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## Heads and Tales

ON 5 SEPTEMBER 1871 CARL MAUCH, an energetic and credulous explorer of central southern Africa, was led along a “long line of tumbled-down stones” to “masses of rubble and parts of walls and dense thickets”; the place that was to become known as Great Zimbabwe (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> In 1956 or 1957 (the record is unclear), a schoolboy exploring the veld several hundred kilometers to the south discovered the sherds of a broken terra-cotta head. The pieces, which fitted easily together, showed two heavily lidded eyes and a nose, clearly part of a human face, now known as the Lydenburg Heads.

Today, artifacts and ruins stand as icons to southern Africa’s long precolonial past. But the way each artifact was initially received differed one from the next. Mauch’s reports generated a flurry of interest that included maps, historical speculations, and romantic fiction sustained through many years. In contrast, the first formal description of the Lydenburg Heads was only published some twenty years after their discovery. What had changed over the century? In this essay I will argue that there is a substratum of tales—stories about the continent—that have interacted with the development of notions of Africa’s past in complex ways, and that myths of Africa as the “heart of darkness” remain trenchant in the modern world. The various interpretations of African history require appreciation of the interaction between material things and the intellectual contexts in which they acquire meaning.

A good story to start with is that of King Solomon, who was honored as a model of wisdom in spite of a life of profligate ease and self-indulgence. In the Old Testament, Solomon’s weakness was women: “And he had seven hundred wives of queenly rank, plus three hundred concubines; and his wives seduced his heart.”<sup>2</sup> Solomon’s legendary wealth attracted the attention of the Queen of Sheba who came to visit Jerusalem, tested the King’s intellect, and left again after the mutual exchange of gifts. The account of the visit occurs in other early texts. The Talmud equates the Queen of Sheba with the demonic temptress Lilith, and the New Testament designates her the “Queen of the South.”<sup>3</sup> In Ethiopian belief, the Queen of Sheba is seen as the founding ancestor of the imperial line, seduced by Solomon, and mother of Menelik, the ancestor of the last emperor Haile Sellassie (a lineage embodied in the 1955 Ethiopian constitution). Menelik visited his father, Solomon, in Jerusalem, and abducted the Ark of the Covenant to Aksum.<sup>4</sup> Other elaborations of the story see the Queen of Sheba as a source of sexual ambiguity and danger to Solomon. One elaboration tells of Solomon discovering that the eastern city of Qitor was under the rule of the Queen of Sheba, and that

she was rumored to have the hairy legs of an animal. The king summoned the queen, receiving her in a room with a highly polished floor that his visitor believed to be water. As the Queen of Sheba lifted her skirts, the rumor was seen to be true. Solomon insisted on depilation, after which the couple parented Nebuchadnezzar. In some Islamic versions, the queen is found to have an ass's foot as well as hairy legs. These glosses are expressed in European religious art: a window in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, which has blue glass between the king and queen in reference to the trick that forced Solomon's visitor to reveal her secret, and symbolic statuary over church doors at Chartres, Dijon, and Le Mans, where the Queen of Sheba is shown as web-footed.<sup>5</sup>

Stories of the Queen of Sheba are clearly rich bundles of metaphor, conveying wealth, nobility, sexual power, ambiguity and danger, and territorial acquisition. The imprecise geography of the legend allows a variety of associations. She is of the East, and therefore conveys the sexual mystery of the Orient.<sup>6</sup> And she is both the "Queen of the South," the founder of the Ethiopian dynasty, and predestined for subjugation in the Book of Genesis: Sheba, from Raamah, from Ethiopia, from Ham, who was cursed to slavery for seeing Noah naked.

Running parallel with the legend of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba is the story of Prester (or "Priest") John, well represented in the immensely popular *Mandeville's Travels*, which, by the end of the fourteenth century, was available in every major European language.<sup>7</sup> As in the Solomon/Sheba story, Jerusalem is the stable point—the center of the world—away from which the traveler encounters increasing barbarism: the Islamic Saracens, Amazonian women, people with a single foot, dog-headed men. But superimposed on this centrifugal geography is an idea of symmetrical balance: "Each part of the earth and sea has its opposite, which always balances it. And understand that to my way of thinking the land of Prester John, Emperor of India, is exactly below us."<sup>8</sup>

Stephen Greenblatt has argued that the central pull of Jerusalem in *Mandeville's Travels* stands against the "pacing of the outer rim" of the sphere of the world. As a result,

in place of a world in which all paths lead to the perfect center, Mandeville comes to imagine a world in which every point has an equal and opposite point. . . . There is no longer a mystical center, a unique place of honor: in the spherical world, when you have one landscape, you always have the shadowy presence of another, when you glimpse one artifact, you conjure up its strange simulacrum somewhere else, and when you invoke one text, you hear the echo of another.<sup>9</sup>

As a simulacrum of Jerusalem (and therefore, by direct association, of the world of King Solomon), the "echo" of Prester John is appropriately lavish. Prester John is King Solomon as he should have been: fabulously wealthy, wise (as is clear from other parts of Mandeville's account), polygamous but, in contrast with Israel's ruler, abstemious. However, Prester John is kept from Europe (despite his attempts to make contact with his Christian fraternity on the other side of the

world) by the dark, barbarous hordes that stand between the poles of true belief—semihumans such as the occupants of Lamary who “go completely naked,” are sexually promiscuous, have no personal possessions, and, for good measure, “eat human flesh more gladly than any other.”<sup>10</sup>

Not surprisingly, there were several attempts to reach Prester John from Europe from the twelfth century onward, stimulated by the widely circulated story that he had written a letter urging an embassy. But as direct knowledge of the east increased, it became clear that Solomon’s simulacrum was not to be found there, and attention shifted to Africa. As Portuguese sailors pushed along the African coastline, they were ever enthusiastic about finding such fabulous wealth in the hands of a potential ally against Islam. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the first Portuguese forts were garrisoned along the Mozambican and Tanzanian coasts, expeditions were planned along the major river courses into the interior to search for the lost gold mines. Stories of Prester John were elided with the legend of the Queen of Sheba, as well as with oral traditions of the Monomotapa, and given graphic form on early maps of the continent such as Ortelius’s atlas, with its geography of a reasonably accurate coastline and a mythical interior. With Dutch settlement the search continued from the south; in 1659, the first of a series of expeditions was dispatched from the Fort on Table Bay in search of Monomotapa and the lost city of Vigiti Magna in the interior.<sup>11</sup>

This master narrative of Africa’s “lost age,” an intertwining of two thousand years of popular mythologies and explorers’ speculations that come to rest in the midst of the “dark continent,” was common cause to explorers such as Mauch, making the initial interpretation of Great Zimbabwe as a lost outpost of the Queen of Sheba almost a foregone conclusion. In turn, Mauch’s “discovery” almost certainly provided the inspiration for Rider Haggard’s *King Solomon’s Mines*, first published in 1885. Haggard had been in South Africa between 1875 and 1881, working in government service in Natal and the Transvaal before taking up farming ostriches near Newcastle. Apart from the widespread interest in the site, which he would have shared, Haggard probably saw Thomas Baines’s “Map of the Gold Fields of South Eastern Africa,” published in 1873, that showed Great Zimbabwe as “the supposed realm of Queen of Sheba.”<sup>12</sup> *King Solomon’s Mines* was an instant bestseller and entrenched the “lost age” of Africa firmly in Victorian popular consciousness. Norman Etherington sees the success of Rider Haggard’s books in their presentation of exploration into unknown regions as a metaphor for the discovery of new aspects of the human psyche; Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* was also published in 1885, and contemporary critics linked the two writers as part of a genre of “romance.”

