

Ceramics, settlements and Late Iron Age migrations

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Summary

The Late Iron Age Luangwa pottery tradition represents some 'matrilineal' Western Bantu speakers, with an origin in a Forest Neolithic, who moved into parts of Central Africa previously occupied by 'patrilineal' Eastern Bantu speakers, represented by the Chifumbaze Complex. Eastern Bantu speaking Nguni and Sotho-Tswana probably had their Early Iron Age origins in a Urewe facies in southern Tanzania, and their movement into South Africa appears to have been connected with the Late Iron Age spread of the Luangwa tradition.

Résumé

La tradition céramique Luangwa de l'âge du fer récent est la manifestation archéologique des gens 'matrilinéaires' qui parlaient des langues Bantu occidentales. Ces gens, originaires d'une Néolithique des forêts, pénétraient des régions de l'Afrique central dominées jusqu'ici par des gens 'patrilinéaires', qui parlaient des langues Bantu orientales et qui sont représentés archéologiquement par le complexe Chifumbaze. Les origines des gens Nguni et Sotho-Tswana, qui parlent des langues Bantu orientales, sont vraisemblablement à chercher à l'âge du fer ancien dans un faciès Urewe du sud tanzanien. L'immigration de ces gens dans l'Afrique du Sud semble avoir été liée à la diffusion de la tradition Luangwa.

Introduction

Most Iron Age archaeologists divide the last two thousand years in sub-equatorial Africa into Early Iron Age (EIA) and Late Iron Age (LIA) periods. Although these are chronological terms in a strict sense, they also refer to archaeological units with certain kinds of economies and styles of pottery. Usually the EIA encompasses the first metal-using agriculturalists (presumed Bantu-speaking) and their immediate descendants. The first appearance of these agriculturalists varied from region to region, but they nevertheless shared a common ceramic style throughout East and southern Africa. The divisions within this common style are often disputed, but everyone who knows the data accepts the broad similarity and general historical relationship which this similarity implies.

No such consensus exists for the LIA period. Some archaeologists believe that a single ceramic tradition and new economy spread over virtually the whole subcontinent at *ca* AD 1000, others believe that unrelated changes occurred at different times and places, or alternatively that relations of production changed without any population movement.

Many Africanists accept this last position because of a deep-seated prejudice against migration hypotheses in general. Migration hypotheses are often said to be 'inelegant', 'old fashioned', or 'unnecessarily complicated', but these criticisms only obscure the underlying reasons for the prejudice. At one time, archaeologists everywhere generally attributed change in a culture-history sequence to diffusion or migration. In Africa this form of explanation was coupled with the belief that 'Bantu hordes' moved across the continent in successive waves, some of them very recently. In reaction to this view, many Africanists now reject all migration hypotheses, including the well-substantiated association between EIA ceramics and the spread of Bantu speakers.

The validity of a migration hypothesis, however, is an empirical question; it can be evaluated like any other proposal in terms of its premises, evidential support and predictive consequences. In the case of migration hypotheses for the LIA we are dealing primarily with changes in ceramic style. Unfortunately, the anti-migration bias is coupled with an equal prejudice against the use of ceramic style to trace the movements of people, and so this is an important issue to clarify. The basic premise, that ceramic style can reflect group identity, has not been successfully challenged. Indeed, a positive correlation between group identity and general design style has been known for many years (e.g. Boas 1927). This correlation is positive because design styles are repetitive and integrated codes of cultural symbols learned and transmitted within groups of people (D'Andrade 1984; Leach 1976; Turner 1967; Wobst 1977). From an emic viewpoint, ceramic style is a structured portion of this larger code (even if the archaeologist does not know what it was) and not a simple cluster of unrelated traits. In a recent study of Gwembe Tonga, Pedi and Zulu design styles by Evers (1988), most of the design repertoire recurred on all media (e.g. beadwork, wooden items, wall paintings and so on); at least 44% of the designs on other media usually occurred on pottery, and pottery designs utilized 47% to 75% of the total repertoire. Integrated design styles also existed during the Iron Age, for wall decoration on Zimbabwe culture ruins resembles that on Zimbabwe Tradition pottery (e.g. Robinson 1959), and the motifs on the famous Lydenburg Heads are found on the associated pottery (Evers 1982; Inskip and Maggs 1975). Consequently, as long as a ceramic style is complex, it can represent the repetitive code of cultural symbols in the larger design field, and can be used to recognise groups of people in the archaeological record.

Even though some kinds of migrations may not be reflected in ceramic change (e.g. Phillipson 1974), and ceramic change may occur without a migration, these possibilities do not negate the validity of the premise, nor the use of ceramic style to recognise some movements. Rather than this premise, it is important to justify the assumption that the producers and users of a particular ceramic style belong to a single group. Once this assumption has been justified, ceramic change should have at least two characteristics before it can be used as evidence for a migration: the change should be at the assemblage level (i.e. the total list of stylistic types) rather than at the attribute level, and the assemblage level change should be abrupt. Although this next point is not necessary, the hypothesis is

strengthened if the abrupt assemblage level change is also widespread. These three criteria have been recognised for many years (e.g. Thompson 1958; Willey *et al.* 1955) as basic evidential support for a postulated migration. If a migration did occur, then the new group and new style must have existed somewhere else earlier. This point is a predictive consequence that, if true, corroborates the migration hypothesis rather than the opposite alternative of a local development. (The nature of the movement and the reasons for it are separate questions.)

Ceramic evidence for local development concerns stylistic continuity through successive phases. In this case the continuity should embrace the entire 'theme' of an assemblage (i.e. shape, design layout and motif combinations), rather than a few, isolated attributes, and any new phase should be an outgrowth of the changes forming the sequence of ancestral phases. Once again the hypothesis is strengthened if continuity is found in assemblages throughout the area. If local development took place, then the continuity should also parallel the sequence of changes that occurred elsewhere in a related branch or branches because of the limited range of possibilities that exists in an historical tradition. This expectation can be used as a predictive consequence.

To determine either case, it is obviously important to use a ceramic analysis procedure that accurately reflects group identity at an appropriate level. I have been concerned for some time with the reliability of procedures for this purpose and have tested those most commonly used in southern Africa by applying them to the ceramics of known groups of people (Huffman 1980). To be reliable, the procedure has to assign the assemblages to the correct control group. This is not circular, as some colleagues believe, for some procedures could not assign the samples correctly: these procedures were unreliable because they included irrelevant detail, such as functional aspects, they over-emphasised individual aspects of style, such as decoration technique, or they disregarded purposeful motif combinations because they were based on fragments rather than whole vessels, and they treated the samples as collections of unrelated traits rather than style systems. The most reliable procedures were found to be those that created an interrelated series of multidimensional types from variables of profile, motif placement and motif combinations. An interrelated series is formed when the motifs and layouts of simple types occur as components of the most complex type, defined as having the most motif positions and combinations. A type not interrelated in this way is probably intrusive (for further discussion see Huffman 1989). Procedures that use interrelated types are successful because they help reveal the structure of ceramic style. When ceramic style is complex and the producers and users the same, then multidimensional procedures can reveal Iron Age group identities.

To determine cultural identity, I use the internal arrangement of settlements. This is possible because settlement organisation reflects and helps shape a society's attitudes about such things as politics, economy, rank, status and religion; in other words, a world view. Since language is the major vehicle for thinking about the world, most world views correlate with groups of related languages, particularly in small-scale societies, and the Bantu-speaking world is no exception.

Most Bantu linguists recognize a fundamental distinction between Eastern Bantu – spoken in large parts of East and southern Africa – and Western Bantu – spoken in Central Africa. Recent linguistic research shows that this division has great time depth (Vansina

1984) and that neolithic Western Bantu speakers probably inhabited the equatorial rain forest well before Iron Age Eastern Bantu speakers spread onto the savanna of East and southern Africa (Ehret 1982).

In the recent past this major linguistic division was accompanied by an important ideological difference: most Western Bantu speakers believed that people were created through their mother's blood, that is they emphasized biological descent through the mother's side (e.g. Richards 1939, 1950), and in this sense they were 'matrilineal', while most Eastern Bantu were 'patrilineal', tracing descent through the father's side (e.g. Hammond-Tooke 1974; Schapera 1937). Although various aspects of matri- and patrilineality are debated by anthropologists (e.g. Needham 1971), the ideology of biological descent is generally recognised as an important and fundamental difference (W. D. Hammond-Tooke pers. comm.). Besides this ideological difference, the majority of Western Bantu speakers differed from Eastern Bantu in that they often arranged marriages by service instead of by payment (Colson and Gluckman 1951), and they owned few, if any, cattle (Richards 1940). Instead of cattle, Western Bantu speakers in the equatorial forest incorporated a combination of fishing, hunting, vegiculture and banana and oil palm horticulture in their economies (Murdock 1959; Vansina 1985). These subsistence strategies were part of a unique adaptation by Western Bantu speakers to the tropical forest.

These differences between Eastern and Western Bantu in economy, marriage patterns and beliefs about procreation formed parts of two distinct world views that were reflected in markedly different settlement patterns. The spatial organisations of Western Bantu have not been defined to the same degree as the Central Cattle Pattern of some Eastern Bantu (Huffman 1986; Kuper 1982), but it is possible to construct a preliminary model by identifying the widespread settlement features of Western Bantu speakers in the recent past in Angola and Zaïre (Fig.1). There, villages characteristically consisted of rectangular houses that often incorporated separate kitchen and sleeping rooms (Baumann 1935). These rectangular houses were usually arranged in a rough rectangle (Turner 1955) or in parallel rows on opposite sides of a street (Laman 1953; Torday and Joyce 1910), in contrast to a circle of round houses arranged around cattle byres in the Central Cattle Pattern. The men's court was at the end of the street or open space near the headman's house, as in the Central Cattle Pattern, but storage pits in the village centre were not a feature. Instead, V-shaped pits were sometimes dug behind the village for processing palm oil (Douglas 1963), and hollows for firing pots could be found near a potter's house (Eggert and Misago 1980). Shrines were placed at the doorway of a house and in front of a headman's house (Turner 1957), rather than in back/private areas, and shrines could also be found on top of graves. A chief might be buried in the open village centre near his house, but most people were buried in cemeteries outside the settlement, and they were often placed in extended rather than flexed positions (Doke 1931; Laman 1957; Merriman 1974). One exception to this generalisation suggests an underlying principle of burial modes. The Luba in the Upemba basin of Zaïre are said to be patrilineal – in contrast to most other Western Bantu – but according to Murdock (1959:288), they were until recently matrilineal. This change is thought to have coincided with the rise of the Luba empire and the widespread use of metal currency for bride wealth. Significantly, recent Luba burials were in contracted positions, while before the rise of the empire they were all extended (de Maret 1982), suggesting that

