage. Second, the right to participate and make decisions on their heritage. Third, the right to share in the resources and benefits of their heritage.

In this respect, Tanzania needs a multiculturalism oriented heritage Act similar to that which is in place in Canada. The Act should require the Antiquities Department to uphold the longstanding values of respect, traditional ownership, fairness and equality, with regard to members of diverse groups (Watkins 2005). The Act should protect the rights of all Tanzanian indigenous peoples, foster full participation, celebrate Tanzanian diverse heritage and recognise the vast contribution of all Tanzanians regardless of their ethnic, cultural and religious background. The Act should also require cultural institutions to incorporate sensitivities and respond to the needs of Tanzanians in their programmes, policies and services, so as to ensure community involvement.

Community involvement

In line with the theory of multiculturalism I have chosen to focus on a philosophy of community involvement. I have spoken rather vaguely up to this point, of "local communities" at *Mongomi wa Kolo*. Before moving on I want to define more clearly what I mean by local communities. Community is a group of people in a particular local area having ethnic or cultural or religious characteristics in common, and with a common sense of ownership (Marshall 2002). Involvement means to engage or participate. The philosophy of community involvement emphasises effective

interaction between the management authority and the local community to identify issues and to exchange views on how they can work together in a management and conservation process so as to ensure the sustainable development of that heritage (Hales 1989; Pearson and Sullivan 1995; DeLacy and Lawson 1997). The management of a cultural heritage process should start from the bottom up rather than top down (Pearson & Sullivan 1995, 1998; Worboys, Lockwood and De Lacy 2001).

Consultation and negotiation with local communities and other stakeholders is necessary and is a positive aspect in all phases of the development of sustainable management plans for Archaeological World Heritage sites (Sullivan 2003). Experience from other sites shows that management regimes that involve local communities and a variety of stakeholders tend to be more sustainable than those which are developed in the absence of local involvement. This involvement begins with the development of tentative lists and moves through the nomination process and development of management plans, their implementation through management, monitoring as well as the conservation of the heritage. This process should lead to empowerment through participatory development, based on partnership and shared responsibility in resources management, use and associated benefit (Pearson and Sullivan 1995; Elborein 2000; Grimwade and Carter 2000; Msemwa 2005; Kurin 2007).

The community has the right to information, the right to be involved in decision making and the implementation process (Cang 2000; Cameron 2003; Hando 2003; Kaldun 2003; Munjeri 2003; Sullivan 2003; Kurin 2007). With regards to indigenous community rights, traditional management systems should be acknowledged in the management of indigenous archaeological sites (see Uluru-Kata Tjuta, Mapungubwe and Taos Pueblo management plan). Traditional management systems must be integrated within the legal and policy framework of national heritage conservation. Without including traditional management systems, the communities who are the primary custodians of the heritage, will be alienated from the heritage. In addition, capacity building among local people is important in order to ensure continuity in conservation and management of heritage within traditional framework (Loubser 2003; Ndoro 2003). In the process of outlining the

boundary of a site, it is necessary to ensure that the enclosed square is adequate for the local populations to practise their traditional management role.

Conclusion

Community involvement in the management of indigenous archaeological sites should be based on traditional practice and modern planning methodologies. This can meet both the needs of the local community, as well as the requirement of modern conservation and management practices. Management plans should take into account the intangible and tangible component of local communities and their heritage. It is the management of intangible heritage and the paucity of local community participation that are the major weaknesses of management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*. Whilst these weaknesses are easy to identify, solutions to the problems are less self evident. This project seeks not to be simply critical. I seek to find and to offer solutions.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

This chapter provides a summary of the data collected during this study. I analyse, present, interpret and discuss the responses from the interviewees in an attempt to capture key issues associated with the management of living heritage at *Mongomi wa Kolo*. Local people and Antiquities staff perceptions of the management of living heritage form a central part of the discussion in this chapter. The problems and discussions emerging here play an important role in my finding novel solutions to the management problems at *Mongomi wa Kolo*.

Personal Data

The first question of my research concerned the personal data of interviewees. It was important to know the background of interviewees in terms of age, education, occupation, ethnic group, location and sex. All this information is significant in determining a person's role as a stakeholder at *Mongomi wa Kolo*. My aim was to consult as diverse as possible a sample among the local community. Sixty (60) separate interviewees were consulted individually during this study. Of these sixty informants, twenty six (26) were women and thirty four (34) were men. Of the sixty (60), fifty three (53) were from Kolo (20), Mnenia (3), Pahi (4), Haubi (2), Thlawi (5), Kandaga (18), and Chikaluli (1) villages, Kondoa District. Of the remaining seven (7) interviewees, six (6) were from the Antiquities headquarters and one (1) was from the National Museum of Tanzania in Dar es Salaam.

In addition, two group discussions were conducted: one at Kolo with sixty nine (69) informants from Kolo secondary school students and the other twenty nine (29) was a group of locals from the village at Pahi village. These twenty nine (29) interviewees, out of these seven (7) were women and twenty two (22) were men. Therefore, a total of 158 participants were interviewed.

In terms of ethnic groupings, I interviewed a total of sixty (60) people broken up as follow: thirty seven (37) Warangi, five (5) Waragwa, three (3) Wasi, four (4) Chagga,

two (2) Nyaturu, two (2) Ngoni, two (2) Wagogo, two (2) Wanyamwezi, one (1) Sandawe, two (2) Pare and one (1) Nyakyusa. Those individual from ethnic groups not local to Kondoa such as the Wanyaturu, Wagogo and Wanyamwezi had all lived in Kondoa for at least twenty years.

In terms of occupations of my interviewees: thirty two (32) were farmers, twelve (12) were civil servants, eight (8) were traditional (Warangi 6 and Wasi 2) healers, one (1) rainmaker from Wasi ethnic group and seven (7) were secondary students.

Regarding levels of education: eighteen (18) had received no formal education, twelve (12) were in standard four, sixteen (16) were in standard seven, one (1) was in standard eight, three (3) had completed secondary education, one (1) was an adult learner and nine (9) had university education.

In terms of age category I had eleven (11) less than 31 year old respondents, eight (8) were within the 31-40 years category, eleven (11) aged 41-50 years, six (6) were between 51-60 years category, eight (8) were between 61-70 years, five (5) were between 71-80 years, nine (9) were between 81-90 years and those who were more than 90 years old were only two (2). Figure 11**,** below indicates the age sample of the interviewees. The sample mainly consisted of adult peopl

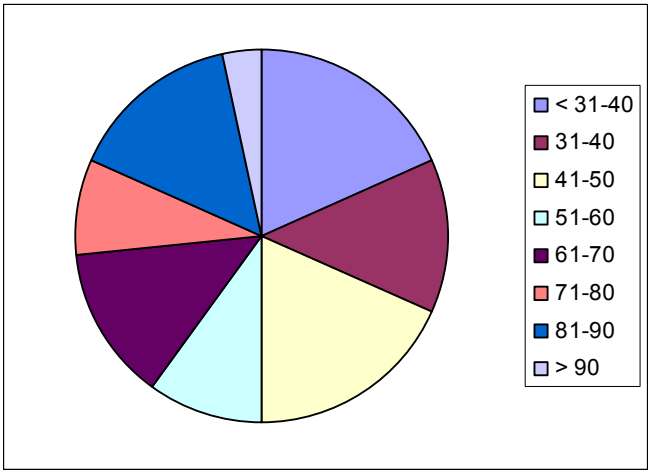

Figure 11: Pie chart showing age of respondents

Indigenous Use of *Mongomi Wa Kolo* Rock Art Site

The first question of this section of the interviews was the understanding of the meaning of the word *Mongomi wa Kolo*. This question received different answers from different people (figure 12). Of fifty three (53) respondents, one (1) respondent (1.9%) said *Mongomi wa Kolo* means a drum's sound. Five (5) interviewees (9.4%) said *Mongomi wa Kolo* is a cave of spirits. Three (3) participants (5.7%) know *Mongomi wa* Kolo as a place of prayers. Another group of four (4) respondents (7.6%) said *Mongomi wa Kolo* is a ritual place that has been used from generation to generation. A group of eight (8) people (15.1%) said *Mongomi wa Kolo* is a name of the first person who settled in the area. Four (4) respondents (7.6%) said *Mongomi wa Kolo* means just a stone. The other twenty eight (28) respondents (52.8%) said they had no idea about the origins of the word *Mongomi wa Kolo*. The bar graph below shows that the majority of the population do not have any idea about the name Mongomi. Those populations came from outside the villages of Kolo, Mnenia and Pahi. It is clear that *Mongomi* represents the name of the first ancient person who settled to the area. According to interviewees, this ancient person practised rituals in the cave. When he died, other people continued to use the cave for rituals, because they believed that the cave was inhabited by a spirit.

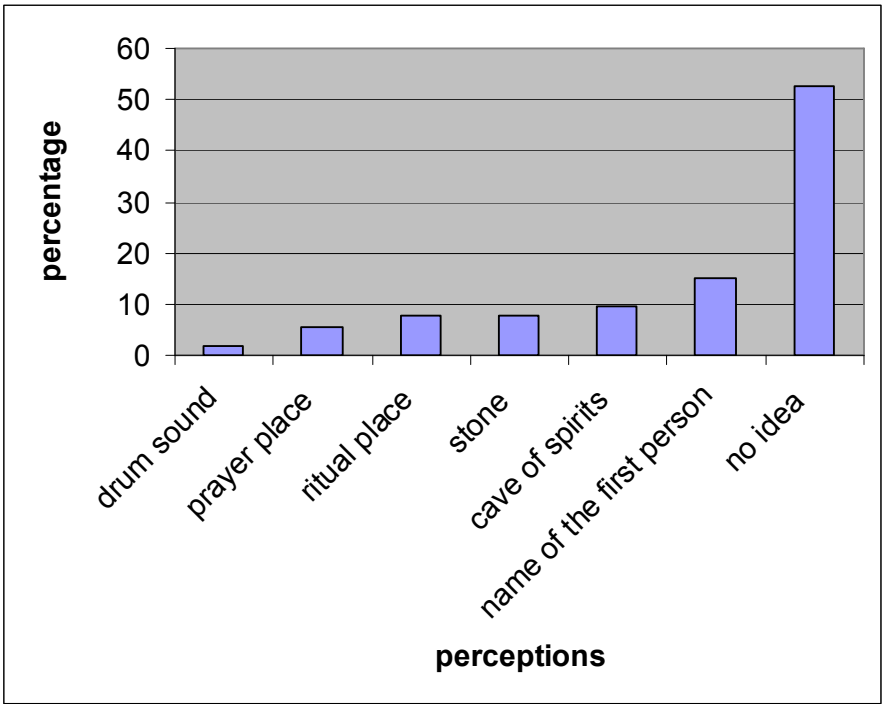

Figure 12: Respondents' knowledge of the word *Mongomi wa Kolo*

The second question in this section concerned what aspects of *Mongomi wa Kolo* were special to the society. Respondents provided different answers as shown in figure 13. One person (1.9%) said *Mongomi wa Kolo* is important and special for students and pupils' training. Twenty (20) respondents (37.7%) said they saw *Mongomi wa Kolo* as a very important place for ritual practices. Two (2) interviewees (3.8%) said *Mongomi wa Kolo* is an important tourist attraction. The last group of thirty (30) respondents (56.6%) said they did not have any idea of the importance of *Mongomi wa Kolo*. The pie chart below indicates that the majority of interviewees have no idea of the importance of *Mongomi wa Kolo*. My observation here is the same as above that all these respondents came from outside the villages of Kolo, Mnenia and Pahi that are not near to *Mongomi wa Kolo*. Therefore, *Mongomi wa Kolo* is important for rituals practice.