Haggard’s adventurers proceed from present-day Europe towards an encounter with the past in Africa. The past they encounter is their own past. Centuries, even millennia, are stripped away in the course of each quest. Significantly, Haggard’s Africa teems with the ruins of white civilizations, quite unlike real Africa, which, apart from the Nile Valley and

Zimbabwe, is singularly bare of monumental ruins. Under Africa's spell, English gentlemen regress and become Vikings; Cambridge rowers become ancient Greeks.<sup>13</sup>

In the story of *King Solomon's Mines* three adventurers (Sir Henry Curtis, Captain Good, and Allan Quatermain) set off into the African interior in search of Curtis's lost brother and King Solomon's diamond mines, marked on a parchment map.<sup>14</sup> They take with them as a servant a man who turns out to be the rightful ruler of the Kukuana, a Zulu-related tribe who have long occupied King Solomon's lost country while remaining ignorant of the details of its history. After a bloody battle, the rightful king is restored, both brother and diamonds are found, and the trio returns to safety and prosperity.

In defining and describing the landscape for his book, Haggard brought together all the major elements of the centuries-old mythologies of Africa. First, there is the "lost civilization": the mythical lands of Ophir and Punt, the realm of the Queen of Sheba, the ruins of Great Zimbabwe. Curtis, Good, and Quatermain come across "a great road," crafted by an "Old World engineer." There are Phoenician sculptures, "three colossal seated forms . . . Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians, Chemosh, the god of the Moabites, and Milcom, the god of the children of Ammon." Sir Henry Curtis, scholar as well as warrior, estimates the age of the ruins as three thousand years (*Mines*, 82, 194). This is a land of perfection, but it has been cut off by dark forces: the Hamitic side of the Queen of Sheba's heritage, the barbarous hordes that keep the Christian kingdoms of Europe from Prester John. Curtis, Good, and Quatermain find that their lost land was cut off from the civilized world by the Kukuana, people who "came down hither like the breath of a storm ten thousand thousand moons ago," with the result that the country has "long since lapsed into the darkest barbarism" (*Mines*, 92, 20).

And then there are sexual possibilities, tainted by danger: the Queen of Sheba's association with the Orient, and the voyeuristic eroticism of her hairy leg. Captain Good (who lacks the moral strength of Sir Henry Curtis) falls for a nubile and seminaked Kukuana maiden (Victorian rectitude is satisfied through a plot device that has the girl die gracefully in Good's arms before there is any possibility of consummation). More generally, Kukuana land as a whole is female, to be found and taken by the male explorers. The dawn is "a blush like the cheek of a girl," while the lost world is guarded by mountains that are "shaped after the fashion of a woman's breasts . . . Their bases swell gently from the plain, looking at that distance perfectly round and smooth; and upon the top of each is a vast hillock covered with snow, exactly corresponding to the nipple on the female breast. . . . at times the mists and shadows beneath them take the form of a recumbent woman, veiled mysteriously in sleep" (*Mines*, 59, 66).

Finally there is the promise of fabulous wealth: Prester John's city, studded with precious stones, the destination of Hiram's Phoenician fleets, the Ophir and Punt of the Bible, and the source of the Queen of Sheba's wealth. At the climax

of their adventure, Curtis, Good, and Quatermain finally reach “Solomon’s treasure chamber.”

The power of Haggard’s technique lay in suggestion—the “recumbent woman, veiled mysteriously in sleep,” contrasted with the potency of Sir Henry Curtis, in Quatermain’s description “the biggest-chested and longest-armed man I ever saw,” with “yellow hair, a thick yellow beard, clear-cut features, and large grey eyes set deep in his head” (*Mines*, 11–12). It would have been superfluous for Haggard to have made the sexual theme more explicit, and there is only passing mention of “rude emblems of the Phallic worship” (*Mines*, 193) in describing the idolatry of the lost civilization. But Haggard’s contemporaries in the world of exploration and archaeological fieldwork showed no such restraint, and, in the pursuit of more information that followed Mauch’s revelations, the phallus and phallic worship became a central obsession.

The first archaeological expedition to Great Zimbabwe left England in January 1891 under the sponsorship of the Royal Geographic Society, the British Chartered Company of South Africa, and the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The team was led by Theodore Bent, who published his results in the following year as *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*. Bent knew it to be inconceivable that Great Zimbabwe was the work of Africans, whom he thought to be closer to baboons than to Europeans.<sup>15</sup> He was also plagued by the

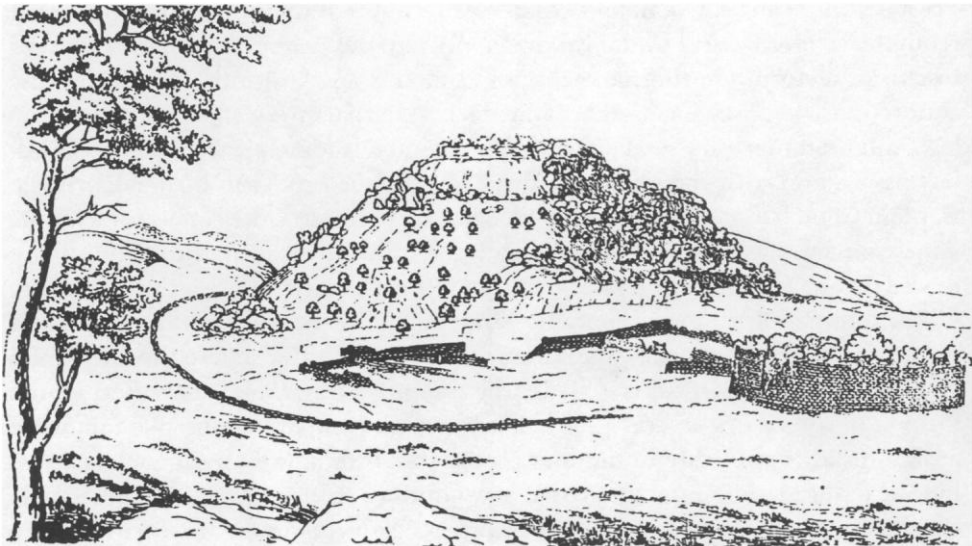


FIGURE 1. Carl Mauch, illustration of Great Zimbabwe from *The Journals of Carl Mauch, 1869–1872*, ed. E. E. Burke (Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, 1969), 154.