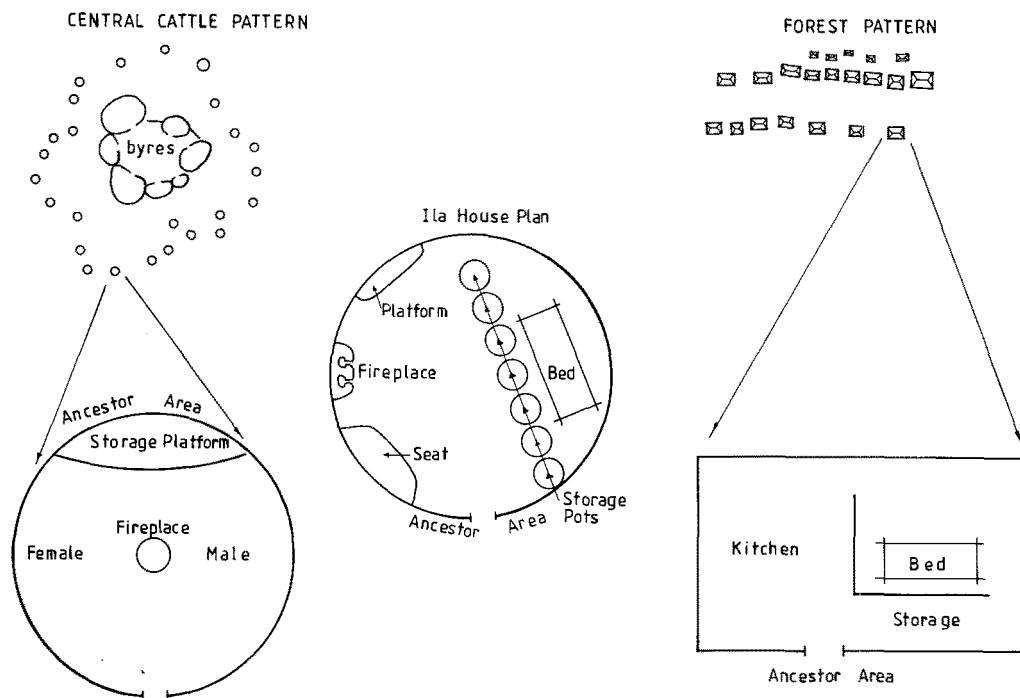


Figure 1 Different house plans in Central and southern Africa.

modes of burial may be correlated with marriage arrangements. Whatever the case, these settlement features may be taken together as a preliminary version of a Forest Pattern.

Today a mixture of Forest and Central Cattle patterns can be found among Western Bantu speakers in southern Zambia. For example, in the Zambezi Valley near Binga, Tonga villages consist of circular huts arranged in a circle around a central courtyard, and a few decades ago an Ila chief's village (Smith and Dale 1920, vol. 1:112) was similar to a nineteenth-century Zulu pattern (see Parkington and Cronin 1979). In both cases, however, the interiors of the huts exemplify a Western Bantu spatial organisation (Fig. 1): the spiritual area was at the threshold rather than the back; a moulded fireplace was against the wall opposite the bed (cf. Colson 1949), rather than in the centre; and a line of storage jars down the middle of an Ila hut (Smith and Dale 1920, vol. 1:119) created separate sleeping and cooking compartments. Thus, even though these Ila and Tonga altered their settlement patterns 'externally', so to speak (perhaps because of their contact with Eastern Bantu), their Western Bantu ancestry was still reflected 'internally' (see also Richards 1939). It should be possible then to determine the cultural and linguistic history of Iron Age groups through an analysis of their village and house patterns in conjunction with their ceramics.

I recently applied these ceramic and spatial analysis procedures to Iron Age material from two Kalomo culture mounds in southern Zambia, excavated with B. M. Fagan in 1967 (Fagan 1978). In the course of analysis it became apparent that the culture history sequence for Central Africa needed substantial revision. I present such a revision in detail elsewhere (Huffman 1989) and here concentrate on migration hypotheses for the beginning of the LIA.

Late Iron Age migrations

The most important synthesis of the LIA is incorporated in Phillipson's (1974, 1977) 'two-stream' hypothesis. Phillipson assigned all EIA units either to a Western Stream, centred in Zambia, or to an Eastern Stream found in the remainder of eastern and southern Africa (Fig. 2). At about AD 1000, Western Stream people are thought to have spread out of the Shaba area of Zaïre with Luangwa Tradition pottery, replacing the Eastern Stream over most of the subcontinent. At this point, to avoid any potential confusion between archaeological and linguistic divisions, I call the EIA Eastern Stream the Urewe Tradition (with Kwale and Nkope branches) and the Western Stream the Kalundu Tradition.

The basic divisions of the two-stream classification appear valid, but some ceramic assignments are unacceptable because they are based on decoration technique and vessel

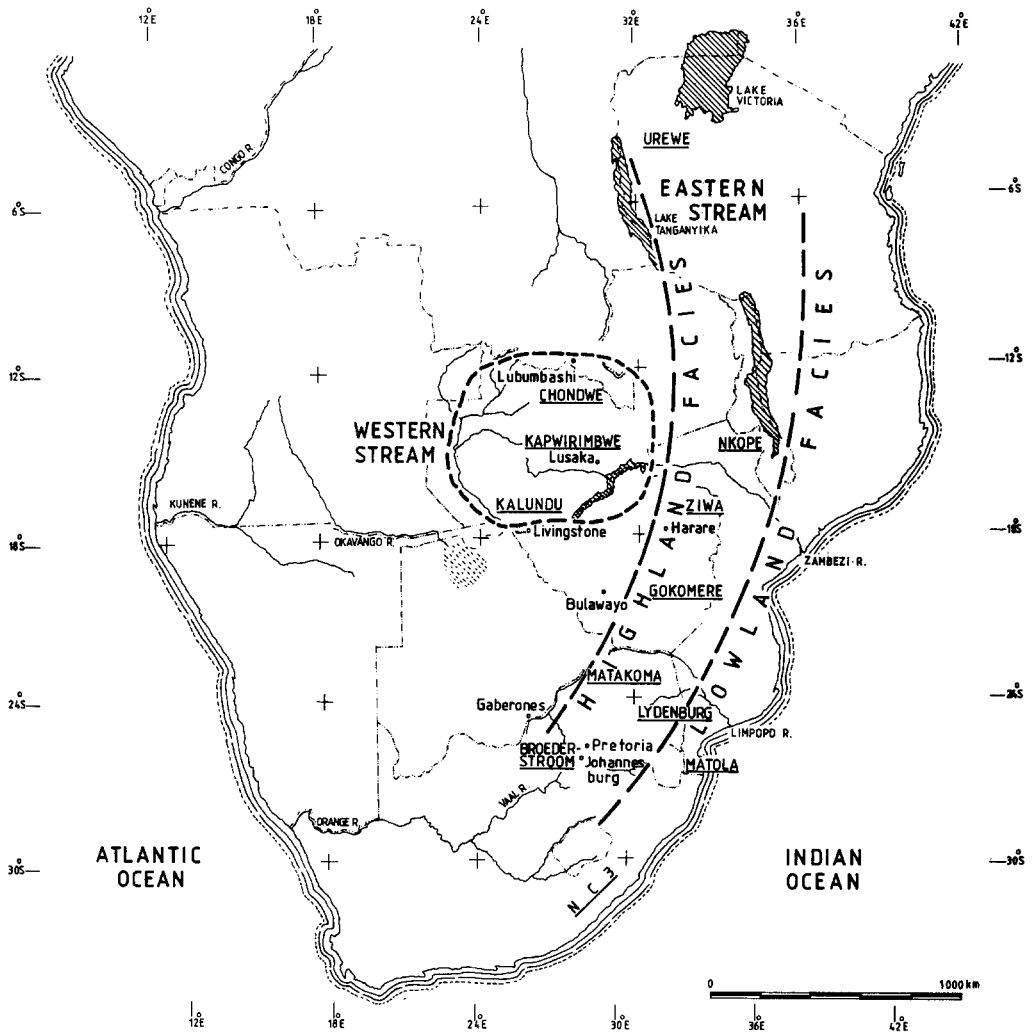


Figure 2 Phillipson's (1977) EIA assignments.

shape, an unreliable procedure. On the basis of multidimensional types, all the EIA units in South Africa except Matola should be reassigned to the Kalundu Tradition (Fig. 3) and some LIA groups, such as Leopard's Kopje, should not be included in Luangwa (Huffman 1978, 1982). In a more recent synthesis Phillipson (1985) accepts most of these EIA reassignments but still rejects a southerly origin for Leopard's Kopje, despite the ceramic evidence for local continuity, because he believes it 'does not account for the similar ceramic development at this time north and south of the Zambezi' (Phillipson 1985:208).

North of the Zambezi Phillipson noted a major disjunction between the EIA Kalundu Tradition and LIA Luangwa styles at Chondwe on the Copperbelt (Mills and Filmer 1972) and at Twickenham Road on the outskirts of Lusaka (Phillipson 1970). Of all EIA units, Chondwe has the greatest resemblance to Luangwa, notably a low frequency of thickened rims and a high frequency of comb-stamping in segmental blocks delineated by grooves. But