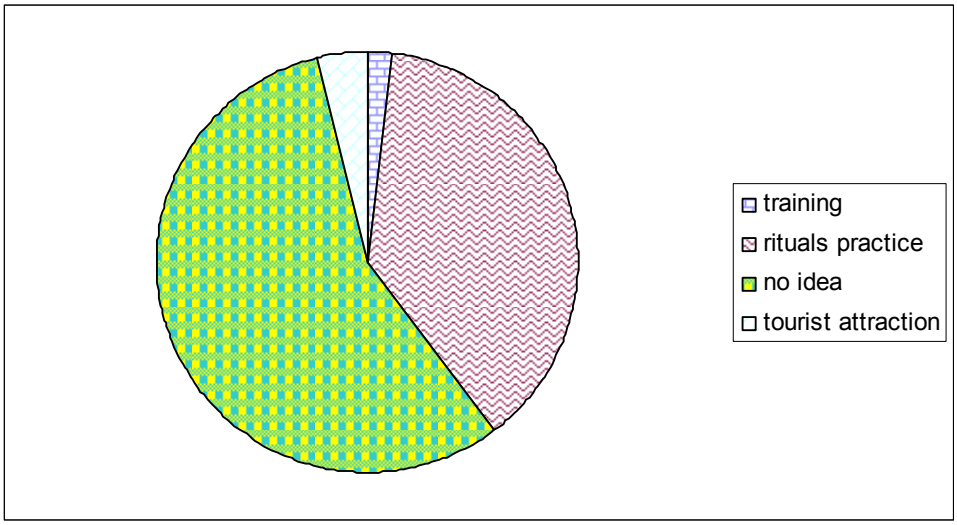

Figure 13: Pie chat showing the importance of *Mongomi wa Kolo* for local Community

The third question in this section aimed at tracing the role of *Mongomi wa Kolo* in local rituals. The respondents mentioned different rituals including rain making, initiation, traditional hearing, rituals for luck and rituals of harvest. Initiation rituals are no longer held at the site today because of a government ban. But the other rituals mentioned above still go on.

When questioned how rituals were performed respondents narrated various procedures. According to interviewees from Kolo, Pahi and Mnenia village the ritual performance is a process. It starts at the *mwenese/hapaloe* house from where the procession moves to the site. Three days before the ritual ceremonies the *mwenese* stops having sexual intercourse with their wife or husband, neither is anyone allowed to bath for three days. A sacrificial animal was prepared. In most cases a black sheep was the preferred sacrificial animal for ritual ceremonials. When it was difficult to obtain a black sheep, goats or chicken were used instead.

During the preparation, local beer is brewed from millet and sorghum. Water from a secluded special stream was used to make the local beer. White soil and a calabash were prepared. The calabash was decorated with white-soil on the neck. The calabash served to hold water, white soil and local beer. Two "virgin" children less than ten years, a boy and a girl with particularly black skin are taken from the families of the

mwenese/hapaloe to assist the *mwenese/hapaloe* to carry the sacrificial animal. The preparation ends with participants making sure each has black cloth.

Participants then gather at the *mwenese/hapaloe's* house and the journey to *Mongomi* starts. Both women and men wear a black cloth during the ritual ceremonies. Each participant was marked with a cross of white soil on the face. On the way to *Mongomi* women sing traditional songs related to the ritual ceremony. When they reach about 500 metres from *Mongomi* participants break off special tree leaves as gifts to the spirits. Upon reaching the cave of spirits, the *mwenese/hapaloe* talks to the spirits through prayer. The aim of the prayer is to inform the spirits of their problems and any needs for help.

Because each participant respects the spirits, when the *mwenese/hapaloe* pray all are quiet. After prayer, the sacrificial animal was slaughtered by the two children and the *mwenese/hapaloe* places some portions of the meat for the spirits in the cave. The *mwenese/hapaloe* continue to communicate with the spirits and also to explain the purpose of coming into the cave, speaking in an unintelligible language to other participant. Outside the cave women sing traditional songs. It took *mwenese/hapaloe* more than twenty minutes to talk with the spirits in the cave. After invoking the spirits the *mwenese/ hapaloe* leave the portion of meat in the cave and return in the belief that the spirits will eat the meat. The *mwenese/hapaloe* come out of the spirit cave and holding their stomach inwards, take the water and local beer and begin to splash the cave of the spirits and the shelter where the paintings are, assisted by the two children. The splashing of water, white-soil and stomach contents in the cave and on the painted surface is aimed at thanking the spirits. The remaining meat portions are roasted and eaten by all participants. Thereafter, the people return to their home without turning to look back until they reach home. In the past, ritual ceremonies at *Mongomi* lasted a day. These days they last a few hours because the community fear that the Antiquities officers may take them to court, if they are caught performing rituals.



Figure 14: ***Mwenese*** **demonstrate how the ritual ceremonies are practised at** ***Mongomi***

The Department of Antiquities which manages *Mongomi wa Kolo*, has put a halt to traditional rituals at the site. The Antiquities Department perceived some of these rites as damaging the archaeology and rock art of the site. This decision caused a conflict between the local ritual practitioners and the authorities responsible for heritage management. The conflict arose from perceptions of significance attached to the rock art site and was exacerbated because the Antiquities Act does not recognise the significance of living heritage or make provision for its management in relation to rock paintings (Loubser 2003; Ndoro 2003).

One of the traditional healers mentioned that if the Antiquities Department continued not to consult in the management of *Mongomi,* their ancestor spirit will rub out all of the paintings. A traditional healer noted that in the past, when a person passed near *Mongomi wa Kolo,* he/she could hear noise and voices, but now this has stopped. According to the traditional healer, the fact that the voices at *Mongomi wa Kolo* have stopped indicates that the spirits are angry because people are failing to follow the correct rules and customs attached to this special place. She suggested that since the Antiquities Department use *Mongomi wa Kolo* as a tourist attraction, the Department should provide a sheep for sacrifice annually to appease the spirits. She hoped that the sacrifice would make the spirits happy.

The respondents indicate that the opportunity to perform rituals often depended on the year. For instance, when someone had a problem, during harvest periods, when the rain season was late, or when an unusual event occurred such as a disease outbreak, rituals were performed. If there was no special problem which needed to be addressed at a time, the rituals would only be performed once in a year either in June, July or August. Performance of rituals has been part and parcel of the local culture for as long as any one can remember. The rituals have been passed on from generation to generation. The advantages of performing the rituals include: getting enough rain, enough harvest, having peace and chasing away bad spirits.

The clans that perform rituals at *Mongomi wa Kolo* rock painting site are the Warangi and Wasi. All these clans are found in Kolo, Mnenia and Pahi villages. No other rock painting site besides *Mongomi wa Kolo* was mentioned where rituals were performed. Some respondents who had been to *Mongomi wa Kolo*, confirmed that the paintings were getting faint. The reasons that they gave for that were rain water, wind and dust. I also observed that the paintings were fading because of the effect of the rituals performed there. Splashing of beer, touching and the accumulation of dust generated by feet during ritual performances were hastening the decay of the rock paintings. The local people are unaware that splashing local beer onto the paintings including water and touching quickens the decay of the paintings. Some people and traditional healer blamed people who burn the area and cut trees. They argued that the cutting and making fire near Mongomi make the spirit angry. According to interviewees the trees around the site are associated with spirits.

Regarding the local community's relationship with the Antiquities authority at Kolo, out of fifty three (53) informants, nine (9) (17.0%) said the relationship is good. All these nine had obtained temporary employment as cleaners and guards from the Antiquities office at Kolo. Twenty (20) people (37.7%) said the relationship is bad because the department does not involve the local communities and elders in any of their development programmes for *Mongomi wa Kolo* rock paintings site. They also did not get any benefit from the Department of Antiquities. Twenty-four (24) people (45.3%) responded that they did not know that any relationship existed between the Department of Antiquities and the community as shown in the graph below. As said in previous descriptions most of the respondents who were uncertain were from

outside of the Kolo, Mnenia and Pahi villages. The problem of benefits and involvement will be discussed later.