Solomon/Sheba myth, known to all and sundry because of Rider Haggard's literary success, and used the standards of his discipline to cast aside as conjecture any suggestion that Mashonaland was the Punt or Ophir of the Bible: "There is not enough evidence, as far as I can see, to build up any theory on these points which will satisfy the more critical investigation to which subjects of this kind are submitted in the present day" (*Ruined Cities*, 228). Bent concluded that Great Zimbabwe had been built by unspecified Arabians, Semites in the lands of Ham, garrisoned against attack and observing the stars with the help of their astronomical observatory, the stone-walled "Temple." This lost race, similar to "the mythical inhabitants of Great Britain and France who built Stonehenge and Carnac" (*Ruined Cities*, 222) worshiped the sun and the moon, male and female respectively. The carved soapstone birds represented "the female element in creation," similar to those "sacred to Astarte amongst the Phoenicians" (*Ruined Cities*, 184–85). The Conical Tower—the focal point of the Temple—was phallic, inspired by the sacred Midianite tower of Penuel. Stone phalli, found during excavations, were topped by rosettes, a Phoenician symbol representing the sun, demonstrating a close connection between the Sabaeans builders of Great Zimbabwe and the Phoenicians with whom they traded in gold. The Temple was oriented to observe the summer solstice, and the chevron patterns on its walls represented fertility.<sup>16</sup>

Bent's expedition had been sponsored by Cecil Rhodes, himself quite convinced that Great Zimbabwe was evidence of a lost civilization.<sup>17</sup> The artifacts found by Mauch and Bent encouraged the formation, in 1895, of Rhodesia Ancient Ruins Ltd., a company with exclusive rights to work all ruins except Great Zimbabwe itself. The results of the orgy of pillaging that followed were brought together by a local journalist, Richard Nicklin Hall, in a periodization that had Sabaeans (2000–1100 B.C.) followed by Phoenicians and a later "decadent period" of miscegenation between the original builders of the walls and the local population.<sup>18</sup> Hall's reading of the past won him the curatorship of Great Zimbabwe in 1902, but his damage to the site caused a public scandal, and he was dismissed two years later.<sup>19</sup>

Hall published the results of his fieldwork a year after his dismissal, closely following Bent in his interpretations.<sup>20</sup> He also made heavy use of the power of the romance genre, employing its devices in conjuring up Bent's pagan rituals and phallic worship. Hall's book opens as a travelogue, allowing him to lead the reader around the site on a guided tour.<sup>21</sup> First encounters with this place of "phallic worshippers" who had "Baal and Astorith amongst their divinities" evokes "an overwhelming and oppressive sense of awe and reverence," "intense wonder and bewilderment." The "Acropolis" is introduced in a sunset visit; the "Temple" by moonlight, where "one might almost expect on such a night to come face to face with Rider Haggard's She at any corner, or to see her draped form issuing from one of the numerous caves which still pierce the cliffs."<sup>22</sup> The natives are preparing to celebrate the full moon, fertility signs exposed on their bare



stomachs: "The noise of the village drums, the blowing of horns, and the deep wild choruses of crowds of men, mingled with the voices of women and girls, were waxing louder and more incessant as midnight approached." The "Temple," in contrast, is silent—a place where "an inexplicable sensation of trespassing in forbidden precincts possesses one."<sup>23</sup>

In following in the footsteps of Theodore Bent, Hall was also claiming the academic status of the scientist, and more was required than the free reign of the imagination. He dealt with the imperative for evidence by writing in bulk: page after page of description, wearing the reader down with the weight of the author's experience.<sup>24</sup> But there was also a need for bodies—people to inhabit the "forbidden precincts." There were no burials, but there were the local people—the "Makalanga"—descended in a much degraded form from the original phallic worshippers and offering the advantage of nakedness. The conventions of contemporary ethnographic description provide a veil of respectability. The Makalanga are "above the average type of natives in the possession of both intellectual and physical qualifications." They have "light skins, Semitic noses, fine features, with an absence of high cheek bones, small, well-shaped hands." Women are "bare to the low hips, and wear a short skirt reaching above the knees." Cicatrices beneath each breast reflect the "occult idea of fertility." Men wear "but insignificant aprons" and are "well proportioned, are as straight as an arrow, and have athletic figures."<sup>25</sup>

Ethnographic conventions also allowed photographs: women with breasts of all sizes and shapes and men with a bare minimum of clothing provided scales for architectural details. But the bodies of the Makalanga are only for scientific observation, as they have a "rigid morality" that prohibits "all fleshly sins" such as "fornication" (*Great Zimbabwe, Mashonaland, Rhodesia*, 101). There is no place for Captain Good's dalliance with a Kukuana maiden. Like Bent before him, Hall had "scientific standards" to maintain. This peculiar combination—scientific detachment set within the language of romantic engagement—creates an extraordinary effect when Hall comes to describe the material paraphernalia of the "mystic rites," "dark enchantments," and "pious orgies." The artifacts, although described in the dry words of the museum curator, seem almost to dance out of the pages of the book, such has been the preparation for their entry into the story:

The phalli found vary in size and design. The largest . . . stood 7½ in. high, was perfectly plain, but highly polished. The smallest were seven-eighths of an inch long, but each had its base bevelled and a ring curved round the summit. Except where the base is fractured, all stand erect on any tolerably flat surface. The bases show signs of extensive scratchings, as if they had been constantly moved. (*Great Zimbabwe, Mashonaland, Rhodesia*, 104)

This was too much for the British academic establishment. After the publication of Hall's outlandish claims, the British Association for the Advancement of Science (which had started the ball rolling by sponsoring Bent's expedition)

tried to hold back the avalanche of popular speculation by commissioning the experienced archaeologist David Randall-MacIver to investigate Great Zimbabwe and report back.<sup>26</sup> Randall-MacIver published his results in 1906, in a book that comes as a bucket of cold water after Hall's *Great Zimbabwe, Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. Biblical interpretations, "popular opinion," "romanticists," and the work of "un-trained amateurs" were all dismissed. Excavations in the "Elliptical Temple," directly alongside Hall's trenches revealed ceramics indistinguishable from "modern Kaffir pottery" in the lowest level, while "Arabian glass" and "Nankin china" suggested a date not earlier than the fourteenth century A.D. Randall-MacIver saw the "temple" as a "fort," combining the "Great Chief's Kraal" with a ceremonial center in which the conical tower symbolized the head of the Monomotopan state. The "Acropolis" was seen as a stronghold.<sup>27</sup>

