



Prehistory Society of Zimbabwe

Newsletter 139

Editorial

I'll be relatively brief since there is much more of interest to read below than what I have to say. It is a month for the maritime as we lead this issue of the newsletter with a report on what is possibly the most important shipwreck ever recovered from Africa's shores, followed by a re-evaluation of history's most notorious pirate. Following on from this, it would appear from media reports that archaeologists have finally discovered King Solomon's real mines - and they were copper not gold. Finally the ghosts of the myth of his involvement with Great Zimbabwe can be laid to rest! Don't count on it though - misguided and deluded "investigators" have always been able to make up their own stories without reference to reality so I really do not expect this discovery to change many minds.

It is my sad duty to announce the unfortunate passing of Ed Eastwood, on the morning of the 28th October, 2008. Since 1991, Ed had a very long standing collaborative research association with the Rock Art Research Institute at Wits University, Johannesburg, and with countless archaeologists and members of the archaeology fraternity. He opened up an entire new rock art region in Zimbabwe and South Africa with his pioneering and thorough research in the Shashe Limpopo Basin. He had an obvious and delightful passion for the study of rock art, an attitude that shone through in his many publications.

He was a regular contributor to the Society's journal and with his wife, produced what is one of the best books on the rock art of southern Africa, the wonderful *Capturing the Spoor* (2006 - Cape Town: David Phillip). Our sincere and heartfelt condolences to his wife, Cathelijne, members of his family, and all those who had the fortunate experience of working and interacting with Ed. May his soul rest in eternal peace. We will sorely miss him.

Enjoy the forthcoming holidays and may the New Year welcome you with open arms.

Excavations of the Oranjemund Shipwreck, Oranjemund, Namibia

ASHTON SINAMAI

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At the end of August 2008 I got a call from the National Museum of Namibia offering me the post of Chief Curator at the same time being asked to assist in the excavation of a shipwreck. Shipwreck? My first thoughts were of course if it is a shipwreck then it is maritime archaeology in which people dive to retrieve the wreck and its content. Looking at the current state of archaeology in Zimbabwe it was an attractive package, but assessing my abilities in maritime archaeology I was obviously not the suitable candidate for this job. Further enquiries however told me that the ship was not under water but on land.

NAMDEB the diamond mining company which is a joint venture between the Namibian government and De Beers have developed a strategy to mine diamonds from marine terrace gravels on the shore. To do this the company pushes the gravels towards the sea to create what are called “pocket beaches” which are then mined for diamonds. Huge walls of sand are constructed and these are maintained on a 24-hour basis during the period in which mining is being carried out. The area in which the shipwreck was found was protected by a 30 m high earthen “sea wall.” The area, which is 12 km north of Oranjemund, was just a strip of excavated ocean bed, 7 m below sea level and 200 m out from the natural beach. Once the mining is completed the sea reclaims these areas.

It was in one of these pocket beaches that a shipwreck was discovered in Oranjemund. Oranjemund is a small mining town on the banks of the Orange River, on the border with South Africa. In March 2008 unusual artifacts started appearing. Elephant tusks, copper ingots began to appear in the sorting plants. It was only on April 1 however that something pointing to a shipwreck was discovered. A bulldozer driver excavating the area noticed some “unusual objects” not common in his line of work and called in the geologists. The geologists in turn contacted an archaeologist to come and examine the artifacts who confirmed that the site was a shipwreck. Excavations were immediately recommended as the company wanted to quickly mine the area.

There was thus no previous plan carry out the work. The result was a disastrous excavation in which tonnes of objects were removed without even establishing their positions. Most did not have records of where they came from. At the end of this first excavation there was no map of the site and none of the objects had a known provenance. The only documentation that had been carried out was photography.

This shocked me but, as work progressed, I discovered that a shipwreck is a just one single event and stratigraphy and layers may not be important in this case. In most cases the wreck and the artifacts are moved around by the action of the sea and many would not be in their original locations in any case. The site was reburied after its discovery when the government realized the importance of the wreck. By then six tonnes of copper ingots, 50 elephant tusks 2500 gold coins (weighing 23 kg), several hundred silver coins, eight cannons and several cannon balls had been found. These items dated the ship to the mid 16th century AD. Another important find from the ship was navigational equipment including astrolabes (an early form of sextant) which are very rare for shipwrecks of the same period. Very few of these instruments still exist intact and not

many museums have more than one making this shipwreck one of the most important in navigation history. During the excavation of this three astrolabes were found making it the only shipwreck to have more than one.