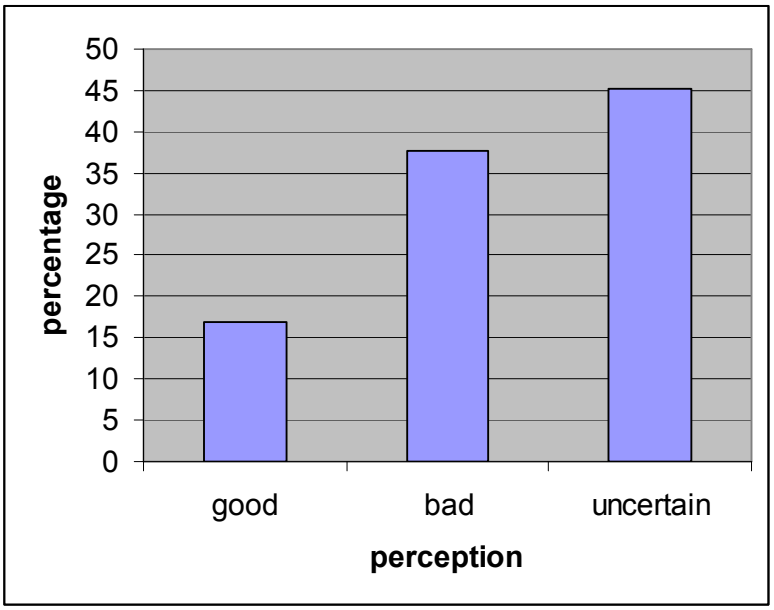

Figure 15: Bar graph showing relationship between local community and Antiquities Department, Kolo office

On the question of who should manage *Mongomi wa* Kolo rock paintings site, out of fifty three (53) people, thirty seven (37) (69.8%) said they did not have any idea about who should be managing the site. Ten (10) people (18.9%) mentioned the Kolo community as the appropriate managers of the site. Two (2) people (3.8%) said both Antiquities and the Kolo community should be responsible for ensuring the sustainable management of the site. Two (2) people (3.8%) thought that the Antiquities Department should be responsible for the management of the site. One (1) person (1.9%) thought the people of Kolo, Mnenia and Pahi were responsible for the site and another one (1) (1.9%) thought that the site should be managed by the clan of *mwenese* (see figure 16). By considering the responses of interviewees my suggestion is that *Mongomi wa Kolo* should involve co-management. Co-management should include the Antiquities authority from the Kolo office and traditional practitioners from the villages of Kolo, Pahi, and Mnenia who use *Mongomi wa Kolo* for ritual practices. Cooperation between the Department of Antiquities and traditional practitioners will ensure survival of the painting at *Mongomi wa Kolo* for posterity.

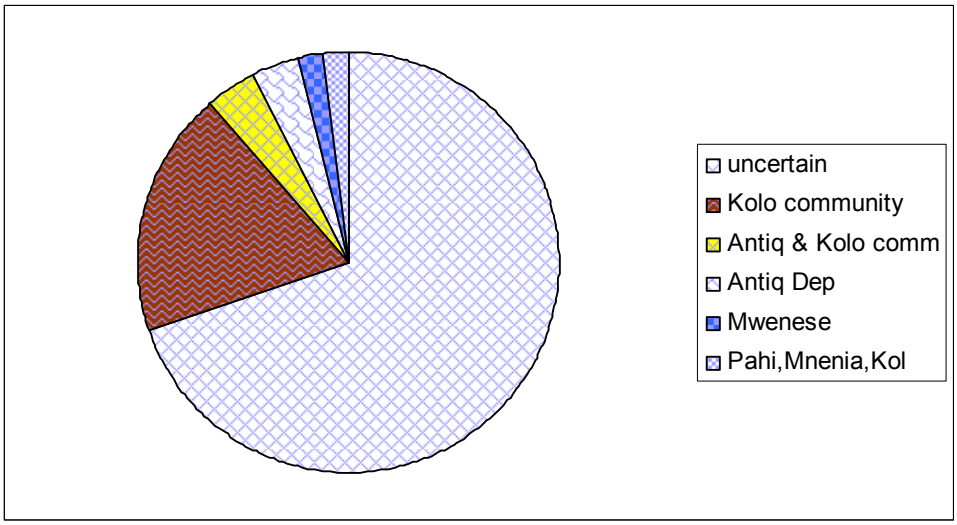

Figure 16: Pie chart showing responses as to who should manage *Mongomi wa* K*olo* rock painting site.

Antiquities Staff

I interviewed six staff employees from the Antiquities Headquarter office in Dar es Salaam. One of the questions I asked was about the role of the Antiquities legislation in the management of cultural and living heritage. All the respondents indicated that the Antiquities Act of 1964 and its amendment of 1979 are silent about the management of living heritage. But, that the Department is preparing a policy which will include the management of living heritage. In addition, the Department intends to advise the responsible minister to ratify the UNESCO convention on safeguarding living heritage. When asked as to whether the National Museum Act recognises living heritage, the Director of the National Museum said that the Museum Act did not. However, plans were in place to assist in the management of living heritage, including annual events to celebrate living heritage day. Living heritage day celebrations are held at the Village Museum and involve local people from various parts of the country, who perform traditional ritual ceremonies. I suggest that the Antiquities Department should develop short term strategies to recognise living heritage while encouraging the responsible minister to ratify the UNESCO convention on safeguarding living heritage as a long-term strategy.

Regarding the vision of the Kondoa management plan and its inclusion of the management of living heritage, of the six (6) Antiquities staff members, two (2) (33.3%) staff agreed that the vision of the Kondoa rock art management plan accommodated the management of living heritage. They said that within the management plan there is a programme for involving traditional healers and local communities. They said that the Antiquities Department had documented living heritage at *Mongomi wa Kolo*. The other four (4) staff (66.7%) did not know. From my two years working experience at Kolo, I did not see any documentation of living heritage and/ or the involvement of traditional healers in the management of the site. *Mongomi wa Kolo* was not documented by the Antiquities Department. The site was recorded and tracing where done by Mary Leakey in the 1950s. Leakey documented only the paintings and not living heritage. All the recordings and tracings are currently kept in the National Museum of Kenya. To date the Antiquities Department has failed to ask for the return of this documentation to Tanzania.

To implement Kondoa management plan, head of Kolo office defended his position by starting that he had appointed a public awareness officer who will be responsible for this aspect. This person was me, so I am partly responsible. Soon after appointed my task was to establish management committee of Kondoa World Heritage. I established a committee from village which form Kondoa World Heritage Site. My criteria for established committee were based on gender, while village chairman were become the chairperson of the committee, elders and traditional practitioners were expelled. I did this by following the previous management committee formulated during the nomination process, but also I have no knowledge about involving elders, traditional practitioners, and interested parties in management of living heritage sites.

Regarding the issue of integrating local indigenous people into the management the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*, out of the six (6) staff, four (4) (66.4%) thought it was a good idea while two (2) (33.7%) opted not to respond citing ignorance of cultural heritage management.

On the role of community involvement in cultural heritage management, the staff of Department of Antiquities agree that the local community should help to protect and

conserve the heritage because: (a) the cultural heritage is theirs and the role of government is to assist them in protection, conservation and management, (b) the local community know some traditional ways which are useful for cultural heritage management, and (c) most destruction of cultural heritage occurs when there is a lack of involvement of local communities in the management of that cultural heritage. These responses indicate that the staffs of Antiquities understand the importance of involving local communities in cultural heritage management. In my opinion, the problem of the Antiquities staff failing to involve traditional practitioners in the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo* has more to do with a failure in the implementation of the Antiquities Act, rather than the problems in the Act itself.

To ascertain who participated during the nomination dossier preparation process for Kondoa rock paintings site, and in order to confirm if traditional practitioners and elders were involved, I asked the Antiquities staff at the headquarters in Dar es Salaam and at the Kolo office (Site manager) to list stakeholders who participated. From this inquiry it is clear that only the site manager of Kolo office, staff members from the Antiquities Department headquarters, the Kondoa District authority and the ward/village authorities were the main stakeholders involved in the nomination process. This means that the local community and traditional practitioners were excluded during the nomination process and this exclusion is continuing.

The last question posed to the Antiquities staff focused on what should be done to improve the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*. Their solutions included: (a) sharing the benefits of resources and opportunities such as training and employment. Sharing benefits should involve training local people as guides to take tourists to rock paintings sites and employing them as causal workers. Other opportunities could include a place at Kolo office where local people can sell souvenirs to tourists; and (b) Local people and traditional practitioners who use *Mongomi wa Kolo* for ritual practices should be involved and allowed to participate fully in any decision to be made in management programmes related to the site.

Group discussion

A group discussion was held at Pahi village involving elders, traditional healers and small scale business-men, bringing the total number to twenty nine (29) people; twenty two (22) men and seven (7) women. The discussion was based on understanding the relationship between local communities and the Antiquities authority. I sought to understand the importance of *Mongomi wa Kolo* to the people at Pahi. The respondents explained the importance of *Mongomi wa Kolo* as: (a) a place where elders go for rituals practices, especially when they have a problem with rain and harvests; it is also a place where someone is taken to become a traditional healer. Pahi people have been using *Mongomi wa Kolo* as a place for rituals for a long time, but currently many rituals were performed near a local stream that was closer to the village and suitable only for small problems. If the problem was big, then they used *Mongomi wa Kolo*.

About their relationship with the Antiquities staff at the Kolo office, the community stated that Kolo office did not involve elders in the management of the site. The community believe that elders know the traditional practices used to protect the site in the past. In addition, the community advised the Antiquities staff at Kolo to allow the elders access to the site without obtaining permission from the Antiquities office at Kolo given that some rituals are secret. Again, the local community at Pahi emphasised protection of the trees near to Mongomi. They suggested that the Antiquities staff should organise a training seminar on the management of rock paintings, which will provide awareness to the local community, the elders and also reduce the unnecessary destruction of the rock paintings.

The Participants suggested that the elders at Pahi and Kolo should work together with the Department of Antiquities in the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*. In addition, they also suggested that a portion of the revenue derived from entrance fees should be channelled to the elders working with the Department of Antiquities at Kolo office.

Another discussion was held with students from Kolo Secondary School to access student awareness of the rock painting sites of Kondoa including *Mongomi wa Kolo*.

All these students knew *Mongomi wa Kolo* through school visits to the site at both primary and secondary level. As part of the history curriculum, most students visited the site in primary school. According to the students, the function of the Antiquities office at Kolo was to receive visitors and guide them around the sites. None of the students was willing to discuss the ritual practices at *Mongomi wa Kolo.* When asked they were all scared and they did not want to answer any more question. That marked the end of the interview with them.

The Headmaster of Kolo Secondary School suggested that the Antiquities Department at Kolo should develop heritage awareness programmes for secondary and primary schools around Kondoa District. Such school programmes was a strategy in the overall management plan for the Kondoa World Heritage Site. It is anticipated that this programme will be implemented soon, when the Antiquities Department employs an education officer.

Discussion

My interaction with stakeholders emphasised a number of key points relating to living heritage. For example, ignoring traditional practitioners in the management of indigenous archaeological sites in Tanzania. According to interviewees, this problem began during the colonial rule in 1863, and continued into the post-independent era. Post-independence Tanzania has continued to upgrade the colonial legislation which has undermined traditional forms of management of the indigenous archaeological sites and prevented local people and traditional practitioners from accessing the site. The Antiquities Department erected a fence at Mongomi wa Kolo in 1962 to deny the local communities access the site.