But Bent and Hall's Sabaeon sun and moon worshippers had substantial support, including leading figures in Rhodesia and South Africa.<sup>28</sup> As the controversy continued, the British Association decided to sponsor a third expedition, entrusting the investigation to Gertrude Caton-Thompson. After excavating from April to August 1929, Caton-Thompson rushed to Johannesburg, where she delivered a monumental paper to an audience that overflowed the hall and strained to hear her voice relayed via a crackling wireless. Raymond Dart—the discoverer of the "Taung baby"—challenged Caton-Thompson's interpretation in, according to a newspaper report, "an outburst of curiously unscientific indignation," with remarks delivered "in a tone of awe-inspiring violence," after which he "sat down very hard on his chair." The press in Johannesburg and Cape Town provided front-page coverage, and the project was brought to full academic publication within two years of its commencement.<sup>29</sup>

At first sight, Caton-Thompson's report reads as a triumphal affirmation of indigenous history. She told her audience that, "instead of a degenerate offshoot of a higher Oriental civilization, you have here a native civilization unsuspected by all but a few students, showing national organisation of a high kind, originality and amazing industry. It is a subject worthy of all the research South Africa can give it. South African students must be bred to pursue it" (*Mixed Memoirs*, 132). But a closer reading of her *The Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reactions* shows racial assumptions similar to those of her predecessors in the field. Caton-Thompson's excavations and stratigraphies suggested two periods of occupation—the Zimbabwe period, connected with stone walls and cement floors, and the Daga Period, marked by red clay overlying the cement floors, and associated with the arrival of "Daga people." And this periodization merely segmented a trend of "unbroken though retrogressive continuity of custom down the ages since Zimbabwe was erected . . . away from the best towards deterioration."<sup>30</sup> The original builders of Great Zimbabwe, being Bantu, were incapable of innovation; their talent was "imitative" and they were inspired by people from the coast. "Is it outside the range of possibility," Caton-Thompson asked,

that a minaret of an early mosque in one of the coastal settlements, Persian or Arab, gave the idea for the Conical Tower, easily enough executed by natives, whose whole building talent follows circles and curves, and who, if my conception of their central African origin is correct, were probably already heirs to some primitive sacrificial ceremony in which a conical mound played a part? And though I am unable to admit direct racial derivation from Arabia or Mesopotamia, have we, by a long process of typological derivation, found in the Mohammedan minaret the connecting link between the Zimbabwe cone and its ancient Semitic prototype, so strongly urged by many inquirers, but so impossible chronologically? (*Zimbabwe Culture*, 101)

Thus Caton-Thompson explains the phenomenon of Great Zimbabwe not by elevating African society to the level of the European but by reducing the architecture to the level of the barbarian. "The architecture at Zimbabwe, imitative apparently of a daub prototype, strikes me as essentially the product of an infantile mind, a prelogical mind, a mind which having discovered the way of making or doing a thing goes on childishly repeating the performance regardless of incongruity" (*Zimbabwe Culture*, 103).

By the time the Lydenburg Heads were brought to the attention of archaeologists, such racial assumptions had become an embarrassment. For a start, the notion of a Bantu Period had been replaced by the concept of the Iron Age. This classificatory system, adopted directly from European archaeology, allowed the definition of "cultures" that could be identified by their ceramics and arranged in chronological sequence on the basis of stylistic affinities and stratigraphic evidence.<sup>31</sup> This new approach made the broad racial generalizations of Caton-Thompson's era inappropriate. At the same time, the belief that Africa had a valuable history of its own gained currency, reflecting a revision in approach closely linked to nationalist movements in Africa and the increasing independence of former colonies.<sup>32</sup> The Lydenburg Heads could be placed neither in a "lost age" nor in a lesser Bantu world. Richard Hall would have embraced them as evidence for pagan worship of the sun, while for Gertrude Caton-Thompson they could have been degenerate Bantu art. But for archaeologists who had felt the winds of change, the heads belonged in neither of these settings.

How, then, were the Lydenburg Heads to be understood? They were clearly quintessentially African—a vindication of the assertion of the value of indigenous history. But to celebrate their Africanness without empirical evidence of meaning was to risk creating a new mythology, a debasement of scientific standards. The response to this conundrum has been to try to sanitize the heads, rendering them artifacts appropriate to the search for an essentially African identity, but at the same time disassembling them into lists of anonymous attributes.

African identity of the heads was provided by the now-established methodology of Iron Age studies. In the first formal description of the Lydenburg Heads, written by Ray Inskeep and Tim Maggs and published in 1975, the finds

were related in their style of decoration to ceramics from two archaeological sites on the Natal coast north of Durban, demonstrating great similarities to the pottery.<sup>33</sup> This approach was taken further by T. M. Evers in the second formal description of the heads, published in 1982, giving the results of his excavations of 1974–78 (fig. 2). Following Inskeep and Maggs’s precedent, there was extensive discussion of ceramic form and decoration, to which was added a detailed examination of decorative motifs on the heads themselves. Evers argued that the heads and the associated ceramics formed part of a single assemblage, part of “the first phase of the Lydenburg-Natal cluster of the Early Iron Age.”<sup>34</sup>

Although there are important technical distinctions between Evers’s analysis and the earlier study, the Lydenburg Heads had been located within a stylistic system that was in turn related to the geography of southern Africa, and that had a chronology based on affinities of form and a framework of radiocarbon dates. This context continues to be refined. In the most recent reanalysis, it has been suggested that the Lydenburg site was occupied in three phases, and that the heads were part of the last occupation, sometime in the mid–eighth century. In turn, this periodization offers a new approach to assessing competing models for Early Iron Age dispersal patterns: the Kulundu Tradition (indicating movement into South Africa through Botswana and Zimbabwe) or the Urewe Tradition (tracing southward movement along, and close to, the eastern seaboard).<sup>35</sup> This represents the logical conclusion to the setting of the heads in the Iron Age paradigm. Their sculptured form has been disassembled; all that remains is a set of decorative motifs, numerically coded and marshaled in support of competing “traditions” and “cultures.”