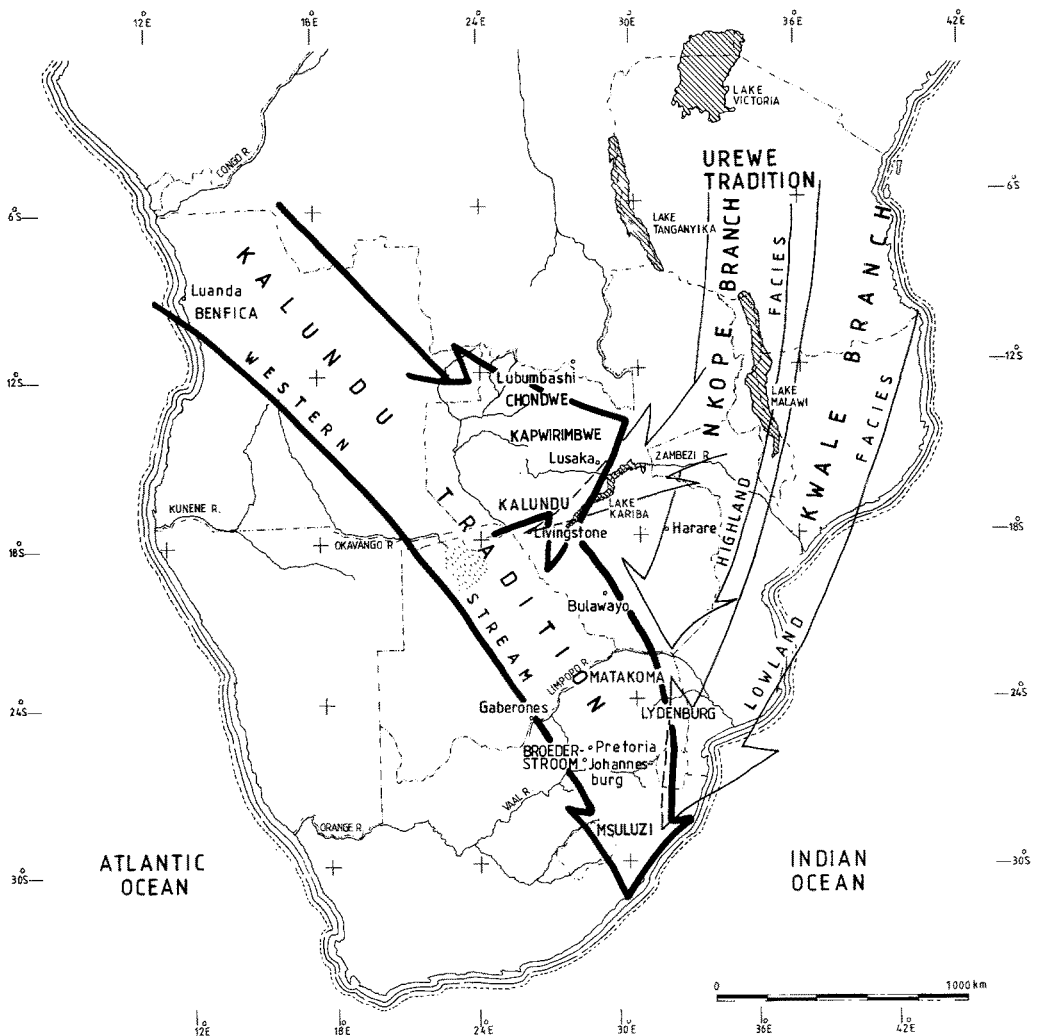


Figure 3 New EIA assignments.

because EIA Chondwe and LIA Luangwa are different in other ways, Phillipson proposed that Luangwa probably developed from a Chondwe-like group yet to be discovered to the north or west.

Recently, Anciaux de Faveaux and de Maret (1984) reported a fourth-century assemblage at Naviundu near Lubumbashi in Zaïre that partially fulfills Phillipson's expectations. Naviundu is a likely ancestor of Luangwa, or at least some of it, but this material only partially fulfills Phillipson's prediction because it cannot generate Leopard's Kopje, and it is not closely related to Kalundu.

To justify these conclusions I first turn to a description of Naviundu and its continuity through time. Naviundu is characterized by motifs produced predominantly by comb-stamping and by comb-stamping with broad grooves (Tab. 1). The motifs themselves tend to be bands of diagonal hatching with pendant chevrons or triangles and bands of intertwined lines, triangles, diamonds, loops and panels. Motif combinations include multiple spaced bands and simple bands above intertwined motifs, and these combined with profiles and placements form a series of at least 14 interrelated types (Fig. 4).

A later Naviundu-like facies, spanning the eighth to tenth centuries, has now been recognized in southern Zambia stratified between Kalundu and Kalomo horizons (Huffman 1989). This facies, known as Gundu (Fagan [1967] called it 'early' Kalomo), has a particularly high percentage of comb-stamping (Tab. 1), as well as multiple spaced bands and hatched bands with pendant triangular motifs characteristic of Naviundu (Fig. 5). There are fewer multi-dimensional types in Gundu than Naviundu, the motif combinations tend to be simpler, and some of the comb-stamping is smaller, but the Gundu types are all related to the Naviundu series. In fact some 67% of the Naviundu types occur in Gundu, either unchanged or as a derivation. Gundu, then, is clearly part of a later phase of the Naviundu Tradition.

The slightly later Luangwa assemblages at Chondwe and Twickenham Road are not published in sufficient detail to enable me to calculate their relationship to Naviundu, Gundu or each other. Nevertheless, both these Luangwa assemblages need a Naviundu origin to account for their intertwined motifs and high frequencies of comb-stamping (Fig. 6). Thus

Table 1 Percentage of decoration technique in Naviundu (NV), the Gundu assemblage (GU) at Gundu, the Luangwa assemblage at Twickenham (TW), the Leopard's Kopje assemblage (LK) at Leopard's Kopje Main Kraal, the Kalundu assemblage (KL) at Gundu, and Kapwirimbwe (KP). Based on complete motifs of individual vessels.

	NV	GU	TW	LK	KL	KP
Combstamping	65	72	89	5	1	3
Combstamping+incision	21	21	—	1	1	—
Combstamping+punctates	—	—	—	—	1	—
Combstamping+incision+punctates	3	—	—	—	—	—
Cord/bangle impression	4	1	—	—	1	—
Incision	6	6	10	78	40	57
Punctates/stabs	1	—	1	5	30	29
Punctates/stabs+incision	—	—	—	11	26	11
	n= (72)	(203)	(89)	(159)	(189)	(214)

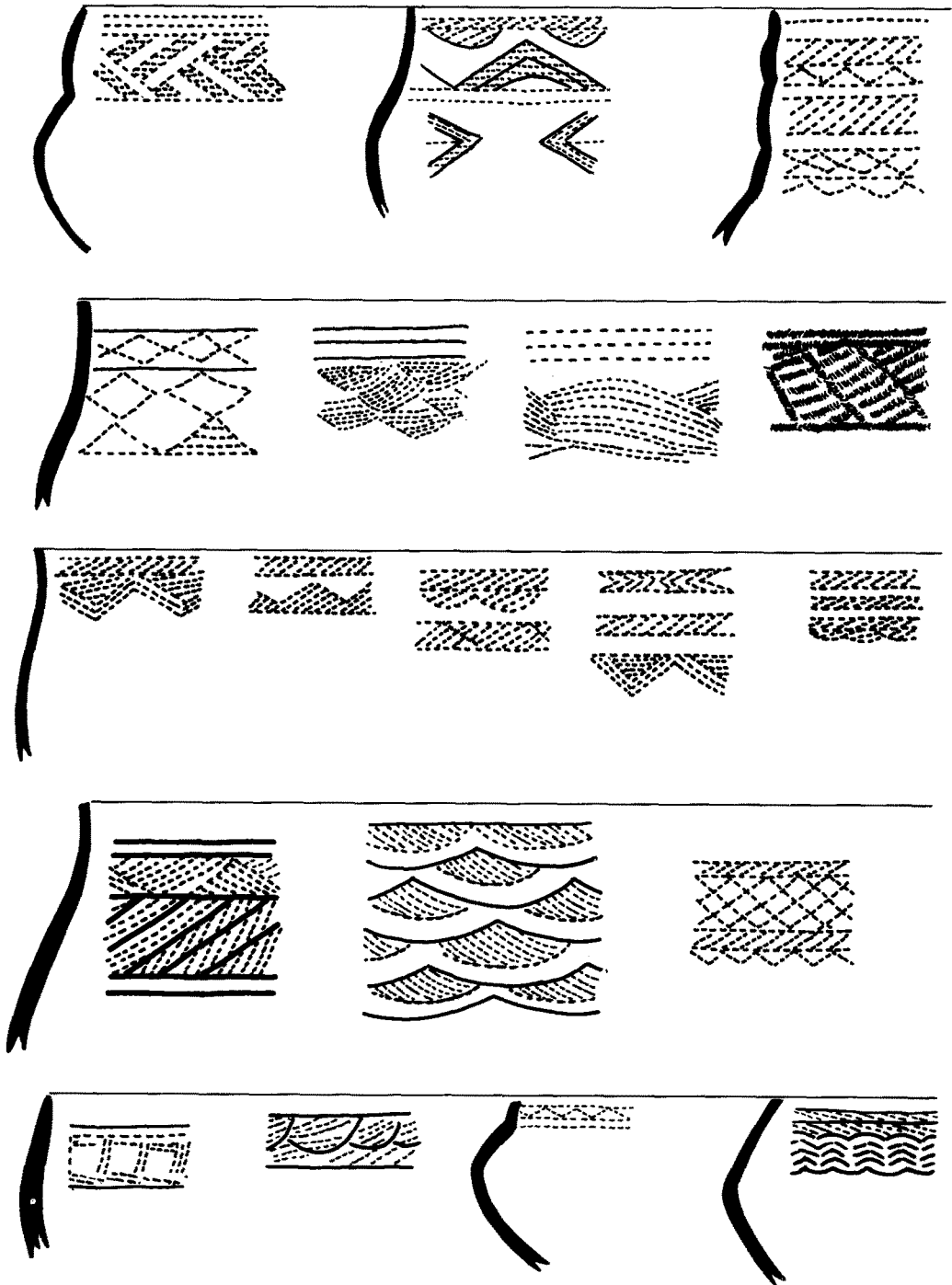


Figure 4 Naviundu pottery (after Anciaux de Faveaux and de Maret 1984).