The Namibian government decided to hire the services of a maritime archaeologist from the Southern African Institute for Maritime Archaeology (SAIMA) based in Cape Town, South Africa. They also recognised that skills of a terrestrial archaeologist were required. The multinational team that was created thus had a variety of skills in Archaeology. It had members from South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Portugal, and Spain. Other members of the team came after the excavations to document and carry our preliminary conservation on some of the artifacts.

Excavation began by removal of the concretions that covered much of the shipwreck. Concretions are formed when iron changes to iron oxide and are very hard to excavate. The excavation of these concretions had to be done by jack-hammers and fortunately the skill of NAMDEB staff with jack-hammers saved many of the artifacts that were stuck in this layer. More gold and silver coins, copper and tin ingots, and quite a number of the cutlery used on the ship were found. There also two Arab coins in copper and gold which may have been part of a sailor's collection. Arabs had already been expelled from Spain by that time and these coins were no longer being used in the Iberian Peninsula.

Personally, the most interesting finds were those items that could tell us more about the lives of the sailors on the ship. Maritime archaeology sometimes tends to concentrate on the ship and its contents while terrestrial archaeologists tend to look for evidence of people as well. Several personal objects like rosaries, wallets, pendants were found and, once studied, will inform about the lives of the sailors. Many expected to find human bones in this shipwreck but none were found. The sailors may have survived the shipwreck and swam to shore as the coastline is only 200 m from where it hit bedrock on the sea floor.

With time we will be able to provide more information on the ship. The huge amount of cargo means that this ship would have a record in Portugal. These records will show us when the ship was constructed and where it was going. Relative dating has been provided by the Iberian coins minted between 1476-1516 during reign of Ferdinand V and Isabella and John III of Portugal. The ivory may also show us the ship's movement on the African coast. Because our current needs to protect elephants, conservationists have developed a way to map the source of their ivory through isotope analysis. Copper ingots have a trident seal that has been identified as belonging to the Fugger family. The Fuggers were rich merchants from Ausburg, Germany. With proceeds from this they bought silver and copper mines in Hungary Tyrol and Spain. Later they became bankers to the ruling elite of Europe including the popes and kings of Europe. The family therefore was important in sponsoring exploration of sea routes to the east. They therefore may have sold copper ingots to the Portuguese king for trade with the Far East.

At the conclusion of our studies, all these artifacts will end in a proposed Maritime Museum of Namibia. This shipwreck is one of the most important to be found in Africa south of the Sahara and will illuminate on the history of world trade, the opening of Africa to world trade, the lives of the sailors as well as on the technology of shipbuilding.

Shipwreck clues could clear Blackbeard's name - sort of...

JASPER COPPING

Summarised from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk>

He was history's most feared pirate, striking terror into seafarers as he cut a bloodthirsty swathe through the Caribbean and North Atlantic. But new research has found that Blackbeard may be innocent of one of the most notorious charges against him.

For almost 300 years, the British pirate captain has stood accused of deliberately sinking his flagship, *Queen Anne's Revenge*, so he could swindle his crew out of their share of loot they had plundered. But marine archaeologists, who are conducting a diving expedition on the vessel's presumed wreck, now, believe it may have run aground by accident. They have even found evidence suggesting that Blackbeard made repeated attempts to rescue the stricken craft.

They have discovered a large pile of ballast, including anchors and several cannon, in the middle section of the ship. They believe Blackbeard ordered the crew to move the heavy items from their original positions, near the bow of the vessel, back towards the stern in an effort to lift the vessel's bows from the submerged sandbank onto which it had run. It follows the discovery of an anchor on the sea bed, 450ft (137m) away from the ship, which experts believe would have been used to try to winch the boat free.

Chris Southerly, chief archaeologist for the project, said: "If Blackbeard had intended to sink the ship on purpose, this seems an awful lot of labour and effort to make it look good to the crew, to allay their fears that he was abandoning them. The main ballast pile, which has two large anchors and at least six cannon and a huge pile of ballast stones, is just about amidships, roughly where the upper aft deck would have started."