During my interviews one of the traditional healers from the *mwenese* clan said the purpose of erecting the wire fences was meant to hinder traditional practitioners and local communities from accessing the site for ritual practices, and added that this had made the spirits very angry. The traditional practitioners and local people realised that the spirits could not be ignored and they secretly destroyed the fence at *Mongomi wa Kolo,* to continue their rituals.

This study observed that during the nomination the people who were consulted and participated were from the Antiquities authority, Kondoa District authority and village elites (see table 1). Experts who compiled the Kondoa nomination file knowingly or unknowingly forgot to identify people with rights and interests in *Mongomi wa Kolo,* especially traditional practitioners. The experts failed to take into account that traditional practitioners have immense knowledge of *Mongomi wa Kolo* and were thus important. Traditional practitioners and local people complained that Antiquities does not recognize them as stakeholders and have that they been deprived of their rights to be involved in decision making. The local community is so angry at present that some are threatening to destroy the paintings.

A similar situation happened in Zimbabwe when the colonial government closed a passage at Great Zimbabwe that was used by traditional practitioners for ritual ceremonies, and prevented traditional practitioners and the local communities from accessing the site for rituals. It is believed that this closure made the spirits angry and the spirits therefore left Great Zimbabwe for the Matopos hills (Pwiti and Ndoro 1999; Fontein 2006). Traditional practitioners and local communities at Great Zimbabwe felt distressed and unhappy. This resulted in open conflict between the communities and the National Monuments and Museums of Zimbabwe. In 2001 Great Zimbabwe was reopened, and to symbolise change and reconciliation, traditional practitioners were sponsored to conduct traditional rituals and ceremonies at the reopening of the tunnel (Fontein 2006). This kind of reconciliation is needed at *Mongomi wa Kolo.*

Table 1: Management committee stakeholders established during nomination process of Kondoa World Heritage Site (Kondoa Management plan 2004: 55)

NAME	POSITION	AREA
Hamadia Majala	Chairman, Kolo Village	Kolo
Yusufu H. Bura	Councillor	Kisese
Juma Mpore	Retired Antiquities Officer	Kolo Station
Mstaafa Sadiki	Chairman, Masange Village	Masange
Halifa Kijita	Chairman, Pahi Village	Pahi
August Martin	District Natural Resource Officer	Kondoa
Arbogast Mhumba	District Land Officer	Kondoa
Dr. H.H. Antallo	District Agricultural and Livestock	Kondoa
K.Suru	Member of Parliament (Kondoa North)	Kondoa
M.S.J. Mwenda	District executive Direct	Kondoa
Mrs Kimambo	Representative of Private sector	Kondoa
Salim Nahoto	Chairman, Thawi Madukani	Thawi
Representative from Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism	Representative from Antiquities Department	Dar es Salaam

Issues of income and resource benefits emerged during the group discussion with local people at Pahi village as well as during individual interviews at Kolo and Mnenia village. The local people requested five percent of the total amount from entrance fees monthly from the Antiquities Department at Kolo. According to the community, five percent will be used for community development programmes and for elders. The youth of Kolo, Mnenia and Pahi villages seek employment as tourist guides. Women at Kolo want to have a section of the Kolo office to sell traditional goods to tourists. However, the reality and opportunity for tourism at *Mongomi wa Kolo* is not especially rosy.

The number of tourists who visit Kondoa rock paintings is low compared to other site such as Olduvai Gorge in the eastern Serengeti plains of northern Tanzania. Kondoa District is one of the poorest districts in Tanzania. The road linking Kondoa with other regions such Arusha, the main tourist centre, and Dodoma is extremely dilapidated. Because of the bad road very few tourist from Arusha visit the Kondoa rock paintings. In addition, the entrance fee to the Kondoa World Heritage Site is Tanzania shillings 1500, equivalent to US 1.5 for foreigners, Tanzania shillings 500, equivalent to US 0.5 for local people and Tanzania shilling 100, equivalents to US 0.1 for school children. The Antiquities Department records show that annually, 500 or less visitors visit Kondoa rock paintings. The difference between foreign and local visitors is minimal. Sometimes foreign visitors exceed the number of local people or vice versa (see table 2).

From my working experience at the Kolo station I observed that, except ritual practitioners, very few adult local people visit *Mongomi wa Kolo.* The number ranges from one to five people monthly. School children often visit the site. Because of the economic hardship of the local community at Kondoa District, the school children do not pay an entrance fee and are not recorded in the visitors' book. A comparison of visitor numbers over the last for forty years indicates that during the 1960s almost as many tourists visited Kondoa rock painting as in the 2000s (see table 2). This shows that during Mary Leakey's working time at Kondoa in the 1960s a lot of visitors were attracted. Visitor numbers decreased in the 1990s when Mary Leakey stopped bringing visitors. With such low visitors' numbers, the income generated is minimal from visitors' entrance fee. In comparison, the costs of running the Kondoa World Heritage Site are high. The Antiquities Department subsidises the operations of the Kondoa World Heritage Site. For this, reason it is difficult for the Department to pay five percent of entrance fees to local community, and five percent is too small an amount of money to satisfy local demands.

Table 2: A number of visitors visited Kondoa rock paintings (Antiquities Department records).

YEAR	LOCAL	FOREIGN	TOTAL
1965			325
1966			483
1968			396
1969			473
1970			408
2000	285	85	370
2001	286	123	409
2002	120	122	242
2003	105	148	253
2004	334	227	561

Records from the Antiquities Department indicate the majority of foreign visitors come from the United States, Britain, Italy, France, Germany, Spain and Australia. Rituals at *Mongomi wa Kolo* are a major attraction for the foreigners guests, who tend to ask questions related to the living heritage of the area, such as the ethnic groups that practice the rituals, how they practice them, when they started, why they practice, as well as whether there is a relationship between the paintings and the living heritage. Some of these questions are answered poorly because the guides do not know how the ritual ceremonies are performed. If the guides were taken from the traditional practitioners and attend guide training they would provide good explanations about the living heritage to visitors. The issue of income and resource sharing will be easier to handle when the Antiquities Department creates a good environment for attracting visitors from both inside and outside Tanzania.

Conclusion

In other parts of the world, similar issues have arisen in the face of the living heritage management and government cultural authority. In some cases, this has prompted the emergence of jointly managed parks where attempts are being made to develop

collaborative approaches that satisfy scientific and traditional approaches (DeLacy and Lawson 1997). Australia and America have attempted to tackle this in a range of parks including Uluru-Kata Tjuta World Heritage Site (Australia) and Taos de Pueblo World Heritage Site (America). Parks agencies were actively forced to consider living heritage values and to reconsider their relationship with practical management activities. We will look at some of these possible solutions in the next chapter

CHAPTER SIX

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

In this chapter I provide examples of places where living heritage has been successfully integrated within management. The examples are drawn from four archaeological World Heritage Sites that are similar in status to Kondoa rock painting World Heritage Site namely Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (Australia), Taos Pueblo (New Mexico-United States), Mapungubwe (Republic of South Africa) and Great Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe). Some of the methodologies from these examples will provide a new framework for the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo* World Heritage Site.

The Case of Uluru –Kata Tjuta World Heritage Site

Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park was inscribed on the World Heritage list in two stages, initially in 1987, for its outstanding universal natural values: as an example of on-going geological processes and exceptional natural beauty. The second stage of nomination in 1994 added the universal cultural values of the site: as an outstanding example of traditional human land use; and being directly associated with living heritage and beliefs of outstanding universal significance. Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park is part of an extensive Aboriginal Australian cultural landscape**.** It is a landscape that has been managed using traditional Anangu methods governed by Tjukurpa, which is the Anangu law. The Anangu is an Aboriginal name translates as Yanknytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara in two dialects of the Western Desert language to mean people. The Anangu believe the Park landscape was created at the beginning of time by ancestral beings, and that descendants of the Anangu have lived there ever since (Management plan 2000).

The Park is managed in a way that the rights, interests, skills and knowledge of the traditional owners are respected and integrated in all of the Park's management programs. The Park Uluru-Kata Tjuta is a place where the traditional owners and the Australian government work in partnership by combining Anangu natural and cultural management skills with conventional park management practices. Working together is the basic philosophy of the park and is known as "joint management"(Management plan 2000).

Joint Management involves working partnerships between traditional owners, relevant Aboriginal people and the Director of National Parks and Wildlife. The management framework is a 99 years lease by the Park authority from the Aboriginal owners. The Anangu receive an annual rent and a share of the Park revenues. The joint management agreement is based on the aboriginal title of the land supported by a legal framework laid out in the National Parks and Wildlife Conservation Act of 1975, as well as the Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999. This arrangement involves the establishment of a Board of Management in which there is an Anangu majority, and a lease between the Director of National Park and Wildlife and the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Aboriginal Trust (Management plan 2000)

In addition, the joint management agreement includes several clauses such as the reservation of the right of entry and inspection; of Aboriginal rights to use and occupy the land in accordance with tradition; to hunt or gather food for ceremonial or religious resources; and to use any part of the land for ceremonial and religious resources. Under this agreement the Director of National Parks and Wildlife takes responsibilities for all things related to Aboriginal tradition as well as the establishment and implementation of training a scheme for Aboriginals in the administration, management and control of the Park (Management plan 2000)

Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Board Management is administered by the Director of National Parks and the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Board of Management. Currently, the Board of Management is composed of six Aboriginal members nominated by the traditional owners, the Director of the National Parks and Wildlife, a representative of the Ministry of Environment, a representative of Tourism and a scientist with experience in arid ecological management. Under the Wildlife conservation Act, the Board liaises with the Director to develop and implement management plans; to monitor the way heritage is managed; and to advise the Minister of Environment on the future development of the Park.

In terms of employment, all the Park staff is employed under the Public Service Act of 1999. Park staff assists the Director of the National Parks and Wildlife to carry out functions under the Act. The Park is committed to equal employment opportunities for all staff. The Anangu hold positions as rangers either on full time or part time

basis. Some of the positions in the Park were created specifically for Anangu. The Park employs Anangu as causal workers for traditional consultancy work.