In the laboratory of a scientific archaeology the Lydenburg Heads are ap-

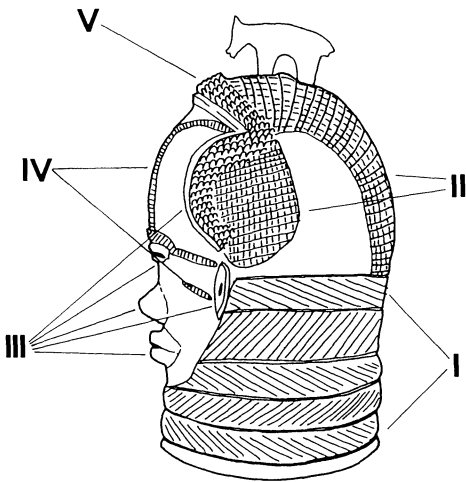


FIGURE 2. T. M. Evers, archaeological dissection of one of the Lydenburg Heads. Reproduced from T. M. Evers, “Excavations at the Lydenburg Heads Site, Eastern Transvaal, South Africa,” *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 37 (1982): 26.

proached as specimens. Again, Inskip and Maggs's formal description set the clinical standard. The heads—seven “specimens”—were described in anatomical terms: “the base,” “neck perforations,” the “temporo-frontal bar,” “the mouth,” “the eyes,” and so on.<sup>36</sup> Evers's presentation was also severely scientific. The site was described once more, as were the excavations and the resultant assemblages. Specialist reports on the faunal collections and human skeletal remains were appended.<sup>37</sup>

Closely related to this heads-as-specimens approach has been the heads-as-art argument, the representation of the Lydenburg finds as part of a universal, aesthetic appreciation of good form. The formal qualities of the heads were recognized by Inskip and Maggs, who titled their paper “Unique Art Objects in the Iron Age of the Transvaal” and speculated that the heads were “a unique experiment which we shall not find repeated.”<sup>38</sup> The theme was developed further by Tim Maggs and Patricia Davison, appropriately writing in the journal *African Arts*.<sup>39</sup> The staccato descriptive style of the scientific report gives way to modulated sentences that wash over the lavishly reproduced color photographs.

These different approaches share a distaste for assigning explicit interpretations to the objects of their study. Inskip and Maggs stressed that the purpose of the heads could “only be guessed at.” They suggested that the smaller heads may have been attached to posts, while the larger heads could have been worn “in the style of a helmet-mask.” But, “important and exciting as the heads are as examples of African Early Iron Age art, they remain disappointingly silent as ethnographic documents. . . . perhaps the farthest we can go at present is to suggest that the heads as a group represent part of the paraphernalia relevant to some ritual or ceremonial context.”<sup>40</sup> Evers concluded that the heads had been put in “a pit which was specially dug to contain them,” that “they are certainly symbolic objects,” but that “their use is more problematic.” Perhaps, he reasoned, they were initiation figures, kept in the pits when they were not in use. “This,” he felt, was “probably about as far as it is safe to go under the present circumstances.”<sup>41</sup> Maggs and Davison turned to the vague language of aesthetics. They felt that, seen in profile, the curved line of the ridge running across the forehead of all seven heads “perfectly counterbalances the curve of the ear.” Although the significance of these ridges has been lost with time, “at the aesthetic level . . . the sensitive placement of this design element testifies to a well-developed artistic awareness.”<sup>42</sup>

Although explicit meaning has been denied and blurred into generalities, the break with the past has only been partial; the Lydenburg Heads still carry with them a good deal of the baggage of the late nineteenth century. A bridge between the recent archaeological reports and the “lost history” debate that engaged Bent, Hall, Randall-MacIver, and Caton-Thompson can be found in the archaeology of the 1950s, a period after the Queen of Sheba had been dismissed from the

official stage of African history, but before she had been replaced by the faceless attributes, motifs, assemblages, traditions, and cognitive systems that inhabit the scenarios of modern archaeology. In 1958, after a break of almost thirty years, excavations were again resumed at Great Zimbabwe. The new project was directed by Keith Robinson and Roger Summers, who stood firmly by the site's African history. Bent and Hall's obsessions were largely dismissed; most of the "phalli" were seen as "simply broken-off horns from model cattle," although a few "may possibly have been connected with fertility ceremonies."<sup>43</sup> A central purpose of the project was to establish an accurate stratigraphic sequence, setting Great Zimbabwe's position unequivocally in the wider context of Rhodesia's unfolding Iron Age archaeology.

Nevertheless, some revealing assumptions were made about the mechanisms of history. In essence, the past was read as a series of invasions and conquests.<sup>44</sup> In describing his excavation of the "Acropolis," Robinson identified five periods. Periods I and II were interpreted as the work of the ancestors of the local Karanga people. But Period III—"a period of energy, organization and improved craftsmanship"—was attributed to a "sudden invasion by a people possessed of considerable powers of organization." Old houses were pulled down, work began on the stone walls, and there was considerable refinement in material culture. "Period II people" continued to live at Great Zimbabwe and to work for their new overlords. But all was not well. Disasters, "perhaps in relation to the chieftainship," resulted in decline and impoverishment; the beginning of a "state of weakness." This trend reached a climax in Period IV, when Great Zimbabwe was abandoned: "We must forever remain ignorant with regard to the final abandonment of the Western Enclosure by the Period IV people. Was it a voluntary action on their part, undertaken in an orderly and peaceful manner, or was there burning, pillage and disordered flight?"<sup>45</sup> Robinson's Period V accounted for the recent past—the occupation of the place by "Mugabe and his family" from early in the nineteenth century.

There is a direct line of continuity between Robinson's concept of periods and their identification with invading "tribes," and between the "Lydenburg-Natal cluster" and Urewe Tradition of more recent reports describing the Lydenburg Heads. Recent interpreters of the Iron Age have relied heavily on the same body of ethnography that made tribalism an unquestioned assumption in Robinson's mind. Ceramic traditions have been unequivocally identified with ethnic groups and granted a timelessness in structuralist theory as cognitive systems. Such connections have been made without acknowledging that the bulk of such ethnographies derive from precisely the same milieu as early interpretations of places such as Great Zimbabwe.<sup>46</sup> In Tom Huffman's words, "Iron Age archaeology is Bantu archaeology"<sup>47</sup>—and as such, it carries the burden of the past into the present.

Thus the Lydenburg Heads remain ambiguous, interpreted in ways that seek to deny a connection with the bits and pieces of bodies that animated archaeology a century ago but that nevertheless carry on old traditions about the nature of Africa's past. But why is there such a line of continuity? I am not suggesting that archaeologists who have interpreted the Lydenburg Heads are in sympathy with the "lost histories" offered by Theodore Bent and Richard Hall or with the inherent racism of Gertrude Caton-Thompson's "degenerate Bantu" theory. Rather, the connecting theme that runs through the interpretation of the heads runs through the core of archaeological practice itself—an inherent form of empiricism that places emphasis on the object, rendering intellectual context of secondary concern.