"It would have been very hard to move things further aft than that, because the deck is on a different level and there is a wall in the way. They may have moved things as far aft as could easily be done, to try to save the ship and then abandoned the effort, realising it still wouldn't save the ship. The impression, from what I have seen, is that it was an accident."

The ship ran aground on a sandbank about a mile from shore on June 10 1718, as Blackbeard's flotilla of four vessels was heading for Beaufort Inlet, in the British colony of North Carolina. Days earlier, Blackbeard had blockaded the major port of Charleston, South Carolina, and knew that the Royal Navy would be closing the net around him. Historians have long believed that he deliberately grounded his largest vessel so that he could split up his followers in the ensuing chaos, thus "downsizing" his crew and ensuring the loot was transferred to another vessel. In the event, that is precisely what he did, escaping with the treasure and stranding 30 men on a nearby island.

Blackbeard is believed to have been born Edward Teach, or Edward Thatch, in Bristol, in 1680. He fought as a privateer for the British, attacking Spanish and French ships in the War of the Spanish Succession before turning to piracy. His crew captured a French slave ship called *La Concorde* near the Caribbean island of St Vincent in November 1717 and renamed it *Queen Anne's Revenge*.

It became his flagship, sailing alongside three smaller sloops. His flotilla is said to have taken 45 ships. Blackbeard's striking appearance and character has inspired many subsequent depictions of pirates, most recently in *Pirates of the Caribbean*, the Hollywood trilogy starring Johnny Depp. He is said to have had 14 wives and would tie burning fuses into his long beard during battle, to give himself a demonic appearance. On one occasion, while playing cards with a member of his crew, he is said to have shot him in the kneecaps under the table.

After the loss of the *Queen Anne's Revenge*, Blackbeard sought and was granted a pardon. But he continued to seize ships, and the Royal Navy were sent to track him down. He was killed in a battle with the Royal Navy in November 1718.

Blackbeard's head was cut off and his body tossed overboard. According to legend, his headless body swam around his ship five times before he finally died. His head was attached to the bowsprit of a Navy ship and his skull was later used as a punch bowl.

The wreck of the *Queen Anne's Revenge* lies in about 23 feet (seven metres) of water. It was first discovered in 1996 but the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources is now funding a project to excavate and recover items from the ship, as it is feared they could be lost as sand around the wreck is eroded away.

Previous expeditions have recovered items from the stern section and the current project, which started last month and is expected to continue until November, is examining the mid section, where the ballast pile is located.

The team have so far recovered 9,000 flecks of gold, which add up to just seven grams, suggesting that Blackbeard was able to get the treasure off the ship. Mark Wilde-Ramsing, project leader, added: "The crew don't seem to have been in survival mode. They were able to get most things they wanted off." Items recovered so far include navigational instruments, carpentry tools and bells.

The new findings have provoked controversy among experts. Angus Konstam, author of *Piracy: The Complete History*, welcomed the research but said the discoveries could still be consistent with Blackbeard having deliberately run the ship aground. "Blackbeard would have had to try to dupe his crew," he said. "When the ship went aground, it was in his interest to make it look as if it was an accident, to avoid getting lynched by his own crew. But the great thing about archaeology is that it can come up with new ways to stand theories on their head."

Solomon's real mine?

3,000 years on, archaeologists uncover fabled site in desert

DAVID DERBYSHIRE

Summarised from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/>

Archaeologists believe they have uncovered one of the lost mines of King Solomon. The vast copper mine lies in an arid valley in modern-day Jordan and was created in the 10th century BC - around the time Solomon is believed to have ruled over the ancient Hebrews. The mines are

enormous and would have generated a huge income for the king, who is famed for bringing extraordinary wealth and stability to the newly-united kingdom of Israel and Judah.

The announcement has reopened the debate about how much of the Old Testament is myth and how much is history. According to the Bible, Solomon was the third king of Israel. The son of King David, he was renowned for his wisdom, the size of his harem and the splendour of his kingdom. During his reign, he is said to have accumulated a huge fortune from mining and trading, some of which was spent on building the grand temple and opulent palace of Jerusalem.

Archaeologists and treasure-hunters have searched for the mines for more than a century since the best-selling Victorian novel, *King Solomon's Mines* by H Rider Haggard, claimed they could hold a treasure of gold and diamonds. But now, it seems the real version could have been closer to home, supplying the king with copper.