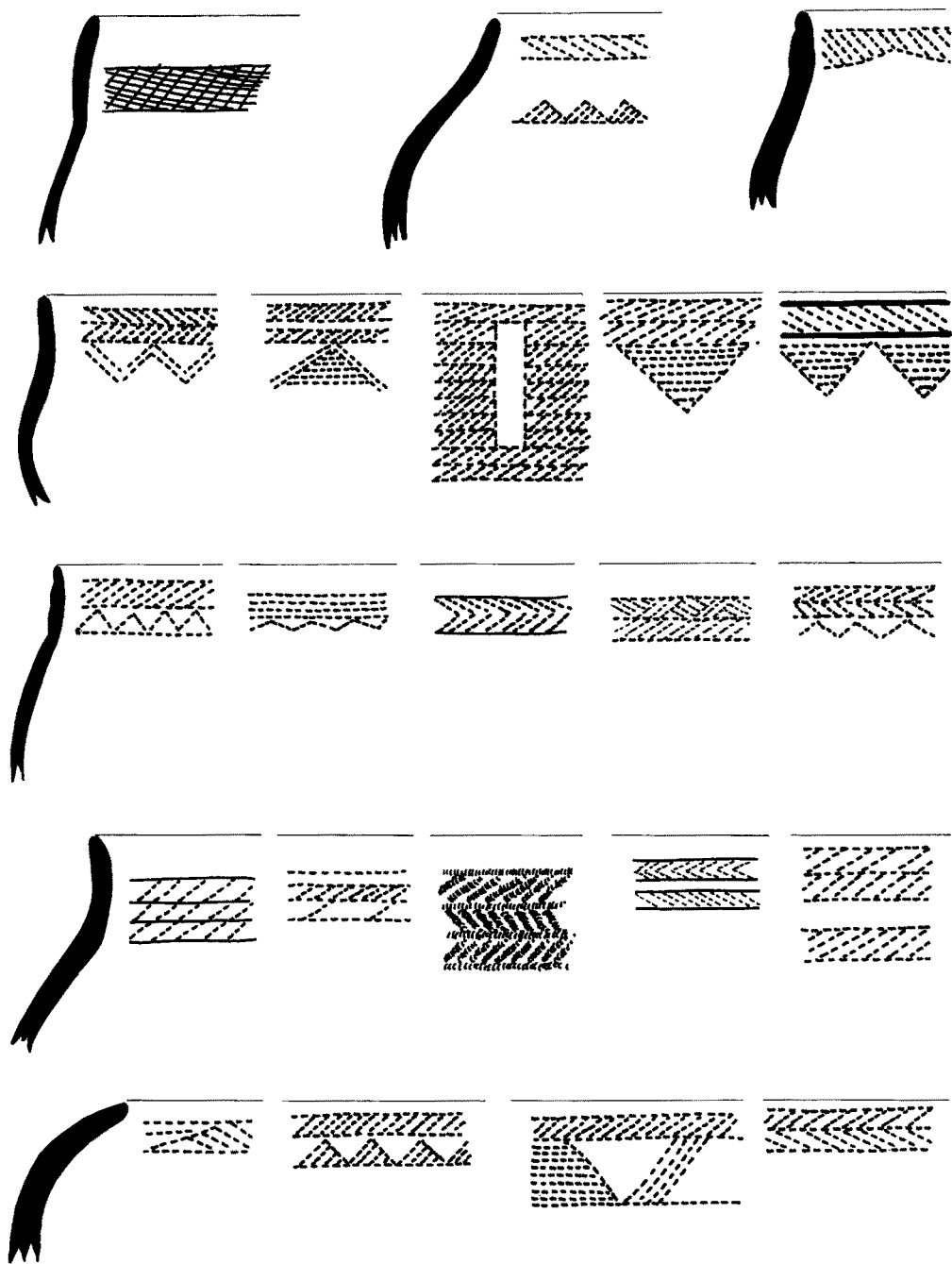


Figure 5 Gundu pottery (after Huffman 1989).

Naviundu partially fulfills Phillipson's prediction of a Luanga origin north of Chondwe.

Given the limited range of possibilities in a ceramic tradition, if Leopard's Kopje were part of the Naviundu-Luangwa complex, it too should have a high proportion of comb-stamping, and the design categories should include intertwined motifs, multiple spaced bands or hatched bands with pendant triangles. Rather than comb-stamping, however, Leopard's Kopje motifs were almost always made with incision, punctate or stabs (Tab. 1, Fig. 7), and the motifs were the products of different conceptual categories (Huffman 1974). A Naviundu origin, for instance, cannot account for the bands of horizontal lines bordered by stabs and alternating punctates in Leopard's Kopje. Consequently, a Leopard's Kopje origin from the EIA Kalundu style in the Transvaal is still the best interpretation (Huffman 1978). This southerly origin will be more apparent after a closer examination of Kalundu.

I turn now to a detailed comparison between Naviundu and two Kalundu Tradition samples: the Kalundu assemblage from Gundu (Huffman 1989) and the EIA assemblage from Kapwirimbwe (Phillipson 1968). These two EIA settlements were roughly contemporary with Naviundu but, in contrast to Chondwe, so distant from the Copperbelt that any regular or direct interaction with Naviundu would have been unlikely. (A wider analysis incorporating Nkope assemblages occurs in Huffman 1989.)

Beginning with decoration technique, a simple percentage comparison (Tab. 1) shows that the two Kalundu Tradition samples are distinct from Naviundu: Kalundu motifs were made by incision, punctates and incision with punctates, rather than by comb-stamping. The motifs themselves have a similar distribution (Tab. 2). The two Kalundu assemblages are both characterized by bands of 'ladder-stamping' or 'false-relief-chevron punctates' (FRCP) and by bands of alternating triangles and herringbone bordered by ladder-stamping

Table 2 Percentage of motif categories in Naviundu (NV), the Kalundu assemblage at Gundu (KL), and Kapwirimbwe (KP). Based on complete motifs of individual vessels.

	NV	KL	KP
Alternating triangles/blocks of lines	8	24	19
Bands of FRCP/ladder-stamping	1	31	29
Band of oblique hatching	21	11	19
Crosshatching	?	2	3
Herringbone	—	2	14
Horizontal lines	—	21	5
Loops/triangles	6	4	1
Multiple bands of oblique hatching	6	2	—
Multiple alternating triangles/herringbone	—	3	9
Intertwined loops/triangles/panels	15	—	—
Net/lattice	4	—	—
Band of oblique hatching + pendant triangle/chevron	14	—	—
Band without filler	10	—	—
Multiple mixed/spaced bands	12	—	—
Verticle zigzag	3	—	—
Oblique panel	—	—	1
	n= (72)	(189)	(214)

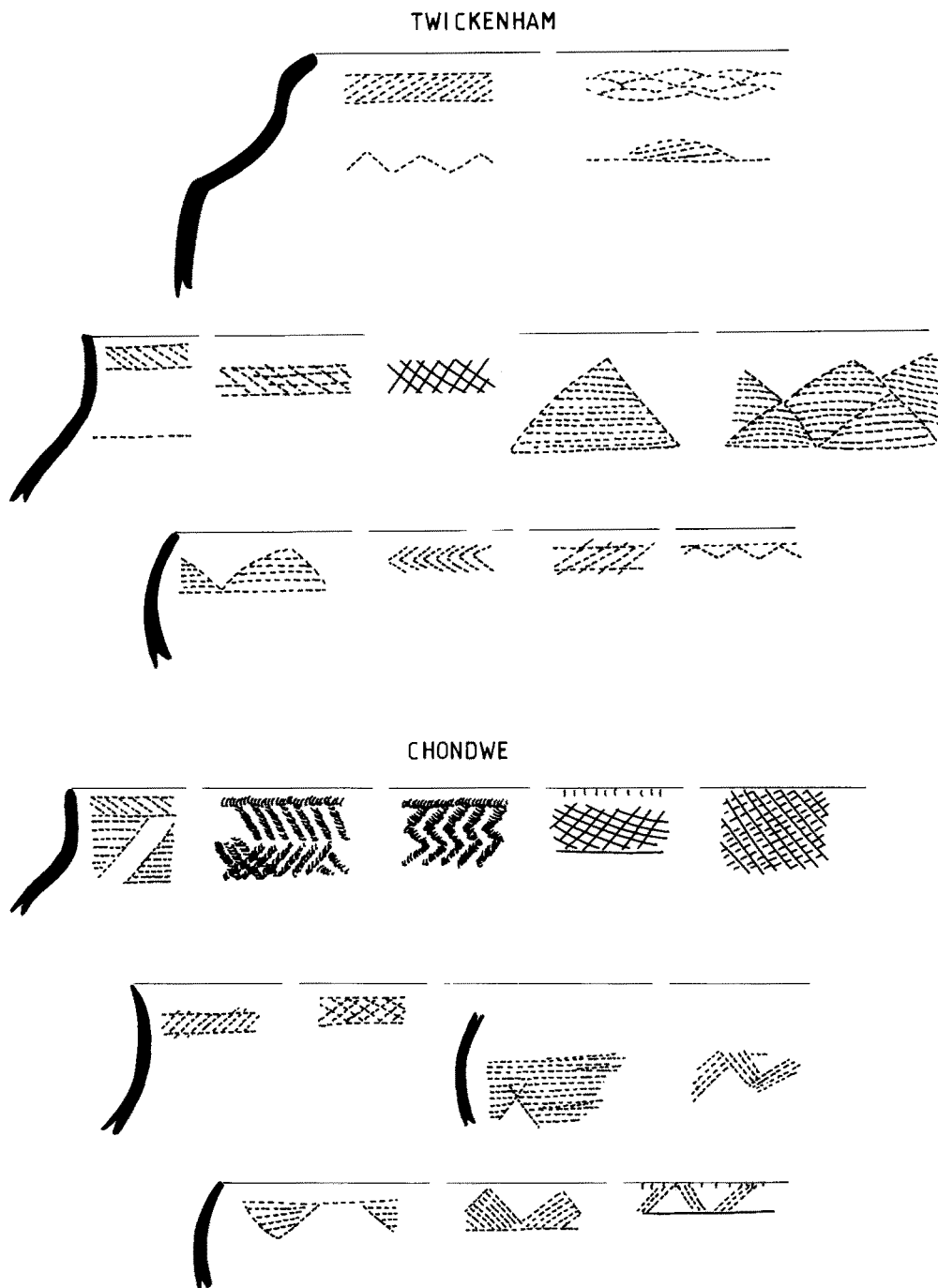


Figure 6 Luangwa pottery from Twickenham Road and Chondwe (after Phillipson 1970; Mills and Filmer 1972).

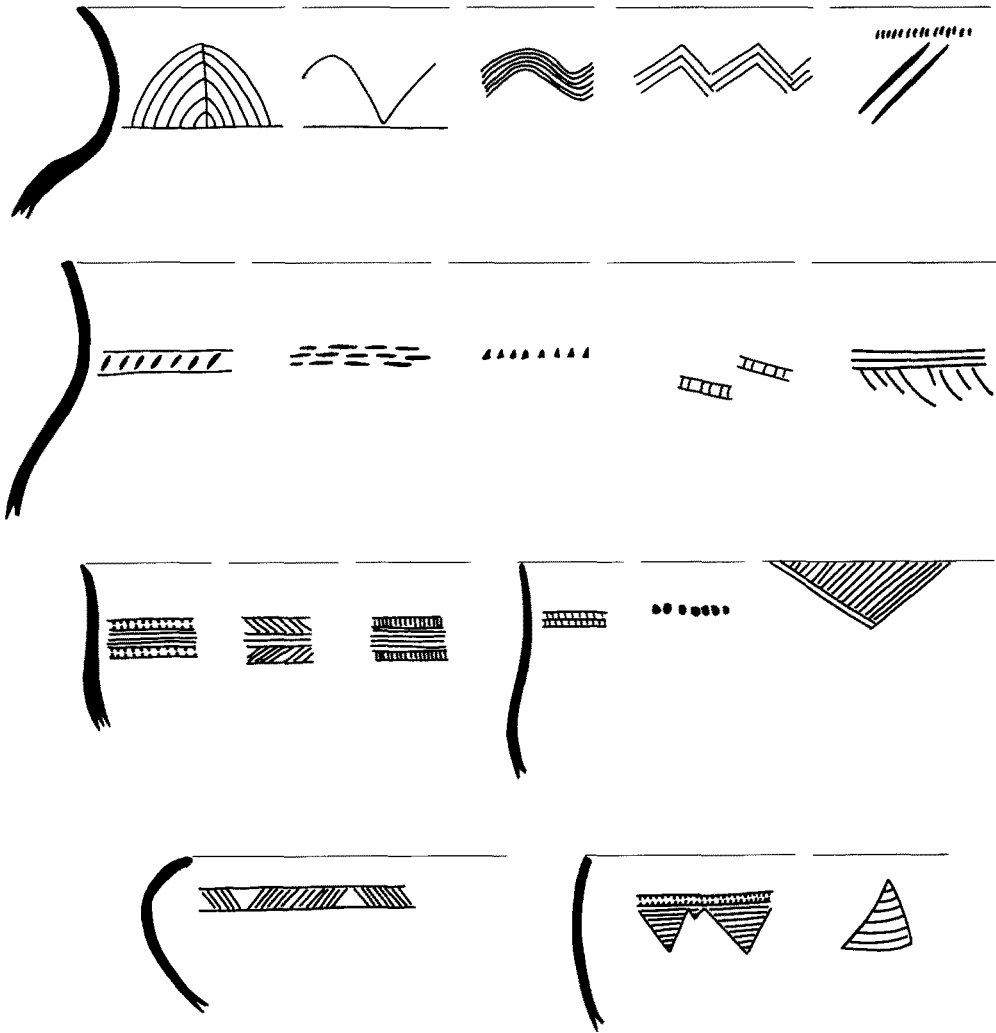


Figure 7 Leopard's Kopje pottery (after Huffman 1974; and collections in the Queen Victoria Museum, Harare).