The crucial relationship between objects and their contexts can be explored further through the recent deployment of the Lydenburg Heads as a motif in the work of the South African landscape painter Malcolm Payne. Payne is centrally concerned with the relationship between form and meaning. He argues that prevailing traditions of landscape representation are narrative and allegorical, and that they therefore serve only to continue a long-established discourse. In seeking an approach to representation that is "revelatory," Payne has turned to objects that disturb and interrupt such narratives, culminating in a collection of paintings and etchings, titled *Market Forces*, a refiguring of the South African landscape that concentrates on the ecological, economic, and political effects of gold, diamond, coal, and iron ore mining.<sup>48</sup> There is a rich universe of objects available to serve as icons in this process of recontextualization. But there is also the danger of what Payne calls "promiscuous appropriation," the reuse of objects without due regard to their prior histories. He seeks to avoid this charge by situating his work historically, and by choosing objects carefully; smokestacks, anvils, coal dust, bandages, and mine machinery are drawn from the narratives that Payne's recoding disturbs through arrangements in radical new forms. In other words, the paintings are simultaneously iconographic and iconoclastic.

Malcolm Payne has seen the Lydenburg Heads as appropriate icons because for him they recall the place of mining in the Early Iron Age and extend the historical context of the central theme of mining that runs through his work.<sup>49</sup> Recoding has taken the form of a series of ten terra-cotta sculptures—the *Mafikeng Heads*—made between 1987 and 1988 (fig. 3). The *Mafikeng Heads* have rudimentary implements in place of facial features, suggesting the "accountability of technology for the dehumanisation of man," a device that Payne also employed in the earlier *Stacked Relief* series. The raging gorillas and distorted elephants and rhinoceroses on the crowns of the *Mafikeng Heads* signify ecological chaos, excluding the possibility of reparation: "the fantasy of reconciliation."<sup>50</sup> They also recall Payne's earlier work, in which the emblematic qualities of large animals were used in exploring militarism and violence.<sup>51</sup>

Payne was attracted to the Lydenburg Heads precisely because of their am-

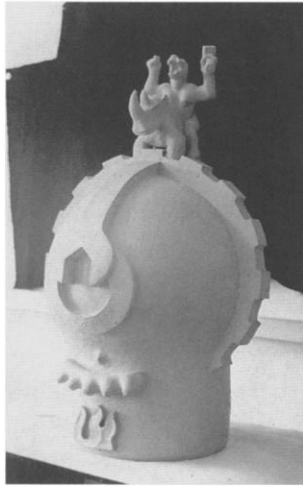


FIGURE 3. Malcolm Payne, from *Mafikeng Heads*, 1987–88. Terra-cotta. Photo: Malcolm Payne.

biguity of meaning—their uncertain contexts. For him they were “found objects suitable for contextualisation within the symbolic mode, enabling the continuing articulation of my subjective experience through a primary emphasis on the articulation of form.”<sup>52</sup> The Lydenburg Head/Mafikeng Head icon is used again in Payne’s copper plate etching titled *The Market Place* (1989). The reference to the set of terra-cotta sculptures is important to the composition, as Pippa Skotnes has pointed out:

The image is composed of an oval shape surrounded by four disks, each depicting an aspect of four major mining industries, coal, steel, diamond and gold. The central ellipse contains injured figures taken from a Sanoid Bandage given to soldiers in the first world war. These figures are situated amongst boxes of agricultural produce, and by association are seen as thinly veiled commodities. The figures in the region of the sky, referring to the sculptural products of the South African Iron Age, lend the image a sense of historicity and suggest an appraisal of the long term cost of both human and ecological exploitation.<sup>53</sup>

In recoding the image of the Lydenburg Heads as part of his interruption of the narrative of representation in South African landscape painting, Payne has recognized that the meaning of objects lies not only in the objects themselves—in some essential quality, as implied by most archaeological writing—but also in the dynamic relationships that objects set up with their contexts. But with this insight comes indecision; ambiguity about the relationship between objects and words, expressed in Payne’s paintings by words that have become objects—the “literal reduction of verbal images to pictorial signs.”<sup>54</sup>

The first painting in Payne’s series *Oppenheimer Seduces Foucault* was inspired by diamond mining at Kimberley: “a view of a section of excavated landscape from a station point somewhere out in space.” The landscape has been inverted



to imply that diamonds have been shaken from the earth by the extreme force of will. But what particularly interests me here are the “randomly accessed sections of text, taken from Jean Baudrillard’s critique of Foucault, ‘Forget Foucault,’” which “are written into the area describing space.”<sup>55</sup> There is clearly no real contest between Harry Oppenheimer and Michel Foucault; a point that is made several times in other works in the *Market Forces* series. Thus, in *Eskom’s Sneeze I* (1991), an oval ring of chimneys have the viewer gazing upward toward the sky. The chimneys spew out injured figures, while the textual icons are packed in between the chimneys. Both viewer and words are powerless against the force of industry. This idea is continued in *Eskom’s Sneeze II* (1991/92), which adopts the same perspective, but replaces both injured people and words with abstract bits and pieces of matter; the chimneys endure. In *Fredric Jameson in Witbank I* (1989), heaps of coal are surrounded by words. The hard black nuggets are juxtaposed with soft, vulnerable, colorful tomatoes. Jameson’s words are ineffectual, perhaps almost collaborating with the capitalist enterprise. Payne is saying that words are depressingly subservient—squashy foils to the hard, enduring icons of capital. Oppenheimer “seduces” Foucault and Jameson by molding their words to the contingencies of capital, handling them like heaps of soft, malleable fruit.

Does the world of material objects inevitably dominate the intellect? Are Michel Foucault and Fredric Jameson doomed to be icons of defeat, pushed aside by the market forces of capitalism? Perhaps such subservience is not inevitable. The histories of the bits and pieces of bodies marshaled in this essay—Sheba’s leg, Mandeville’s freaks, the Zimbabwe phallus, ethnographic photographs, and the Lydenburg and Mafikeng heads—have acquired their meanings from the tales told about them rather than from their essential qualities alone; they have been previously inscribed by the intertwined mythologies of millennia, thus ensuring the crescendos of excitement that accompanied the early excavations at Great Zimbabwe, and the instant successes of Rider Haggard’s romances. For his part, Payne’s insistence that objects always have prior meaning explains the power of his etching *The Market Place* (fig. 4). The hard shells of the head icons, set against the soft flesh of fruit and the human body, bring all the old colonial tales of Africa back into the crucible of a ravaged landscape. In other words, the success of this image is due to a phenomenon that its artist seems to deny in his representation of words as subservient to objects. It is precisely because the Lydenburg/Mafikeng heads are so heavy with the prior inscription of words that they can add richly to the assemblage of icons in the painting. If such artistic production is to be revelatory—to succeed in breaking the continuum with the colonial narratives of the past—then the dialectic of object and context, of body and landscape, is crucial. For if icons are allowed to float free they will attract like magnets those master narratives that are so deeply embedded in contemporary culture. A modern parable—containing a simulacrum for the Mafikeng Heads—makes the point.