The ancient mine was found in a desolate region south of the Dead Sea in southern Jordan in an area called Khirbat en-Nahas, which means 'ruins of copper' in Arabic. The region was known in the Old Testament as the Kingdom of Edom. By Solomon's time, it had become a vassal state, paying tribute to Jerusalem. Digs at the site in the 1970s and 1980s suggested metalworking began there in the 7th century, long after the time of Solomon.

Dr Thomas Levy, of the University of California, San Diego, and Mohammed Najjar, of Jordan's Friends of Archaeology, have dated it to the 10th century BC. Dr Levy said: "We have evidence that complex societies were indeed active in the 10th and 9th centuries BC and that brings us back to the debate about the historicity of the Bible narratives related to this period. We can't believe everything ancient writings tell us. But this research represents a confluence between the archaeological and scientific data and the Bible".

The ancient site contains around 100 buildings, including a fortress, in the middle of 24 acres of land covered in black slag. The mine works are covered with trials and holes, and are big enough to be seen on Google Earth's satellite images. The team also found ancient Egyptian artifacts at the site including a scarab and amulet from the 10th century BC. When Solomon died, his kingdom was thrown into chaos and the Pharaoh Sheshonq is believed to have attempted to crush economic activity.

Book Review

Clarke, Marieke. 2008. *Mambo Hills: historical & religious significance*. Bulawayo: 'amaBooks. 28 pp. ISBN 978-0-7974-3589-6.

If you were hoping for a book on the archaeology or the monument, Ntabazikamambo, and its contestation as a heritage site this publication is not for you. In fact I don't think this was ever the author's briefing and instead we have a particularly valuable contribution on Mkwati and the broader family and cult relationships in which this important figure of the 1896-7 anti-colonial campaign featured. Surprisingly, there are few detailed histories of this man despite his importance in the anti-colonial and post-colonial historical discourse. Unlike Zezuru mediums of Nehanda and Kaguvu, Mkwati has hitherto been a bit of an enigma; mentioned only when necessary to bring Matabeleland into nationalist historiography and with the odd building named after him, but he not really known by most people unlike his Mazowe Valley counterparts.

Discussed briefly in that all-important book that has shaped Zimbabwean historiography, Terrance Ranger's (1967) *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*, Mkwati is presented as a regional instigator of the insurrections of 1896 in Matabeleland. Relatively few details are however given and he is depicted as much the same as the more northern spirit mediums of the Shona heartland. Mkwati is further short-changed in later nationalist publications where he becomes a mere adjutant to events in Mashonaland. In fact that bastion of nationalist "history" A.S. Chigwedere relegates him to the mere status of a *mujibha* (runner) for some mystical central leader (Murenga) who supposedly instigated events across the entire modern nation (Chigwedere 1991). Chigwedere's blatant Shonaisation and reinterpretation of events to suit current political patronage should always be remembered.

Clarke now presents a more a thorough picture of Mkwati and his part in regional events outside of modern nationalist concerns. He was not local, being born a Leya in the Zambezi Valley who was captured in his youth by Ndebele raiders. As one of Lobengula's "Black ants" he rose to importance through his marriage to Tenkela, the all important *iwosana*, messenger of Mwali, in this area of central Zimbabwe who acted as the local voice and transmitting of information for the Mlimo Cult based in the Matobo Hills. The importance of Mkwati was therefore not as a Shona medium, in the sense of Nehanda, but it was its association with Tankela and her family. It seems that the influence of the Mlimo Cult may have expanded further in the post-Ndebele era as people tried to come to terms with the intrusion and impact of colonialism. Mkwati would have spoken out and encouraged the local events of 1896 but he was not some cog of a massive nation-wide conspiracy against the colonial regime. I recommend reading this book to get a better understanding of the man and events of that era.

My main quibble about the book is the dearth of solid information on the Mambo Hills. We never get to know the broken hilly area which is after all the landscape in which these events were set and which, through its heritage associations with the past (the last Mambo and the once all powerful Rozwi State), determined who was living there, why and their actions. The ruin of Ntabazikamambo is shown on the cover but there is scant detail on it. Its being one of many Khami-type ruins in this part of central Zimbabwe could have been analysed more thoroughly. Clarke comments as to Zhizo and Leopard's Kopje rock art (p.1) are curious and one can only assume that the fault lies with uninformed informants. I don't know any other serious researcher who would think that the art can be attributed to these farming community groups.