or FRCP, rather than hatched band with pendant triangles and complexly intertwined motifs. The only motif category of any significance shared by all three samples is a simple band of diagonal hatching – one of the most common motifs throughout the Iron Age. Profile elements are also notably different between Naviundu and the two other examples: in particular Naviundu lacks the externally thickened jar rims and internally thickened bowl lips that typify Kalundu and Kapwirimbwe. When multidimensional types are compared (Fig. 8), the similarity indices (following Huffman 1980:138) between Naviundu and the other assemblages are particularly low (Tab. 3). The indices are so low that Naviundu cannot possibly belong to the Kalundu Tradition. Indeed, even though the list of types is incomplete, Naviundu is so unlike any EIA tradition that it cannot be assigned to the Chifumbaze complex at all (Huffman 1989).

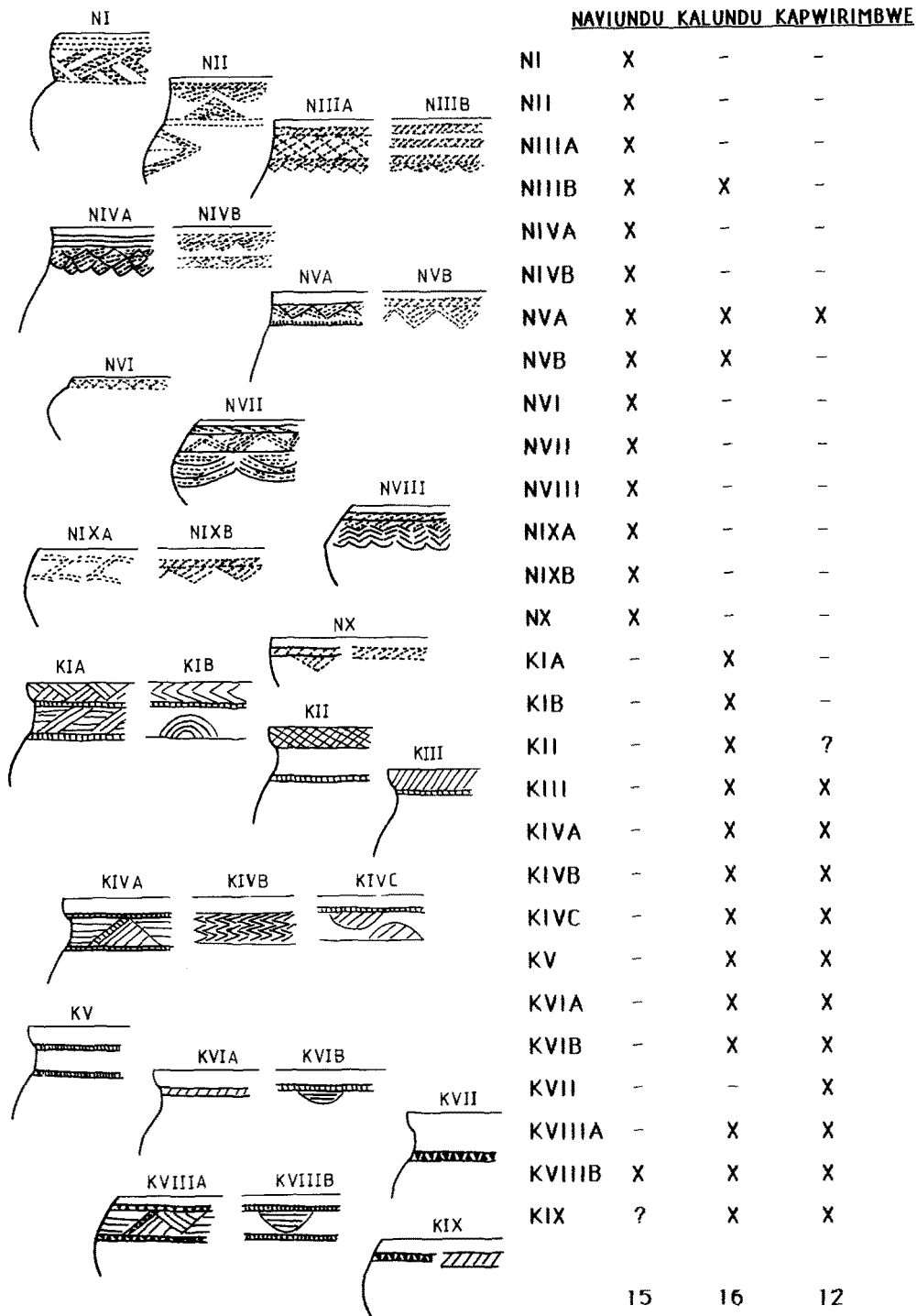


Figure 8 A comparison of multidimensional types in Naviundu, the Kalundu assemblage at Gundu, and Kapwirimbwe.

Table 3 Similarity indices between Naviundu (NV), Kalundu (KL) and Kapwirimbwe (KP).

	NV	KL	KP
NV	X		
KL	26	X	
KP	15	79	X

Naviundu appears similar to Mortelmans' (1962) Group I from the Kinshasha region of Lower Zaïre (see also Nenquin 1971: fig. 14 and Van Noten 1982: fig. 24). Group I includes some features not recorded for Naviundu, such as parallel striations on the lower half of vessels, but it also incorporates multiple spaced bands of hatched comb-stamping combined with loops and triangles. Significantly, this style was found with the Ngovo group (de Maret 1986) or Mortelmans' Group VI. The Ngovo group has recently been dated to the second and first centuries BC and identified as a pre-metal Forest Neolithic associated with the cultivation of oil palms and with polished stone axes and hoes. Group I material from the same area has not been dated, but the probability exists that it and Naviundu also had their origins in the Forest Neolithic. Given the location and affinities of Naviundu, it is also highly probable that the Naviundu people spoke some form of Western Bantu.

This Western Bantu probability leads to a consideration of the linguistic aspects of the two-stream hypothesis. In the original formulation the spread of Luangwa pottery, rather than EIA pottery, was supposed to have established the present distribution of Eastern Bantu following Heine's classification (Phillipson 1977:226). (In a more recent synthesis, Phillipson (1985:179–80, 200–1) associates Eastern Bantu with the EIA Urewe Tradition but ascribes some EIA ceramics in Zambia to a branch of Western Bantu). According to Vansina's (1984) summary of research on Western Bantu, however, most of the present-day people in Central Africa who make Luangwa pottery, such as the Bemba and Lunda, belong to Western and not Eastern Bantu. This new linguistic research also shows that it is not possible to derive Eastern from Western Bantu as was once widely thought. The conclusion is inescapable, then, that the eleventh-century dispersal of Luangwa pottery reflects only the spread of Western Bantu and the formation of what became the 'matrilineal' belt in Central Africa. The EIA traditions remain the principal evidence for the distribution of Eastern Bantu.

This revision – the two-stage hypothesis – eliminates the major anomalies in the original interpretation. The Luangwa dispersal, for instance, was supposed to have introduced large scale cattle-keeping to Central and southern Africa, yet Shaba is a non-cattle area, and most Western Bantu speakers outside the forest do not keep large stock, while most Eastern Bantu speakers are cattle people. Separate origins for Western and Eastern Bantu removes this contradiction. Similarly, the EIA origin of Leopard's Kopje in the Transvaal is no longer a contradiction because we know Leopard's Kopje pottery was made by Eastern Bantu Shona speakers with the Central Cattle Pattern (Huffman 1984).

Significantly, virtually every excavated EIA site in the Transvaal has yielded cattle bones (Voigt and Plug 1985) and elements of the Central Cattle Pattern. The Lydenburg-phase site called Langdraai, for example, incorporated a central cattle byre with storage pits (Evers pers.comm. 1981), which is definitive; and a circular hut with a central fireplace was found at Strauss in the Magaliesburg, dating to the sixth century (Mason 1986:208). EIA Kalundu people, therefore, probably had the Central Cattle Pattern when they entered southern Africa.

EIA houses in the Victoria Falls area are thought to have been sub-rectangular, a shape that, if true, does not conform to the Central Cattle Pattern. The evidence for this shape is ambiguous, however, and none of the structures necessarily functioned as a dwelling. The posts of huts 11 and 12 at Kumadzulo (Vogel 1971), for instance, closely parallel the present-day arrangement of grain bin and rack supports, and most of the structures at Kumadzulo and Zambezi Farm (Vogel 1973) lacked prepared floors. The only EIA structure in the area with a sizeable amount of flooring was found at Kabondo Kumbo next to a widespread lens of metal slag (Vogel 1975). But the floor lacked a fireplace and only eight posts could be located, six in pairs, so the original shape and function are not obvious.

Whatever the case with the Victoria Falls structures, early Luangwa-related houses almost certainly did not follow the Central Cattle Pattern. A daga platform against the wall of a Gundu-phase house at Motobo (Watt 1980: fig. 2) was probably a raised fireplace, and a LIA phase-1 house at Kansanshi on the Copperbelt (Bisson 1976:207, 335) had right-angled wall trenches. Post patterns can be ambiguous, but not wall trenches, and the rectangular plan of this Copperbelt structure is conclusive evidence for a Western Bantu form.

The revised two-stage hypothesis also accounts for other Western Bantu features in Central Africa, such as the Ingombe Ilede burials. The Ingombe Ilede group can be identified in sixteenth-century Portuguese documents as the VaMbara, a metal-working people in Zimbabwe who did not speak Shona (Garlake 1970). Although their precise language is unknown, oral traditions indicate they were of Tonga or Soli origins north of the Zambezi and thus Western Bantu (White 1971). This identity is important because Ingombe Ilede ceramics share many features with Naviundu and Luangwa (Phillipson 1974), and the high status burials at Ingombe Ilede follow a Western Bantu pattern. Numerous skeletons in the central courtyard had been placed in extended positions with gold, copper crosses, iron gongs and metal-working tools (Fagan, Phillipson and Daniels 1969:62-3; Phillipson and Fagan 1969).