FIGURE 4. Malcolm Payne, *The Market Place*, 1989. Copper plate etching. Photo: Malcolm Payne.

When the new museum in the town of Lydenburg was opened, the choice of logo seemed obvious:

A spanking new museum complex housing a permanent exhibition calls for an eye-catching logo to represent its corporate identity. For this purpose a TPA [Transvaal Provincial Administration] graphic artist created a stylised version of one of the Lydenburg Heads. A beautiful wood carving was mounted on a wall panel in the foyer. The logo looks strikingly effective while establishing a strong identity for the museum.<sup>56</sup>

The logo dominates the reception area of the museum, while Perspex-cased replicas of the Lydenburg Heads are surrounded by information boards on subjects such as “the hunter-gatherers of the Stone Age,” “farmers of the Early Iron Age,” “builders of the Late Iron Age,” and the Lydenburg Heads themselves. But compacted with this technical presentation of contemporary professional archaeology (“probably about as far as it is safe to go under the present circumstances”) are the nineteenth-century mythologies; precisely those tales that professional archaeology seeks to avoid. The new Lydenburg Museum has been built in a nature reserve:

In the lush grass of a gently sloping Lowveld hillside near the Lydenburg-Sabie road, there stands a strikingly attractive complex which enchants and educates the visitor while enriching his life—the new Lydenburg Museum. . . . The structure features an attractive thatched roof that blends harmoniously with the scenery of the Gustaf Klingbiel Nature Reserve in which it is situated. The tall, strong grass of the Reserve provided the thatch.<sup>57</sup>

The themes of the museum are “the rich archaeology of the area,” the “fascinating cultural history of the region,” and, rather inevitably, “the colourful indigenous Pedi people.” In addition, the museum “offers the added bonus of visitors being able to view a variety of game from its premises. The area is regarded as a bird lovers’ paradise.” The new displays are part of a long historical process of exploration and discovery: “a never-ending fascination and interest for early explorers, hunters, travellers, traders, fortune-hunters, transport riders, adventurers and settlers.”<sup>58</sup> That which is “never-ending” continues through the present and into the future. As a logo for the Lydenburg Museum, the Lydenburg Heads carry an unmistakable mythology of Africa—wild, beautiful, primitive, and changeless—and of modern Africans as part of this condition—contained by nature, exotic, and a subject for the explorer or adventurer. Carl Mauch, Theodore Bent, Richard Hall, and Cecil John Rhodes would have felt quite at home.

## Notes

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An earlier version of this paper, “Tales and Heads: Bodies and Landscapes,” formed part of a limited edition folio edited by Malcolm Payne, *Face Value: Old Heads in Modern Masks* (Cape Town, 1993).

1. E. E. Burke, ed., *The Journals of Carl Mauch, 1869–1872* (Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, 1969), 142. Mauch set out on his expedition already convinced that the area contained Solomon’s Ophir, having been influenced by the Rev. A. Merensky, long a missionary in the Transvaal. Merensky had written to the *Transvaal Argus* on 12 October 1868 that “in the country Northeast and East of Mosilikatse the ancient Ophir is to be found and that in the times of the Ptolymies Egyptian trade penetrated to our coasts” (quoted in Burke, *Journals of Carl Mauch*, 4).
2. The story of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba is in 1 Kings Word Bible Commentary (all biblical citations are to this edition).
3. Matt. 12:42.
4. Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible: The Schweich Lectures, 1967* (Oxford, 1967).
5. *Ibid.*, 132, described the story of the Queen of Sheba’s visit to King Solomon as “one of the most ubiquitous and fertile cycles of legends in the Middle East.”
6. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1985).
7. C. W. R. D. Moseley, trans., *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1983). It is now accepted that “Sir John Mandeville” probably did not exist as a single author and that the *Travels* are a compilation of popular mythologies.
8. *Ibid.*, 129.
9. Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford, 1991), 42–43.
10. Moseley, *Travels*, 127–28.
11. F. R. Paver, “A Puzzle in Antique Cartography: Vigiti Magna,” *Africaner Notes and News* 11 no. 6 (1955) 188–96; Eric Axelson, “The Portuguese Pioneers,” in George Woodcock, ed., *Congo to Cape: Early Portuguese Explorers* (London, 1973).

12. Norman Etherington, *Rider Haggard* (Boston, 1984); Peter Berresford Ellis, *H. Rider Haggard: A Voice from the Infinite* (London, 1978).
13. Etherington, *Rider Haggard*, 52.
14. H. Rider Haggard, *King Solomon's Mines* (London, 1885). In writing *King Solomon's Mines*, Haggard probably borrowed some elements from a novel by Hugh Mulleneux Walmsley (whose brother, like Haggard, served with Theophilus Shepstone) that had been published in 1869 as *The Ruined Cities of Zululand*. Haggard also wove in political events of the late 1860s, when one of Shepstone's former servants declared himself the rightful ruler of the Ndebele, attracting the interest of a trio of mining speculators: Sir John Swinburne, Captain A. L. Levert, and the old South African explorer Thomas Baines, the models, respectively, for Sir Henry Curtis, Captain Good, and Allan Quatermain; Etherington, *Rider Haggard*.
15. "The country beyond the Lundi is thickly populated, with native villages perched on rocky heights, many of which we saw as we wended our slow way through the Naka pass. One hill is inhabited by a tribe of human beings, the next by a tribe of baboons, and I must say these aborigines of the country on the face of it seem more closely allied to one another than they are to the race of white men, who are now appropriating the territory of both" (J. Theodore Bent, *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* [Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, 1969], 43).
16. Astronomical claims were based on complex measurements made by a member of the expedition, R. M. W. Swan, and described in Bent's *Ruined Cities*.
17. In 1891 Cecil Rhodes wrote that "Zimbabwe is an old Phoenician residence and everything points to Sofula being the place from which Hiram fetched his gold the word 'peacocks' in the bible may be read as parrots and amongst the stone ornaments from Zimbabwe are green parrots the common kind of that district for the rest you have gold and ivory also the fact that Zimbabwe is built of hewn stone without mortar" (Rhodes to W. T. Stead, 1891, quoted in Peter Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe* [London, 1973], 65).
18. R. N. Hall and W. G. Neal, *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* (London, 1902).
19. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*.
20. R. N. Hall, *Great Zimbabwe, Mashonaland, Rhodesia: An Account of Two Years Examination Work in 1902-4 on Behalf of the Government of Rhodesia* (London, 1905).
21. Bent also used this form, prefacing his descriptions of work on Great Zimbabwe with an account of his journey, the landscape, and the natives. Hall's *Great Zimbabwe, Mashonaland, Rhodesia* comes across as a rather strange combination of gothic horror and practical guide—alongside the description of the worship of Baal are extensive descriptions of the country around the ruins, including guided walks, as well as useful information, such as where to rest the oxen and regulations for obtaining firewood.
22. Hall, *Great Zimbabwe, Mashonaland, Rhodesia*, 4, 5, 19.
23. *Ibid.*, 20.
24. This approach is particularly apparent in R. N. Hall's later defence of his position, *Prehistoric Rhodesia: An Examination of the Historical, Ethnological, and Archaeological Evidences as to the Origin and Age of the Rock Lines and Stone Buildings, with a Gazetteer of Mediaeval South-east Africa, 915 A.D. to 1760 A.D. and the Countries of the Monomotapa, Manica, Sabia, Quiteve, Sofala, and Mozambique* (London, 1909).
25. Hall, *Great Zimbabwe, Mashonaland, Rhodesia*, 96.
26. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*.
27. David Randall-MacIver, *Medieval Rhodesia* (London, MacMillan 1906), 71.
28. Hall's rebuttal of Randall-MacIver's work came in his *Prehistoric Rhodesia*. This book

