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Bone hoes from the Middle Iron Age, Limpopo Province, South Africa

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ABSTRACT

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This paper presents the first recognised evidence of bone hoes in South Africa. Two bovine scapulae and a portion of a long bone show use-trace evidence that supports our interpretation as ground-working implements. The scapulae were probably hafted onto wooden handles using a combination of plant fibres and sinew, whereas the tool made from the long bone appears not to have been hafted. Bone hoes represent a short-lived technological innovation, although the reasons to account for this remain speculative. The recognition of these agricultural implements poses interesting questions about the extent and variety of bone working among Iron Age agriculturalists in the Limpopo Valley during the 10th - 13th centuries AD, and potentially also about the nature of women's work in these communities. © 2017 Elsevier Ltd and INQUA. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

Bone tools made from animal scapulae (shoulder blades) are found among pre-industrial societies in most parts of the world (see Griffitts, 2006; Xie, 2014). Various interpretations have been proffered for these tools, but most agree that they were used for moving earth. The precise function ranges from construction tools for digging trenches and pits (e.g. Curwin, 1926, 1937; Griffitts, 2006) to agricultural implements (e.g. Strong, 1933; Bell and Cross, 1980; Griffitts, 2006; Xie, 2014). Among the Plains Indians of the central United States for instance, bison scapulae were used in historic times for cultivating small garden crops like maize, beans and squash (Strong, 1933; Bell and Cross, 1980). Although perhaps less widely used for this purpose than wood, stone and metal implements (Xie, 2014), scapulae have a high tensile strength making them ideal for heavy-duty work such as digging, and thus more economical than their stone and metal counterparts in terms of manufacturing time (Griffitts, 2006; Xie, 2014).

In southern Africa broad-blade, spatula-shaped bone tools have

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¹ It is possible that more bone hoe-like objects exist but have not been recognised as tools. Voigt (1983) describes two other similarly-shaped tools from K2, one of which she interpreted as a chopping board. Neither tool could be located for analysis here

been recovered from numerous sites along the South Coast (Meiring, 1952). Where recovered in situ these tools have been placed within the Final Later Stone Age technocomplex; roughly

the last 4000 years (Meiring, 1952; cf. Lombard et al., 2012). These

tools are made from ribs or slivers of long bone and the edges

ground into shape against an abrasive surface (Meiring, 1952). No

proper use-trace studies of these artefacts have been conducted

yet, and their precise function remains elusive. Proffered in-

terpretations range from shell fish scoops, melon knives for

shredding vegetables, meat mattocks, and skin scrapers (Clark, 1959) to hand adzes for wood working (Meiring, 1952). Further

inland three similar tools, two of which are fashioned from bovine

scapulae, have been recovered from Iron Age contexts dating be-

tween c. 1000 CE - 1250 CE in the Limpopo River Valley.¹ Voigt

(1983: 110) previously described one of these tools from K2 as a

meat mattock for the preparation of skins, based on the extensive

visible polish covering the artefact surface. The other two artefacts,

one made from a scapula and the other from a piece of a large bovid





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long bone, derive from the roughly contemporaneous site of Pont Drift (Fig. 1).

Bone working is not unusual among Iron Age communities of this region (Hanisch, 1980; Voigt, 1983; Antonites et al., 2016). K2 and the nearby 13th century capital of Mapungubwe have well developed bone-working traditions, yet the function of spatulashaped tools remains poorly understood (Voigt, 1983). Understanding what these tools were used for may shed light on the diversity of bone tool technology among Bantu-speaking agriculturalists in the Limpopo Valley during this period. The aim of the present paper is to formally describe the use-trace features of three tools found at K2 and Pont Drift. The extensive use-wear on these artefacts, which are unique to the South African Iron Age, warrants closer scrutiny into their precise function.

2. Background

The bone implements described here come from two roughly

contemporaneous settlements in South Africa's middle Limpopo Valley – K2 and Pont Drift (Fig. 1). The area is best known for the emergence of class distinction and political centralisation in the 13th century AD (Huffman, 2000, 2007). K2 was a large 'elite' settlement that asserted socio-political and economic influence over a wide region (c. 1000 CE - 1200 CE, 'K2 period'). Intermittent excavations between the 1930s and 1990s revealed several household areas and domestic middens surrounding a large central animal enclosure and communal midden. The K2 inhabitants kept livestock (cattle, sheep and goats), cultivated sorghum, millet and legumes in the floodplain, and occasionally hunted and gathered wild resources. They manufactured a range of crafts and traded ivory and other raw materials for glass beads with Arab traders on the East African coast (Huffman, 2007; Gardner, 1963; Meyer, 1998; Miller, 2001; Voigt, 1983). Sometime during the early 'Transitional K2 period' (1200 CE - 1250 CE), K2 was abandoned and its community relocated to the nearby site of Mapungubwe Hill – a move marked by the physical separation between elites and commoners



Fig. 1. Map showing the geographical region of the study area.

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