The metal goods, extended burials and mass cemetery at Ingombe Ilede call to mind the well-known cemeteries of Sanga and Katoto in the Upemba basin of Zaïre. Most of the Kisalian graves at Sanga were in extended positions, indicating Western Bantu affinities, and other burial features increase the probability of this Western Bantu identification. According to de Maret (1982), the depth of the Kisalian graves correlated with the age of the deceased: adults were the deepest, children were in the middle and infants near the surface. Such an idiom is not known among Eastern Bantu speakers, but something similar has been recorded for the Western Bantu-speaking Kongo (Laman 1957). Furthermore, in the recent past, the Lamba in Zambia, another Western Bantu-speaking group, distinguished between various animals and categories of people by their height through a series of hand signs (Doke 1931). The age and depth of the Sanga burials, then, may be part of a symbolic code peculiar to the Western Bantu.

Both the Kisalian and Ingombe Ilede graves also yielded iron gongs and ceremonial axes that were symbols of chieftainship in Central Africa. Besides the chiefly symbols the burials yielded copper crosses of the type that had become a form of currency by the sixteenth century. Significantly, metal currency was as important to Western Bantu speakers as cattle were to most Eastern Bantu, and the status of metal workers was high in their communities (Vansina 1969). Chiefs were often referred to as master smiths, and smiths were often associated with the origins of various clans (Cline 1937; de Maret 1985b; Laman 1953; Torday and Joyce 1910). This is why high status burials at Sanga and Ingombe Ilede contained metal working items, such as draw plates and iron anvils, together with symbols of chieftainship.

The communal cemeteries and extended skeletons with metal goods demonstrate that these people had been Western Bantu speakers. The associated Kisalian pottery, however, has been assigned to the Eastern Bantu EIA complex and specifically to the Kalundu Tradition (Phillipson 1977:133). On examination early and classic Kisalian (de Maret 1985a; Hiernaux *et al.* 1971; Nenquin 1963) lacks the characteristic design categories of Kalundu, such as bordered bands of alternating triangles and herringbone, while its own range of elaborate profiles and rim forms lacks a precedent in either the Kalundu or Urewe traditions. These elaborate forms, however, are similar to the vessel shapes of various Western Bantu groups in Zaïre (e.g. Couart and de Haulleville 1927) and Zambia (e.g. Fagan and Phillipson 1965), highlighting the linguistic affinity of Kisalian pottery. Whatever its precise origin, the assignment of Kisalian to Kalundu and the EIA complex is clearly unjustified.

At least one other Iron Age group needs to be reclassified, this time south of the Zambezi River. The thirteenth-century Musengezi group (Garlake 1973; Huffman 1971; Robinson 1965) is best known from burial caves in the northern part of Zimbabwe, such as Monk's Kop (Crawford 1967). Some 70 corpses in a low cave at Monk's Kop appear to have been buried sitting upright, wrapped in bark cloth and palm fibre matting, surrounded by numerous ceramic vessels. As Crawford noted at the time, the ossuary, burial position and grave goods are similar to customs in Central Africa, rather than Zimbabwe, for Shona speakers normally buried people in separate places and tightly flexed with, for men at least, ox-hide shrouds (e.g. Bullock 1927). But Crawford also thought Musengezi ceramics evolved from the local EIA because of the use of comb-stamping. Subsequent analyses, however, showed that Musengezi assemblages formed a major disjunction in the local sequence and represented an abrupt intrusion (Huffman 1971). A later 'core concept' analysis (Huffman 1978: tab. 2) placed Musengezi with Leopard's Kopje in the Kutama complex, but with hindsight we know that this analysis over-emphasized general vessel shape, and it did not adequately characterize the complexity of the style. When complex motif combinations are considered, the spaced bands, multiple spaced bands and pendant loops and triangular designs in Musengezi (Fig. 9) show that it belongs to the Luangwa complex.

In addition to burial caves, Musengezi pottery has also been found underneath and associated with Zimbabwe culture ruins in the area (e.g. Garlake 1973). According to widespread oral traditions (see Beach 1980 for extensive references), before northern Mashonaland was conquered by Mutota, the famous Zimbabwe culture leader, a cluster of related non-Shona speaking people lived in the area, including the Tavara, Tonga and Tande. Even today these people maintain vestiges of a matrilineal ideology and they

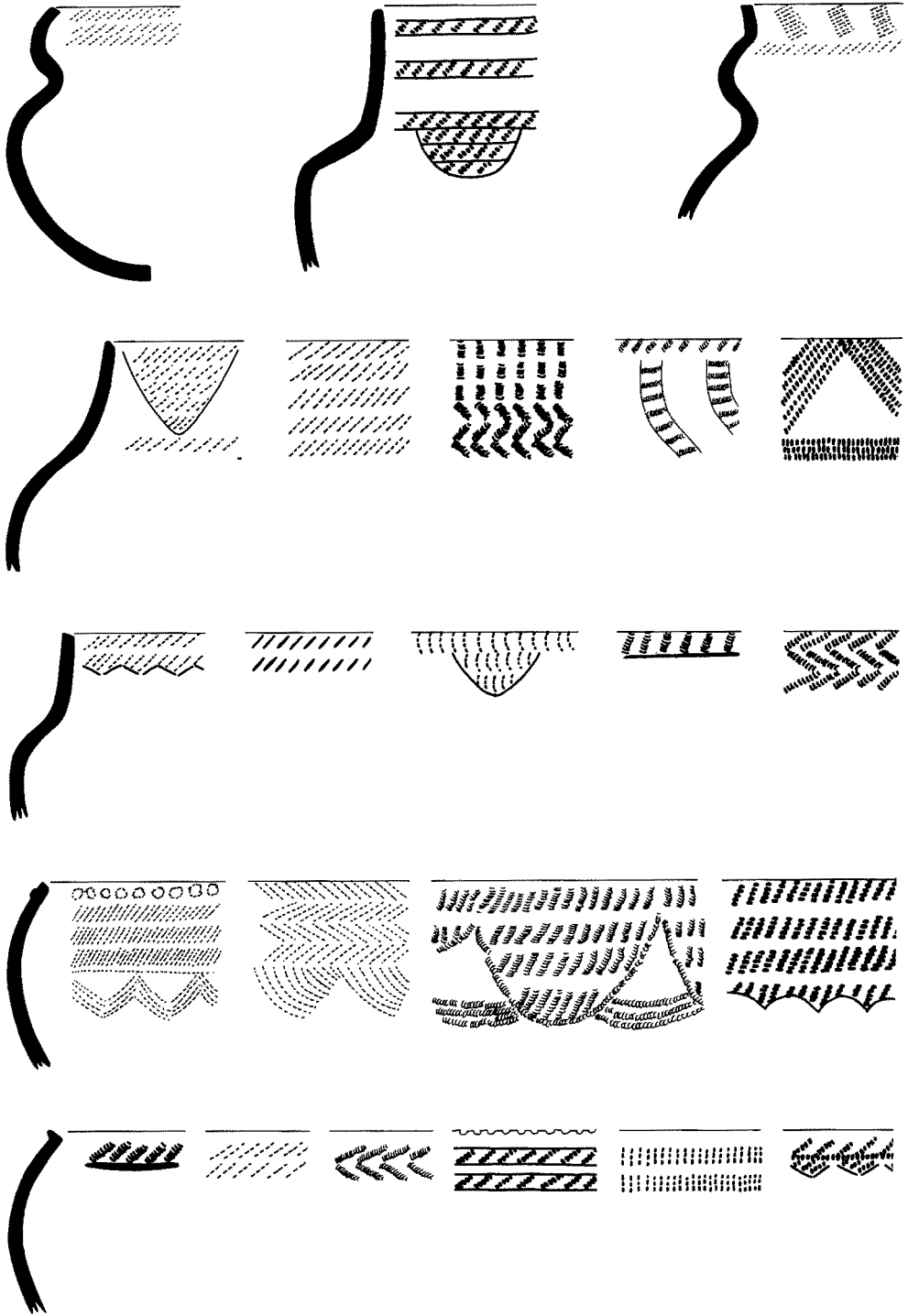


Figure 9 Musengezi pottery (collections in the Queen Victoria Museum, Harare).

customarily practise bride service – both Western Bantu features. If the traditions are accurate, then Musengezi pottery was most likely made by these people.

These last examples call into question the commonly held belief that the present distribution of bride service versus bridewealth in cattle is determined by environmental factors such as tsetse fly. Obviously societies adjust to their environment, as, for example, the Western Bantu in the tropical forest, but once adjusted it does not follow that societies must automatically alter their economy and ideology when they enter new areas. If Musengezi people were originally Western Bantu, as the evidence suggests, then cattle ownership would not have been a factor in their decision to occupy the Zambezi Valley. Cattle oriented people in turn would not ordinarily choose to live in such an unfavourable environment.

These modifications of the two-stream hypothesis thus account for a wide variety of data, including metal working, burial modes, village organisation and settlement location, as well as ceramic change. As presently conceived, the Luangwa complex probably incorporates more than one Western Bantu ceramic tradition, and the eighth- to tenth-century appearance of Gundu indicates that the spread of Luangwa may not have been uniform. These important details may be elucidated once several more local sequences have been established.

Predictive consequences

If the spread of Luangwa pottery truly represents the spread of Western Bantu speakers, the migration could not have occurred in a vacuum. Earlier Eastern Bantu speakers would have been assimilated, eliminated or displaced, and we could expect to find some other population shifts as a consequence.

There are two major ceramic disjunctions in South Africa shortly after the first appearance of Luangwa in Zambia. First, the Blackburn group (Fig. 10), Schofield's NC2 (Davies 1971; Robey 1980; Schofield 1948; Maggs 1980), moved into Natal and the Transkei during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Secondly, Moloko pottery (Fig. 11) appears in the Phalaborwa area in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries (Evers and van der Merwe 1987) and then slightly later on the Transvaal plateau (Evers 1981, 1983; Hanisch 1979; Mason 1986). Stylistic continua exist between both LIA groups and the ceramics of present-day people, and therefore we are confident that Moloko pottery was made by Sotho-Tswana speakers (Evers 1981; Mason 1986; Schofield 1948) and Blackburn by Nguni (Maggs 1980). Both language families are part of Eastern Bantu, and the people are 'patrilineal' mixed agriculturalists with the Central Cattle Pattern (Kuper 1982). They must have therefore been derived from EIA cattle-keepers.

Because they form major disjunctions, neither ceramic group can be generated from Kalundu Tradition facies in South Africa; and because of the constraints within an historical tradition, they cannot be derived from related Kalundu facies in Botswana or Zambia. By a process of elimination, then, Nguni and Sotho-Tswana most likely had EIA sources somewhere in East Africa.