Regarding the management of living heritage, a management plan provides a framework for ensuring that sacred sites and traditional material within Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park are managed in a way that enables Anangu continue to have unrestricted access to them. Sacred sites are protected from unauthorised or inappropriate use or access. The Park offers access to, and information about, the details and significance of some sites. But, access to sacred sites and information about them, is not freely available to visitors. Some sites are known only to the adult Anangu men and women. Other sites are restricted to women and to some initiated men. For instance, a large portion of the Park is associated with ritual information and activities that must remain the exclusive prerogative of initiated men. Access to the area and information about the area is therefore restricted.

The Aboriginal Land Right (Northern Territory) Act 1976 and the National Parks and Wildlife Regulation provide formal legal protection for sacred sites. Sacred sites are protected under the regulations made under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act of 1999, The Northern Territory Aboriginal Sacred Site Act 1989 and the Heritage Conservation Act**.** The Northern Territory Aboriginal Sacred Site Act of 1989 allows for the recording and registration of sacred sites. It is an offence to enter, work on, use or desecrate a sacred site without permission from an authority, and provides for heavy penalties. Through these Acts, the Park ensures that the intellectual property of the Anangu is protected in relation to the collection and safeguarding of Anangu interests. The environmental impact assessment of the Park, takes cognisance of Anangu living heritage protection procedures from the earliest stage of the project, through to the consultation of traditional owners. The Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park World Heritage Site provides a good example of how a cultural heritage agency can work in partnership with indigenous people and manage to protect the entire attached heritage values (Management plan 2000).

The Case of Taos Pueblo World Heritage Site

The Taos Pueblo World Heritage Site comprises of a group of habitations and ceremonial centres which are representative of a culture derived from American Indian tribes who settled in New Mexico many years ago. The village of Taos Pueblo is the spiritual and physical core of the traditional communities of Native America. It represents the culture of the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico. The village of Taos Pueblo was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1992 as a cultural site under UNESCO operational guideline criteria IV. Each Pueblos is individually owned by certain families or individuals, but the site is collectively owned by the community (Management plan 1992).

The Pueblo's management determines and makes decisions that affect the village, facilities, activities and way of life in order to preserve the spiritual and physical integrity of the place. As such, this management falls under the Pueblo's governing board that includes Tribal Councils. The Governor's office established by the Pueblo community is responsible for the day-to-day management and protection of the property. The importance of living heritage at the Pueblo obligates the people and their governing board to ensure a sensitive management system.

The management of Taos Pueblo has been maintained by an unwritten traditional law since time immemorial. This traditional law has protected Taos Pueblo for centuries and it is operational still, although the area has now been inscribed as a World Heritage Site. The Taos Indians consider it a cultural obligation to maintain their traditional cultural values and practices by adhering to the traditional law made by their ancestors. The state of the living heritage depends on the efforts of the members of the living community to continue to uphold and practise their culture. The goals of the community in this regard are compatible with those of the village as a World Heritage Site (Taos Pueblo management plan 1992)

The governmental administration at Taos Pueblo is comprised of the Governor's office and its appointed officials, the War Chief's office and its appointed officials, the Tribal Council of over fifty cultural leaders and former tribal officials. All

decisions pertaining to the World Heritage Site fall under the jurisdiction of the Governor's Office and the Tribal Councils. The protection of tribal land around the site is the responsibility of the Taos Pueblo War Chief's Office, traditionally responsible for the physical protection of the Taos Pueblo land, resources and people. The tribal government has the overall responsibility to maintain the historic and customary standards as well as organise and supervise cultural and religious ceremonies that are open to the public.

Taos Pueblo has been recognized by the United States of America as a National Historic Landmark since 1960. It is also listed in the United States National Register of Historic Places and has protective measures outlined by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Any cultural work undertaken that may affect or impact the property must be carefully considered, and the federal agencies must consult with the Pueblo administrative structure before initiating any action. The way Taos Pueblo is managed is a remarkable example of how, at a World Heritage Site, living heritage can be conserved and promoted even in the context of tourism and broader societal change (Taos Pueblo management plan 1992).

The Case of Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site

Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site represent what was once a strong kingdom in southern Africa, arising around 900 AD and disappearing after 1300 AD. This kingdom was very rich with wealth based on goldsmithing, agriculture, and strong trading links with the East. Mapungubwe also has a strong potential for consciousness-building and symbolic pilgrimage. Rock art made by San hunter-gatherers is found throughout the Park. The Park also contains an indigenous forest and an ecological ephemeral wetland gallery. These significances contributed to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee inscribing Mapungubwe National Park as a World Heritage Site in 2003 (Management plan 2006)

The full status of the Mapungubwe cultural landscape in terms of its National and World Heritage Site status attracts attention from International, National and Provincial visitors and local communities take a management responsibility within the Park. The International and the National legislation are important instruments for

protecting Mapungubwe's heritage. The National cultural legislation, water legislation, protected areas legislation and land restitution legislation are Acts that protect Mapungubwe's heritage. The Department of Environment affairs and Tourism and the South Africa Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) ensure that Mapungubwe heritage is protected and managed properly.

The Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site is managed through the SANParks co-operative governance and community participation principles. Interested groups from archaeology were engaged in advising on decisions around the management of Mapungubwe. Limpopo Province, De Beers, Friends of de Beers, Peace Parks and local municipalities are the most significant partners in the management of the Park (Management plan 2006)

The Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site authority identified a wide range of stakeholders to assist in the protection and management of Mapungubwe. The overall stakeholders involved included appropriate departments from all levels of government; national agencies (conservation, NGOs and research institutions), contractual and business partners of many kinds, local communities, employees, customers and the media. It also included composite and bridging structures such as park forums, a transfrontier committee, municipalities, tourism bodies, associations and neighbours.

The SANparks authority works in conjunction with the local communities. The aim of this program is to contribute to local economic development, economic empowerment and social development in communities from the neighbouring areas around the Park. The contribution of Mapungubwe to local socio-economic development is great and is directly linked to the management and preservation of Mapungubwe World Heritage Site. Because of this the local communities are able to continue to take ownership of the heritage and embrace its existence.

In addition, the park participates in municipal integrated development plans and continues participating in appropriate government programmes. This participation works to produce short-term job opportunities and local skills development. Participation is through supporting learnerships, implementing needs-related training

programmes and business opportunities for participants. SANparks administration provides opportunities to local people by utilising small local businesses for catering, cultural dancing group and cultural instrument display. This kind of relationship provides a good example of how to manage archaeological World Heritage Sites for sustainable management of cultural heritage. When there are a few direct links between modern communities and ancient living heritage they can be embraced in this manner even when the link is not directly associated with the heritage site (Management plan 2006)

The Case of Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site

Great Zimbabwe, like other archaeological sites in Africa, was managed through a system of traditional beliefs and customs before colonial rule in Africa (Ndoro 2001a, 2000b; Munjeri 2003). During that time traditional leaders went every month, every season and every year to the site. Customs and traditions that were practised culminated into one major annual sacred gathering at Great Zimbabwe (Munjeri 2003). This gathering ceased when the colonial the colonial government closed the tunnels that connected Great Zimbabwe to the shrines. The government refused to allow the spirit mediums to enter the Great Zimbabwe enclosure and the traditional leaders were removed. The indigenous people then lost their right to manage Great Zimbabwe (Fontein 2006).

After Independence, the indigenous community regained control of Great Zimbabwe, and the traditional leaders celebrated because they believed they would be able to practise their customs and traditions as before. However, the independent government continued to manage Great Zimbabwe in a similar manner to the colonial government, by preventing traditional customs from being practised at the site (Munjeri 2000, 2003). Suppressing the traditional practices was indirectly suppressing African traditional management of Great Zimbabwe.

In the 1980s, the Zimbabwe government requested UNESCO to help preserve Great Zimbabwe. This request was accepted by UNESCO through the World Heritage Committee. The Committee inscribed Great Zimbabwe as a World Heritage Site in 1986 based on UNESCO *operational guideline criteria*: (a) It is an outstanding

example of human creative genius; (b) It pays an exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition and bygone civilization; and (c) It is associated with events or living traditional culture and beliefs of outstanding universal significance (World Heritage Committee 1986).

However, at the time of the compilation of the nomination dossier for Great Zimbabwe, the local community were not consulted (Munjeri 2003). The result was a conflict between the indigenous communities associated with the site and the government authorities, the National Monuments and Museums of Zimbabwe (NMMZ). To resolve the conflict a new approach to the management of Great Zimbabwe was initiated. The indigenous people were included in the management structure of Great Zimbabwe with the view to resolving vandalism and related activities that created conflict. The co-management board, made up of representatives of both NMMZ and the local community (led by two chiefs), not only regulated traditional ceremonies, but were also involved in the management of the site.

The co-management assisted in establishing a good relationship between NMMZ and the local community in order to effectively manage and preserve the site. For instance, the local community was requested to help eliminate baboons which were partly responsible for wall collapses at Great Zimbabwe. However, local community perceived wall collapse as a manifestation of the spiritual power of the site. There was a strong belief that spirits collapsed the walls (Munjeri 1995). Through co-management the community came to understand that if the wall collapses, so does their heritage, Great Zimbabwe is part of their heritage and therefore they are responsible for the preservation and conservation of the site.

The vision of Kondoa rock paintings management plan

The Department of Antiquities developed a management plan as part of the process of inscribing the Kondoa rock paintings as a World Heritage Site. The Kondoa Rock Art Management Plan (hereafter referred to as KRAMP) was designed by a university based consultant, employed by the Department of Antiquities in collaboration with the AFRICA 2009 programme and the Southern African Rock Art Project (SARAP). The KRAMP outlines the current status of conservation and management of the rock art

sites, and lays out a series of activities aimed at improving conservation and management (see KRAMP 2004). KRAMP is a five year plan and covers four areas: (a) management issues; (b) presentation and visitor management; (c) tourism awareness and promotion; and (d) conservation.

The plan has three objectives to meet the set goals:

- "To conserve and enhance the cultural heritage and natural beauty of Kondoa rock paintings
- To provide and promote access to and enjoyment of the cultural property by general public whilst safeguarding other important aspects including developing a range of facilities for their enjoyment of the heritage place.
- To institute an innovative regime that promotes good relations with the local authorities and the local communities that allowed them to participate in the above objective".

In contrast to this third goal, the management of living heritage has, in practice, been excluded. An unpublished report by Jasper Chalcraft in 2004 shows that, during the nomination process, indigenous practitioners associated with heritage were not consulted. During my field work, the site Manager of Kondoa World Heritage Site confirmed to me that traditional practitioners were not consulted because they were not recognised in the legislation, and hence they could not be recognised by the Antiquities office at Kolo. Traditional practitioners resorted to practising rituals in secret at *Mongomi wa Kolo* making it difficult for the Antiquities Department to identify them and involve them in decision making or in developing strategies for the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*. From my interviews it was very clear that there is no relationship between the Antiquities Department at Kolo and the majority of traditional practitioners who practice rituals at *Mongomi wa Kolo*.