I was also very disappointed with the lack of adequate comment on the events that post date 1896. The hills were alienated as white farmland. How was this done, what were the relationships between the settlers and the locals and did they change through time? Access to the site was not restricted at all times and the competing interests of different parties who all lay claim to the site and its said spiritual associations could have been better analysed.

Clarke places too much emphasis on the interpretations and heritage explanations of one group, the Mambo Cultural & Sacred Places of Zimbabwe Advisory Committee of the late A.S. Moyo. There are other groups and individuals who are involved who dispute the legitimacy of this organisation. In this book there is an overreliance on a few commentators, sometimes a failure to separate contemporary concerns from those that may have counted in the past and the complex multivocality and the contested nature of the hills and the heritage site is not adequately covered by Clarke. More recent events in the Rhodesian Bush War or Chimurenga II in the 1970s and the

Gukuruhundi of the 1980s would also have been very informative. Pathisa Nyathi in his foreword hints as much but the author seems to have avoided the issues completely.

All in all this is an interesting and important work that focuses on local areas and agency rather than broad sweeping panoramas. The author and publishers are also to be congratulated on ensuring that it is made available locally. Too often now our history is written and published elsewhere, so that we at home are denied access to it; we are studied and written about but the results are never shared with the actual people involved. May this trend initiated by Clarke continue.

References

- Chigwedere, A.S. 1991. *The Forgotten Heroes of Chimurenga I: the archives speak*. Harare: Mercury Press.
Ranger, T.O. 1967. *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*. London: Heinemann.

ROB BURRETT
Zambezia Encounters
Bulawayo

Film Review

Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull

Director: Steven Spielberg

Year: 2008

Rating: PG13

Runtime: 122 minutes

The author would like to state, in opening this article, that he is not an archaeologist. His passing affiliation with the discipline arises from an acquaintance with two experts in the field. Dr. Henry Jones Jnr, and Paul Hubbard. Therefore, please excuse any gross errors made in reference to the theory or practice of archaeology, as the author's understanding of the field is based entirely upon these two extreme archetypes.

The Indiana Jones with whom I grew up was fearless. Ok, there were the snakes. But he made archaeology an adventure. Why did he do it? He liked to see new (old) things. Both Indy himself and his films had a contagious thirst for the unknown, the uncharted and unexplored. And herein lies the greatest, most unforgivable flaw in *Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull*.

Indiana Jones is afraid.

Dr. Jones is back in his trademark fedora, but the film is old hat. Completely reliant on the established tropes of the franchise, it is painfully formulaic. It reeks of desperation, a sickening need to replicate, often note for note, the magic formula that worked so well in the previous films. A chase scene in a horribly rendered CGI jungle is lifted almost directly from *The Last Crusade*, and the booby traps that litter the token lost temple could have been borrowed from any number of films that have tried to ape Indiana Jones in the past. I am very sad to say that some of these pretenders have done this more successfully than *The Kingdom of the Crystal Skull*.

This would almost still be palatable, if Indiana Jones could bring to the film the same magnetic charm that made his previous adventures so captivating. Harrison Ford, notoriously grumpy in real life, is obviously delighted to be back in his most popular role, and wears it well considering his age. Sadly, the weight of the film's overwhelming awfulness scuppers even Ford's once irresistible charisma.

The supporting cast members are a mixed bag. Karen Allen inexplicably returns as Marion Ravenwood, Indy's love interest from 1981's *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, and spends the entire film in shell-shocked awe, possibly of Indy, possibly of her re-entry into the world of paid acting work. This is likely a misplaced effort to compensate for the notable absence of Sean Connery and the late Denholm Elliot, an exchange not dissimilar from the opening of *Raiders*, in which Indy replaces an Aztec idol with a bag of sand.

Shia Leboeuf, Spielberg's latest discovery, is a talented young actor who does a decent job as Indy's estranged maybe-son, but makes it no less jarring to watch an Indiana Jones film where the bulk of the physical action is reassigned to a younger man. Ray Winstone and John Hurt sleepwalk through their supporting roles, their considerable combined talent completely wasted.