Although ceramic sequences in East Africa are not completely known, several EIA groups are known over a large area, and it is possible to place the likely EIA ancestor of Nguni pottery in northern Moçambique and southern Tanzania. The Kalambo Falls EIA group

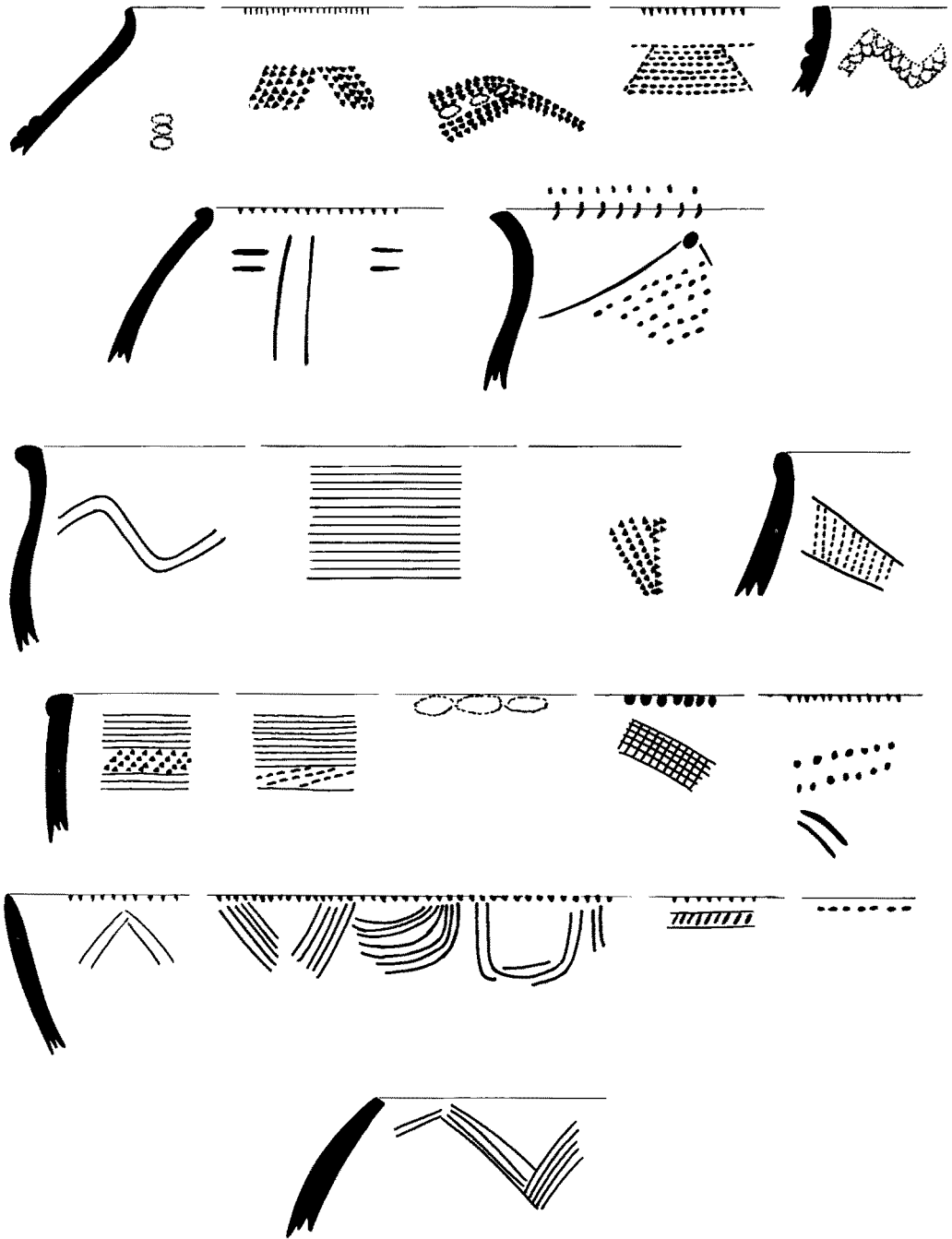


Figure 10 Blackburn pottery (after Beater and Maud 1963; Schofield 1935, 1937; and collections in the Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg).

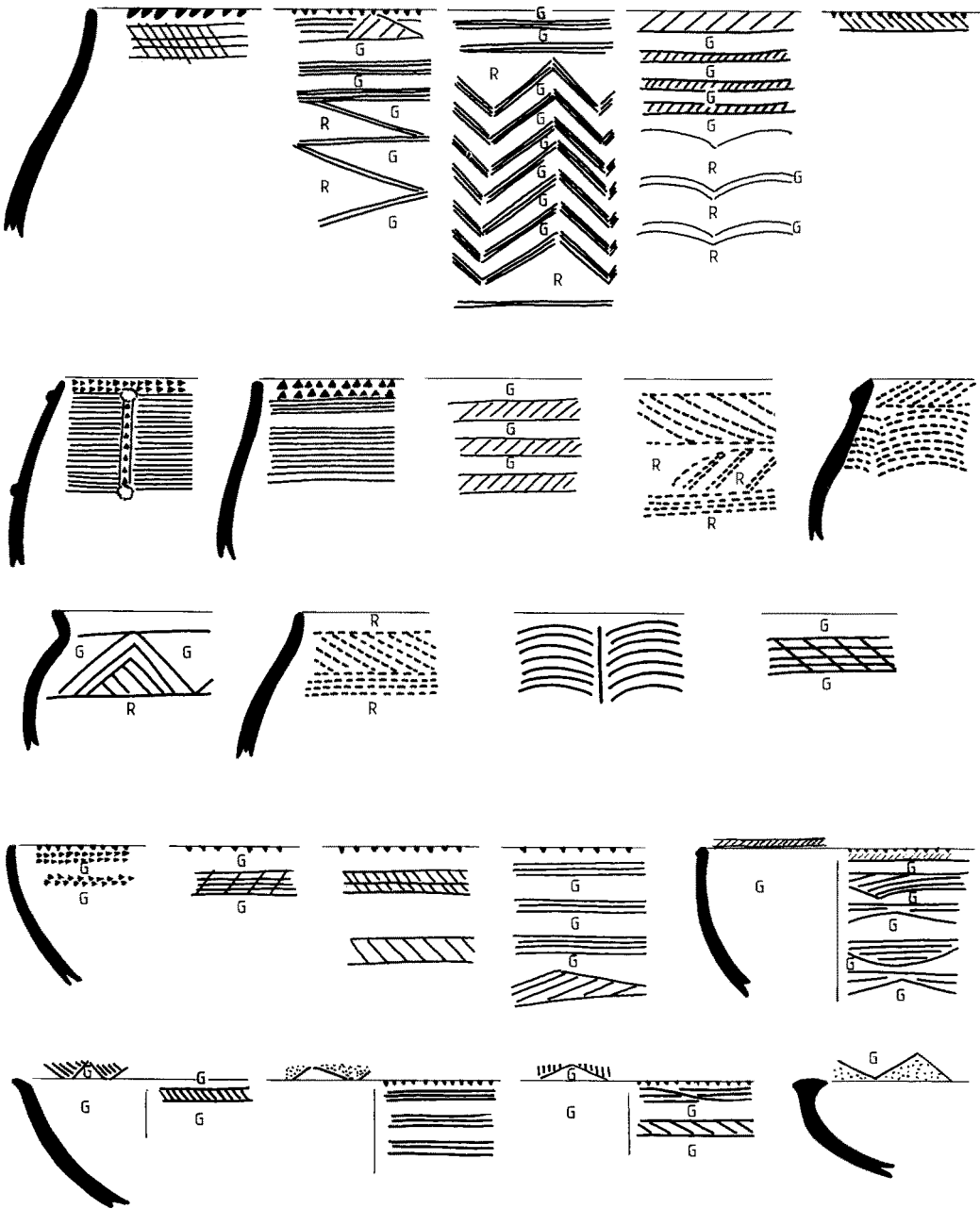


Figure 11 Moloko pottery (after Hanisch 1979; Loubser 1988; and collections in the Archaeology Department, University of the Witwatersrand). G = graphite burnish; R = red ochre burnish.

(Fig. 12) in that area (Fagan in Clark 1974) contains the range of ceramic attributes that later became important in Blackburn, for example inward sloping profiles, rim notching, incised horizontal lines and stamped and incised triangles and chevrons. Furthermore, thirteenth-century pottery from the middle component (levels 11–16) of the nearby Ivuna saltworks in Tanzania (Fagan and Yellen 1968) shows a similar emphasis on these attributes (Fig. 13). This similarity is important because we would expect Urewe Tradition styles that did not move south to parallel the series of changes postulated between Kalambo and Blackburn.

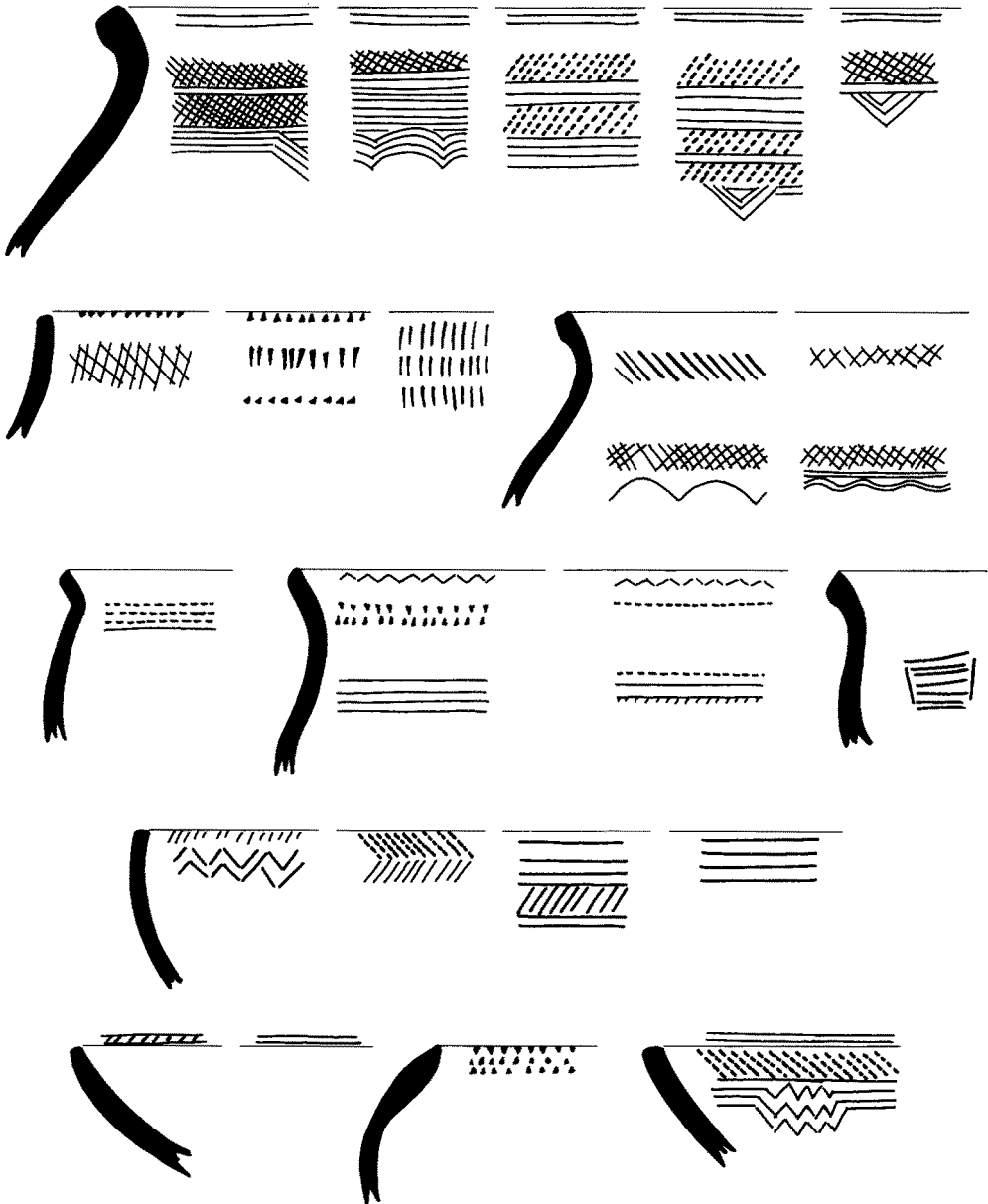


Figure 12 Kalambo Falls pottery (after Clark 1974).