Conclusion

These four case studies emphasise three main points concerning the management of indigenous cultural heritage sites: the role of traditional laws in modern heritage management; the value of joint management or co-management or cooperation

governance in developing partnerships for sustainable heritage management; and the sharing of benefits.

Traditional law involves restrictions and taboos for indigenous communities. Every indigenous community has laws that protect their heritage. The traditional laws have been inherited from one generation to another. The laws made the indigenous communities control their culture in particular ways. With regards to the traditional laws of indigenous communities, it is important for cultural heritage administrators to consult traditional owners of the archaeological sites and even to integrate traditional law and modern law into management. Without active consultation indigenous with communities and respect for indigenous law, sites cannot be managed properly. In Kondoa the question of who is indigenous is complex one and my suggestion would be to work with all groups that have a living heritage attachment to the sites and the area.

Management of cultural heritage is not tied a single institution but, rather multiple stakeholders. In achieving proper management at Kondoa all stakeholders and institutions related with the heritage should be informed and should participate in planning and decision making. This means that those involved in cultural heritage management should range from traditional practitioners, government staff, NGOs, business men, academicians and non-academics and people with other interest, such as water conservation, soil conservation, deforestation and wildlife conservation. All stakeholders together will form a management team for managing the heritage. I believe that different opinions from different stakeholders improve the management of living heritage sites.

Resource benefit and sharing is one of the strategies f developing indigenous cultural heritage. Developing employment programmes can contribute to local economic development. Empowering traditional leaders within heritage management can be achieved by creating employment and training opportunities in field of conservation and in the management of cultural heritage. Only through resource benefit and sharing between the cultural heritage administrator and local communities can a holistic understanding of indigenous cultural heritage be achieved and managed.

Kondoa World Heritage Site management is a far cry from the examples described above. It is clear that the management of Kondoa World Heritage Site is centred only at the Antiquities Department administration and decisions are made without considering local people. The Director of Antiquities and the Kondoa site manager are the primary main decision makers on all issues relating to *Mongomi wa Kolo* and other sites. This authoritarian management style makes people very angry. The next chapter seeks to learn from lessons of these case studies, and develop a new framework for the management of cultural heritage at Kondoa.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW MANAGEMENT OF LIVING HERITAGE IN TANZANIA, IN PARTICULAR AT *MONGOMI WA KOLO* ROCK PAINTING SITE

This chapter examines how best we can integrate living heritage into the management and conservation of archaeological sites in Tanzania. It assesses the role of the Antiquities legislation and considers how best to amend the legislation so as to support living heritage in the country. The chapter ends by considering the practical implications of living heritage for the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo.*

As I said in chapter three, the Antiquities Act is the basic legislation for protecting and preserving of the country's cultural heritage. The Antiquities Act recognises and protects three types of cultural heritage in Tanzania: relics, monuments and protected objects. These terms were defined as follows

- A relic is any movable object made, shaped, carved, inscribed or otherwise produced or modified by human agency before 1863, whether or not it shall have been modified, added to or restored at a later date; and any human or other vertebrate faunal or botanical fossil remains or impression.

- A monument is any building, fortification, internment, midden, dam or structure erected, formed or built by human agency before the year 1863 or the ruins or remains thereof; or any rock painting or carving or any natural object painted, incised, modified or erected in Tanzania by human agency before the year 1863, or any earthwork, trench, well, road or other modification of the soil or rock, dug, excavated or otherwise engineered by human agency before the year 1863.

- A protected object is any wooden door or door-frame carved before 1940 in any African or oriental style; or any object declared by Minister under the provisions of the Act to be a protected object (Kamamba 2005: 13).

Under the Act, the minister responsible for cultural heritage is also empowered to declare any object or structure of archaeological, historical, cultural or scientific significance, a protected object or monument. The Act places ownership of the relics, monuments and protected objects into the hands of the government and prohibits the

sale exchange or export of such objects from the country. Research into relics, monuments and protected objects is regulated under the Act and must be licensed by government officials authorized by the responsible minister. In most cases the Director of Antiquities or somebody acting on his/her behalf, is the person responsible for authorizing research licences. Before such a licence is granted, the applicant must show evidence of sufficient scientific training or experience to be competent enough to conduct the proposed research; they must have sufficient personnel and resources to facilitate the research; and they must have the capacity and capability of conducting a scientific study and producing publications of the results of such research.

The Act therefore divides cultural heritage into movable and immovable heritage. It defines cultural heritage as the physical evidence of past human occupation in Tanzania. The Act provides protection for both movable and immovable cultural heritage. This offers protection to archaeological sites which have physical evidence of human occupation. Archaeological sites identified only by living heritage values, such as sites of spiritual or religious significance, are not recognised or protected. This lack of recognition of cultural values of indigenous archaeological sites is a significant failure of the Antiquities Act.

Under the legislation, the declaration of cultural heritage can be made only by the minister responsible, on the advice of the Director of Antiquities Department. There is no provision for consultation with local people attached to heritage sites. Failure to require the involvement local people in decision-making processes on cultural heritage management is another major deficiency in the Antiquities Act.

The Antiquities Act ignores the important role of communities in the management of cultural heritage and goes against the UNESCO Convention of 2003 concerning the safeguarding of living heritage. The convention requires the involvement of community leaders and consultation with cultural practitioners. Shared decision-making with communities is one of the primary strategies and tactics for safeguarding indigenous cultural heritage (UNESCO 2003).

Therefore, the fact that the Antiquities legislation of Tanzania does not recognise indigenous heritage and rituals linked to cultural places is a violation of the UNESCO

conventions. The constitution of Tanzania provides every individual with the right to freedom of religion, thought, belief, opinion and expression. It must therefore be an urgent priority to revise the Antiquities Act to make it reflect these rights and effectively include community involvement in conservation, and living heritage within heritage management practices.

In other countries, such as in legislation of South Australia (Aboriginal Heritage Act 1988), Western Australia (Aboriginal Act 1972) and the Northern Territory Government and the Commonwealth of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984 in Australia and National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) of 1999 of South Africa, the importance of living heritage is recognised. These Acts created workable mechanisms that allow control over living heritage to remain with the communities who own that heritage (Lilley 2000; Prins 2000). In Australia, it is the communities that identify what is significant about their culture and sacred places and decide what should be protected and which, if any, cultural expressions should be fixed as a means of preserving them (eg. see Taos Pueblo management plan 1992; Uluru-Kata Tjuta management plan 2000; Mapungubwe management plan 2006).

Excluding indigenous knowledge has impacted negatively on the Tanzanian legislation. Local people feel alienated from their heritage and thus do not help to protect or manage it. What is unsatisfactory in Tanzania is that the government's cultural policy launched in 1997 follows the same spirit as the Antiquities law defining, cultural heritage as movable and immovable object (Karoma 2005). The amendments made to the legislation have not addressed the living heritage problems and not much has been done to overcome them. Instead of Tanzania replacing colonial approaches, it has continued to update colonial laws for the management of its cultural heritage.

In comparing Tanzanian Antiquities Acts with other cultural Acts in Africa, few real steps have been taken in other African countries to restore living heritage to the people concerned, except for the Republic of South Africa under the National Heritage Resources Act 1999. This Act involves local communities in management and also recognises living heritage (South Africa Heritage Resource Act 1999). Legislation and cultural policy in much of Africa therefore still oppresses indigenous

people with regards to the practice of traditional beliefs and rituals at heritage sites. This situation requires efforts to place local people at the centre of the issues of heritage ownership and participation in heritage management.

I address the issue of living heritage management because the Antiquities legislation urgently needs amendment to reduce the potential for conflicts between the Antiquities Department personnel and local communities attached to heritage. Management's neglect of living heritage and local communities is detrimental to the effectiveness of the management of Tanzanian cultural heritage.

Members of the public who hold onto the values of living heritage find themselves in conflict with a management process that will not allow them to exercise their rights. Therefore, I propose legislative amendment. My proposed amendments relate specifically to living cultural heritage and deal: with its definition, protection, as well as the participation and involvement of local people within the management of the cultural heritage.

The amendment definition I propose in this study is drawn from other countries which have experience in the management of living heritage and which have cultural heritage legislation that accommodates living heritage. I derive my definitions from an Australian Heritage Commission document from 2002. I amend these definitions to make them useful for the management of living heritage in Tanzania. I propose the following amendments:

Cultural heritage includes all forms of tangible and intangible heritage resources considered to be of cultural significance. Cultural heritage should include geographical features such trees used by indigenous people or traditional practitioners for ritual purposes.

Cultural significance should refer to aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, and linguistic significance. Cultural significance includes those attributes which make a place or object of value or importance to society.

Living heritage places are landscapes, sites and areas that are important to indigenous people as part of their customary law, developing traditions, history and current practices. These should be recognised and protected by legislation.

Living heritage values include spirituality, law, knowledge, practices, traditional resources or other beliefs and social attachments.

Traditional owners are those people, through membership who fall within a group or clan, with responsibility for heritage. Traditional owners are authorised to voice community issues related to heritage, whether within the community or the country.

Interested parties are those people who, through their personal or family history involvement with a particular place, have an interest in its heritage. These can include mission stations, business men, tour guide companies, hotels and bus companies.

Indigenous people are any group of people who living in the area prior to 1863.

People attached to heritage are those people who use living heritage sites for traditional rituals and ceremonies.

Recommended amendment to ownership of living heritage sites legislation

The Antiquities Department should remain the government cultural institution of ownership of all heritages in the country. Legislation should empower traditional practitioners and local people attached to heritage, give access for traditional practice of living heritage site, without restriction. Legislation should recognize people attached to heritage as the primary guardians and interpreters of their cultures, whether created in the past, or developed by them in the future.

Recommended amendment to Intellectual property rights

Antiquities legislation should give indigenous people or people attached to heritage, the power to authorize or reject any commercial use of indigenous cultural heritage according to traditional customary belief systems; they must benefit commercially

from the authorized use of indigenous cultural and intellectual property, including the right to negotiate the terms of such usage. The right to maintain the secrecy of indigenous cultural places and other cultural practices should be enshrined in the law.