- was supported by a long list of South African subscribers, including the British High Commissioner, the Governors of the Cape and Orange River Colonies, several public libraries, the Mayor of Cape Town, judges and university professors, and the Transvaal Education Department.
29. Gertrude Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reactions* (Oxford, 1931); Gertrude Caton-Thompson, *Mixed Memoirs* (Gateshead, Eng., 1983); *Cape Times*, 3 August 1929.
  30. Caton-Thompson, *Zimbabwe Culture*, 57.
  31. The first archaeologists to use the term *Iron Age* in the context of southern Africa were Roger Summers, "Iron Age Cultures in Southern Rhodesia," *South African Journal of Science* 47 (1950): 95–107, and Revil Mason, "The Excavation of Four Caves Near Johannesburg," *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 6 (1951): 71–79. For a discussion of the history of these new approaches to archaeology, see Martin Hall, "Tribes, Traditions, and Numbers: The American Model in Southern African Iron Age Studies," *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 38 (1983): 51–61; Martin Hall, "Pots and Politics: Ceramic Interpretations in Southern Africa," *World Archaeology* 15 (1984): 262–73.
  32. Shula Marks, "The Historiography of South Africa: Recent Developments," in B. Jew-siewicki and D. Newbury, eds., *African Historiographies: What History for Which Africa?* (Beverly Hills, 1986), 165–76. Martin Hall, "'Hidden History': Iron Age Archaeology in Southern Africa," in Peter Robertshaw, ed., *A History of African Archaeology* (London, 1990), 59–77.
  33. R. R. Inskip and T. M. O'C. Maggs, "Unique Art Objects in the Iron Age of the Transvaal, South Africa," *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 30 (1975).
  34. T. M. Evers, "Excavations at the Lydenburg Heads Site, Eastern Transvaal, South Africa," *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 37 (1982): 16–30.
  35. Gavin Whitelaw, "Lydenburg Revisited: Another Look at the Eastern Transvaal Early Iron Age Sequence" (paper presented at the Conference of the Southern African Association of Archaeologists, Cape Town, July 1992).
  36. Inskip and Maggs, "Unique Art Objects," 135. It must, however, be remembered that establishing the chronology of the Iron Age, and finding general acceptance of the new South African history, was still a major concern at this stage. See Hall, "'Hidden History,'" 1990.
  37. Evers, "Lydenburg Heads Site"; Elizabeth Voigt, "Faunal Report on the Lydenburg Heads Site, 2530 AB4," *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 37 (1982): 31–32; Hertha de Villiers, "Report on Human Skeletal Remains: 2530 AB4, JVIIm5," *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 37 (1982): 33.
  38. Inskip and Maggs, "Unique Art Objects," 136. As Evers pointed out in "Lydenburg Heads Site," this claim for uniqueness has proved unjustified, as fragments of terracotta sculptures have been found from other Early Iron Age sites in South Africa.
  39. Tim Maggs and Patricia Davison, "The Lydenburg Heads," *African Arts* 14 no. 2 (1981): 28–33.
  40. Inskip and Maggs, "Unique Art Objects," page 136.
  41. Evers, "Lydenburg Heads Site."
  42. Maggs and Davison, "Lydenburg Heads," 30.
  43. Keith Robinson, "Excavations on the Acropolis Hill," *National Museums of Southern Rhodesia Occasional Papers* 23a (1961): 184.
  44. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*.
  45. Robinson, "Acropolis Hill," 189.
  46. I have discussed this association between archaeological interpretation and ethnicity

- in southern Africa in a number of other papers. See Hall, "Tribes, Traditions, and Numbers," 51–61; Hall, "Pots and Politics," 262–73; Martin Hall, "The Burden of Tribalism: The Social Context of Southern African Iron Age Studies," *American Antiquity* 49 no. 3 (1984): 455–67.
47. Tom Huffman, "Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the African Iron Age," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11 (1982): 133–50, 145.
  48. Malcolm Payne, "Form and the Picturing of Mining: An Epistemology of Form with Special Reference to the Explication of Iconography" M.F.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1992). See also Malcolm Payne, "From Lydenburg to Witbank," *Artworks in Progress: The Yearbook of the Staff of the Michaelis School of Fine Art, University of Cape Town*, vol. 1 (Cape Town, 1989), 36–41, and his untitled contribution in *Artworks in Progress*, vol. 2 (Cape Town, 1990), 20–23. *Market Forces* was an exhibition in the Long Cell, Graduate School of Business, University of Cape Town, June 1992; Pippa Skotnes (opening address to the exhibition *Market Forces*, Graduate School of Business, University of Cape Town, 2 June 1992).
  49. Payne, "Form." This must be seen as a fairly broad interpretation of the Early Iron Age, as there is no direct association between Lydenburg and mining activities in areas such as the eastern Transvaal and Natal. See Martin Hall, *The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings, and Traders in Southern Africa, 200–1860* (Cape Town, 1987).
  50. Payne, "From Lydenburg to Witbank," 40.
  51. Payne, "Form."
  52. *Ibid.*, 40–41.
  53. Skotnes, opening address.
  54. Payne, "Form," 42.
  55. Payne, untitled in *Artworks*, 20. Payne comments that "no known written text by Oppenheimer seemed appropriate for similar inclusion," a statement that must be taken as ironic; if taken literally, it would contradict the point of the work.
  56. Louis Almaro Smit, *Overvaal Museanuus* 18, no. 1 (1992): 6.
  57. *Ibid.*, 4.      58. *Ibid.*, 4.