The less said about Cate Blanchett's baffling turn as a gender-confused Soviet dominatrix, (a transparent effort to replicate Ronald Lacey's legendary Gestapo monster from *Raiders*), the better.

One part of the old Indiana Jones still survives. John Williams' unforgettable score proves, despite limitless evidence to the contrary, that this is still an Indiana Jones film. It's just a really, really bad one. There is, I expect, an important line that separates archaeology from grave robbing. Indiana Jones, a long dead king of the silver screen, should have been left to rest in peace.

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Film Reviewer
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New Publications on Zimbabweanist Archaeology

Hubbard, P. 2008. The Matopos: Early Inhabitants. In Albyn, G. & Bone, C. (comp. & eds.) *Manzovo: Tails and Trails*. Published by [Blurb.com](#).

A popular article examining the human history of the Matopos from the earliest times until the late 1890s. The various stone tool industries, the origins and meaning of the extensive rock art, and our current state of knowledge regarding the farming communities, both early and late are discussed in detail.

Hubbard, P. & Albyn, G. 2008. The Matopos: Nomenclature. In Albyn, G. & Bone, C. (comp. & eds.) *Manzovo: Tails and Trails*. Published by [Blurb.com](#).

A short note detailing the origins and meanings of the different names for the Matopos as well as proving a glossary for various archaeological terms used in the previous article on the archaeology and early history of the hills.

Huffman, T.N. 2008. Climate change during the Iron Age in the Shashe-Limpopo Basin, southern Africa. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35: 2032-2047.

Recent research refines previous interpretations about the role of climatic factors in the development of Mapungubwe. First, the Medieval Warm Epoch started at about AD 1000, rather than 900. At about AD 900, Zhizo people moved into the Shashe-Limpopo Basin, most likely to hunt elephants for the East Coast trade. Secondly, a dry period at about AD 1200-1250 affected farming societies over a wide area. In the Basin, multiple rainmaking episodes occurred at this time. A similar situation took place around Makapansgat and at Great Zimbabwe. Thirdly, Mapungubwe was probably abandoned in AD 1300 because of cooler and drier conditions. At this time, it would have been impossible to maintain floodplain agriculture at the intensity necessary to support the large population. Agricultural failures probably undermined political authority, contributing to Mapungubwe's abandonment and shift in power to Great Zimbabwe. This detailed sequence challenges the re-calibrated climatic series from Makapansgat.

Nhamo, A. 2007. *Out of the Labyrinth: the significance of Kudu images in the rock art of Zimunya*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

A revised version of Nhamo's Master's thesis, this book provides a review and explanation of the appearance of kudu in the rock art of Zimunya in eastern Zimbabwe. Noting that the kudu was one of the most frequently depicted animal species in Zimbabwean rock art, the book argues that it was an animal whose importance went beyond mere food, instead becoming an integral part of the spiritual lives of the hunter-gatherers. It includes chapters on the physical landscape of Zimunya, previous research in the area, an overview of rock art studies in southern Africa, an account of the fieldwork done and the results obtained as well as an in-depth study of the importance and significance of kudu in the rock art of the region.

Pikirayi, I. 2006. The Kingdom, the Power and Forevermore: Zimbabwe Culture in Contemporary Art and Architecture. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32 (4): 755-770.

Architectural heritage reflects the development of society, and its ability to adapt and meet functional and other needs. It is manifest in monuments and public buildings, which create a sense of continuity between the past and the present. This article explores such issues in relation to public buildings and holiday resorts constructed in Zimbabwe since the early 1990s, focusing on architectural styles inspired by the country's rich archaeological and historical heritage, which are discussed in the light of debates over 'post-modernist' architecture. The article argues that architectural heritage plays a critical role in contemporary Zimbabwe, as demonstrated by the range of functions served by these buildings. Yet for archaeologists this heritage poses challenging questions regarding the ways in which the past is represented. It is evident that the past 'sells', despite inconsistencies in its presentation, representation and interpretation. Indeed, the marketing of this heritage is largely for tourist consumption. Some buildings evoke 'usable' notions of the past, provoking inspiration and a sense of attachment or nostalgia. Other buildings express political power, economic control and ritual elaboration on the part of the postcolonial state.

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