Without a comparison of multidimensional types and linking phases, however, this connexion must remain tentative. The similarities between Blackburn and Ivuna increase the likelihood of this connexion, and the concentration of beehive-shaped huts in the district (Murdock 1959), similar to those built by Nguni, adds further support.

Early Moloko pottery, representing Sotho-Tswana speakers, has some similarities with Blackburn, and the emphasis on comb-stamped rims, incised arcs and decorated bowl lips suggests that Moloko may have developed from some nearby Kwale or Nkope-like facies.

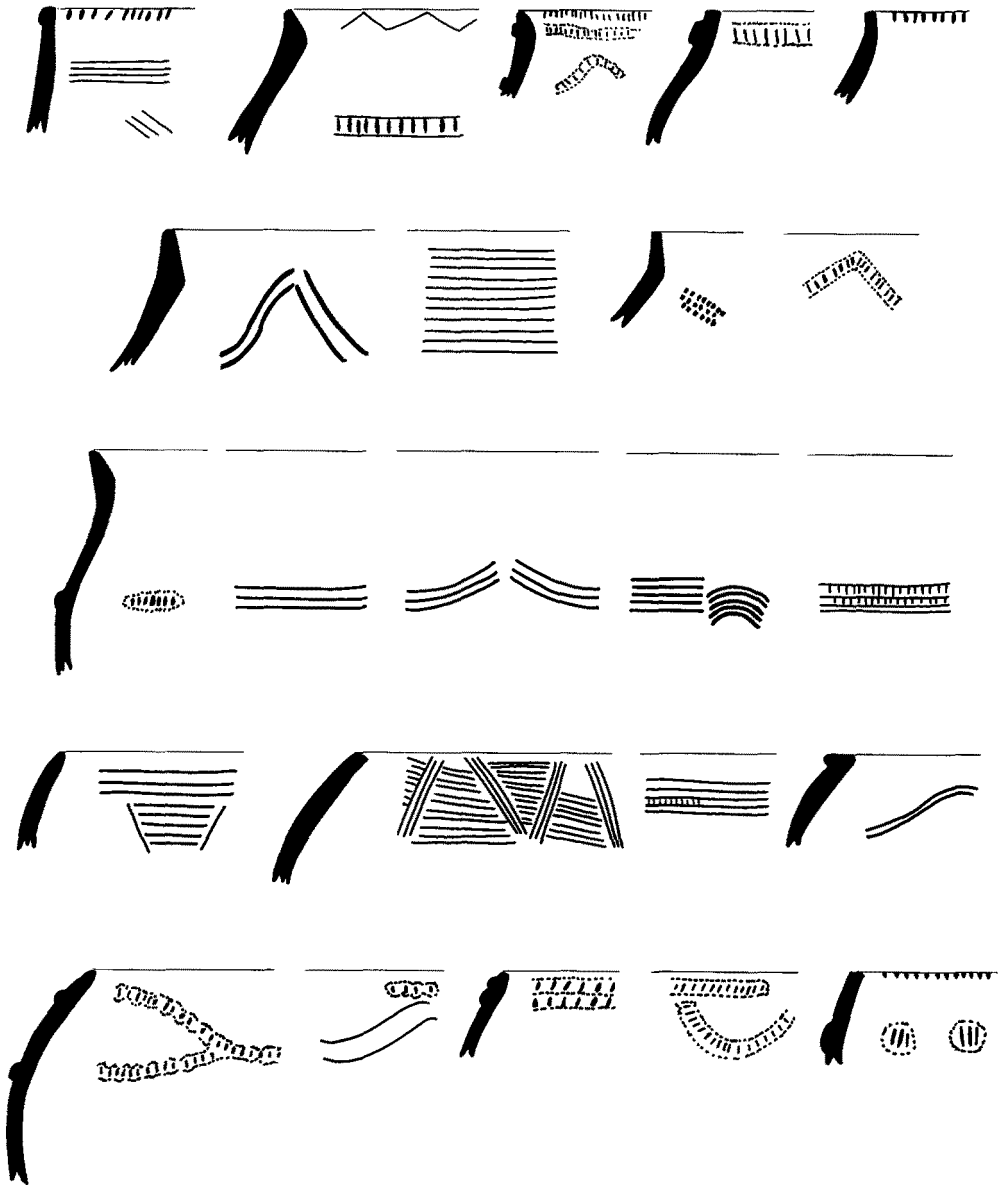


Figure 13 Middle component pottery (levels 11-16) from the Ivuna saltworks (after Fagan and Yellen 1968).

Whatever the precise origin, both Sotho-Tswana and Nguni ceramic styles probably had an EIA Urewe Tradition origin in East Africa (Fig. 14). The distances involved do not diminish the validity of the migration itself. After all, some Nguni people went back to southern Tanzania, full circle so to speak, as a result of the upheaval in the early nineteenth century.

This result causes in turn another prediction. Since early Moloko sites in South Africa such as Icon (Hanisch 1979 and unpublished field notes) and Olifantspoort 29/72 (Mason 1986:238) were organised according to the Central Cattle Pattern, earlier Moloko settlements probably had this organisation in East Africa.

Conclusions

Phillipson recognised an important ceramic disjunction in Central Africa, but because too much emphasis was placed on decoration technique, some groups were assigned to

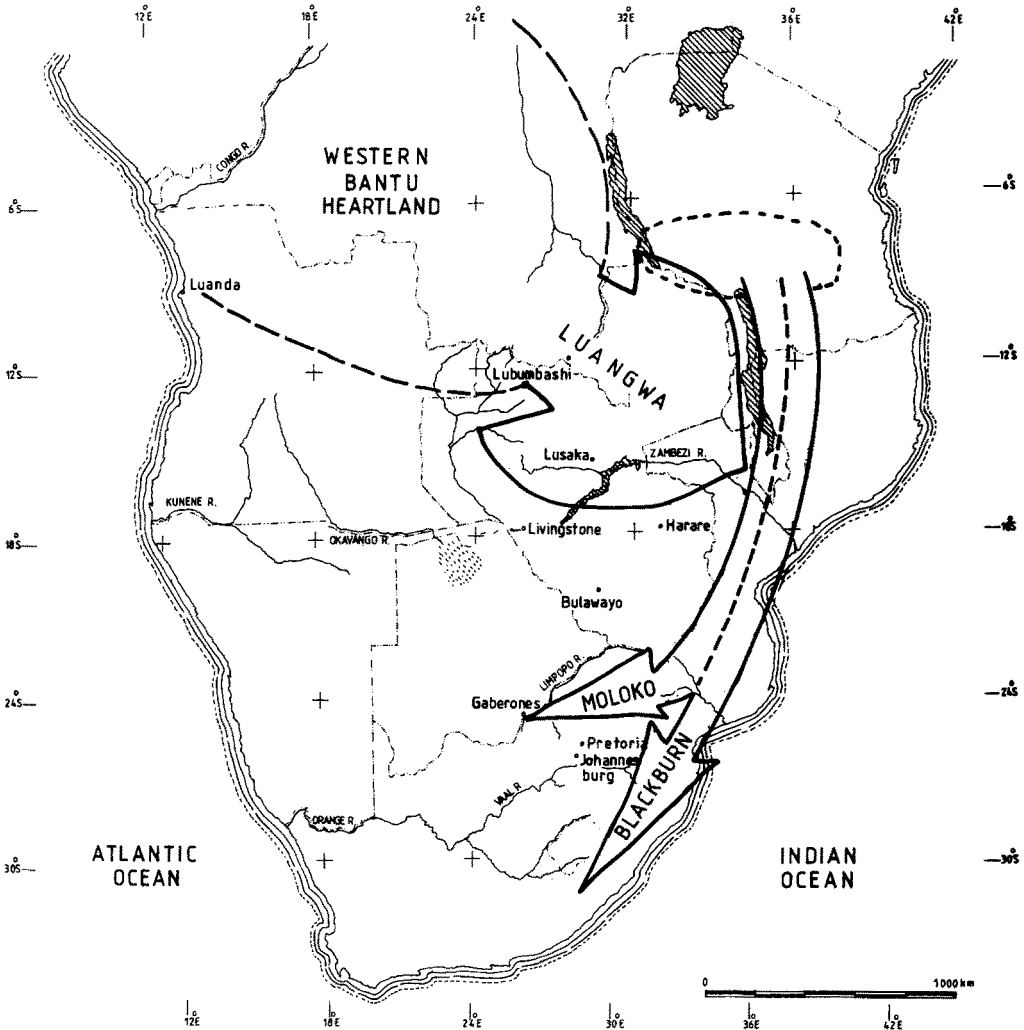


Figure 14 LIA migrations between AD 1000 and 1200.

Chifumbaze that instead belong to a Forest Complex, and some LIA groups were incorrectly assigned to Luangwa. A revision of the two-stream hypothesis, based on motif combinations and multidimensional types, produces a consistent pattern compatible with the settlement models and new linguistic results.

Some Africanists will reject this two-stage revision out of hand because it involves at least two large-scale LIA migrations. Rather than automatic rejection, migration hypotheses such as these should be assessed in terms of their assumptions, evidential support and predictive consequences like any other potential explanation. In this case, the ceramic evidence is clear: Luangwa on the one hand, and Moloko and Blackburn on the other are abrupt intrusions with separate source areas.

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