Recommended amendment on determining the significance of living heritage

The legislation should allow people attached to heritage, to say which parts of their traditions and history are significant in relation to sites. People attached to heritage can provide significance and make a statement of significance. People attached to heritage themselves should determine precisely what their cultural heritage is and to determine the significance of the cultural heritage. In this respect, Antiquities legislation should reduce the mandate of the minister responsible for determining the significance of cultural heritage without consultation with indigenous communities.

Recommended amendment on research and documentation

Current legislation emphasises research and documentation of tangible objects. This should be amended so that research and documentation on living heritage is encouraged. Research much respect traditional taboos and the restrictions put in place by people related to living heritage places. The documentation of unwritten and unrecorded component of living heritage should be a priority. Any change associated with skills and knowledge of living heritage should also be documented and preserved.

Recommended amendment for conservation and management

Traditional knowledge on the management of living heritage should be encouraged. People attached to heritage should be allowed to access and use a site for traditional practices. Living heritage in sacred places that are identified by people concerned should be respected. Visitors to the sites should follow the taboos and restrictions attached to these places. People associated with a sacred site should have the authority to decide whom to allow visit these sites according to their traditional belief systems.

Recommended amendment on judging authenticity of claims

Authenticity deals with understanding truth and accuracy of claims to heritage. In judging the authenticity of claims to living heritage we should depend on the credibility of the information relating to the heritage. This can be determined by testing and assessing living heritage according to certain standards. The standards should be based on present understandings of objects, beliefs systems, symbols, history/events of places and see how they are tied to societal concerns. It should involve the multidisciplinary collaboration of elders and academics

Recommended amendment on multiple conflicting authenticity claims on living heritage places

Multiple conflicting claims can be a problem with living heritage places. This may be due to living heritage places being used by more than one ethnic group for different purposes. For instance, *Mongomi wa Kolo* is used by the Warangi and Wasi for traditional practices. The Warangi use the site for healing and divining while the Wasi use the site for rainmaking. The Wasandawe whose ancestors were associated with the rock paintings at the site could also claim the ownership of the place. Oral traditions from the Warangi indicate that Wamasai also lived to the area. In this case multiple claims can be made by any or all of these four groups. To solve this problem a decision on any conflicting claims should be made the village authority comprising by elders and government staff members. If one group will not accept the decision made, the village authority should refer the matter ward authority and eventually the District authority if necessary. The criteria for making the decision should be based on tracing the history of the ethnic group and their historical links with the heritage place. The age of the use should not be a factors, any long term continued ritual usage should be considered a valid claim.

In addition, in cases where practising traditional rituals affects the physical objects such as paintings, and where no resolution involving changes to ritual practices can be made, in order to protect the physical object, the government through the minister responsible for cultural heritage should bar the continued use of the site for those traditional rituals and ceremonies that cause the damage.

In order to put into practice the above amendments, this study recommends the adaptation of policies from the South African Heritage Resources Act of 1999 (SAHRA), living heritage chapter, policy and guideline principles and management. The policies and principles will be tailored fit the management of living heritage in Tanzania. The recommended policies include:

Consultation: Cultural heritage institutions have to consult people attached to heritage before any project or development occurs at living heritage sites. This is due to the fact that living heritage sites form an important part of the history and beliefs of the people associated, therefore, recognition of the rights of associated people through consultation and negotiation will be important for the management of the living heritage sites.

Participation: A sufficient mechanism must be adopted to ensure that, indigenous people, people attached to living heritage and interested parties, participate in decision-making and become involved in issues related to the conservation and management of living heritage sites. A system of co-governance must be established with indigenous people, people attached to heritage and interested parties to determine the roles, responsibilities and levels of involvement of each category in the protection and preservation of living heritage sites for present and future generations.

Research and documentation: Research and documentation of living heritage sites must be promoted and supported. The first stage is to document and locate where living heritage sites are located. Documentation and recording will include audiotapes, videotapes, film and illustration. A living heritage sites database should be established and maintained at the Antiquities Department and National Museums.

Access: Indigenous people, interested parties and people attached to heritage sites should be allowed access to living heritage sites. Traditional rituals and ceremonies should be permitted. In cases where traditional ritual practices may damage the physical object, such as rock paintings, negotiation needs to take place between traditional practitioners and government cultural institutions.

Conservation and Management: Conservation and management practices for indigenous heritage should ensure that tangible and living heritage are preserved and protected. Traditional and modern methods of conserving and managing living heritage should be used depending on applicability. Traditional restrictions and taboos should be encouraged. Conservation and management should promote the use and enjoyment of living heritage by the public.

Promotion: In places where living heritage sites are used for commercial purposes, the Antiquities Department should highlight the benefits to the people attached to the sites. Indigenous people, people attached to heritage and interested parties should be involved in the identification, assessment, recording and promotion of living heritage.

Application of legislation

In these legislative amendment policies, the Antiquities Department will continue to be the government cultural heritage authority responsible for the preservation and protection of living heritage sites in the country. The minister responsible for heritage should declare living heritage sites national heritage sites through consultation and agreement with indigenous people, interested parties or people attached to heritage. Regarding the importance of living heritage sites, the Antiquities Department should incorporate two trained staff members who can deal with issues relating to living heritage sites. The Director of Antiquities should establish a living heritage section within the Department which will be responsible for the preservation and protection of indigenous heritage sites in the country.

The function of the living heritage section will be the following:

- To undertake measures for preservation, protection, conservation and management of living heritage sites,
- To develop comprehensive standards, guidelines and protocols to address priorities in the conservation and management of living heritage sites,
- To develop policies and strategies for the protection of living heritage site,
- To comment on planning applications and research proposals relating to living heritage sites,

- To promote community understanding and participation in addressing key challenges associated with the management of living heritage sites,
- To establish good relationships with other ministry departments and other institutions/organisations in order to ensure living heritage site protection is addressed across all government and non government sectors,
- To advise the minister responsible on how bilateral agreements with other States, regions and districts laws be used to assist in the management of living heritage sites,
- To provide the minister responsible with annual reports on the management and development of living heritage sites,
- Undertake an inventory of living heritage sites and prepare a data base for the country.

The integration of living heritage will require a change in mindset both within the Antiquities Department and in the framing of the legislation. The living heritage section will need to work closely with policy makers and key stakeholder to bring this about.

The case of *Mongomi wa Kolo*

The Antiquities legislation has been the protector of cultural heritage in Tanzania since it was formulated in 1964. The legislation is underpinned by Western approaches which separate tangible heritage from living heritage. This kind of protection has led to the exclusion of local communities in the management of living heritage. At *Mongomi wa Kolo,* exclusion of traditional practices from management and their denial of access to the site make this a site of conflict rather than a site that promotes peace, awareness of socio-cultural values and education. In this study I suggest a new framework for the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo* by addressing ways in which the Antiquities Department will integrate local communities. The new framework recommends the following solutions to overcome existing problems.

Traditional use

The Antiquities Department should recognise their mistakes in the past management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*. A new management framework should be established that will

allow traditional practitioners to continue to use the site for traditional ritual practices and ceremonies according to their traditional restrictions and taboos. The Antiquities Department should raise awareness amongst traditional practitioners about how they can continue to use the site for traditional rituals without affecting the paintings. For example, the traditional practitioners need to be sensitised to the fact that splashing water, local beer and animal stomach contents cause damage to the paintings. For that reason traditional practitioners should be guided to continue to use the cave of the spirits for their ritual ceremonies rather than the shelter with paintings. The paintings play no role in the current rituals and therefore discouraging the Warangi and Wasi from entering the rock shelter with paintings during ritual ceremonies will not have any negative impact on traditional rituals and ceremonies.

In addition, Antiquities Department officials should respect the cave of spirits by denying tourists access to the cave without prior consultation with traditional practitioners. The local people from the *mwenese/ hapaloe* clan should be chosen to be the custodians of the site and they should be responsible for taking visitors to the cave of spirits. This will give them back their traditional custodianship role.

Community involvement

It is essential that issues relating to community involvement and indigenous practice be considered in the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*. The recent *Mongomi wa Kolo* co-management structure did not accommodate traditional practitioners who use the site for traditonal practices and other interested parties. As I said in the previous chapter, the management committee established for the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo,* includes only government authority staff members; people directly attached to the heritage are ignored**.** In the new framework of management for the *Mongomi wa Kolo* we need to redefine stakeholders to comprise government authorities, traditional parishioners, elders and interested parties who will participate in and make decisions on all issues relating to the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*. This study proposes a co-management committee with eleven key stakeholders. Nomination and re-elections for the committee should happen every three years.

The co-management stakeholders committee should include:

- 1 member from the *mwenese* clan,
- 1 member from the *hapaloe* clan,
- 1 elder person from Kolo village,
- 1 elder person from Pahi,
- 1 elder person Mnenia,
- Kondoa cultural District officer- chairman of committee,z
- Head of Kolo Antiquities office,
- 1 member from tourist organisation,
- 1 land owner of *Mongomi wa Kolo* area,
- 1 member from guest house owners, Kondoa District,
- 1 member from Kolo village pastoralist group.

As I said above, members of the committee will be appointed every three years. For the first year the committee will meet three times a year and for the second and third year the committee will meet two times a year. The meeting place will be at the Antiquities office in Kolo, Kondoa District. Antiquities should be responsible for the cost of running the committee.

The functions of the co-management committee:

- To advise the Antiquities Department on issues relating to the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*,
- To initiate and co-ordinate a living heritage festival day at *Mongomi Kolo* that will be held once a year,
- To raise awareness of living heritage among the public,
- To provide to Director of Antiquities with annual reports on the management of *Mongomi wa Kolo*,
- To comment on proposed developments and research proposal applications relating to *Mongomi wa Kolo*,
- To identify and control traditional practitioners who practice traditional rituals and ceremonies,

- To appoint a site custodian for *Mongomi wa Kolo*,
- To participate in and make decisions on the management for *Mongomi wa Kolo*,
- To identify traditional methods useful for the management of the tangible and intangible heritage of *Mongomi wa Kolo* without bringing negative impacts to the paintings,
- To support the documentation of living heritage at the site by advising the experts to follow the traditional beliefs system,
- To ensure that tradition rituals ceremonies will not continue to damage the paintings,
- To make sure that management of the *Mongomi wa Kolo's* integrated into the Kondoa District development programme.

Benefits to local communities

During this study the question of sharing benefits was raised by each group of participants I met. Local people proposed that they retain five percent of the entrance fees collected by the Antiquities officer at Kolo station. As I said in chapter five, the amount of money collected at the Kolo office is very minimal compared to the cost of running the Kolo office. The amount of money is not sufficient even to pay the salary for one member of staff. So, it will be difficult for the Antiquities Department to pay five percent to the community.

On other hand, I suggest the Antiquities Department should come up with strategies for promoting Kondoa World Heritage Site and attaining the high standards that will attract even more visitors. If the site receives a large number of tourists then it can generate income and pay five or more percent to the local communities.

In addition, the Antiquities Department should provide a space where local people can sell their traditional goods. The Antiquities Department should create casual work such as cleaning and guiding for members of the local communities. In the case of traditional practitioners, the Antiquities Department, through the management committee, should initiate and co-ordinate *Mongomi wa Kolo* cultural dances where traditional healers, diviners and rainmakers can perform rituals for tourists and they

can the make money out of this and improve their living standard. In future, the Antiquities Department should develop training programmes on management and conservation, hospitality skills, and commercial skills for local community members in order to build their capacity for running businesses and for guiding tourists to the area. All these benefits are important to ensure the local people feel that they have ownership of the heritage.

Documentation and presentation of living heritage

The documentation of living heritage will need to involve a process listing living heritage sites in the national heritage register. The documentation should include the recording of living heritage amongst the community concerned such as songs, ceremonies and language. These can be recorded on film, photography, videotape and audiotape. Such documentation will allow the knowledge of indigenous communities to be preserved for future generations. Documentation is important for enriching indigenous knowledge, educating the wider public and promoting research. It is essential that the indigenous owners of the living heritage place participate in and decide what can be made accessible and how it may be used.

The documentation *Mongomi wa Kolo* should involve recording the songs, ceremonies and language used by traditional practitioners during the healing, divining and rainmaking rituals. The Antiquities Department should employ an expert who can document living heritage at *Mongomi wa Kolo*. This expert should meet with the co-management committee to discus issues relating to living heritage before the documentation process begins. The documentation process will follow the following principles:

- To identify clans or persons who practice traditional rituals at *Mongomi wa Kolo,*
- To ensure that only living heritage that is identified by people attached to *Mongomi wa Kolo* will be documented,
- To ensure permission is gained from the people who practice traditional rituals and ceremonies when non- members are involved in documentation,

- To respect restrictions and taboos governing the access to living heritage at *Mongomi wa Kolo*.

Presenting living heritage involves disseminating information to the public through communicative devices such as display, publications, posters, pamphlets, guidebooks, brochures and films. The material and information presented should be collected from the indigenous community attached to *Mongomi wa Kolo*. The aim of presenting living heritage is to explain and celebrate the heritage to various public audiences. The presentation or display should take place at the Kolo station office. The Antiquities Department should employ an expert for the collecting and presenting of living heritage at Kolo office.

The Antiquities office at Kolo should be careful about issues that are sensitive to the local people and must choose not to disclose some of this information on their tours. It is essential that the Antiquities office at Kolo takes the role of providing a context in which people can tell their own stories, rather than have their lives interpreted by an outsider who may not know the whole story, or who may distort the story to match his or her own cultural assumptions.

Additionally the Antiquities office at Kolo must take much greater care in honouring indigenous cultural beliefs and values, for example if there is a special object relating to the local beliefs system it should be kept in a special room and should only be available to indigenous people attached to the object or according to local traditions.

In this chapter, I have realised that the long-term survival of *Mongomi wa Kolo* will depend on the Antiquities legislation and government cultural policy recognising living heritage as heritage. Once this is achieved a number of essential actions automatically follow from this, such as the inclusion of local people in management, benefit sharing, documentation of living heritage and presentation of living.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

This study seeks to address the problems of management at *Mongomi wa Kolo*. It focuses on exploring the cause of conflicts between the Antiquities Department and traditional practitioners who use the *Mongomi wa Kolo* site for ritual ceremonies. The results from the study indicate that the Antiquities legislation formulated during the colonial era and upgraded by the post-colonial Tanzanian government is one source of conflict. The study provides a vision of how living heritage sites in Tanzania, particularly *Mongomi wa Kolo* should be managed (see chapter seven). In this conclusion, I consider the lessons learnt and the implications for management of living heritage in Africa.

In previous chapters I mentioned that living heritage management is a new field in Tanzania, and through my literature reviews, I argued that it is a new field in most African countries. The definition of cultural heritage was still centred on physical objects only. A few countries in Africa, such as the Republic of South Africa, have formulated legislation that accommodates living heritage. One point that is important to emphasise to African cultural heritage institutions is that, living heritage provides communities, groups and individuals with a sense of understanding and identity of their culture through communicating with their ancestral past. It helps the society to understand their world and give meaning to their lives and their ways of living together. Living heritage provides evidence of how African societies communicate and respect of their ancestral past. A society which is dominated by a central government may lose its former identity, and becoming a shadow of its former richness in term of its cultural heritage.

Regarding the importance of living heritage for society, the first president of Tanzania Julius Nyerere introduced the *Ujamaa* (socialism) policy soon after Tanzania gained independence. The policy aimed to create freedom and unity among the Tanzanian people. Nyerere knew that most of Tanzania has traditional ways of living. The life of many groups was based on respecting their ancestors. His idea was to make sure that people who lived in rural areas continued to practise traditional rituals to avoid losing

their culture. He allowed each citizen to have the right and freedom to decide what kind of religion he/she wanted to follow. The *Ujamaa* policy brought Tanzanian citizens to respect and recognize minorities such as those attached to living heritage. Through the *Ujamaa* policy Nyerere succeeded in building national unity among Tanzanians by respecting minorities. Nyerere believed that respecting and recognising the culture of the minorities by giving them freedom was the only way of building national unity in the country.

Countries like Sudan, where the government ruled through religion, particularly Christianity and Islam, and ignored living heritage have failed to establish national unity. As a result, Muslim people, located to the north, fight against Christians located in the south. The country experiences civil war and many people are killed. The point I make here is that building national unity is aided by recognising and respecting the freedom and respect of minorities.

Considering the example from Sudan, African government institutions dealing with the management of cultural heritage should adopt new approaches to the management of cultural heritage. The new approaches should be developed in such a way as to allow dynamic and participatory relationships that combine living heritage places, physical objects and government development programmes. The new approaches should ban approaches which separate living heritage and people attached to heritage, and government development programmes. The working together of people attached to heritage should be encouraged in all African governments. The issue of the management of living heritage should be high on the agenda of academicians, non academicians, and policy makers in African countries. In Tanzania, the government, through the minister of education, should revise curricula in order to include the teaching of living heritage in primary and secondary schools as well as at university levels.

I have mentioned in this study the importance of living heritage and people attached to it. The relationship between living heritage and people should be based on the concept of multiculturalism. The concept and practice of multiculturalism is not widespread enough in Africa. This is because most African policymaker believe that multiculturalism creates disunity among the citizens within a nation. Multiculturalism

in cultural heritage aims at cultural tolerance and the celebration of cultural diversity. It has made a positive contribution in broadening narrow horizons and exposing people to a wide range of cultural heritage. Based on this ground, African countries should establish acts to deal with respect for traditional ownerships, fair-mindedness, and promote the full participation of indigenous people in the management of living heritage. Policymakers who do not recognise multiculturalists' approaches in cultural heritage management actively oppress to people attached to living heritage and this should be prohibited.

Government cultural heritage institutions should therefore allow and encourage amendments to cultural heritage legislation and government cultural policy in Africa. The amendments should include consultation, inclusion, participation and involvement of indigenous people, people attached to living heritage and interested parties as key stakeholders. This will bring resolution to many of the conservation and management problems of cultural heritage in Africa and the concept of living heritage will be clear to all citizens.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE FORM FOR *MUNGUMI WA KOLO* ROCK ART WORLD HERITAGE SITE

A. YOUR PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Where do you live?
   ……..

2. Your age category
   31-40 □
   41-50 □
   51-60 □
   61-70 □
   71-80 □
   81-90 □
   91< □

3. Are you Male □ Female □

4. Your ethnic group: Rangi □ Ragwa □ Other (Please specify)
   ……

5. Your occupation: ……

6. Your education level: Never attended/ STD 1-4/ STD 4-8/ Secondary/ College/ University/ Other (Please specify) ……

B. INDIGENOUS USE OF *MUNGUMI WA KOLO* ROCK ART SITE.

7. What does Mongomi mean?

……

……..

8. What aspects of the *Mongomi wa Kolo* rock art site are special to you?

……

……

9. Does *Mongomi wa Kolo* have any values relating to rituals?

……...

a. What rituals are these? ……..

b. How are these rituals performed? ……..

……

c. How often are these rituals performed in a year? …….

d. What time of a year these rituals performed? ……..

e. Who has a right to participate in ritual performances?.....

……

f. When was the first time you performed these rituals? .....

……

g. What are the advantages of performing the ritual? ……...

……..

……..

……..

h. Which other clans perform these rituals at Mungumi wa Kolo rock art site? ……

……..

……..

i. Is there any other rock art sites that you think has rituals performed in it? Yes □ No □

If yes, mention …….....

……

……

10. If you have come often to *Mungumi wa Kolo* , have you notice that the paintings getting fainter ? Yes □ No □

If yes, what do you think is the main cause of their fading?.....

……

……

11. What is your relationship with Antiquities authority at Kolo? Is it Good □ Bad □

Why …….

……

……

12. Who do you think should manage the Mungumi wa Kolo rock art site?

……..

.....

……

C. ANTIQUITIES STAFF

13. What is the role of Antiquities legislation in the management of cultural living heritage? ……...

    ……..

    ……..

14. Do you think the vision of the Kondoa management plan includes management of cultural living heritage? Yes □ No □

    Why ……....

    ……

    ……

15. Do you think it is a good idea to integrate indigenous people into the management of Mungumi wa Kolo rock art World Heritage Site? Yes □ No □

    Why?……

    ……

    ……....

16. What is the role of community involvement in cultural heritage management?

    ……..

    …….

    …….

    …….

17. Please, can you mention stakeholders who participated in the nomination dossier of Kondoa rock art site? ……

    ……..

    ……..

    …….

18. What can be done to improve management of Mungumi wa Kolo rock art World Heritage Site through integrating indigenous knowledge?

    ……..

    ……

    …….

    ……

THANK YOU